

THE REPORT OF THE SECRETARIAT
COVERING THE LAST TWO YEARS.

INTRODUCTION:

In terms of the organisational structure set up after the 1969 Morogoro Consultative Conference, the Secretariat at Morogoro was charged with the task of promoting international solidarity with the struggle of our people. In the furtherance of this task, the Secretariat had to make all efforts to maintain and develop relations, first and foremost with the traditional supporters of our movement internationally, viz - the Members States of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU); newly independent States in Asia; the Socialist countries; progressive democratic organisations in the imperialist countries; international democratic movements such as the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation; the World Council of Peace; the World Federation of Democratic Youth; the World Assembly of Youth; the International Union of Students; etc.,

Secondly, to win as many new international friends as possible.

Relations with Member States of the OAU.

The Lusaka Manifesto:

It will be recalled that very early in the life of the present National Executive Committee, a dark cloud hung over the future good relations between the National Liberation Movements, the ANC included, and the Members States of the Organisation of African Unity. The threat to our relations presented itself in the form of the Lusaka Manifesto which was first adopted by East and Central African States meeting at Lusaka during April, 1969.

Some of the major differences between ourselves and the signatories to the Lusaka Manifesto were:

- a) Whilst we cannot deny that some of the signatures to this document were motivated by genuine desires to bring to a speedy end the oppression and suffering of our peoples in Southern Africa and Guinea Bissau, there was, however, no doubt that there was misunderstanding of the true role of the oppressive white minority regimes in Southern Africa, mainly that assisted and abetted by international imperialism, the regimes in Southern Africa must continue to maintain their grip on the countries in Southern Africa;
 - (i) to prolong the ruthless plunder of these countries by domestic and international monopolies

- (ii) they must maintain the Southern African belt as a bastion of imperialism and as a staging ground for neo-colonialist aggression against the independent African countries.

This misunderstanding was evident in the belief by our African brothers that the brutal white minority regimes in Southern Africa would agree to sit down and negotiate their own peaceful liquidation. The Manifesto states "we would prefer to negotiate rather than destroy, to talk rather than kill".

- (b) The signatories to the Lusaka Manifesto assigned themselves the role not of **helper** but of director of the liberation struggle in the unliberated territories.

The authentic representatives of these people, the liberation organisations, some of which, like the African National Congress, have an unchallenged record of leader of heroic struggles for many decades, were completely ignored. The views of the leadership of these organisations were not sought either before or during the drafting of the Manifesto.

Instead, our African brothers decided among themselves that in order to create the necessary favourable conditions for proceeding with negotiations for "peaceful" settlement with the racists, they would 'urge' the liberation movements to abandon the course of armed struggles some of which had already at that time registered notable gains in certain territories, especially in the Portuguese-held colonies. This is expressed in the Manifesto in the following terms "if peaceful progress to emancipation were possible, or if changed circumstances were to make it possible in future, we shall urge our brothers in the resistance movements to use peaceful methods of struggle even at the cost of some compromise on the timing of change".

Comrades,

In the context of the foregoing and many other considerations opposed to the dangerous spirit surrounding the Manifesto, the African National Congress would have openly condemned this Manifesto using all the public media at its command including the national information media of friendly countries. However, our National Executive Committee decided against this course because of the following considerations:

- a) A study of the events surrounding the adoption of the Manifesto both by the East and Central African countries and later by the OAU revealed that progressive fraternal governments and ruling political parties that have turned their countries into important

external bases for the liberation movements were the moving forces behind the Manifesto. In particular, Zambia and Tanzania played a major role in the adoption of the Manifesto.

- b) It has also been clear that an open attack on the Manifesto would be interpreted as lack of appreciation of the constant dangers posed by the white minority regimes on the security of these two countries in particular. In other words, the very survival of these states in the face of the aggressive white minority regimes in Southern Africa, particularly the the fascist Republic of South Africa.

