

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE FORTHCOMING A.N.C. CONFERENCE

THE STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

For the past 10 years, the White minority regime has suppressed any resistance to such an extent that there has been no mass out-breaks or collective demonstrations of rejection of the status quo. At first sight this looks as if the government has been successful in crushing the resistance movement. It also means that the movement has not found a way to break through the repressive technics employed by the state against its political opponents. This situation has created a sense of false security among the Whites who are no probably more united than ever before behind the government and its apartheid policy. We cannot expect any change in this position unless and until the liberation movement succeeds in challenging the regime on a significant scale. Our first task, therefore, must be to provide the people with a militant leadership inside the country, to organise them, and bring to the surface the universal hatred that Africans, Indians, Coloureds and progressive Whites feel for the entire system of White supremacy. For this purpose it is necessary to give our people a rallying point or slogan behind which they will mobilize their resources. The old slogans, the old programs are no longer adequate. We need a bold and imaginative policy that will arouse enthusiasm among our young people, workers, peasants, intellectuals, etc. We must call on them to overthrow White power and put in its place African majority rule. We must make it clear that the policy of our movement is to give the voteless people, not only political power, but also economic power. Farms and factories, mines and shops and banks (all forms of private capital which form the basis of the White man's rule must be transferred to the people under public ownership. In no other way can African, Indians and Coloureds overcome their backwardness in education, technology and organised administrative experience from which they suffer as a result of 300 years of racial domination, oppression and injustice. We must call on our people to take their place as rulers of their country and owners of its wealth.

ARMED STRUGGLE

The task of a revolutionary movement is to prepare ground for a revolution and secondly it is to provide the leadership that is necessary for success when a revolutionary situation comes to a boil. We declare our unshakable conviction based on confidence in the courage and determination of our people at home that such a revolutionary situation will materialize and we dedicate ourselves to the task of hastening the process and bringing closer the day when our people will rise in tens and hundreds of thousands against their oppressor. It is our responsibility here and now to prepare ourselves for that event by creating the cadres and organisational supports which will be required to direct the revolutionary movement towards the central objective of overthrowing the White settler regime. It is our intention to make systematic preparations and to adopt the required techniques for the coming period of mass revolutionary struggle, so that when this event takes place our movement will be adequately prepared.

CONGRESS ALLIANCE.

The Congress Alliance was formed in the early 1950s during the early stages of the Afrikaner government's remorseless campaign to crush the extra-parliamentary opposition, to destroy both revolutionary class movement and the revolutionary national movement and to consolidate the regime of White supremacy behind a network of fascistic and racialistic laws. The Congress Alliance retained its cohesion and went from strength to strength under the blows of the White terrorists. In the Treason Trials in all other forms of persecution resorted to by the Boers, the Alliance remained steadfast with Whites, Indians and Coloureds holding the front with their African comrades against all attacks. We recognise the contribution made by all sections of the liberation movement

to the launching of MK and to the opening of the phase of armed struggle. The decision to embark on armed struggle and the preparation for armed struggle were shared on equal footing by all sections of the alliance. Indians, Whites and Coloureds, as well as Africans are serving life sentences in South African prison, because they dared stand up to the regime in a revolutionary movement. It is our intention to continue and strengthen this alliance between patriots and freedom-fighters of all colour groups. It is our intention that White, Coloureds, and Indians should not only belong to the alliance, but should be seen as so belonging. Our movement must embark on a campaign to recruit men and women of all races for our revolutionary war, both as guerrillas and as members of the underground resistance movement. We are convinced that the presence of Whites, Indians and Coloureds among freedom fighters in the White settler region South of the Zambesi will be a success of great strength, will arouse enthusiasm among our people and will give our struggle a world wide attention. So too, we believe that, Whites, Coloureds and Indians can make an enormous contribution to our struggle at home and must be regarded as an integral part of the fight for liberation. It is therefore, our intention to give all sections of the Congress alliance their proper place in our movement both in our councils and in our public deliberations. Our representatives must include all those who have earned a right by sacrifice and devotion to our cause to speak in the name of the oppressed people of our country.

Z.A.P.U./A.N.C.

