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27/9/66

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
(SOUTH AFRICA)

LONDON

Tel.: ~~FR Obisher 1914~~

~~3 Collingham Gardens,~~
London, ~~S.W.5~~
ENGLAND

Pad. 7185.

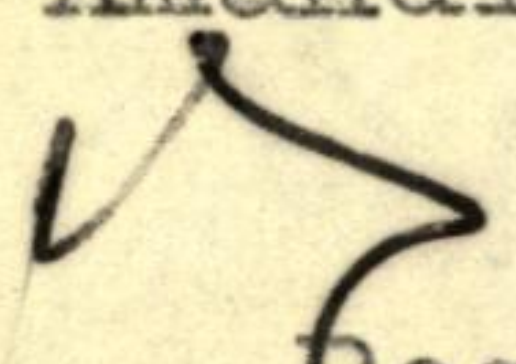
105, Ivor Court,
Gloucester Place,
N. W. 1.
20/9/66.

African National Congress,
P.O. Box 680,
Morogoro.

Dear Duma,

Enclosed herewith is a copy of the report of the WAY Conference sent to us by Kader Asmal. Raymond was supposed to go but Kader took his place at the last moment.

With best wishes,
Amandla!


Reg.

P.S. You will notice that Kader makes the point of asking us to make the special request that "S.A. Freedom News" should be sent to the people listed by his wife Louise. Will you see to this ?

Reg.

Flat 3,
80 Fortfield Road,
Dublin, 6.

11th September, 1966.

Mr. Raymond Kunene,
A.N.C.,
105 Ivor Court,
Gloucester Place,
London, N.W.1.

Dear Raymond,

As I had promised you and as you had expected, I am writing to give you a report on the WAY Assembly in Tokyo, which you had so kindly asked me to attend on behalf of the ANC.

As you know, the conference itself lasted two weeks and it was divided into three parts. The first part occupied four days with the workshops, where there were general discussions on topics suggested by delegates and observers. At the request of the African group, I suggested a discussion on the Crisis in Southern Africa, and led the discussion on ~~south~~ South Africa's role as gendarme of southern Africa, and the culpability of Western powers in underwriting the entrenchment of white supremacy in Mozambique, Angola and South and South West Africa¹. This was one of the most fruitful parts of the conference because a large number of excellent contacts with different delegations were established, especially the Japanese delegation, and at the conclusion of this workshop I spoke to a special meeting of the Japanese (who were either Conservatives, non-political or Japanese Democratic Socialists, a very rightwing breakaway group from the socialists). The Japanese were quite horrified with the 180% increase in trade with South Africa and the general role of Japanese capitalism in our part of the world, and subsequently arranged some very useful interviews for me.

On the Friday after the conference had begun, there was a forum on southern Africa and the ANC was asked to speak on behalf of South Africa and to provide the setting for the whole of southern Africa. The PAC man, Bunsee, also insisted on speaking after ~~if~~ I had finished, but he had this extraordinary capacity for antagonising most of his listeners. His point was that he had a line and method of analysis of the nature of apartheid which he said was quite different from any that had yet been provided. In fact what he did was to give a 300 year history of SA which concluded with the very original statement that apartheid had nothing to do with race but was the most colossal machinery of economic exploitation. This forum was the best attended plenary meeting of the whole conference. Judy Todd spoke on behalf of ZAPU and the SWAPO man was Peter Mueshihange from Dar. We worked rather closely together as he needed considerable assistance.

At the beginning of the second week conference broke up into 5 commissions and I went along to the Human Rights Commission where the resolutions were to be presented. As a "reward" for previous participation, I was elected chairman of the Commission, but I reserved the right to participate in the debates. Fortunately, in the light of what happened subsequently, the resolutions on southern Africa were taken first. Here I must digress to report to you that the countries from Africa, observer or delegate, only met sporadically and inconclusively although it had been decided to meet daily at the beginning of the conference. The reason for the lack of unity was largely because the member countries like Ivory Coast, Liberia, Gambia and Congo (Kinshasa) had made up their minds not to have a common policy either in relation to elections or policy.

I introduced the resolution on southern Africa, which was a political formulation of the alliance among the countries making up the white supremacy countries. The resolution then recognised the ~~place~~^{right} of these territories to resort to the use of violence as a method (the only real discussion here was whether the formulation ought to be "a" method; the former was carried by a vote) which the oppressed people of southern Africa were now using to liberate their countries. As you had asked me, I was able, for the first time in WAY history, to get an active commitment to the armed struggle by inserting the following clause which supported fully the "military struggle being waged by the national liberation movements in the five territories ^{under} ~~in~~ racist rule". Surprisingly this was passed without much discussion and unanimously.

Thereafter, Nicholas Chitsiga, on behalf of ZAPU, moved a resolution on Zimbabwe and also another resolution whereby WAY and its affiliates undertook to send petitions to the British Embassy demanding the use of force in Rhodesia.