Faced with the above-mentioned considerations amongst many others, the National Executive Committee of our organisation decided on a tactic of "silent diplomacy".

A decision was taken that our Acting-President, Comrade OR, should seek interviews with both Presidents Kaunda and Nyerere for frank discussions on many issues, including our views on the Manifesto. Having discussed our position with these two Presidents it was then felt that the ANC could issue a public statement setting out its views.

However as events demonstrated, it was not easy to meet these two Presidents during the period we had hoped to. Whilst it was not very difficult for our A.P.G. to meet President Kaunda, it, however, took a long time before Comrade OR met President Julius Nyerere.

By the time he met President Nyerere, the Manifesto itself had ceased to be a topical document. In fact, the framers of the Manifesto, basing themselves on the defiant attitude of both South Africa and Portugal at the United Nations, had publicly reverted to their former positions of unreserved/^{support}for the liberation movements using whatever means they deem necessary for the destruction of the oppressive regimes in their respective territories.

Bilateral Relations with African Countries.

Comrades, the dictates of our protracted and complicated struggle demand that the African National Congress should ceaselessly work for the development of bilateral friendly relations with all the countries on the African continent.

In the past two years our organisation has pursued this task with varying degrees of success. This has been done in the face of the ever-mounting onslaught by the racist-fascist regimes in Southern Africa which, with the support of international imperialism, have

always sought to isolate and liquidate the national liberation movements.

In the course of this desperate counter-offensive, the enemies of African independence have even attempted to sow mistrust and division among the African countries in order to weaken and compromise their united effort to support the national liberation movements fighting for speedy destruction of the oppressive regimes. One of the main tactics employed by imperialism has been a reactionary attempt to knock together an anti-communist bloc of African countries and in the process imperialism has sought to isolate those countries which they allege are spearheads of so-called communist subversion and infiltration of the African continent.

Our task has been further complicated by objective and subjective difficulties which have rendered our main objective of rapidly escalating our armed onslaught against the fascist White minority regime in our country complicated and long drawn out. Very often we have been confronted with a question such as "when is the ANC young to fight", and as long as we have not been able to answer this question by actual armed confrontation of our enemy as our comrades-in-arms in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau are doing, our credibility as an organisation capable of overthrowing the "all-powerful" racist monster in South Africa has been sliding dangerously backward.

Notwithstanding, however, our organisation has tackled the important task of improving our relations with the African countries with great determination.

The NEC decided during its sessions held at the end of 1969 to approach this question mainly from two possible directions:-

(a) it was decided to make all out efforts to develop and consolidate our relations with those progressive African countries with whom we had maintained a tradition of good relation.

In this category the following countries were considered - Tanzania, Zambia, Algeria and U.A.R.

(b) we should also seek to build relations with those African countries with whom it would be possible to build friendly relations such as Sudan, Libya, Nigeria, Somali and Sierra Leone and Congo Brazaville.

(c) in general, of course, we have to pursue our long standing policy of maintaining good relations with all independent African countries.

We have every justification in stating that we have consolidated our relations with all the countries in category (a) and

in category (b) we have already sent delegations to Libya, Nigeria and Somali. We have, of course, to pay further visits to consolidate and develop our relations particularly with Nigeria and Somali in particular. Libya has already been visited on 3 occasions by ANC delegations and the last delegation to get there was led by our Acting President, Comrade O.R.

ANC delegation to Summit Conferences of the OAU have always taken advantage of opportunities provided by such occasions to meet as many leaders from group (c) countries as possible.

Tanzania:

Special mention of the latest development in our relations with this fraternal African country deserve special mention. It is common knowledge to those who have been studying the development of relations between this country and our organisation that the situation was becoming progressively worse, through, of course, no fault of the African National Congress.

The relations between our organisation and this country had, in fact, reached such a dangerously low mark that events during the second half of 1969 need to be recalled.

