

A STATEMENT OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL
CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA TO THE 5TH
SUMMIT CONFERENCE OF THE NON-ALIGNED
COUNTRIES.

The delegation of the African National Congress of South Africa conveys warm fraternal greetings to all the participants at this historic 5th Congress of the Non-aligned countries meeting in Colombo, Sri Lanka.

It is indeed significant that non-alignment movement of today embraces independent states of Africa, Asia and Latin America and counts in its membership countries which belong to the world socialist system which as we know is playing the vanguard role for safeguarding the peace and progress of the peoples.

The African National Congress welcomes the opportunity of its participation, albeit in an observer capacity, alongside other representatives of the revolutionary movements of the oppressed peoples in Africa. There can be no doubt that the participation of these liberation movements will enrich the content of discussions and decisions which will at the end be adopted by the august gathering.

Your Excellencies,

The non-alignment movement has become truly dynamic both in qualitative and quantitative terms, in recent years. We need only refer to the recent change that have taken place both in Africa and Asia during the period following the 4th Congress held in Algiers in September, 1973.

The 500 year-old Portuguese colonial empire in Africa has been totally destroyed. From its ruins have sprung up progressive states in Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, Angola, Sao Tome and Principe and Cape Verde whose peoples have earned themselves a worthy place in this assembly by dint of glorious victories through self-sacrificing struggles.

The peoples of the Sychelles and Comoro Islands have also recently emerged from the dark past of colonial rule. Djibouti or so-called French Somaliland is virtually at the doorstep of independence.

The peoples of Indo-China are present at this assembly as victors against the most monstrous of the enemies of mankind - American imperialism. The peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia have already taken very resolute steps to consolidate their independence. It is only appropriate that this august assembly should take the first available opportunity to warmly congratulate the people of Vietnam following the successful re-unification of their country.

More and more countries of Latin America are joining the non-alignment movement. This is concrete proof that North American imperialism is no longer capable of exercising its hegemony as in the past over this area. Thus more and more countries, following on the heroic footsteps of the revolutionary Island of Cuba, the first socialist country on the American continent, are breaking loose from the chains of American imperialist tutelage and diktat.

Your Excellencies,

It goes without saying therefore that the non-alignment movement is today much stronger and better fortified to make its contribution towards the solution of the most urgent problems facing mankind. We are fully confident that the present Assembly will prove equal to this vital task which is in the interests of millions of people all over the world whose attention is rivetted at this conference.

What are these urgent problems?

The 5th Non-aligned conference is being held in Sri Lanka, one of the countries on the Indian Ocean. Experience has shown that aggressive circles in the western imperialist world are

interested in turning the Indian Ocean into yet another zone of conflict and rivalry.

The American base at the Diego Garcia Islands; the expansion of the Simonstown naval base off Cape Town; the expansion of the South African submarine fleet mainly by France, and other similar moves by the Western imperialist powers can never be taken as measures designed to protect the vital interests of the Indian Ocean States, as we are made to believe. They are motivated by a desire on the part of the imperialist powers to perpetuate their political hegemony on the young states on the Indian shores so as to keep them within the sphere of imperialist influence.

The present Assembly cannot be indifferent to the potentially explosive situation in the Middle East. The causes for the permanent state of tension in this area are well-known. However, for purposes of record it should be restated that as long as Israel continues its illegal occupation of the Arab territories and the Arab people of Palestine are denied their legitimate rights to self-determination, including the right to establish their own Palestinian state, peace in this region will always remain a far cry.

The tragic situation in the Lebanon, which is a classic example of the sort of instability which imperialism promotes in order to advance its aims and interests, cries out for urgent solution by all peace-loving forces, inside the Arab world, with the assistance of all progressive forces the world over. It has become clear that the imperialist manoeuvre in this area aims at dividing and weakening all the forces confronting Israel aggression and behind the cloak of a religious war an attempt is being made to liquidate the Palestinian resistance movement. It is urgent that these manoeuvres must be defeated.

Your Excellencies,

The African continent is fast being transformed into a theatre of open aggression and tension by those reactionary forces directly seeking the reversal of the political gains of the African peoples.

In the past 12 months alone several African countries have fallen victim to imperialist-inspired aggression.

- a) The Peoples' Republic of Angola heroically repelled South African fascist aggression which was directly supported by the U.S.A., France and other Western imperialist powers. The usual bogey of struggle against "Communist aggression" was used by those who sought to eliminate the heroic vanguard of the Angolan people - the MPLA.
- b) The territory of the Peoples' Republic of Mozambique has on several occasions repelled aerial and ground attacks by the army of the Rhodesian rebel regime. On all occasions innocent lives have been lost and some property of the Mozambique people destroyed.
- c) The South African and Rhodesian regimes have in the past few months committed several acts of aggression against the Republic of Zambia. The most recent of these acts was a subject of debate by the Security Council which condemned the apartheid South African regime for its crimes against the people of Zambia.
- d) The whole of Africa and peace-loving mankind reacted with revulsion after the Israeli attack at the ENTEBBE AIRPORT in Uganda. This piratical act of aggression was hidden behind a cloak of a so-called humanitarian act of freeing passengers of a hijacked air-liner which had been permitted to land in Uganda. This deception could not however camouflage the grave act

of violation of the territorial sovereignty of the Republic of Uganda by Israel.