Our alliance with ZAPU is based partly on comradeship and solidarity, but mainly on recognition of the fact that we face a common enemy and that the White settlers of Rhodesia and of South Africa constitute a single power system dedicated to the maintenance of White supremacy, and that neither can be defeated whilst the other remain strong. Events since U.D.I have emphatically demonstrated the correctness of this analysis and fully justify our alliance with Z.A.P.U. All the world knows now that the White minority regime in Rhodesia exists only with material support of S.A. and that the minority regime in South Africa is committed to maintaining White supremacy in Rhodesia, because that country is an outpost and bastion of South Africa's imperialism. The time has now come for our movement to recognise the need of a wider alliance embracing also the heroic freedom-fighters of Angola, Mozambique and S.W.A. The time has come for us to recognise the fact and to act upon the fact that Southern Africa, although divided into different nation states, form in fact, one single economic, strategic and political complex. The most speedy and economical method of fighting the White settler governments of Southern Africa is for all freedom fighters to combine their forces in what should be in fact our single combined operation. This does not mean, necessarily that our forces must be merged or that operations must be conducted from one single centre. We urge only at this stage that there should be close and continuous co-operation and consultation between all freedom fighters engaged in this front and that as far as possible and desirable operations should be co-ordinated in one great strategic plan.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

The South African ruling class is part of an international political and economic order; which is dominated by private capital and capitalistic imperialism. That basically is the reason why 25 years of protest and pressure at the U.N.O. and other international bodies have failed to secure any tangible results in the form of sanctions against South Africa. This experience has had the value of satisfying the movement once and for all that the liberation struggle will not be given assistance in circles of Britain, U.S.A. and countries associated with them. For this reason the movement has found its allies on the other quarters among the independent states of Africa, the progressive nations

of Asia and...../3

of Asia and the socialist countries. We acknowledge on gratitude and indebtedness to our friends and allies and affirm our solidarity with them. At the same time we must recognise that our movement is not a government, and cannot therefore, adopt and implement an international policy in any real sense of the word. We can, and we will continue to express our sympathy with progressive cause but apart from verbal demonstrations, we as a movement cannot give material aid to our allies. In the second place, we find that our allies are not always united. Our friends who are in agreement with our objective of liberating Southern Africa from White minority rule are not always in agreement among themselves. One only need refer to the deplorable war in Nigeria or the dispute between the U.S.S.R. and the Peoples Republic of China as example. We cannot now or in the foreseeable future unity and solidarity among the opponents of world imperialism. For these reason, it is necessary that our movement, must as from now refrain from identifying itself with one particular section of the anti-imperialist and anit-colonial sector of the countries and forces that have made as a stand against world imperialism and colonialism. This does not mean that we adopt a policy of non-alignment in the sense of being equally indifferent or equally impatual to the contending parties in international affairs. We are not and should continue to be irrecocably committed to the cause of anti-imperialism, to the cause of liberation from colonial rule and racial domination. It is not for us, however, as a movement to chose sides in that camp. Our duty to the liberation movement and to our people, must compell us to ally ourselves in the side of justice and progress against imperial domination and to maintain good relations with all peoples who recognise and support our struggle for freedom, justice and decency.

DISCUSSION GUIDE

1. OUR STRUGGLE.

The vital and central task of the African National Congress today is the intensification of the armed struggle for the overthrow of the White fascist regime and the liberation of our motherland. Today, armed struggle together with other forms of struggle constitutes the weapons of the oppressed in our country against the oppressors.

2. How can we intensify the revolution? What forms of organisation can ensure the maximum mobilisation of all the resources at our disposal human and material? What are the motive forces of our struggle and their potential? What strategy and tactics are to be employed?

3. These are some of the problems and questions which require our consideration and solution.

4. Our struggle is being waged in a complex and difficult national and international situation. The correct solution of the problems of our revolution require a proper understanding of the International and National situation.

5. This involves a correct assessment of the strength and weaknesses of the enemy and its imperialist allies, as well as our own strength and weaknesses, our potential and that of the whole Anti-Imperialist forces.

