

MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED BY THE DELEGATION OF THE
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA TO THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CUBA.

Dear Comrades,

1.- We wish to convey to Premier Fidel Castro, the Government, the Communist Party and the people of Cuba the deep appreciation of the African National Congress and the oppressed and fighting peoples of South Africa for the invitation extended to our organisation to send a delegation to your revolutionary country. It is not the first time that members of our organisation have visited Cuba at your invitation. They have always returned enriched with your revolutionary experience, inspired by the firm determination of the peoples of Cuba to defend their revolutionary gains in the face of criminal and brutal American aggression and provocation and they were fortified by the warm and genuine spirit of the solidarity which the government and the peoples of Cuba have shown to all national liberation movements and anti-imperialist forces. Our delegation which consists of comrades J.B.Marks, M.A.Makiwane and D.Nokwe have come to Cuba on a special mission.

2.- There can be no doubt that Cuba today plays a unique and vital role in the whole anti-imperialist struggle. The very fact that Cuba exists as the first and only socialist state in America within less than a hundred miles of the United States - that most powerful, desperate and aggressive imperialist state - is itself sufficient proof of Cuba's historic position, mission and role. The anti-imperialist forces of the world have demonstrated that Cuba is in the vanguard of the anti-imperialist movement by holding the first historic Tri-continental Conference in Havana.

3.- The defiance and resistance by the people of Cuba of all United States imperialist subversion and intrigue demonstrates the steel framework of freedom which has been established by the revolution.

4.- We are inspired, too, that despite numerous forms of economic sabotage and blockade the standard of living and culture of the people in Cuba is rising under the correct policies of the Party, and the enthusiastic and energetic efforts of the people.

5.- Some of the lessons we have learnt from the Cuban revolution are that with an unflinching determination, a revolutionary organisation, a programme planned to

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serve the aspirations and interests of the people, and a defiant attitude to the facade of power and military strength so pompously displayed by the imperialists, a people can with revolutionary vigilance find methods of defeating the most powerful enemy and also change the political, economic and social conditions under which they lived.

6.- We are deeply conscious of the constant acts of unwarranted provocation and aggression by the United States imperialists against Cuba. This is a futile and lame attempt to destroy Cuba as a socialist state and also to prevent the spread of the banner of true freedom, independence and socialism throughout the rest of Latin America.

7.- Desperate, criminal and brutal aggression has become the order of the day amongst the imperialists who see their former empires crumbling under the revolutionary blows of the people. United States imperialists and their allies will go down in history condemned by humanity and posterity for their bloody and dirty acts of aggression, genocide and atrocities against humanity which they have particularly committed in Vietnam, Cuba, the Dominican Republic and the Congo. We bow our heads in deep respect for the heroic resistance and sacrifice made by our brothers throughout Latin America and we mourn the unnecessary death of millions of heroes who died in the cause of freedom, in particular our hearts are heavy through the unfortunate and untimely death of Comrade Luis Turcios Lima, leader of the revolutionary armed forces of Guatemala. All these glorious sons and daughters have not died in vain, their death will most certainly be avenged.

8.- The imperialists have embarked on a global strategy of subversion and counter-offensive against the socialist states, the young independent states and the national liberation movement in an attempt to stem the revolutionary storm which is sweeping throughout the world.

9.- The white racist and fascist rulers of South Africa have firm bonds and a common ideological, economic and military design with the most reactionary forces and imperialist powers of the world.

10.- South Africa is the bastion and frontier of colonialism and fascism which is constantly being fortified by the imperialist powers to perpetuate their sinister and criminal design to plunder the human and material resources of our country and indeed the whole of Africa. South Africa is to the imperialists an important strategic base in their anti-communist crusade.

11.- It is a common fact that an unholy alliance exists between the fascist regimes of South Africa, Salazar and Smith. The foundations of this alliance are a common political outlook - racism and fascism; a common economic objective - the ruthless exploitation of the African people; a common military design - the defence of colonialism, white domination and fascism and the subversion of the independence of the African states.

White racist South Africa is the leader of this unholy alliance, by virtue of its large white population, its boundless resources, its high industrial development, and its monstrous military might.

12.- South Africa is the most highly industrialised country in Africa. "Legally", it is an independent state and not a colony of some foreign state. Superficially South Africa is ruled by the white minority. In essence, however, the power to rule rests in the South African monopolists and the international consortium of the imperialists. The combination of racialism, capitalism and imperialism has created South Africa into a colony of a special type. The majority of the peoples of South Africa, the Africans and other non-whites are subjected to the worst forms of the evils of colonialism; they are neither independent nor free. They are rightless, voteless, landless and compelled to provide cheap slave labour in order to produce the fabulous wealth of the country which is bargained for by the monopolists in the stock exchanges of Johannesburg, London and New York.

13.- Moreover, racialism, capitalism and imperialism in South Africa have created conditions where the fascists in South Africa now look beyond the borders for new fields of colonisation. The constant threats to incorporate Bechuanaland (Botswana) Basutoland (Lesotho) and Swaziland and the rapid acquisition of land in these territories and the export of capital are clear indications of the South African expansionist tendencies.