Thus the few examples given above demonstrate quite adequately the dangerous situation which is developing as a direct consequence of growing imperialist intervention in Africa employing its aggressive task force - the apartheid regime of South Africa - as the spearhead of its aggressive strategy whose aim is both to halt the revolutionary sweep in Southern Africa whilst at the same time aiming at the political destabilisation of progressive regimes on the continent.

SOUTH AFRICA

The current crisis situation in South Africa speaks eloquently of the deep-seated Black people's rejection of the oppressive Apartheid policies practiced by the racist regime. These repressive policies, as we are aware, have been branded a crime against humanity by the United Nations. Indeed, it would be appropriate if the current assembly of the Heads of State and government of the Non-Aligned countries would draw the urgent attention of all states to the relevant UN Convention against Apartheid by calling upon default countries to complete the necessary formalities of signing the Convention.

The whole world is at the moment watching with sorrow the savagery and inhumanity of the fascist regime in South Africa which has rocked to full consciousness all those both in South Africa and elsewhere in the world who had genuinely believed that the apartheid system of oppression could ever be so reformed as to be acceptable to the majority of the South African population, the Black people.

Within a short period of seven weeks following the outbreak of mass resistance on the 16th June in Soweto and other Black ghettos of South Africa, the para-military force of

the Apartheid regime has murdered in cold blood hundreds of Black people mainly school children whose ages range from 7 to 16 years. Tens of hundreds lie injured in hospitals, some permanently maimed.

There are daily reports of the spread of the current stubborn resistance to many parts of South Africa which had hitherto appeared calm and unaffected. Whilst the major targets have mostly been the seats of Apartheid education, there is evidence that the anger of the Black people is also spilling over to the Bantustan areas. Recently the "parliament" building of the Bophutatswana Bantustan was burned down. What other evidence is referred to demonstrate the total rejection of the Bantustan fraud by the Black people?

Hundreds of Black patriots have already been arrested swelling the already high figure of those who were under detention before the current uprising. The net of the current wave of arrests has spread to the "model" Transkei Bantustan where no fewer than 9 leaders of the opposition political party in the Transkei have been arrested and detained.

Police murders of those detained are on the increase. As recent as March a leading member of the African National Congress, Joseph Mdluli, was murdered less than 24 hours after he was detained. At the beginning of August, Mapetla Mohapi, a leader of the South African Students Organisation (SASO) was found murdered in the cell in which he was detained after June 16 uprising.

Early this year two South African patriots, Joseph Nduli and Cleophas Ndlovu were kidnapped from the Kingdom of Swaziland and are now currently appearing in the South African courts of law. The African National Congress is in possession of copies of signed affidavits by the two kidnapped patriots which

demonstrate clearly that they were arrested by South African police on Swaziland territory. The act constitutes a flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Swaziland - an independent African state.

The South African Apartheid state is an important link of the chain of the imperialist system. Little wonder that, as a consequence of the disintegration of the colonial system in Africa, the imperialist powers have redoubled their efforts in support of the regime of terror in our country.

A few examples will suffice.

Less than a year ago our Organisation, the African National Congress, published materials which conclusively proved an existing nuclear conspiracy between South Africa and West Germany. Spirited denials by appropriate West German authorities failed to wipe off the facts.

The perfidy and arrogance of the French capitalist monopolies is unspeakable. Not content with the fact that France had all along ignored the arms embargo against South Africa, recently a French consortium has concluded a notorious deal with the fascist regime of South Africa for the construction of nuclear reactors in that country. This deal has been concluded in utter contempt of African and world public opinion. Nobody will be convinced by the hollow promises of the fascist South Africa: to respect the international safeguards covering the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

Collaboration between the fascist South African Apartheid regime and the expansionist Zionist state of Israel is growing. The growing friendship between the two aggressive states was cemented during the recent Vorster visit to Israel. The fact that the two countries are known bases of imperialist aggression directed against Africa and the Middle East should be sufficient proof of the urgent dangers to peace and stability in this region.

