

CONFERENCE OF CHIEF REPRESENTATIVES AND REGIONAL TREASURERS

GRAN - NORWAY - 31ST MARCH, 1989

A conference of ANC chief representatives and regional treasurers was held in Gran, Norway, from March 15th to 31st 1989. It was also attended by the Secretary-General of the ANC, Alfred Nzo, the Treasurer-General, Thomas Nkobi, and other members of the National Executive Committee of the ANC. The total number of delegates participating was 88.

The conference was held in Norway at the invitation and with the support of the International Department of the Norwegian Labour Movement, as well as the Norwegian Government. The conference was convened to review the situation in South Africa and the rest of Southern Africa. It assessed the implications of this situation for the international diplomatic and political work of the ANC. It also discussed ways and means of obtaining increased political, financial and humanitarian assistance to meet the additional demands arising out of this situation.

His Excellency the Foreign Minister of Norway, Mr Thorvals Stoltenberg, opened the conference. He pledged the conjunction of the Government of Norway for the ANC, for the struggle to end apartheid and for the transformation of South African into a united, democratic and non-racial country. Mrs Vasla Vatlaesan, Secretary of the Solidarity Fund of the Labour Movement (AIS) and Mr Jorn Rüsa, Chairman of the Norwegian Council on Southern Africa (FSA), also addressed the conference and conveyed greetings and messages of solidarity from their organisations and the Norwegian public. The participants also attended a service of solidarity at the Church of St Nicholas, conducted by the Rev. Trond Bakkevig, General Secretary of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Norwegian Church Council.

The conference noted that the people of South Africa continue to suffer under the racist system of apartheid. This system is facing a permanent and deepening political and economic crisis, which has been brought about by the struggle inside and outside South Africa.

The conference noted that the recent election of FW de-Klerk as leader of the ruling Nationalist Party will not result in any significant change in policy. His recent utterances, in which he spoke about 'dialogue', can have no substance without the creation of a climate conducive to such dialogue.

The reality is that Nelson Mandela and others continue to be incarcerated, and indeed the number of political prisoners and detainees is increasing. The ANC remains banned, and the list of proscribed organisations grew by at least 34 during the past year. To ensure the entrenchment of the system, as well as its own survival, the apartheid regime continues resort to brutal repression as exemplified by the national State of Emergency which has been in force since 1986.

The conference concluded that the situation in South Africa remains unchanged in its main elements. This imposes a continuing obligation on the ANC, the democratic movement and our people as a whole, to continue and intensify the struggle. Accordingly, we must accelerate both the mass political offensive and our armed actions. Our success in achieving these objectives is guaranteed by the firm determination of the majority of our people to resist repression, and advance towards the goal of liberation, regardless of the sacrifices they have to make. The ongoing hunger strike of political detainees is a demonstration of this mood of militant defiance. The workers' summit convened in Johannesburg on March 4th and 5th not only reflected this mood but also added enormously to the growing unity of the anti-apartheid forces within the country.

The conference noted the strategic importance to the whole region of Southern Africa of the agreements concerning Angola and Namibia. It welcomes the prospect of peace for the people of Angola and independence for Namibia. However, the conference reiterated that there is a continuing danger that the regime and its surrogates will attempt to undermine and sabotage these processes. An important objective of the strategy of the regime is to marginalise or destroy SWAPO, the recognised leader of the Namibian people. All this calls for maximum vigilance and unity by the international community to compel Pretoria to honour its commitments.

The conference noted that the regime has not abandoned its efforts to impose itself on the countries of Southern Africa as a regional power, through economic and military destabilisation. In this regard, the conference condemned Pretoria's continuing support for the MNR and UNITA, and its persistent attacks on and sabotage against Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF THE SOVIET AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE AND THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

MARCH 1989

During its official visit to the USSR in March 1989, the African National Congress delegation, headed by its Secretary-General, A Nzo, met with a delegation of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, led by its chairman, M Kapitsa.

The delegations agreed that the principal source of problems faced by South Africa and the region is the apartheid regime. The apartheid system is sinking into an all-round crisis, with the legitimacy crisis being one of its most burning issues. This crisis entails an aggravated political situation and economic stagnation. Parties agreed that apartheid cannot be reformed — it must be destroyed.

The ruling group's verbal juggling is helpless to camouflage its intention to keep itself in power, and the racist laws in force, at any cost. The regime intensifies reprisals, even against conspicuously non-violent organisations. The shameful verdict at the Delmas trial of the UDF leaders is a recent illustration. The racists instigate the Natal conflict, where peace should be restored for all the oppressed people fighting their common enemy — apartheid.

The two sides agreed that the breakthrough in attaining a settlement in south-western Africa, namely, the proclaimed cessation of South Africa's aggression against Angola and commencement of the process leading to Namibia's independence, are a major victory scored by national liberation forces over forces of colonialism and reaction. This is a result of the Namibian people's courageous struggle led by SWAPO, and the heroic resistance of the Angolan people, supported by the Cuban internationalist forces and the rest of progressive humanity. The SAASC and the ANC call upon all honest people in the world to give as much aid as they can to the Namibian people to enable them to elect their constituent assembly in an atmosphere of peace and freedom, and under the United Nations' effective supervision and control.