In July 1969, our headquarters received a note requiring that the ANC vacate its military cadres from the Kongwa Camp within a period of 14 days. The reasons given for this unprecedented notice were that our cadres in Kongwa had stayed as long that they had now become a security risk to the country. We were informed that if our organisation was not able to infiltrate its cadres into South Africa within the time specified in the notice, the government of Tanzania would have no alternative but to send our comrades to refugee camp. In other words this meant the liquidation of UMKONTO WE SIZWE.

Needless to say, that we did everything possible to stop the transfer of our cadres to refugee camps and with the assistance of the Soviet government we were able to expedite our previously decided plans of sending MK cadres for refresher courses. During their absence abroad our relations with Tanzania continued to improve so that when our cadres concluded their refresher courses we were able to obtain permission for their return to Kongwa.

It is appropriate to note that throughout this difficult period our NEC and its headquarters did everything possible to normalise relations with Tanzania despite demands from some of our "angry men" that we should take a "revolutionary" step of exposing our difficulties with the Tanzania government to the OAU and to the outside world. This could have, of course, played into the

hands of our enemies and others who were already rubbing their hands with glee at the possible permanent break in our relations with Tanzania. It has been a source of great satisfaction however to observe a rapid improvement in our relations with Tanzania.

Recent events give us every justification to express satisfaction at the rapidly improving political climate on the horizon of our relations with Tanzania. These are:-

(a) A little more than a month ago, our Acting President had an opportunity of having cordial discussions with the President of Tanzania. During the course of the talks there was a frank exchange of views on developments on the ANC-led struggle in South Africa. Views were expressed by Mwalimu our developments brought about by our enemies directed mainly against our two close friends, Zambia and Tanzania.

(b) Our organisation has already received financial assistance from the President's office, on behalf of the Government and people of Tanzania, as a concrete expression of the desire to assist our struggle. This aid is a direct result of the representatives by the Acting President during the course of the recent discussions with Mwalimu.

(c) Political developments aimed at heightening the consciousness of the entire people of Tanzania to the demands of the African revolution have had a beneficial effect in the further development of revolutionary solidarity between TANU and the other national liberation movement.

Following the adoption of the TANU guidelines which inter alia stressed the need for development of closer relations between TANU and the African Liberation Movement, a special TANU sub-committee has been set up for this purpose under the chairmanship of the 2nd Vice President, Brother Kawawa. This committee had already sought contact with the Tanzania-based liberation movements, including our organisation.

Our organisation attaches special significance to these developments and shall do everything within its power to promote still better understanding between ourselves and the government and people of Tanzania and in particular their revolutionary Party TANU.

The Organisation of African Unity (OAU)

As stated earlier in our report, the ANC has taken advantage of the meetings of Heads of States and also those of the Council of

Ministers to acquaint the African leaders with the important aspects of the development of our revolutionary struggle. We have for the past 2 years prepared and presented memoranda on the topical issues political developments in South Africa, with special stress on the activities and dangers of the aggressive foreign policy of the South African racist regime.

It is safe to say that our activities in this field have resulted in a better understanding by the African countries of the dangers posed by this regime and its role in the international imperialist conspiracy directed against the national liberation movement which directly includes the newly independent countries.

In the past two years two events brought this conspiracy between South Africa and international imperialism into sharp focus.

(1) British arms sales to South Africa:- As is now well known the British government's discussion to resume arms sales to South Africa provoked a very sharp reaction in practically all the independent African countries that the British government has been forced to soft-peddle on this issue although there has as yet been no formal renunciation of the decision. They are in fact implementing it in small doses such as the sale of Wasp helicopters.

It is interesting to note that the African countries felt so strongly on this issue that the Summit meeting at the end of August appointed a special mission under the chairmanship of Dr. Kenneth Kaunda whose task was to persuade the suppliers of arms to South Africa in the Western imperialist countries to discontinue arming the aggressive South African racist regime. The main countries singled out by the OAU were Britain, France, West Germany and America.

