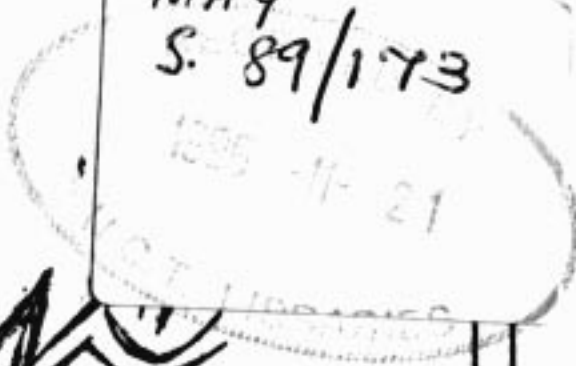


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THE HISTORIC ANC CONFERENCE

The Conference of the African National Congress held towards the end of April at Morogoro, Tanzania was a historical landmark in the struggle for National Liberation in South Africa'. Without doubt it brought about a qualitative change in the organisational content of the struggle. The new framework and structure derived from the conference exactly reflects the method of struggle which history has already for some time imposed on the South African Liberation Movement - a People's Revolutionary War.

Comrades and supporters may well wonder why it has only been possible now to give expression to an organisational necessity which arose some years ago. The answer lies in the scientific fact that there is always a time lag between the demands of history and the development of social forces except at that precise moment of revolutionary change when both factors coincide perfectly to advance society to a new, and qualitatively different, higher plane. In the early sixties the Congress Movement after due deliberation recognised that all avenues of peaceful change in South Africa had one by one been closed; that the peaceful (though militant) protests of the people were increasingly being suppressed by fascist brutality; and that the only path to change open to the people was to answer fascist violence with revolutionary violence. With this realisation was set up Umkhonto We Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the military wing of Congress, whose task was to lay the basis for the armed struggle. Various factors, some due to weaknesses in our own method of work but mostly because of the fascist terror unleashed by the White minority regime combined to destroy the National High Command and large numbers of units of Umkhonto. This destruction of the military structure created an organisational vacuum which, with commendable initiative, was filled by the External Mission of the African National Congress.

The External Mission had, however, been sent out to undertake certain specific tasks, vital but supplementary to the internal struggle. The total command of the people's army and the prosecution of the armed struggle was not, initially, one of these tasks. The leadership vacuum resulting from the destruction of the internal military structure saddled the External Mission with this additional task. In the course of time and by an accumulation of experience it became clear that the External Mission as then constituted was not organisationally geared to undertake the urgent task of undertaking the People's War. As the External Mission attempted to play this vital role many weaknesses began revealing themselves, weaknesses inherent in the contradiction between organisation and method of struggle. Gradually these weaknesses became magnified and harmful affecting discipline and morale; unhealthy tendencies crept into the Congress.

This is the background to the Morogoro Conference. Details of the conference, its deliberations and decisions appear in other articles in this issue. The basic and fundamental issue facing Conference was structural reorganisation to create the necessary framework for more vigorous prosecution of the armed struggle. In a truly revolutionary manner conference faced up to the problem without fear or hesitation and in a constructive spirit. It is a reflection of the seriousness and dedication of the ANC to the liberation of our country that there were no voices of discontent, there was no bickering, there was no petty jockeying for positions or power, that even those called upon to give up their position in the cause of the revolution did so without question in a magnanimous and generous spirit and pledged their loyalty to the struggle. If there were factions at the beginning these rapidly dissolved themselves in the course of the conference. The overriding theme of conference was UNITY. Without false modesty, without sickening embarrassment we can unashamedly assert that by the manner and method of conference, by the urgent facing up to urgent issues, by its public expression of genuine revolutionary unity the ANC has shown to the world what it has always known to be true that it is the only organisation capable of leading and bringing to fruition the South African national democratic revolution. We are both proud and humbled by this fact and we shall unswervingly do our duty.

Finally, we wish to thank the Government of Tanzania, the Tanganyika African National Union, and the people of Tanzania for the hospitality accorded our delegates and the genuine and comradely expression of solidarity and success to our conference. We assure them their confidence is not misplaced. FORWARD TO THE REVOLUTION.