The SAASC and the ANC point out that at present the South African government exerts vigorous efforts to break out of international isolation by publicising its forced withdrawal from Angola and the forthcoming independence of Namibia, but inside South Africa the regime continues its policy of repression.

The SAASC and the ANC express support for the measures designed by the world community of nations and by international public opinion to bring pressure to bear on the Pretoria regime, including economic sanctions, the cultural, academic and sporting boycott of the regime, and the other measures aimed at keeping the apartheid government in continued isolation. The SAASC and the ANC expressed their unreserved support for the mass democratic movement in South Africa, in its struggle against the system of racism and apartheid.

The SAASC and the ANC reiterated their preference for settling the country's problems by political means. At the same time, they pointed out that the South African people is fully entitled to choose its own ways and means of struggle, including armed struggle, in line with United Nations General Assembly resolution N43/50 of December 5th 1988.

The two sides confirmed their irrevocable demand that Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners in South Africa be released, and that captured combatants of Umkhonto We Sizwe be granted prisoner-of-war status in accordance with the Geneva Conventions of August 12th 1949 and the supplementary protocol No 1 of 1977.

The two sides agreed that South Africa's problems can only be settled through building a united, democratic, non-racial South Africa, on the basis of one person, one vote. Both sides believe that the *sine qua non* for a serious political dialogue in South Africa is the release of all political prisoners and detainees, the lifting of the state of emergency, the unbanning of the ANC and other democratic organisations, the free return of political exiles, and clearing the way for the people to express their will and to conduct political activities.

The SAASC assured the ANC that it was resolved to continue to give all possible moral, political and practical support to the South African national liberation and democratic movement, in its noble struggle for the liberation of the South African people.

Both sides expressed their profound conviction that the system of racism and apartheid will collapse as a result of the struggle waged by masses f people inside the country and the pressure applied by the world community in support of the just struggle of the South African people.

The conference noted that, despite the absence of any change in its policies within South Africa and in the region, the Pretoria regime has launched an offensive to gain legitimacy, and break out of its isolation. It therefore condemned the visit of Pretoria's Foreign Minister, Roelof Botha, to the United Kingdom, which was part of this process. It further concluded that the reports inspired by the regime about the imminent release of Nelson Mandela are designed to undermine the campaign for the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners and to improve the image of the regime, so that it can gain greater international acceptability.

The conference noted that, as the crisis of the apartheid system deepens, the Pretoria regime is heightening its offensive against the ANC. This takes many forms, including the physical elimination of our members and representatives, the spreading of disinformation about our organisation, and attempts to foment divisions and conflict in our ranks.

The conference noted that the Front Line States, the OAU, the Non-Aligned Movement and the majority of the member states of the United Nations continue to stand firm in their opposition to apartheid and their support for our struggle. In this context, conference rejected recent reports that the Soviet Union had changed its policy towards apartheid, the ANC, and our struggle as a whole.

The various attempts of Pretoria to regain the strategic initiative have failed. The balance of forces continues to favour further advances towards the elimination of the apartheid system. Within the country, the ANC, the democratic movement and the millions of our struggling people remain the decisive force for meaningful change. Together they have an urgent responsibility to step up the struggle for the earliest realisation of the objective of a democratic South Africa, his requires, among other things, further strengthening of the structures of the ANC inside the country; greater mobilisation of the people, and the unity of all anti-apartheid forces; the intensification of the armed struggle, and the total isolation of the apartheid regime. These, and other, urgent tasks call for the generation of significantly larger resources. We need to extend more assistance to the victims of apartheid repression inside the country, as well as those who have been forced to flee the country.

To expand our international work, we have to increase the number of our diplomatic missions and provide them with the necessary human and material requirements. This will improve our capacity to keep the world community informed about the situation under apartheid, counter the information blackout, and further familiarise the international community with the aims, objectives, programmes and policies of the ANC and the democratic movement of our country.

The conference noted that all world forces opposed to apartheid have an obligation to assist us to meet the demand for increased financial and material resources. This is a necessary condition for the successful advance of the world community towards the goal of the final elimination of the apartheid crime against humanity.

Accordingly, the conference elaborated new programmes aimed at obtaining these resources and improving our organisational capacity to carry out our manifold tasks. Conference also agreed on the need to intensify the campaign for sanctions, and paid special attention to such specific issues as the arms embargo, financial sanctions, and the possibility for further action in such areas as Japan, the USA and the European Community.

The conference paid tribute to our late colleague and former head of our Department of International Affairs, Johnny Makatini, for his outstanding contribution to the struggle. It warmly welcomed the appointment of Thabo Mbeki as the new head of the Department of International Affairs. Conference was also informed of further decisions of the National Executive Committee to strengthen the existing missions and to open new ones. New offices will be opened in, among other capitals, Washington, Madrid, Tunis, Tripoli, Kampala, Caracas, Accra and Managua.