(2) DIALOGUE:-

As stated in our public statements on this issue, the imperialist-backed South African dialogue issue sought to achieve the following:

(a) to break South Africa's international isolation and acceptance of apartheid.

(b) to drive and weaken the OAU and further expose the African to aggressive neo-colonialism.

(c) to isolate and eventually liquidate the African liberation movements.

The French version of SECHABA will come in handy and we should urge the Publicity Department to expedite its plans for the production of ISIZWE.

Political developments in Africa

Comrades, on the whole and in general terms, the political situation in our continent has shown a general trend towards the strengthening and consolidation of the anti-imperialist forces in Africa.

In this regard it must be mentioned that part of the foreign policy activity of the African National Congress has been to consistently warn the independent African countries on the dangers of the subtle but aggressive imperialist penetration of the African continent. Already of course, some of these cloak and dagger methods of aggressive imperialism have come out into the open.

The 1967 imperialist-backed Israeli aggression against the UAR and other Arab countries and quite recently the Portuguese backed invasion of the Republic of Guinea have fully justified our persistent warnings which on all these occasions were carried in our public solidarity statements with the embattled African peoples.

There has been a masked upsurge in allegiance of progressive political forces on the continent and in individual African countries in the past 2 years.

It was for instance no accident that the representatives of liberation movements were permitted for the first time to attend all the sessions of OAU Heads of State Summit. This happened at the June session in Addis Ababa. Nor was it an accident that delegations of liberation movements, including our own delegation, were given an opportunity to fire the opening shots on the "Dialogue" discussions during the 17th Session of OAU Council of Ministers shortly before the June Summit.

Undoubtedly these positive trends will certainly grow within the OAU although naturally they are likely to encounter numerous obstacles from the more conservative elements on our continent. We are all agreed that the growth of more militant understanding between the independent African States on the one hand and the revolutionary national liberation movements on the basis of complete equality and mutual commitment to the fundamental principles of the African revolution will produce beneficial results for the rapid progress of complete African national independence and social progress.

South Africa under the leadership of their vanguard organisations - FRELIMO, MPLA, PAIGC, SWAPO, ZAPU (although these fraternal organisation is presently undergoing a temporary internal crisis) and the ANC.

Comrades, the fraternal republic of Sudan is presently going through an acute and grave political crisis. Following the defeat of a government take-over by certain army officers, the re-instated government of General Niemeiry started a bloody purge of the army officers charged of being leaders of the military coup including leading members of the Sudanese Communist Party and the Trade Union movement. Altogether about 14 people have already been executed.

Since 25th May 1969 progressive forces everywhere were viewing developments inside the Sudan with admiration. In Africa and on the international scene Sudan was playing a progressive role and this had a contributory impact on the strengthening of the anti-imperialist struggle. All this was possible because of the solid unity of all progressive forces inside the country.

We cannot but view with alarm the present situation in that country and our organisation joins the international forces that call for an end to the persecution of democratic forces and a return to unity inside that country.

Our relations with other progressive forces on the international scene.

Socialist Countries:

Fraternal relations between the socialist countries in Europe, Asia and the Latin- America and our organisation are as strong as ever. We can safely say that in the past 2 years they have continued to grow and improve.

Our organisation has participated at several national events which were also of great international importance and significance in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Soviet Government. We were for instance invited to participate during the 100th Birth anniversary celebrations of Vladimir LENIN. The committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union invited our organisation to send delegates to the recent 24th Congress of the CPSU.

Our relations with Soviet public organisations, especially the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee have also remained stable during the period under review.

We have likewise participated during the ruling Party Congresses

of the G.D.R. and Bulgaria at the invitation of the Central Committees of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Bulgarian Communist Party, respectively. As in the case with the Soviet Union, public organisations from both countries, especially the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the G.D.R., including those of Hungary, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia have good relations with our organisation.

Our relations with the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and Socialist Cuba and Mongolia are likewise very stable.