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APOLOGY

The Editorial Board of "MAYIBUYE" wishes to apologise to readers for the recent irregular appearance of our publication. This has been due to organisational changes and other circumstances beyond our control. - EDITOR.

OPENNING OF CONFERENCE

The 25th of April 1969 will go down in South African history as of tremendous significance. On this day was officially opened the conference of the ANC and its South African allies which truly brought the machinery of struggle into line with the revolutionary content of the struggle. And as if the gods of history were overseeing the ceremonies the opening of conference was colourful and broadly representative presaging what was to come.

The delegates to conference were welcomed by TANU youth in their national costumes who lined the road leading to the conference hall forming a guard of honour and singing revolutionary songs. Inside and around the flag-bedecked hall were more TANU Youth Leaguers who spiritedly continued the singing of freedom songs.

Present as fraternal delegates at the conference were representatives of the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, of the All African Trade Union Federation, of the Tanganyika African National Union and its youth wing, NUTA, MPLA, FRELIMO, ZAPU etc. There were fraternal delegates from as far away as the U.A.R., Somalia and Guinea.

Conference was officially opened by Comrade Oliver Tambo, President-General of the ANC who opened the proceedings emotionally leading the gathering in the singing of the ANC anthem. Fraternal delegates from Tanzania were able to join in as the tune of their national anthem is identical with "Nkosi Sikelole-i-Afrika". Comrade Tambo pointed out that by a happy coincidence the conference opened on the 25th April which was also the 5th Anniversary of the birth of Tanzania. The theme of Comrade Tambo's speech was one of UNITY - unity of Africa, and of the Liberation forces still struggling against oppressive regimes. In praising Tanzania for the socialist path she had chosen he pointed to the great and historic significance of the Arusha Declaration. Comrade Tambo thanked all those present and acknowledged the presence of Africa in the form of the OAU, AATUF, TANU, NUTA, the various Liberation Movements and above all the Youth organisations. He noted in particular the presence of Comrade Magombe, Executive Secretary of the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, Comrade Dr. Sami, Secretary of Defence of that body, Comrade Awodou N'Diaye, Permanent Secretary of AATUF, Comrade Swai, of TANU, Comrade Yousouf of Somalia and others. In concluding Comrade Tambo appealed to delegates to examine thoroughly the present state of affairs with a view to finding fresh answers and establishing new machinery for the more effective prosecution of the armed struggle.

Comrade George Magombe.....4/

Comrade George Magombe of the OAU Liberation Committee then extended heartiest congratulations to the ANC on the occasion of this momentous conference and stated that independent African states were fully committed to the liberation of all of Africa. He expressed his personal hope and that of the Continent of Africa that conference would reaffirm the Movement's solidarity and rededication to the cause of liberation in a spirit of Unity. Africa was encouraged by the definite strides made in the Liberation Struggle over the past years and looked forward expectantly to greater achievements though it recognised the immense task which lay ahead. Comrade Magombe ridiculed the nonsensical and poisonous views expressed in certain quarters that freedom in South Africa could come about by peaceful means and stated that this kind of attitude was an "insult to Africa". He went on to say:-

"The ANC of South Africa has tried the non-violent way of achieving human freedom and dignity since January 12, 1912 when the movement was formed. Non-violent methods were used even before some of the present leaders in some independent African States started talking politics. It is because of the experience you have gained that your great movement rightly decided to launch the armed struggle...."

He pledged the full support of the OAU for the armed struggle.

The next speaker was Comrade Swai of TANU who brought greetings to the conference and wished it revolutionary success. He also called for unity and went on to say that the freedom of Tanzania did not mean that the struggle being waged by TANU had ended; no part of Africa was really free unless the whole of Africa became free.

He was followed by Comrade Mafuta of the Tanzania Trade Union Movement, (NUTA). He made it clear that NUTA spearheaded the working class movement in Tanzania and assured the ANC that it could continue to count on the support of Tanzanian workers. He expressed fullest confidence in the ability of the ANC to successfully win the South African Revolution.

