

Introduction.

The purpose of this document is to serve as a guide to the discussion towards the drafting of a document on a Strategy On The South African Struggle for the OAU. What follows, is therefore, not a draft proposal of what the document should contain, but rather a setting out of some general ideas which should be included in such a document. It is hoped that these will stimulate thought so that these general ideas, set out herein can be expanded upon and enriched.

1:1. The Preamble:

Our document could begin by reiterating the OAU's founding documents and statements, committing the organisation to the objective of the total liberation of the African continent. We should then place our struggle within the context of the continental struggle and commitment to free Africa from colonial domination. (Parenthetically, it should be noted that this is not an academic question, but is central to the tasks we wish to pose for the African continent. Africa, the OAU, etc. have never made a commitment to struggle to uproot tyranny or other forms of oppression from the continent. There is, however, a commitment to uproot colonialism!)

1:2. The document could then go on to draw from the communique of the Maputo Frontline Summit of 1982, the Frontline Summit of 1984 at Arusha, committing - Frontline states and Africa to support of the liberation struggle, in whatever forms it is necessary to wage it (i.e. by means devised in the first place by the people of South Africa.); African countries to receiving and assisting refugees from South Africa and Namibia; asserting the rights of residence

of such refugees in the Frontline states.

1:3. The document should then address itself to the nature of the South African state, singling out the following characterisations: (i) The colonial essence of the state;

(ii) Apartheid is a crime against humanity;

(iii) The G.A. of the UNO has endorsed the legitimacy of the armed struggle as the necessary means of suppressing the crime of apartheid.

2:1. The Strategic Objectives of the Struggle:

The main content of the South African liberation struggle is the freedom of the African people, the most oppressed and exploited - i.e. it is a national liberation struggle.

The strategic objective is the seizure of state power in order to achieve national self-determination and sovereignty; this will assume the institutional form of majority rule within a unitary state.

2:2. Because of the intransigence of the regime and its armed repression of the forces of liberation, it has become necessary for the liberation movement to respond to the regime's repressive violence with liberatory violence. At this juncture, therefore, the principle thrust of the struggle is the attainment of our goals through the armed seizure of political power, which entails combining the legal and illegal, open and hidden, violent and non-violent forms of struggle.

2:3. Referring to the statements of successive OAU, UN, and Frontline meetings, the document must stress the aggressive and imperialist character of the racist regime:

Pointing to:

- + increasing militarisation.
- + illegal occupation and colonisation of Namibia.
- + expansionist designs contained in constellation of states idea, etc.
- + Pretoria's Defence doctrine - perimeters are all Africa south of the equator.
- + Nuclear threat to Africa and Indian Ocean.
- + South Africa's violation of regional peace and apartheid as the source of violence, aggression and tension.

Therefore, the precondition for regional peace and stability in the region is the destruction of the racist regime. (Not as suggested by Eagleburger's statement, that change will be the by-product of peace in the region.)

2:4. We must find some way to express concern for/and the need for a system of collective African security against the aggression of the racist regime. Refer to the 1976 Frontline statement that expressed such an idea.

3:1. The ingredients of an African strategy: Must rest on two pillars - the decisive role will and must be played by the South African people themselves; Africa's role must be essentially one that is supportive of the aims and objectives pursued by the Liberation movement.

3:2. Africa's supportive role must be based on fundamental principles:

... commitment to support the strategic objectives

- of the ANC as set out above.
- + A commitment to render necessary assistance in pursuance of these objectives within the framework of the Liberation Committee of OAU.
 - + Recognition that the regime will not reform itself out of existence and therefore rejection of the reform posture of the racists and their allies.
 - + Pursue the goal of total isolation of the Pretoria regime in all fields.

3:3 All African initiatives, diplomatic or otherwise, whether undertaken individually by one state or severally, must conform to this broad framework and be in pursuance of the stated strategic objectives. These must be undertaken in close consultation with the ANC.

3:4. A Minimal negotiating position for the ANC:

If we want to include the question of a minimal negotiating position, it was felt we should have before us a set of minimal conditions which we shall require to be met before entering any negotiations.

Such a set of preconditions could include:

- (i). That it is understood that the aim of negotiations is the uprooting of the entire structure of colonial domination, agreeing on the modalities to achieve this.
- (ii) The regime will be required to demonstrate its good faith by fulfilling a number of conditions which must include:

- + Release of all political prisoners and detainees, and captured freedom fighters.
- + Permit the unconditional return of all exiles.
- + The unconditional repeal of all banning orders, house arrest, banishments and other forms of proscription of persons.
- + The Repeal of all repressive laws - Riotous Assemblies

Act; Natives Administration Act of 1927 and all subsequent amendments; Internal Security Act (the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950); General Laws Amendment Act; Unlawful Organisations Act; Sabotage Act, Terrorism Act, Undesirable Publications Act, Prisons Act; etc - which empower the regime to proscribe the rights of assembly, publication or speech of any individuals or parties.
+ Repeal of the Bantu Self government Act of 1963 and all institutions established under its terms (the 'independence' of the Bantustans, etc)

(iii) That the people's army, MK, shall not be proscribed or otherwise placed under constraints that are not applicable to the repressive organs of the racist state.

(iv) Repeal of all oppressive laws and measures of racial discrimination and intolerance.

(v) Creation of an interim governing body to work towards the convening of a constituent assembly representative of all the people of South Africa.

(vi) International guarantees that the regime will act in good faith.

(this is by no means an exhaustive list of demands, but they serve as basis of discussion of the principle.)

4:1. It must be stressed that the purpose of the document that emerges from our meeting must be to consolidate the international positions we have already won - to further isolate the Pretoria regime; erode its capacity and will to resist the liberation forces; win broad international recognition of the ANC as the legitimate representative of the people of South Africa.

4:2. What we hope will emerge from it is the elaboration of a minimal formula for the 'solution' of the South African question. (something akin to NIBELAR in Zimbabwe) Such a formula must embrace at least three elements: majority rule; a unitary state; and non-racialism.