6. Our immediate enemies the white fascist regime in South Africa are an important and integral part of the imperialist camp. International the imperialists' main preoccupation today is a desperate attempt to stem the anti-colonialist revolution, and to regain their former positions of political, economic and military dominance over the peoples of the world. To achieve their objective they have embarked upon a global strategy of reactionary and brutal counter-attack against progressive governments and revolutionary liberatory movements. The imperialists resort to numerous methods for instance:-

- (a) The creation of hot beds of war all over the world including acts of provocation, direct and indirect military intervention as in Vietnam and South East Asia, The Middle East, North Korea, Cuba, West Berlin and Czechoslovakia.
- (b) The establishment of military bases at strategic points and the selection of springboards in all continents from which they launch their acts of aggression and subversion. In the Middle East Israel is the launching pad, in Asia, Japan, in Africa fascist South Africa is the main bulwark and fortress of reaction and imperialism. It is of vital economic and strategic value in the whole global strategy of the imperialists.
- (c) The subversion of anti-imperialist Governments. Military coups in Latin America and the past three years in Africa have been systematically engineered.
- (d) The hindering of progress towards economic independence in developing countries through Neo-Colonialist machinations, carefully manipulated "Aid" and loans, the lowering of prices of raw materials, unequal trade agreements, the export of both private and state capital. All these are designed to keep independent and developing countries economically dependent on the Colonialists. South African fascism itself has reached the stage where it is offering state financial "Aid" to African independent states. And is already implementing the scheme in Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho and Malawi.

These are all part of a sinister plot to blackmail States not to support liberation struggles as Banda of Malawi and Jonathan Leboa of Lesotho have already done.

- (e) Increased support and reinforcement of reactionary regimes, militarily, economically/...2

economically and technically against the liberation movements and revolution. The concerted support by the Imperialists of the racist minority regimes of Vorster, Caitano, and Smith against the ANC, ZAPU, FRELIMO, MPLA, SWAPO and PAIGC is now a public and well-known fact. In Latin America too, the United States in particular, supports its puppet regimes against the revolutionary movements.

- (f) Assassination and the murder of leading members of progressive and revolutionary organisations has now become part of the stock-in-trade of world reactionary forces. In Kenya a few years back it was Pio Pinto. Then Comrade Sigauka of FRELIMO, now recently Comrade Eduardo Mondlane of FRELIMO. There are no limits to the cowardly and dastardly crimes of the imperialists and their agents.
- (g) Imperialist agents are busy trying to foment division, conflict and desertions in the ranks of the liberation Movements and progressive organisations. The agents of reaction use all methods, ranging from the exploitation of genuine grievances and differences to naked slander, distortions, lies and bribery.
- (h) Efforts to discredit the liberation movement and its leadership, both among the people and internationally are one of the main objects of the psychological warfare conducted through the radio, press and whispering campaign.
- (i) The creation and maintenance of spurious, stooge organisations is one of the main preoccupations of the imperialists, PAC, and New Revolutionary Movement in South Africa, ZANU in Zimbabwe, Coremo in Mozambique, Savimbi and Roberto holdens so called organisations in Angola, Fling in Guinea Busau.
- (j) Spies, informers, and traitors are lavishly bribed to inform on the liberation movements, to enable the oppressors to wreck revolutionary liberation movements.

7. The basic objective of the imperialists in their global strategy is to isolate, undermine, subvert, and wreck everything whether it be state or organisation which is progressive and anti-imperialist and to consolidate and reconstruct all pro-imperialist, and reactionary institutions in the world.

8. The anti-imperialist forces opposed to this frantic and counter offensive is the MIGHTY Anti-imperialist force and movements. It is the united force of popular, progressive and revolutionary States and Organisations.

9. The apparent strength of the imperialists is in their massive military and economic potential. Politically they are weak and getting weaker by the day. They are incapable of complete unity even amongst themselves because of the constant rivalry to redivide markets. In addition the rise of Anti-imperialist revolution is constantly undermining the false image of their superiority. Even militarily their 'invincibility' is being exposed by the humiliating defeats they are suffering from smaller and relatively militarily weaker nations, and which are economically less developed. The dilemma of the U.S. in Vietnam caused by the shattering and humiliating blows from the heroic people of Vietnam exposed the basic weakness of the leading and MOST AGGRESSIVE imperialist power.

10. In addition the underdeveloped countries no longer wish to associate themselves openly with the capitalist system which to the vast masses of the people spells ignorance, disease and poverty. The impact of Socialism on the masses of the people is steering the states of the third world to pronounce their objectives as Socialist in one form or the other.

11. Mass support and even submission is shrinking in the direction of resistance and revolt both in the former colonial countries and amongst vast sections of the populations in the former colonial countries. The Anti-Communist bogey through which the imperialists try to justify all their reckless and brutal interference is wearing thin as a veil to hide their fiendish/....3

fiendish and wolfish plots of plunder, greed, exploitation, aggression and atrocities which they perpetrate against the people of the world.