Comrade A. N'Diaye, Permanent Representative of the All African Trade Union Federation then spoke. He informed delegates that the historical presence of AATUF at the conference was a conscious move arising out of special discussions in the head body. He viciously attacked the fascist racist South African regime and vehemently condemned international imperialism for the support, comfort and succour it gave to the oppressors in Africa, particularly Southern Africa. He acknowledged that because of this the path to victory was

a very very difficult one. He went on to say that the struggle being waged by the ANC was part of the world wide struggle of the working class.

Comrade Amigo of AATUF called for a minute's silence in respect for all victims of oppression. He then read the message from AATUF pledging unconditional support for the Liberation struggle. He called upon SACTU (South African Congress of Trade Unions) to mobilise the South African workers in the cause of national liberation and pointed out that the oppressed people were regarded as merely an economic factor of production to be discarded into the remote, overpopulated reserves when they ceased to be useful. He, too, condemned imperialist countries which piously attacked South Africa at the United Nations but sabotaged all effective action against the oppressive regime. Zambia and Tanzania, because of the principled stand they had taken, were now objects of imperialist intrigue. He appealed for unity of all revolutionary movements and characterised the ANC as one of the foremost political organisations in Africa. AATUF condemned Malawi and Malagasy as traitors to the freedom of Africa and called for a reconsideration of their position in the OAU.

Comrade Parirenyatwa of ZAPU extended comradely greetings and called for the further strengthening of the ZAPU/ANC alliance and for its extension to include the MPLA of Angola and FRELIMO of Mozambique. The broad alliance of the oppressed and exploited people of Southern Africa had become an urgent and inevitable necessity at this stage of the historical development of our liberation struggle. It was nonsense to say that the ZAPU/ANC alliance had provoked South Africa into entering Zimbabwe; South African forces have long co-operated with the Rhodesian racists and, in fact, are already operating in Mozambique and Angola even before there is an alliance to include our brothers there.

Comrade Spenser of the MPLA brought greetings to the conference. He noted that the fascist Southern African alliance was being consolidated and had embarked on a policy of expansionism. The MPLA was always on the side of the ANC and its solidarity was best shown by the resolute fight it was waging in Angola. To arms comrades!!

Comrade Shishono brought warmest greetings from the FRELIMO Central Committee. "Knowing that the ANC is the African pioneer of the modern struggle for freedom, we in FRELIMO are sure that this conference will be a success. The definition of a firm political line based on revolutionary principles was the basis of all strategic and tactical decisions. FRELIMO had no special message of solidarity because we were all waging the same struggle against the same enemy in Southern

Africa. Ours was a natural solidarity with the ANC. The Cabora Bassa Dam project was being protected by South African fascist forces but in the face of the unity of the oppressed people their treacherous manoeuvres would be in vain."

The opening session of conference came to a close with a few remarks from our President-General who thanked all speakers for their expressions of solidarity, dedication to the common struggle and willingness to support one another. He assured delegates that the ANC, as always, would approach conference in a serious and resolute manner and would come up with revolutionary answers.

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THE MAIN SESSIONS OF CONFERENCE

The various sessions of conference which lasted several days were noteworthy for the high level of discussion throughout, the serious attempt of delegates to formulate constructive proposals and above all a genuine search for unity based on revolutionary principles. Certainly before conference there had been considerable criticism of the leadership but discussions of the past behaviour of members of the Executive was made redundant by the announcement in the Presidential Address that all members of the NEC had resigned to lay the basis for a fresh start. This was a commendable step which, revealed their dedication to the struggle.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

The Address by Comrade O.R. Tambo was characterised by a serious and concerned underscoring of the urgent problems facing the ANC which spelt doom unless they were put right by Conference. The President-General pointed out that certain developments made this conference different from previous conferences. Some of these developments were:-

- 1) The death of Chief Albert Lutuli, President-General of the ANC;
- 2) The commencement of the Armed Struggle in 1967;
- 3) The increasing repression of our people by the fascist oppressors;
- 4) The organisational problems arising from the launching of the guerrilla struggle.