14.- South West Africa is the most brazen example of South African aggressive imperialism. South African monopolists in collaboration with the United States and British financiers are deeply involved in conspiracy to deny the people of South West Africa their independence.

15.- Tshombe's puppet regime which was established to protect imperialist interests and those of the South African monopolists received active military support from white racist South Africa under the guise of mercenaries. In essence, the intervention of South Africa in the Congo hardly differs in purpose from the intervention of the United States in Cuba, Dominican Republic and Vietnam...?

conceived such a body could overcome many of our present difficulties. It could give new confidence and inspiration to the millions at home who eagerly await new initiatives and guidance from their leaders who are abroad and in a position to deliberate and plan in comparative freedom. How such a body should be constituted and the extent of its authority and functions are naturally subjects which should be worked out at such a top-level meeting as we propose.

Of course such a top-level meeting could only be convened by the African National Congress who should also select the persons to be invited, the date and the venue. We have suggestions on these matters which can be considered but at least we think the calling of this meeting is an extremely urgent matter.

NOTE OF PROPOSALS REGARDING "TOP-LEVEL MEETING"

Following a discussion between the Deputy-President and the sub-committee the latter was asked to prepare a draft agenda for the proposed top-level meeting and also a list of possible names of people to be invited, other than representatives of the ANC.

A possible date and venue for the meeting was also considered. It seemed feasible to hold the meeting in Cairo on or about 17 October 1966 prior to the Seminar due to be held there on 24 October.

AGENDA:

We suggest the following agenda:-

1. Political Report, including:-
 - (a) International and all-African developments reflecting on struggle;
 - (b) Southern African situation;
 - (c) The social, economic and political situation at home;
 - (d) Perspectives and tasks for the future of our revolutionary struggle.
2. Review of the State of Organisation of the Liberation Movement at home and Abroad.
3. Creation of an effective Machinery for the Planning, Direction and Prosecution of the Struggle.

PROPOSED NAMES

Since the various organisations are not in a position

can be detailed if required.

20.- We have endeavoured to show the strength and support enjoyed by the South African fascist government. We did so not with a view to showing that it was invincible but rather to demonstrate the magnitude of the task facing our people and all our anti-imperialist brothers in overthrowing and destroying this anathema. The whole system of racialism, fascism and imperialism which appears to give the South African regime its apparent formidable strength contains within it the very seeds of its own destruction because it is fundamentally in conflict with the aspirations of our people and the trend of development in Africa, Asia and Latin America. South Africa today is indeed an anachronism which is bound to be doomed to destruction under the pounding blows of our people supported by the anti-imperialist forces of the world. The only question is when and at what cost.

21.- Our people have always fought against white invasion and domination since 1652, and although they were finally ^{defeated} ~~defeated~~ militarily in 1907 they were never subdued nor did they submit to white domination. They sought and found new methods of struggle under the leadership of the African National Congress which was formed in 1912. The record of its struggle is now well known. No method short of a popular and sustained armed struggle has not been resorted to by our organisation

22.- When the fascist white government was driven to desperation and resorted to naked violence and tyranny to suppress the African National Congress and the resistance of the people, our organisation and our people were left with no other choice than to face armed repression with armed revolt. This was a grim decision, particularly for a people like ours who had been completely disarmed and denied any knowledge or experience in modern weapons and warfare. Yet we had to face the enemy as our grandfathers did on the battlefield. This time not with spears but with arms.

23.- It was therefore necessary for us to acquire the skill of modern warfare from our friends abroad.

24.- Under great difficulties but with generous cooperation of our friends we now have a core of trained men who are in the process of returning home to organise and commence the armed struggle. But to commence it is not enough we must ensure that it will be sustained. Our ^s will be a protracted and complicated struggle.

25.- In that struggle our main lifeline will be the active and generous support of the united force and action of all the anti-imperialist forces of the world, the socialist countries, the independent states of Africa, Asia and Latin America

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and the progressive forces in the imperialist countries.

26.- It is for all these reasons, dear Comrades, that our delegation has been sent to the Communist Party and Government and peoples of Cuba to request you for assistance. We do this deeply conscious of the burden you are shouldering and the problems which you are facing. It is our belief, however, which we have no doubt you share with us that if we can effectively engage the fascists and the imperialists in their bulwark in South Africa we might in this way be able to contribute to ease the heavy burden which you are now shouldering.

27.- We have been asked by our organisation to request you to assist us with the sum of \$150,000 (one hundred and fifty thousand dollars). And also with the material which is detailed in the schedule attached hereto.

28.- In conclusion we wish to convey once more the deep feeling of fraternity and solidarity which exists between our people in South Africa and the heroic people of Cuba.

Signed:

Duma Nokwe

Leader of the Delegation.

J.B.Marks

Member of the delegation.

M.A.Makiwane

Member of the delegation.

6th October 1966.

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