12. As the capitalist world begins to shrink, the rivalry between the imperialists for markets and dominance increases, and so do their differences and conflicts. Military and economic organisations like Nato, Cento, SEATO, the O.A.S. and the Common Market which were set up to protect shaky imperialist interests, economically and militarily become insecure and are in a constant state of crisis. The domination of her partners by the U.S. is being challenged. The prestige of the imperialists and their leader the United States is dwindling. Throughout the world criticism of their complete disregard for human rights and their support for fascist and racialist regimes like South Africa, Portugal, and West Germany is mounting and becoming more caustic. Economic crisis is seriously aggravating their position at home and abroad.

13. The imperialists appear strong, formidable and sometimes even invincible but in fact they are growing weaker and weaker as the Socialist Community grows stronger and the liberation movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America struggle more fiercely for the independence of their people. Apart from inherent causes leading to division amongst the imperialists like their rivalry, one major factor which has contributed to the crisis in which imperialism has found itself is the growing might of the Anti-imperialist movement.

14. THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST MOVEMENT - ITS STRENGTH WEAKNESSES AND POTENTIAL.

The Anti-imperialist movement is the united struggle and effort of all anti-imperialist states, organisations and individuals throughout the entire world. It is a broad movement composed of people with different political beliefs, of different race, colour, and creed, and who are from different walks of life but who are united by their hatred of the evils of imperialism and racialism and their firm belief in national independence genuine democracy, race harmony and peace.

15. The pillars of the anti-imperialist movement are the Soviet Union, and Socialist states in alliance with the progressive independent states in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, the revolutionary liberation movements in countries which are still under colonial or white minority rule, and the democratic forces in the imperialist countries.

16. The anti-imperialist movement is based on the fact that the destinies of all peoples struggling against imperialism are interlinked and inextricably bound together. The joint and concerted action of all progressive forces against imperialism and the mobilisation of the vast masses of the people into a united anti-imperialist front constitutes a mighty and invincible force for the destruction of the imperialists. Unity and action are therefore cardinal in the fulfilment of this objective.

17. The African National Congress and the oppressed and exploited peoples of South Africa together with all genuine democrats, are an integral part of the anti-imperialist movement of the world. We share with all other anti-imperialist peoples of the world, common aims, and objectives and common enemies.

18. There are numerous international organisations whose basic object is the mobilisation of the people against imperialism, like the W.F.T.U., W.I.D.F., W.F.D.Y., I.U.S., the World Peace Council, the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organisation, the Institute of Jurists, the Afro-Asian-Latin American Solidarity Organisation, the Afro-Asian Writers Organisation, A.A.T.U.F., the Pan-African Youth Movement, the African Womens Conference, the Organisation of African Unity and others. The African National Congress has and still participates as fully as it can in the activities of these bodies and in many instances serves on their Executive bodies. This apart from the bitter struggle of their people in South Africa against the fascists and imperialists has been a significant contribution to the global anti-imperialist struggle. It is impossible if not fatal to divorce the struggle of our people in South Africa from the struggle of the peoples of the world.

19. Is the participation of the African National Congress in these international bodies useless and wasteful? Certainly not. Not only do we join the powerful mass of mankind fighting precisely what we are fighting for, but we are able to disseminate information about our struggle thereby winning or strengthening our allies and gaining both moral and material support for our struggle. The international support for the struggle against the South African fascists has been mounting. But misconceptions and even ignorance of the conditions in our country and the struggle are still there in the most unexpected quarters. This is sometimes due to the fact that the enemy and its allies are busy through numerous media of powerful propaganda to distort and even lie about what is happening in our country. It is of course correct that action inside our country is a more positive and dynamic contribution towards the struggle against imperialism. But the action itself and constant international explanation and agitation must go hand in hand. It is not necessary to go into the details of how the so-called "mau-mau" struggle was slandered and isolated by the British to the extent that it was not understood and not effectively supported by the international progressive world for lack of proper publicity. Karl Marx's call "Workers of the World Unite" is equally applicable to the anti-imperialists at this grave and critical time, "Anti-imperialists of the World Unite."

20. THE OFFENSIVE OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT AND THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST FORCES.

