

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN CERTAIN REPRESENTATIVES OF BIG BUSINESS
AND OPINION-MAKERS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE ANC, HELD ON 13th SEPTEMBER
1985 IN ZAMBIA.

1. The meeting came about through the good offices of the President of the Republic of Zambia. President Kaunda welcomed participants to the discussions.
2. The visiting delegation consisted of GAVIN KELLY of Anglo-American Corporation, Dr. Zach de Beer of Anglo-American, Tony Bloom of Premier Group Holdings, Tertius Myburgh, editor of the Sunday Times, Harold Parkendorf, editor of Die Vaderland, J. de L. Peter Sordor, Director of South African Foundation and Hugh Murray, editor of Leadership South Africa. The A.N.C. delegation was led by comrade President Oliver Tambo.
3. The ANC and the visitors agreed that the discussions were not to be construed as negotiations, that the coming together of the two groups was not intended, whether directly or indirectly, to serve as talk about talks with the South African Regime. The basic purpose was to come together as South Africans to enable the participants to get to know each other, and to look at the problems facing South Africa with a view towards understanding their different positions with due regard to the urgency with which the apartheid problem needs to be speedily resolved on the basis of the complete removal of apartheid which, beside being totally unacceptable to the people of South Africa, was a constant destabiliser in the whole Southern African region.
4. Although the discussion revealed certain fine distinctions in the views of the visitors their over-all position can be summarised as follows:
 - 4.1. There is a general mood of change in South Africa on the part of the regime to move away from apartheid in favour of reform. In this regard, P.W. Botha was firmly committed to reforms and the visitors held forth the expectation that more reform was on the way. That is, P.W. Botha was sincere in his commitment to reform.
 - 4.2. At the same time, P.W. and his regime were uncertain about what they wanted to do and the direction in which they wanted to move.

5. Within this context of their reading of the situation they raised the Botha objections to negotiate with the ANC, viz.

- 5.1 The ANC commitment to the armed struggle.
 - 5.2 The ANC alliance with the SACP and reliance on assistance from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries,
 - 5.3 They added to these question-marks their own concern about ANC economic policy with regard to a future South Africa.
6. The discussion noted the various positions that Big Business has been taking with regard to the current situation and the ANC viewpoint presented at this meeting was aimed firstly, at disabusing them of some of the major misconceptions they had about the nature of the struggle and the positions of the ANC. Secondly, persuading Big Business and the opinion-makers that whilst we welcomed some of the positions that they were taking, we nonetheless were disquietened by the role that Big Business had been playing over the decades, as well as over the current crisis. Thirdly, to urge that as South Africans, there was an urgent need that Big Business take a more positive position.
7. In this context, and in direct relation to their perception of the problems, the ANC positions were outlined as follows:-
- 7.1 A special characteristic of the crisis facing the Botha regime was the mass uprisings which were spreading throughout the country despite the State of Emergency and from which it was evident that the masses of our people found apartheid intolerable even if it meant sacrificing their lives to destroy it.
 - 7.2 That economic growth did not necessarily imply betterment of the conditions of life of our people and the removal of apartheid. On the contrary, the greatest industrial boom in our country (from the mid-sixties to the mid-seventies) led to the most profound entrenchment of apartheid and repressions.
 - 7.3 That although the issue of change was in the air, the Botha regime had reached a point where it has no strategy except repression for handling the crisis and that we questioned even his sincerity with regard to his commitment to 'reform'.

At the same time, it was important to appreciate that the new State would need to be able to command the economy and control its resources in order to carry out our commitment to attend to the well-being of our people.

8.5 On the question of talks. It is Botha who is not willing to talk. His public criticism of Big Business coming to meet us emphasises this point. Talks assume that a state of war exists and that in our case the forces are the racist forces represented by the Botha regime and the democratic forces represented by the ANC. The ANC believes that we have not reached the stage where we can even talk about talks. The Botha regime has to take concrete steps in order to create the atmosphere where even talk about talks can be entertained. Such concrete actions would have to include,

8.5.1 First and foremost the release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners.

8.5.2 The lifting of the State of Emergency, the release of all arrestees and detainees and the abandonment of the treason trials.

8.5.3 Troops and police must be removed from the black townships and ghettos.

8.5.4 Lifting the ban on the ANC and removal of laws which would prevent us from organising the masses freely.

8.5 The above were cited as some of the principal changes which would have to take place before we reach the stage where negotiation can be seen as a practical possibility.

8.6 The question of the ANC's alliance with the SACP was explained as follows:

- Assertions regarding communist control and domination of the ANC would need to be substantiated if we are to adequately deal with these.
- However we offered an explanation in terms of the South African experience which led to the formation of the ANC in 1912 and the SACP in 1921.
- Our experience was concrete, namely,
 - The Freedom Charter was adopted at Kliptown in 1955 and based on wide-spread canvassing of our people in all walks of life. It was then adopted by the ANC.
 - The SACP has accepted the Freedom Charter as a policy guideline for the present phase of our struggle.
 - Individual communists have always been members of the ANC; some of them serving in the highest organs of the ANC. Their conduct has always reflected commitment to the programme and policies of the ANC. As members of the ANC they have shown complete loyalty to the ANC.