

Following the meetings of Congress supporters in London during September last year, the Deputy-President O.R. Tambo asked Yusuf Dadoo, J. Slovo and J. Matthews to draw up proposals relating to the strengthening of inter-Congress co-operation at all levels. A set of proposals was prepared and sent to DAR which however met with no response. Since then the sub-committee set up by the President has had further discussions a summary of which is presented herein.

The essence of the present situation is that we face a serious and fundamental emergency in South Africa. We are at war with the forces of Apartheid in all fields, - political, economic, social and military. The forces of liberation are engaged in a war in literal terms and the enemy is treating it as such. Hence the White Supremacists are giving no quarter in dealing with our movement. They recognise that despite our weaknesses and the reverses we have suffered in recent years we are engaged in a struggle for power by revolutionary means.

Events in Africa and the world highlight the crisis we face and the fact that it is a fundamentally new situation. Compared to the position in 1961-62 Africa has been shown to be ^{an} unstable factor as an aid and assistance to our struggle. As a result of the offensive of the imperialists the O.A.U. is divided. Progressive Governments such as Ghana have been overthrown. The material assistance that we expected from a united Africa has not been forthcoming. Some countries such as Tanzania and to some extent Zambia have to their credit maintained with great difficulty their solidarity with our movement and have helped us a great deal. But it must be admitted that the position generally in Africa is not a happy one. Around us in South Africa there have been the betrayal in Rhodesia by the British Government in deference to Dr. Verwoerd. In the protectorates particularly in Basutoland events show to what extent Britain is prepared to knuckle under to the Apartheid regime. A serious crisis is brewing there which might well affect our own struggle in South Africa very fundamentally.

The United Nations from which much was expected has been revealed as a weak indecisive body. Faced with the

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united stand of the main Western powers the United States and Britain the UN has been unable to assist in the tasks of liberation in a number of very vital cases notably Rhodesia and even more -- Vietnam.

Inside our country the voice of our movement is not heard as loudly as we would like. Thousands of our comrades in gaol expect that all those able to do so are working in a united fashion to construct the instruments for the speedy destruction of the Apartheid monster which is the only guarantee of their own freedom from long terms of imprisonment.

A nation at war requires a Council of War. We require to consider comprehensively all the problems arising out of the emergency situation that we face. The duty to do this devolves on all those who were leading participants in the liberation struggle and who are available. The leaders outside the country have to do what can no longer be done at home - to formulate policy and take practical steps to give leadership to our respective communities and to the South African people as a whole. It is in the spirit and tradition of our movement that all the various groups and organisations that constitute the forces of revolution in our country must do this work together and not in isolation from one another.

The achievements of the Congress Alliance are historic. In terms of ideology the programme of the Congresses - the Freedom Charter remains valid. The tremendous sacrifices of our leaders and members have won enormous prestige among the people. No alternative leadership has even tried to arise. Despite the fact of having won the first round the Verwoerd Government has nothing to offer the people either as a short or long term solution to the country's problems. We have not lost the battle for allegiance of the people. But it is a battle that has to be fought and won over and over again. An Alliance is not something that can be based only on its past history or achievements. It is a working alliance of comrades in the struggle which has got to justify itself before the people all the time and must be seen to do so.

But the machinery of the Congress Alliance as it existed in the past is clearly inadequate for the tasks

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which face our movement today. We are now faced with the sort of problems which many revolutionary peoples have faced at a certain stage in their history. The preparations for revolutionary struggle including armed struggle and guerrilla warfare call for new forms of organisation new forms of alliance in advance of those appropriate for mass movements basing their struggle on non-military forms of mass pressure. We feel therefore that attention should be directed to the creation of new forms of alliance or revolutionary front organisation suitable to our struggle and in accordance with South African conditions.

A PROPOSAL FOR A TOP LEVEL MEETING:

The difficulty about deciding on important new steps to meet the greatly changed situation at home and abroad is that we no longer have formally constituted organisations able to elect delegates to a conference or mandate them. At the same time we obviously urgently need a conference. In these conditions of illegality or semi-legality and acute struggle we cannot stand on constitutional niceties. We have a number of ^{are} tested and experienced leaders outside the Republic. They/^{are}concerned in numerous ways with organisations at home and with solidarity work abroad. They continue to enjoy the support and confidence of the members of our organisations. We think therefore that without overmuch regard to formal question of "representation" etc. a top level selection of leaders should be convened whose authority and standing is such that it is not likely to be challenged. Such a meeting should review the situation in South Africa, Southern Africa and deal with international developments which have a bearing on our movement. It should/^{decide}on practical organisational measures to be undertaken in present-day emergency conditions to continue the existence and leadership of the alliance in a new form.

Arising from this review, we think that we may well decide that the situation calls for the establishment of a body to plan and direct the overall strategy of our movement, a sort of Council of National Liberation enjoying the support of all constituents of the Congress Alliance. Such a body could mobilise all our human and material resources in a co-ordinated plan directed against the enemy and for the achievement of our common objectives. Properly

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

to elect and mandate representatives the choice of names put forward is of necessity arbitrary. We expect that the final selection will be made by the ANC as the inviting organisation. The following persons, we think, are of a calibre and standing which would make them acceptable as authoritative by the movement as a whole. We also think they would be able to make a worthy contribution to the meeting and the struggle.

Maulvi Cachalia	Mick Harmel	Reg September
M.P. Naicker	Ben Turok	Alex La Guma
Y.M. Dadoo	Ruth First	James Phillips
Mark Shope	Joe Slovo	
J. Gaetsiwe	Brian Bunting	
Ray Alexander	Phyllis Altman	

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