The past decade has been an era of national revolution and an upsurge of anti-imperialism which has resulted in the most rapid and unprecedented disintegration of colonialism in its old form. The frontiers of imperialism have been shrinking under the pounding blows of the offensive launched by the liberation movements throughout the world.

21. With-in a period of less than ten years the number of the independent African states has increased to 41. The phenomenal victory by the national liberation movements over the imperialists was made possible by the number of factors. Firstly there is the fundamental change in the world situation which has been brought about by the growing strength and unity of the Socialist countries which are selflessly dedicated towards the struggle for the destruction of colonialism. Secondly militant and determined liberation movements have been growing in the colonial countries. Thirdly systematic and conscientious efforts have been made by all anti-imperialist forces throughout the world to forge their unity and to pool their efforts against colonialism. Fourthly the inherent greed of the imperialists has produced conflicts within their own ranks which have resulted in manoeuvres and counter manoeuvres amongst themselves. Finally each imperialist country has been weakened by crises and internal problems within its own state, and the vigorous onslaught of working class and other democratic movements.

22. The victories of the liberation movements particularly in Africa whether they were achieved by peaceful or violent means have been a source of great inspiration to millions of oppressed people and have given impetus and momentum to their struggles. Freedom and independence are no longer a remote dream but have become an immediate reality. The growth of regional, continental and international anti-imperialist organisations and the numerous acts of solidarity amongst the anti-imperialist peoples have become a life belt to those who are still battling in the storm against the racist colonialists and fascists.

23. One of the greatest achievements of this era has been that colonialism as an ideology has been outlawed internationally and the people have discovered their immense strength to assault it successfully. The myth and facade of the invincibility of the racialists, colonialists, imperialists have been disproved for ever.

24. The victories of the national liberation movements were in most cases not easy, smooth and complete. Nor was the retreat of the imperialists always unplanned and a complete defeat. Imperialism resorted to many political, military, economic and other corrupt stratagems to extend its lease of life and to save as much as it could in its erstwhile colonies.

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25. In certain parts of the world like Southern Africa and Portuguese Guinea the imperialists are continuing to resist the legitimate demands of the people through ruthless repressions and police and military terrorism. This is no accident but a deliberate design by the imperialists to maintain these areas as their last frontiers, as bastions of colonialism and as a spring-board for re-colonisation.

26. COUNTER OFFENSIVE BY THE IMPERIALISTS.

Imperialists have never approved the abolition of colonialism and the oppression and exploitation of the people. When they were forced out of their former colonies by the strength of the people they tried to cover their retreat by making loud announcements that they were "granting the people their independence". This was a despicable lie. It is only through the courageous struggles and sacrifices of the people that they have won their freedom.

27. The disintegration and collapse of colonialism and the growth and unity of the anti-imperialist forces have driven the imperialists to desperation which has led them to launch a sinister and vigorous counter-offensive against the newly independent states, the national liberation movement and anti-imperialist organisations.

28. This counter offensive is yielding spectacular victories for the imperialists and temporary but serious reverses for the African revolution as well as dangerous cracks in the unity of the anti-imperialist forces of the world. The initiative which has been so firmly held by the anti-imperialist forces of the world is in grave danger due to this counter offensive of the imperialists.

29. It is true that that initiative has not been completely lost but within a period of about two years the imperialists have done sufficient damage to independent states, liberation movements and anti-imperialist organisations to shake us out of our complacency and to call for greater vigilance and a closer study of the methods of the imperialists.

30. The victories of the imperialists and the reverses of the revolutionary anti-imperialist forces are of course a temporary feature. That is a fundamental fact. However, comforting as this fact may be it is no solution to the grave problems which now face us. Nor is it an effective answer to the grim and brutal counter offensive which is causing so much suffering to millions of people. The real solution can only be found by an exhaustive and candid examination of the strength and weakness, mistakes, faults and potential of the anti-imperialist forces on the one hand and on the other the strategy and tactics of the imperialists which has enable them to exploit these weaknesses and mistakes and to score the victories which they have now scored.

31. The bold and aggressive counter offensive of the colonialists has been timed to take place at a time when there is discord in the entire imperialist forces of the world both nationally and internationally. In many instances as in the newly independent states the colonialists have cunningly created internal problems through political and economic intrigues and by bribery and subversion in order to undermine the independence of these states and to retain political and economic control over them.