Then there was the Kissinger - Vorster meeting in West Germany in June in the wake of the current barbaric fascist aggression against the Black people of South Africa. Any doubt that this meeting was intended to buttress the regime of terror in South Africa is immediately dispelled by the reaction of the spokesmen of the apartheid regime. The suggestion was current before the meeting that Vorster would use the opportunity to place the regime's point of view before the government of the United States and obviously seek further endorsement and support for the need of the continued assistance of the apartheid regime to preserve the vast economic and strategic interests of imperialism. The joint meeting succeeded to boost the sagging morale of the racist white minority in South Africa.

It should be noted that as a direct consequence of the Kissinger - Vorster contacts the United States was the only country which voted negatively at the Security Council in a resolution which condemned South Africa for its aggression against the Republic of Zambia.

THE BANTUSTAN PROGRAMME

When, at the turn of the decade of the 50's the apartheid regime introduced its policies of separate development or Bantustans, the African National Congress stated, inter alia, as the strategic and tactical aims of the regime's Bantustan programme as the following:-

a) Economic aims:

The Bantustan programme seeks to consolidate the cheap Black labour reserve system which has provided a guaranteed flow of the labour-raw material required for the industrial and agricultural heartland of South Africa. This situation has existed from the time of the promulgation of the notorious 1913 Land Act which demarcated the present-day Bantustans as Native Reserves scattered over 13% of the total South African land area.

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Economic surveys that have been conducted in these Black areas by various commissions and other interested bodies including the regime's Tompison Commission, the South African Institute of Race Relations, various experts from Europe and other places, etc, have all come to the conclusion that the Bantustan areas can at no time become economically viable unless radical steps are taken to promote development. The racist regime has replied by setting up Development Co-operations for the various tribal areas whose only aim has only been the promotion of a microscopic Black middle class to act as local agents of the apartheid regime whose task is to ensure the perpetuation of separate development.

It has never been the regime's intention to solve the urgent economic problems of the African people in these areas. It has instead sought to consolidate the special colonial-type system which chains the Black subjects of imperialist white South Africa to the industrial and agricultural monopolies of the white metropolies.

The perpetuation of this system also serves the interests of the international capitalist monopolies which reap super profits from the exploitation of the black labour guaranteed by the Apartheid system. It is for this reason that various western capitalist countries are interested in the recognition of the creation of the Bantustan fraud.

The Apartheid regime also employs the services of its Bantustan placemen in its attempts to break the international economic boycott campaign against South Africa. Certain news media in western Europe and elsewhere have in the past carried huge advertisements by the Bantustan traitors pleading for investments in the Bantustans where "labour peace" is said to be guaranteed. In order to cover-up their unforgivable conivance with the terror regime, the Bantustan leaders have always put forward the argument that overseas investments would be in the

interest of the starving masses in the respective Bantustans. Yet the responsibility for the economic plight of the African people rest squarely with the fascist regime whose policies are intended to promote and defend the political and economic interests of only one-fifth of the population.

b) Political and Ideological Aims:

The Apartheid regime, faced with a growing threat, from a united African peoples' struggle has always sought to sow divisions among the African people along tribal lines. The main vehicle of these sinister and reactionary manoeuvres is the Bantustan programme which aims at the confinement of various African tribes into their respective tribal enclaves. One of the main intentions of this move is to foment a perpetual political strife among the various tribes so as to weaken and disintegrate their united opposition to Apartheid oppression.

It should also be noted that the main stress of pro-Bantustan propaganda has always been to attempt to divert the African people from the path of revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the regime to one of unattainable illusions of so-called independence in their respective Bantustans.

The enemy propaganda projects the African peoples' revolutionary Organisations such as the ANC as mere terrorist groupings which supposedly seek to deny the oppressed people the possibility of a peaceful transition to independence offered by the Bantustan programme. In this way they attempt to isolate the revolutionary national liberation movement from its main social base, the oppressed and cruelly exploited African majority who through mass intimidation are bludgeoned to reject their revolutionary programme - the Freedom Charter - which two decades ago formed the basis of abortive charge of HIGH TREASON levelled against the leadership of our democratic movement.

c) Diplomatic Aims

The turn of the decade of the 50's ushered in a new revolutionary era of political independence for vast majorities of the African people on the African continent. This situation threw an unfavourable spotlight on the regimes of oppression in Southern Africa which at that time included the colonial regimes of the then fascist Portugal. Consequently, the international political and diplomatic struggle against the fascist regimes in Southern Africa, particularly the Apartheid regime of terror, grew in intensity and scope.

Faced with this situation, the Apartheid regime introduced the Bantustan programme through which it purportedly fell in step with the just aspirations of the oppressed African majority. The main aim was of course, to diffuse the explosive of the growing international boycott movement and also at the same time attempt to isolate the forces of revolutionary change from their external bases of support, mainly the independent African continent.