This last was the most vital problem facing conference and all changes were possible if they contributed to its solution and to the formulation of correct answers. The President made it clear that the terming of conference as Consultative did not imply there was a limit

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to the decision-making powers of delegates.

It clearly emerged that the contemplated reorganisation of the African National Congress must involve a streamlining of the leading organs. For example it was decided that the National Executive Committee (N.E.C.) be reduced in number from the former unwieldy twenty three to nine. This new arrangement would improve the efficiency, speed and ability in decision making. The principle of departmentalisation and specialisation in the conduct of the struggle was similarly approved.

The President emphasised that the immediate task imposed on the ANC by the needs of the National Liberation Struggle was the setting up of a truly Revolutionary Movement. In the past too much emphasis had been placed on international solidarity work which was a carry-over from the former role of the External Mission of the ANC. This did not mean that international work was not necessary but that it had to be looked at in its proper perspective.

The main reasons for slowing down the work of the National Movement was incorrect methods of work and a chaotic organisational structure. The notion of Umkhonto Cadres as soldiers had suppressed their true position as political leaders. The President called upon all members of the ANC to cast their eyes southwards, to prepare to go home. There was sometimes a feeling that far too much emphasis was being placed on training, training, training with the result that like the Zulu warrior, Gumede, who was forever sharpening his spear we might wear out our spear in the process. This did not imply that training was unnecessary but that it should not be overdone.

Comrade Tambo ended by stating that if Conference failed to solve the immediate problems the struggle would be set back many years.

DISCUSSION ON PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

The discussion which followed was free and frank and at all times of a very high standard. It lasted almost 8 hours and altogether about 30 speakers participated.

The air of free and democratic discussion was in fact the insurance policy which produced the handsome dividends of a successful conference.

The main points to arise out of this discussion were:-

1. The evolution of organisational structures that would take into account the present phase of our struggle which is the armed revolutionary struggle. Almost every delegate spoke on this issue.

2. The problems.....8/

2. The problems of the united front and the mobilisation of all South African revolutionaries into the armed struggle.

3. The intensification of the armed struggle.

ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE.

During pre-conference discussions, the preparatory committee invited A.N.C. members, individual specialist and groups to submit papers dealing with their concrete proposals about changes that should be introduced. A large number of proposals submitted dealt with organisational problems. In summarising the proposals submitted the preparatory committee recognised that matters which appeared on the surface to be purely administrative concealed fundamental political issues and it was in fact absolutely essential that a tighter organisation, mobilisation of all our revolutionary forces, and proper balance between external and internal work, were vital political issues affecting the movement.

THE UNITED FRONT.

Conference defined the fundamental problem of the South African revolution as the liberation of the African oppressed majority.

At the same time the cruel oppression meted out to the Africans is applied to the Indian and Coloured populations. In South Africa, the African people under the leadership of the A.N.C. have over the years built up a fighting alliance with these oppressed nationalities and there emerged what became to be known as the Congress Alliance, comprising the A.N.C., the South African Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Congress and the Congress of Democrats which was composed of democratic minded Europeans.

Therefore conference had to review the Congress Alliance in the light of the present day concrete situation inside and outside South Africa.

Some suggestions by our members called for the setting up of National Liberation Fronts of the Algeria and Vietnam type.

However, it was pointed out that such fronts brought together divergent elements around a minimum programme of liberation. In South Africa the Liberation Movement was more closely integrated with a common programme, the Freedom Charter, and our revolution therefore had more interesting possibilities.

Therefore, it was decided that the new organisational structure must

provide for the participation in full of members of the oppressed national groups, working class and revolutionary organisations which support the armed struggle.

And that the mobilisation of the revolutionary forces in our country must be organised in a centrally directed illegal machinery.

In defining the role of our guerrilla fighters, conference pointed out that our insurgents are first and foremost political cadres.

OUR INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITY.

Conference noted the achievements of our movement in its international campaign aimed at exposing the evils of Apartheid, getting racism and Apartheid outlawed in Declarations and Resolutions of the U.N. and other international agencies, and above all in winning steady support for our armed struggle against the regime for the creation of a Democratic State in our country.