32. DISCORD IN THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST FORCES.

One of the greatest tragedies of our time has been the discord in the Socialist camp which has weakened the main shield of the peoples against imperialism. This division has reflected itself in all international anti-imperialist organisations. Those of the youth, women, Trade Unions and even inter-continental organisations like the Afro-Asian Organisation.

33. The potency and effectiveness of these bodies have been unfortunately reduced at a critical time. So most precious time is spent by certain sections in reckless and disruptive activities whereas the positive contribution by these anti-imperialist organisations in a common strategy against/.....6

against imperialism is invaluable.

34. This discord has had the effect of dividing newly independent states, Communist Parties and even National Liberation Movements.

35. The imperialists are striking and are engaging in the most reckless adventures in Asia, Africa, and Latin America and one of the factors which spurs them in their criminal acts is the knowledge of the discord and disagreement which exists among the anti-imperialist forces.

36. Some of the strength and energy of the anti-imperialist movement is being tragically wasted on internal disputes whilst the enemy continues to strike with ever growing audacity. Solidarity, that powerful weapon of the anti-imperialist forces is being corroded. In some instances corrupt methods have been resorted to in a bid to win support. Those organisations which maintain their independence and which refuse to yield to pressure become the objects of vilification and abuse. On the other hand charlatans and political careerists whose reputation cannot stand examination by day light are being frantically recruited and exalted as revolutionaries and the true representatives of the people, despite the fact that the contrary is well known. There have also been attempts to establish anti-imperialist organisations which were merely factions or cliques. This is a serious situation, so long as it exists, so long will the imperialists bolster their courage and engage in bolder and more aggressive acts against the people.

37. Imperialists military intervention and aggression in Vietna, the Dominican Republic and the Congo, the numerous counter revolutionary coups and all forms of subversion to restore the domination of the colonialists have succeeded particularly because of the discord which exists in the anti-imperialist forces. The forums of the anti-imperialist organisation are not platforms for ideological and inter-state disputes but are an anvil where all anti-imperialists should try to forge their common weapon to fight against imperialism. Difficulties there might well be between members of the anti-imperialist movement but these must never be made to appear more important than the historic and common duty of destroying the monster of colonialism in all its forms.

38. The anti-imperialist forces have scored numerous victories and their potential in unity and concerted action is boundless. It is therefore, the solemn duty of all genuine anti-imperialists to strengthen the unity of this mighty force, and to make it as invincible as it should be. Those who continue to sow discord and confusion are consciously or unconsciously trying to divert the movement from its objectives and are assisting the imperialists and undermining the revolutionary struggle.

39. For reasons which we will show later the African National Congress is deeply interested in the unity of the anti-imperialist movement. The success of the struggle in South Africa, its duration and cost in human life depends to a great extent upon the solidarity, strength and unity of the anti-imperialist forces of the world.

40. The establishment of the Tri-Continental conference is a historical event of the greatest importance in strengthening the anti-imperialist camp. The solidarity of the peoples of Asia, Latin America and Africa will be cemented into a powerful instrument against the imperialists. Nothing should be done to divert it from its historic mission and revolutionary ideals against colonialism and neo-colonialism contained in its resolutions.

41. As we have stated before imperialism and Fascism are using South Africa as their base and springboard for launching a counter-revolutionary offensive in Africa. The aggressive nature of these forces constitutes a direct threat to peace and independence not only in Africa but also in the rest of the world.

42. In this situation, and as an internationalist duty, it is crucial in the present that all progressive forces the world over should realise that they constitute one of the main motive forces in wiping out imperialism and fascism in South Africa. That realisation must be translated in
adequate/....7

adequate concrete action in support of the national liberation movement in South Africa, as led by the A.N.C.

43. The duty of the anti-imperialist forces that stand against Vorster Fascism is no less today than the duty that faced the progressive forces against Hitler Nazism during the Second World War.

44. From the progressive point of view, there must be a fundamental change of attitude and outlook towards the struggle against fascism in South Africa.

45. The anti-imperialist movement has tremendous potential. The urgent and immediate need is to cement its Unity, to ensure that it has its own global strategy to counter the imperialist, to examine the activities of its numerous components to ensure greater coordination and avoid duplication. Above all aggressive imperialist counter attack requires a bolder assault by the anti-imperialist forces along every front.