The resolution on the Portuguese colonies, moved by Pascal Mochumbi, an Algiers based Frelimo man, a first class brain and great personality, gave rise to a long debate largely because he specifically mentioned Israel as an "imperialist country" who had supplied arms to the Portuguese. His justification for this was very lucid and the resolution was carried.

There was a resolution on SWA, and then I had asked the Swedes to move a long resolution on SA which set out in detail what WAY and its national committees could do. The PAC man was opposed to this resolution because he did not agree with the formulation but he did not carry his opposition to the public session - he was not present for most of the public sessions. In retrospect the discussion on all these resolutions on southern Africa was the best part of the conference, and I think there was an awareness ~~x~~ that something more than merely passing resolutions had to be done.

As you know, we passed a large number of political resolutions but the debate on the resolution on Vietnam was long and often violent. The observers from Morocco, Algeria, Guinea, Frelimo, carried the burden of the argument against the Americans and their satellites, but the numerical preponderance of the pro-American lobby meant that the ultimate resolution ~~was~~ that emerged had the preamble of the African draft but the substantive sections were those of the American supported Singapore resolution.

All these resolutions then went before the plenary. However, the Americans and many other delegations had made up their minds that Carl-Axel Valen was no longer acceptable or suitable as secretary-general and therefore they engineered it that these resolutions would be taken after the elections. I spoke in favour of Carl-Axel Valen, as you had asked me to, without any illusions about the politicking that was going on on the Swedish side, especially by David Wirmark whom you no doubt know. But before the elections took place all the resolutions on southern Africa were passed at my insistence. Carl-Axel was then defeated by a large majority, and the resolution on Vietnam was passed in an amended form, without the important clause that most of the Africans had fought for, and that was the recognition of the National Liberation Front as the only negotiating body for South Vietnam.

Subsequently an open letter was proposed by the observer from Tanzania, who had not participated in the discussions, repudiating the deliberations of the conference and branding the conference as either being run by the CIA or being manipulated by the Americans. ZAPU and I refused to sign this on two grounds: firstly because we could not repudiate resolutions which were very important to us on southern Africa for which we had strenuously fought, and secondly because we had no mandates from the organisations that we were representing to make statements that were wild and unverifiable.

After the conference had ended, we were taken on a tour of Japan and I went on the short tour for which I unfortunately paid. On my return to Tokyo I spoke to the Japanese Anti-Apartheid Movement and Mr. Kangiro Noma was my host. They have a sterling committee, all of them ANC supporters and all very active, but feeling slightly isolated. It was one of the best meetings that I have addressed in the past three or four years and, no doubt, as you would have wished me to, I impressed on them the need for diversifying their support by including people of all political colours. Kangiro Noma asked me to convey his regards to you and I am enclosing some of the publications that they have translated into Japanese, and their special leaflet on apartheid. Noma is a very warm generous man and he would be very pleased if you could write to him to thank him for the hospitality that he gave to your representative. In the three days that I was there he arranged for me to meet, as I have already told you, representatives from Sohyo, the United Auto Workers Union whose address you had given me (which was an absolute write-off), the Japanese Socialist Party, and the Japanese Government. I also met a publisher who has just published Ruth First's 117 Days, and he makes an urgent request for the text of plays based on the South African situation for production and publication. This

publisher is a great friend of Noma's and I would appreciate it if you could provide me with any titles. The only one I could think of is Fugard's Blood Knot which you were justifiably rude about.

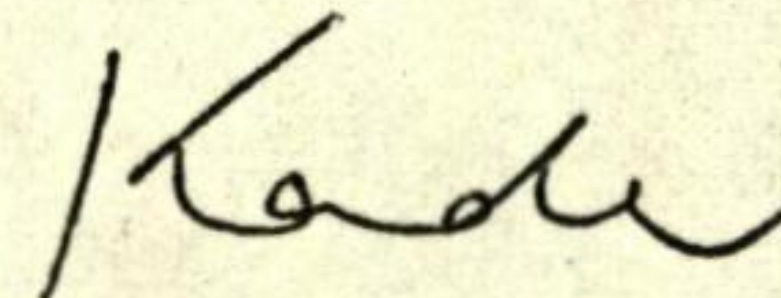
Burdened by the load of representing the ANC, I tried to make as many contacts as possible with national delegations like Granada, Burma, Ceylon, whose youth either know very little about SA or have done very little. As a result I tended to overwork but this is not a complaint because I found a great deal of goodwill for the ANC which I think will be translated into some kind of active, I hope financial, support. As I have already written to you, a number of invitations were given which I have all referred to you.

Louise is writing to DAR requesting them to put a number of people on their mailing list and if you are writing to Dar in the next few days please try to impress on them the need for these Japanese contacts to be given regular copies of South Africa Freedom News.

It was a great honour to represent you in Tokyo. I felt rather flattered when you asked me and I hope that I was able to live up to your expectations.

With very warm good wishes from Louise and myself,

affectionately,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to be 'Kade' or similar, written in dark ink.