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**REPORT OF THE AFRICA GROUP TO THE CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF THE
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

Present Policy

The entire mission falling under the auspices of the OAU member countries, have expressed tremendous support by the host countries, to the struggle of the people of South Africa, and in particular support of the ANC. Most of these countries have over the years played a tremendous role in supporting our struggle in various degrees, including support for our armed struggle. Indeed, the African countries feel that as long as apartheid South Africa exists, Africa is not yet free. The struggle by the people of South Africa for a non-racial democracy, for one person - one vote is viewed by the OAU as being non-negotiable. Political pressure on the South African government as well as supporters of the South African government will be maintained by the OAU until the transfer of power to the majority in South Africa.

After years of destabilisation, which has wreaked havoc and caused millions upon millions of rands worth of damage in the region, the optimism of these governments towards De Klerk's reforms remains one of caution and deep suspicion.

However a number of important issues need to be examined by our consultative meeting, in order to reach a more profound formulation of our positions re: the current 'negotiation' process.

1. After the independence of Namibia and the battles of Cuito Cuanovale the balance of forces in Southern Africa are decidedly in our favour.
2. The feeling expressed by the African countries is that since Tambo's tour of African states, leading up to the adoption of the Harare Declaration, there existed a purposeful unity in action between the ANC and OAU in bringing the maximum pressure to bear on the SA regime. The OAU member states have since expressed deep concern and fear at the manner in which the ANC is handling the current process, especially after the Groote Schuur and Pretoria meetings. Our handling of the issue of the suspension of armed struggle, did not follow the guidelines of the Harare Declaration, and the feeling expressed by OAU member states is that the ANC is willing to grant too many concessions to the regime, does not draw on the vast experience of the OAU in dealing with the current situation and is generally neglectful of our most valuable external support base.
3. The OAU have expressed the need for African referee as well as monitoring participation by this organisation, on the implementation of agreements entered into by the ANC/SA government. Their genuine feeling is that the liberation movement can be outmanoeuvred and that there is a definite need for this type of participation.

Whilst they have confidence in the ANC, they are however finding it increasingly difficult to explain the positions of the movement.

4. Concern has also been expressed at organisation of the Lusaka prayer meeting as well as its handling. e.g. Introduction of Holomisa as Chairman of Military Council of Transkei - whether this amounts to recognition of Bantustands, as well as the boycott of this meeting by certain African governments.

Status of the ANC

In general there has been a marked improvement of the status of ANC missions in Africa, including Ambassadorial status being granted in Zaire, permission given by the Governments of Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana to open up missions in these countries.

- a) There is also a marked improvement of certain government relations with the PAC, due to two reasons:
 - (i) A growing number of youths joining the PAC through Lesotho. This therefore raises the question more sharply of an office in Lesotho.
 - (ii) A lack of clear understanding of ANC positions re: suspension of armed struggle, as well as a feeling that the Harare Declaration is not being strictly adhered to.

Anti-Apartheid Movement

Largely controlled by governments of the day in Africa, which hinders mobilisation and organisation of the mass of peoples in African countries to do battle against apartheid. The overwhelming feeling however is that this remains an essential aspect of our activities. Financial constraints in some countries impose difficulties in the organisation of solid and viable anti-apartheid movements in these countries.

Information and Publicity

Access to:

- information was poor when our headquarters was in Lusaka. It is now worse.
- information at all levels needs to be urgently upgraded.
- ANC NEC to governments
- ANC via Chief Reps to governments
- ANC headquarters to Chief representatives

There also exist a need to produce propaganda material in various countries. This is inhibited by lack of funds.

Sanctions

The Africa group felt that the issue of sanctions must be examined together with the other pillars of struggles re: mass mobilisation, intimidation, underground activity as well as armed struggle. This is however in the context of our position vis-a-vis sanctions.

However, in relation to African governments the mood is that economic sanctions and the political isolation of the De Klerk government must remain in place. Even though the De Klerk government has made significant progress in his relations with certain African governments, the dominant feeling that relaxations in this arena should not be tightened or reinforced but that existing sanctions should apply, and that the Harare Declaration should not be deviated from.

The two issues which arise on this question are:

- The ANC should hold firm lobbying positions as sanctions. Confusing statements have recently been forthcoming from the ANC on our positions on sanctions.
- that the ANC should speed up the holding of a meeting between the ANC and the OAU to examine the issue.

Material Support

- It was noted that individual governments responded beyond expectation during the recent visits by our Deputy-President.
- that there are a number of countries calling for the dissolution of the OAU Liberation Committee, given the suspension of armed struggle by the ANC. Greater attention by the NEC must therefore be paid to the OAU, in informing, updating, briefing and soliciting support.

Organisation

Welfare of office staff - the need for incentives for our office staff needs to be examined.

The DIA should specify tasks and goals for our missions. This will then justify material expenses incurred or requested from the OTG.