Such Your Excellencies, are the aims of the counter-revolutionary aims of the Bantustan programme, briefly stated. The Apartheid regime of terror in South Africa is thus calling upon the democratic mankind on the African continent and everywhere else to totally abandon the oppressed Black majority to the "tender mercies" of the criminal Apartheid regime which as we have attempted to show above is a Sword of Damocles threateningly hanging over the heads of the independent African countries.

Such a situation is of course, only acceptable and favourable to international imperialism which has always been interested to maintain conditions of instability and chaos in Africa in the interests of neo-colonial aggression.

The African National Congress solemnly calls upon the current assembly of Non-Aligned countries to follow the revolutionary lead of the Organisation of African Unity which unanimously adopted a resolution on "non-recognition of South African Bantustans" at its 13th Summit held recently in Mauritius. The OAU resolution states, *inter alia*:-

"Invites all States and in particular member states of the OAU in their totality not to accord recognition to any Bantustan, in particular, the Transkei whose so-called independence is scheduled for the 26th October 1976;

Declares that violation of this collective commitment by any member state will be seen as a betrayal of not only the fighting people of South Africa but the entire continent...".

The Struggle Intensifies:

Current developments in South Africa have amply underlined the sharpened contradictions between the oppressed peoples on the one hand and the regime of white minority oppression on the other. The brutal way of attempting to resolve these contradictions has profoundly deepened the political crisis of the regime of terror.

Long before the current events broke into the surface it had already become abundantly evident that the forces of national liberation drawn from all sections of the oppressed population were courageously mobilising in the face of police brutality.

For many years now especially since 1973 the ruling capitalist class has had to contend with an expanding strike movement which defied the brutal savagery of the white minority regime.

The world knows of the massacres of the striking Carltonville African miners in September 1973;

the bravery of the striking Black workers at the Heineman factory who faced the fascist thugs in March this year with

bare hands is an unforgettable legend;
the sharp reaction of the Black working people to the recent devaluation of the South African Rand in October last year by engaging in bus boycotts and demonstration is known all over South Africa;

the bravery of the Black Youth facing the fascist inquisitors in numerous court trials deeply inspired the entire oppressed population in South Africa;

the current uprisings that have now swept the whole country are eloquent proof that, far from the regimes' crying propaganda that the oppressed people have moved towards acceptance of apartheid rule, reverse is the opposite. It had hoped that it would have by now reached this position when it declared the African National Congress illegal almost 2 decades ago. Little did it suspect that the seeds of revolt which decades of struggle under the leadership of the African National Congress has sown had taken firm root among the oppressed masses.

The very seats of white racist minority rule, Cape Town and Pretoria, including the industrial heart of the whole country, Johannesburg, have been rocked by the current revolt. The bravery and the daring of ~~the revolutionary masses, who are~~ participating in the current broad-based upsurge has defied all imagination and expectations and has sobered up the sceptical elements and "doubting Thomases" who had almost written off the heroic struggle of our people as a dead letter.

South Africa has moved very close to an armed explosion by the Black masses than any period of brutal racist oppression. The African National Congress which has never for once abdicated the revolutionary leadership of the oppressed population, taking advantage of the favourable objective conditions both inside and outside the country is strengthening the armed fist of the oppressed population - UMKHONTO WE SIZWE - under

the resonant battle cry of AMANDLA NGAWETHU!!! MAATLA KE A
RONA!!! POWER TO THE PEOPLE!!!

The day of reckoning for the bloodthirsty fascist rulers in
South Africa is certainly very close at hand.

Part of the burden for the final destruction of the regime of
terror in South Africa is the direct responsibility of the
international democratic community. It is to this community
that the African National Congress on behalf of the fighting
Black population, now makes an urgent appeal for more concrete
material, political and diplomatic assistance.

We wish to re-state the specific areas of international
action against the Apartheid regime:-

- a) Resolute total rejection of the Bantustan programme of
the South African Apartheid regime. As stated above, we are
convinced that a re-affirmation by this Assembly of the un-
equivocal stand of the OAU as reflected in the resolution of
the 13th OAU Summit opposing the recognition of the Bantustans
is necessary.
- b) The all-round international isolation of the fascist
regime in South Africa must be intensified. Efforts should
be exerted forcing the governments and the multi-national co-
operations of Western Europe, North America and Japan to
break their ties with the monstrous Apartheid regime.
- c) The international campaign for the release of all political
prisoners and detainees should be raised with more vigour
and with a greater sense of urgency.
- d) Above all, selfless and generous assistance must go to
the African National Congress of South Africa, the primary and

decisive vehicle of democratic change in South Africa.

The contours of the victory of our national democratic revolution are already discernible on the not too distant horizon. The African National Congress pledges in the name of our heroic people in front of all the freedom-loving humanity to intensify the struggle to its inevitable victorious end.

AMANDLA NGAWETHU!!!

MAATLA KE ARONA!!!

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!!!!

African National Congress
of South Africa,
LUSAKA,
11/8/1976.