Conference expressed its profound appreciation for the assistance extended to the ANC by the Government of Norway, the Solidarity Fund of the Labour Movement and the people of Norway, which enabled us to meet to consider some of the urgent issues confronting us. Conference also expressed its thanks to Inger Helene and Ole Anton Klophus, and the rest of the staff of the Granavold Guest House, for their warm hospitality which contributed to making our conference a success.

On the occasion of March 21st, the 29th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre, now observed as the International Day of Solidarity with the People of South Africa, we reiterate our call to the peoples of the world to isolate the murderous apartheid regime, extend all-round support to the ANC and the struggling people of our country, and in other ways contribute to the creation of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

Forward to Mass Action for People's Power!

TO ALL REGIONAL WOMEN'S COMMITTEES

Dear Comrades,

Re: MALIBONGWE CONFERENCE

Further to our correspondence of 5th January, 1989, we are hereby pleased to inform you on the progress which has been made in the preparations for this great event.

We had informed you of the theme of the conference, and we have since decided on the title. The title is **MALIBONGWE** - a term of great historical significance, and an interpretation of the struggle of South African women by the Dutch women.

The dates of the conference will be from the 19th to the 30th November, 1989. In this time, it is envisaged to have closed discussions among South African women, and open sessions in solidarity with the Dutch women and our International visitors. MALIBONGWE will take place in Amsterdam as earlier confirmed.

The Prep-Committee has started receiving papers prepared by various nominated comrades. If your region had someone with the responsibility of preparing a paper, we hope it is already on its way.

The National Prep-Committee has since formed various sub-committees responsible for the following:-

- 1. Research papers;
- 2. Conference programme;
- 3. Publicity and media;
- 4. Travel;
- 5. Cultural activities;
- 6. Fundraising;
- 7. Technical staff;

We have attached a list of the Issues to be discussed at MALIBONGWE and at the same time the list of the background papers which are being prepared. The papers have just started coming in and we shall be sending them to your regions shortly. Your task as RWC is to prepare your Regional membership for MALIBONGWE through discussion on these issues and papers as they come, in units, and more preferably in Regional Seminars.

The Issues to be dealt with are quite broad but are issues which are of great significance to us, as women actively participating in the struggle for National Liberation. We would like Regions to take initiatives as pertains to discussions and to maintain a constant feed-back to the National Prep-e in Lusaka, on the outcome of, or points raised, from the Regional discussions. These can be further discussed at Conference level.

The National Prep-Committee will further inform you on the number of delegates to come from each region. Currently we are aspiring to raise fund together with the Dutch women, for the transportation of the bulk of the delegates to the conference. However, we would like the regions to look into the possibilities of raising funds from their regions to assist. This way we can push for greater representation of our membership.

Once again we ask that the Regional Women's Committees actively take up the tasks outlined to them and report back on any progress, problems or queries which may arise.

The conference is ours - lets make it a success!

MALIBONGWE

Yours sincerely,

M. Seperepere

CONVENOR NATIONAL PREP-COMMITTEE

STATEMENT OF THE SOVIET AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE

The Soviet Republic views with a deep concern the campaign recently mounted in the Western, especially British, mass media directed at discrediting the traditional support of the Soviet Union for the liberation movement in South Africa. In the process of this campaign use is made of crude distortions of statements by Soviet scientists and public figures. The interpretation of facts and events is given in such a manner as to fit them into a (previously) formulated scheme of an alleged withdrawal of Soviet support for the liberation struggle.

What are the aims of the organisers of the campaign?

- Firstly, it is to drive a wedge through the traditionally friendly relations between the USSR and the ANC, which were reconfirmed during the recent visit to the USSR by the ANC President Oliver Tambo.
- Secondly, to demoralise the democratic forces in South Africa which invariably regard the USSR as a reliable supporter of their freedom struggle.
- Thirdly, to justify the continued co-operation of Britain and other Western countries with the Pretoria regime in their opposition to comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

The Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee resolutely reiterates its unfailing solidarity with the South African Liberation Movement led by the ANC, and its recognition of the Liberation Movement's right to choose the necessary means, including the armed struggle, to attain the eradication of apartheid.

Stressing our special commitment to traditional ties with the African National Congress, we once again confirm our readiness to develop relations with all forces in South Africa which are against the shameful apartheid regime. It is from this position that one should regard the recent visit to the USSR of the UDF leaders. It is from this position that one should regard the forthcoming visit to the USSR of the delegation of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa.

We are convinced that the ANC and the growing alliance of the democratic forces inside the country can achieve the elimination of apartheid and the implementation of the ideals of freedom and democracy formulated in the historic Freedom Charter — the ideals of a united, democratic non-racial South Africa.

PRESIDIUM — SOVIET AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE Moscow, 28/3/1989