CONGRESS ALLIANCE.

A DISCUSSION PAPER

The first beginnings for joint actions and struggles was started with the declaration of the Dadoo, Xuma and Naicker Pact in 1949. And with this commenced the first major and historic joint struggle for freedom and democracy in 1950, when the ANC, SAIC, SACPO and the SACP called a general strike on June 26 which was a united action by the oppressed people, and this joint struggle laid a firm basis for future joint actions. This was followed by the historic Defiance Campaign of 1952, the great assembly of the COP, which comprised of the ANC, SAIC, SACPC, SACTU (but not the CPSA, because it was banned by the Nationalist Government in 1950), and then there was the Protest Day strike of 1958 and the General Strike and Pass burning campaign after Sharpeville in 1961.

With the adoption of the Freedom Charter which became the common programme of the various Congresses led to closer co-operation and working of these Organisations and subsequently this brought about is now commonly known as the "Congress Alliance". Before the alliance was formally set up the various Congress worked through what was known as the National Consultative Committee.

After over a decade of joint action to-day the question is being posed whether the "Congress Alliance" as constituted should still continue to work both at home and abroad, or whether there should be one organisation to lead the revolutionary struggle in South Africa. These are important questions and before we proceed to answer these it is necessary to recall certain debates and discussions during 1958 and the years that followed on the role of the Congress Alliance. There was a school of thought which stated that the Congresses should merge because it was divided into racial or national lines. And also since it had a common programme in the Freedom Charter there should be one organisation. During the discussion that ensued it became clearly evident that this was a erroneous line and the various Congresses rejected it on the following grounds:

1. The various Congresses came into being at different stages of the development of the political struggle in South Africa.
2. That the various Congresses are not a political party but national organisations which embraces all sections of the people irrespective of ideological views and differences are brought together on a common programme.
3. That the time was not ripe for the merging of the various organisations due to the consciousness among the people.
4. That whilst the various national groups have a common oppressor, it also has certain peculiarities which precludes the coming into being of one organisation. The peculiarities are some of the oppressive laws which donot affect all sections of the people.

For the above and other reasons the theory of one organisation was rected. During this period another erroneous view was being put forward and that is the ANC is not projecting its image and this was termed as the "African Image" clearly to the people and the world at large. And added to this was the view that the various Congresses were not functioning properly and their organisations are not being strengthened, because of the Congress Alliance. It was also stated that the organisational weaknesses of the Congresses were due to the composition of the Congress Alliance. And therefore the various organisations should work independently and the Congress Alliance as constituted should cease and instead revert to the former position of holding joint consultations on a National and Provincial level.

Now let us examine the various issues which gave rise to the formation of the/.....2

the Congress Alliance and whether it has a role to play at home and abroad and whether it should still exist at all.

Having rejected the one organisation theory, the Congress Alliance continued to function, but not very satisfactorily though, in view of the new theory to project the African image. However, the Alliance continued with its work and called upon the various Congresses to build their respective organisations and carry out the policy and programme of the Freedom Charter and there by strengthening the Alliance. It was felt that the inactivity and organisational weaknesses of the various Congresses are matters which should engage the urgent attention of the respective organisations and the Alliance should not be held responsible for such failures.

In 1960 when the ANC which was and is the main force in the Alliance was banned the Congress Movement was immediately face with new problems and this was further aggravated with the banning of the COD. In spite of this the Alliance still continued to function with the ANC and COD fully participating in the affairs of the Alliance.

Are the reasons advanced in rejecting the one organisation theory still valid. We think it is and therefore very careful and mature consideration must be given if any changes, if at all has to be made in the structure of the Alliance. One must take into account the situation at home and abroad and whether the Alliance as constituted should continue to exist and carry out its activities.

After the banning of the ANC and COD, the Alliance effectively carried out both legal and illegal activities and this will continue until victory is achieved.

At present SACTU, SAIC and SACPC are the only legal organisations of the Alliance and for all intents and purposes these are illegal because of the harsh limitations imposed by the Vorster Government. Can these organisations in the circumstances play an effective role? Yes. They can. They must and can continue to work both legally and illegally. These organisations must carry out whatever little legal work that could be done to assist in the mobilisation of the oppressed people for the revolutionary struggle. These organisations can and must assist the underground movement and the armed struggle.