AFRICAN AND SOUTHERN AFRICA.

Conference recognised that the struggle in South Africa is intimately and inextricably bound with the struggle and developments in Africa - historically, politically and economically. The victories and reverses of the struggle in other parts of the continent are as much ours in South Africa as it is those of the rest of the continent.

In Southern Africa, the racist-fascist regimes of Smith, Vorster and Caetano have systematically built and consolidated what is known as the Unholy Alliance. It is an alliance based on common ideology - the maintenance of colonialism, racism and fascism. It has a common economic objective - the exploitation of the peoples of Southern Africa and their resources. It also has a common political and military objective - to stem the spread of the African revolution and to subvert it where it has already been successful.

The South African forces are conducting military actions jointly with the Portuguese against the MPLA in Angola. Military support and contingents of South African troops in Mozambique have been the subject of frequent reports. For the purposes of working out a joint strategy the Portuguese Commander-in-Chief and the South African Commandant-General meet at least once a month.

The question of South African troops in Zimbabwe is notorious enough.

Behind this Unholy Alliance is an even more dangerous alliance of the imperialist - the U.S., Britain, France, West Germany, Japan etc.

South Africa is a treasurer house of the Imperialists. In Southern Africa, the imperialists are bolstering colonialism and racism and have turned the area into a veritable outpost and a ready springboard to endanger the sovereignty of African states.

These observations of the report presented by the N.E.C. to Conference were unanimously endorsed.

THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.

It was observed that the South African Congress of Trade Unions had a vital role to play in mobilising not only the South African working class but also the international working class. In pursuance of this SACTU should continue to work as a separate organisation of the working class though it is part and parcel of the liberation struggle.

THE PROGRAMME.

It was agreed that the Freedom Charter still reflected the fundamental demands of the revolution and its various demands, taken together, could lay the basis for a just re-organisation of South African society in the interests of the majority of the people.

STRATEGY AND TACTICS.

The report of the N.E.C. on this subject was also adopted. The report analysed the various methods of armed revolution adopted in different parts of the world. It rejected certain superficial attempts at imposing methods of other revolutions into South Africa without analysing the different objective situation prevailing here. It also rejected a militarist approach to the revolution and emphasised the primacy of the political leadership. It emphasised the imperative need to involve the mass of the people in the revolution and pointed out that the involvement of the masses is unlikely to be the result of a sudden, natural and automatic consequence of military clashes. The masses had to be won by all-round political mobilisation which must accompany the military activities.

The Report went on to analyse the strength and weaknesses of the enemy and of the revolutionary forces and the role of the various national groups and of the working class in the revolution.

A.N.C./ZAPU ALLIANCE:

On the ANC/ZAPU Alliance the N.E.C. reported as follows: "The alliance of ZAPU/ANC has not sprung from the blue. It is founded a belief in a united struggle; a belief shared by all the people of

Africa and expressed by decades of close co-operation between both leaders and rank and file of the political movement in South Africa and Zimbabwe. Infact when the ANC was formed in 1912 it was founded as the national movement for South Africa, the then British Protectorates and Rhodesia (Rhodesia at the time was ruled by the British South Africa Company). All these countries were under British domination.

"It was only in 1924 that a separate ANC of Rhodesia was formed. But co-operation continued and later in the fifties was strengthened as the policies in Rhodesia and South Africa became virtually identical...

"It is vital to concentrate on the main essence of the question relating to the ZAPU/ANC alliance. A unique form of alliance has been formed between two liberation movements for the purpose of fighting imperialism, racism and oppression.....the fact that our enemies are acting in a united and co-ordinated fashion only lends point to the ZAPU/ANC alliance...."

The N.E.C. report concluded therefore.- that the situation in Southern Africa demonstrated:

(a) The correctness of the ZAPU/ANC alliance, and the need to do everything possible to consolidate this alliance.

(b) The urgent need of establishing a properly organised alliance between ANC/ZAPU/MPLA and SWAPO.