We must indicate that our relations with the Peoples Republic of China have not developed to any appreciable degree since our last Morogoro Consultative Conference. It would however, be correct to say that there have been signs of an improvement in our relations. An opportunity for meaningful discussions between ourselves and the representatives of the Peoples Republic of China will undoubtedly accelerate the formalisation of our relations.

As always our organisation will greatly welcome a step in this direction.

International Democratic Organisations

Our organisation has during the period under review participated as best it could in the activities of international democratic organisations such as the WPC, AAPSO, WFDY, WIDF etc and this made it possible for us to keep in contact with the democratic organisations affiliated to these organisations.

Participation of the ANC delegation at the May 1971 World Peace Assembly in Budapest was particularly important in our efforts to expand the solidarity work with the struggle of our people. More than 120 countries were represented at this Assembly and although delegates represented diverse political and ideological persuasions and also came from different religious and social organisations etc, their common approach to urgent international problems was remarkable. We now consider the allocation of an ANC representative to occupy the seat on the WCP secretariat, which has been long reserved for our organisation, as an urgent question.

The Rome Conference in support of the Peoples of the Portuguese African colonies was another important international gathering at which we participated in June 1970. Its importance lay in

the fact that progressive organisations in Western Europe got an opportunity of discussing actively the problems of the African revolution and this greatly expanded our contact with these organisations.

International action against the fascist South African regime:

A decision of historic importance during the period under review was the U.N. resolution declaring 1971 a year of struggle to combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. New forces have come up and joined the struggle for the isolation of South Africa in implementation of this decision. We have for instance welcomed the formation of an Anti-Apartheid Movement of the people of the Malagasy Republic which as you know is fast developing its relations with racist South Africa.

Also quite significantly during this period has been the emergence of the World Council of Churches as one of the energetic supporters of the U.N. and despite vicious criticism from various quarters, particularly the ruling circles in South Africa, the Council has contributed morally and materially in support of our struggle.

The struggle to isolate South Africa was most effectively carried out in the international sporting field. South African all-White sporting teams have either been completely barred from international participation or as in the case of the recent tour of Australia, been confronted with solid opposition in the countries where they have ventured to play. Indeed, South African all-White Sport has never had it so bad as it did in the past few years.

Conclusion:

In concluding this part of our report, we wish to emphasise that internationally imperialism is on the retreat losing one position after the other politically, ideologically and even where it is being confronted militarily by the progressive forces.

The heroic Vietnamese patriots are winning victory after victory both in the field of battle and on the Paris Peace table.

The aggressive forces of Israel have reached a stalemate confronted by the ever-growing military might and political unity of the Arab people.

Our comrades-in-arms in the unliberated territories of Africa are hitting out with ever renewed vigour and intensity against their colonial and racial oppressors. Indeed, everywhere

the progressive forces are on an irresistible march. These victories are possible, thanks to the growing strength of the united anti-imperialist forces.

We must, however, underline the fact that our enemies are still fully capable of hitting back very hard as indeed they are doing in various parts including Africa as the events in Guinea demonstrated. Despite numerous resolutions from progressive mankind, imperialism continues to support the aggressive regimes in Southern Africa, particularly South Africa.

All this calls upon the African National to continue to exert serious efforts to mobilise international solidarity within our struggle in the future even more than it has done in the past. To achieve this it will be necessary that our organisation should build a powerful external mission capable of undertaking this important task.

We would like to lay stress on this point because quite often voices are heard in our ranks questioning the wisdom of maintaining a strong external mission instead of throwing all the forces for the development of the internal struggle. Important and urgent as this task is we should however never lose sight of the fact that our struggle is going to be long and protracted and its development will never be smooth but will proceed along a zig-zag course. We should never rule out the possibility of meeting with serious setbacks inside which may even temporarily block our way.

When that happens we shall need to regroup only to push forward again and that task, as after the Rivonia arrests, will fall on the shoulders of the External Mission of our organisation.