CONCLUSION:

Without doubt, this conference will go down as a milestone on the history of the South African revolution. Difficult and controversial problems were discussed in a constructively critical manner. The guiding star was the needs of the revolution and throughout a spirit of unity and dedication prevailed.

FORWARD TO THE REVOLUTION.

MEMBERS OF THE N.E.C. (Elected at the conference)

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|--|-------------------------|
| 1. Comrade O.R. Tambo; (Acting President-General). | 6. Comrade J. Matthews; |
| 2. " A. Nzo; (Secretary-General) | 7. " T.T. Nkobi; |
| 3. " J.B. Marks; | 8. " W. Mokgomane; |
| 4. " M. Mabidha; | 9. " M. Piliso. |
| 5. " M. Kotane; | |

RESOLUTIONS:.....12/

RESOLUTIONS:

1. The Consultative Conference of the ANC approves the new administrative structure of the organisation and:

(a) Affirms the necessity to integrate all oppressed national groups and revolutionary forces and individuals under the banner of the ANC.

(b) Instructs the NEC to take urgent steps to work out the means by which this can be done so as to mobilise all revolutionaries in functioning units of the ANC.

2. Conference expresses its unanimous approval of the political report of the NEC: the strategy and tactics and the programme of the revolution - the Freedom Charter.

3. Conference considers that insufficient attention has been paid to the proper organisation of the Youth and Students, and Women's sections of the ANC. That proper provision must be made in the ANC for personnel and resources to be allocated to this vital task.

4. That the working class and its organisations constitute a fundamental foundation for the success of the revolution. That the SACTU and Trade Union organisation should be strengthened at home and abroad. The NEC is instructed to give all necessary help to SACTU and to release personnel required for this purpose.

5. That the ZAPU-ANC Alliance must be strengthened and steps taken to form alliances with other liberation movements in Southern Africa; namely FRELIMO, MPLA, SWAPO and PAIGC of Guinea-Bissau.

6. Conference vehemently condemns the continued imprisonment, detention and persecution of thousands of our gallant Freedom Fighters by the Vorster fascist regime.

7. Conference salutes our gallant leaders languishing in Robben Island and other prisons such as Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela, Ahmed Kathrada, Elias Motsoaledi, Dennis Goldberg, Andrew Mlangeni, Raymond Mhlaba, Wilton Mkwayi, Abraham Fischer as well as numerous ANC and Umkhonto We Sizwe men and women.

8. Conference pledges never to rest until these comrades are released.

9. Conference instructs the NEC to convey its gratitude to TANU, the government of Tanzania, and the people of Morogoro for the warm hospitality extended to the Conference.

10. Conference expresses.....13/

10. Conference expresses its thanks to the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa for the facilities and support given to the ANC (SA) in the organisation of the Consultative Conference.

11. This Consultative Conference of the African National Congress extends revolutionary greetings to brother Fighters for Freedom in Africa, Vietnam, the Middle East and elsewhere who, arms in hand, are fighting our common enemy - imperialism in all its forms.

12. We greet our brothers of Southern Africa and the Portuguese colonies, who have scored and are scoring brilliant victories over the enemy. We shall win! We South African revolutionaries pay unstinted tribute to the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, who have added glorious pages to the history of liberation. We fully support their just demands for the unconditional withdrawal of the U.S. and mercenary troops from Vietnam and the reunification of their motherland.

13. We greet the peoples of the Arab countries resisting imperialist backed Zionist aggression, and support the right of the dispossessed Arabs of Palestine to fight for their return to their homeland.

14. Conference salutes our valiant comrades who are carrying on the struggle in South Africa in the face of the most vicious police and military terrorism. Their courage and determination continues to be a source of inspiration to all in the struggle for freedom.

15. Conference urges the NEC to give priority to:

- (a) The provision of intensive political education for all sectors of the movement.
- (b) The adoption of a code and oath which all revolutionaries in the ANC and Umkhonto We Sizwe should be governed and bound by.
- (c) The appointment of an Ombudsman or Commission to receive, investigate and act upon any complaints and receive grievances in all sectors of the movement.
- (d) The provision of military training for all sectors of the movement both in and outside Umkhonto We Sizwe.

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