Reverting to the question of one organisation it must be pointed out that in view of recent legislation organisations of mixed membership cannot be formed (Liberal Party had to disband) and in view of this the various Congresses will have to exist independently and strengthen the Alliance and the underground movement.

On the question of projecting the "African Image" it was argued that the premier national organisation in South Africa the ANC was not playing its independent role effectively because it was submerged in the Alliance. Is this statement correct? Most certainly not. Because the Alliance was a broad front of the various Congresses committed to a common programme to be carried out by the respective organisations. This has, is and will continue to be the correct approach in the South African context.

The question that should be posed is not the projection of the "African Image", but the projection of the joint struggles of the oppressed of all nationalities under the leadership of the Congress Alliance, whose main force is the ANC. Our struggle in South Africa is unique, because it is not only the African people who are fighting for democratic rights and national independence, but equally the Indian and Coloured peoples. So it is of vital importance that we should project this image forcefully and without any reservation at home and abroad and we must not succumb to pressures or the whims and fancies of some people at home and abroad that the ANC or the African people should and must "go it alone". It must also be pointed out that in our struggle for national liberation we also have the unqualified support of the Congress of Democrats, a purely white organisation and other progressive whites.

At this juncture of our struggle what changes are visualised in the structure/.....3

structure of the Alliance or should there be any changes at all. Even if we wanted to disband the Alliance as constituted at home, we cannot take such a drastic step because we have no mandate to do so, and even if we do so, we cannot impose such a decision to be binding on the Alliance at home. What we should and must do is not the disbandment of the Alliance but its consolidation.

At this stage it would be appropriate to raise the question of the SACP in the Liberation struggle. The SACP together with the Congress Alliance and other progressive forces have led the struggle for national liberation. And in view of the fact that it had participated in joint campaigns at home, we should open our doors, so that the SACP should also take its rightful place in the Alliance, so that our ranks would be further consolidated. And we should also consider bringing in any other organisation which is prepared to accept our programme and policy and thereby further broadening and consolidating the revolutionary Front for the emancipation of our people.

In our struggle for liberation we must unite all sections of the oppressed and progressive forces into a broad united Anti-imperialist front, because our struggle in South Africa is going to be a long, protracted and difficult one. The fight against the Vorster regime is indeed a fight against imperialism, so therefore our struggle must be directed against Imperialism and the reactionary ruling class and all the reactionary forces.

In raising the question of a broad united front, we must also raise the question of our programme embodied in the Freedom Charter. Is this programme dynamic? Does it fulfil the requirements of the armed peoples' struggle which we have embarked on? Does it meet with the requirements of a broad united peoples' front?

Our programme most certainly has certain limitations, in view of the fact that it was drawn up at a time when the question of the armed struggle did not arise and hence was not discussed. It has its limitations in that the armed struggle is not merely going to be just for the removal of the pass laws, colour bars and the destruction of the apartheid system (the imperialists also support us on this) but our revolution must be a profound one which must overthrow imperialism, the reactionary ruling classes, the Nationalist Government and all other reactionaries who support the present South African regime.

Our programme does not say anything about our fight against Imperialism, and this is a serious omission, because the main enemy of the oppressed peoples throughout the world is American Imperialism in particular and Imperialism in general, and hence we are part and parcel of the world wide anti-imperialist movement for national liberation. Our struggle and the fight against oppression is indeed against imperialism, because it is imperialism which is the mainstay of the reactionary Nationalist Government and the ruling class in South Africa.

Another limitation is what type of government will be set up in South Africa. Will it be a national democratic government of all nationalities, of the various political parties or a worker-peasant soldier government.

Another limitation is on the land question and foreign monopolies etc. etc. These and others are some of the questions that have to be thoroughly debated and correct decisions arrived at in the light of the present situation and our struggle and make the necessary changes, so that we could pronounce to our people and the world with no uncertainty and rouse and mobilise our people around such a revolutionary, dynamic programme.

And now we must consider the question of organisation and leadership in relation to such a programme. You will readily agree that the implementation of a revolutionary programme needs a revolutionary organisation and leadership.

You will also agree...../4

You will also agree that to build a strong and powerful movement such as ours we must comply with certain basic fundamental and essential requirements of being in a revolutionary organisation.

These are:

1. We must belong to a unit of our organisation.
2. Make regular financial contribution to the organisation.
3. Carryout the policy, programme and decisions of the organisation.
4. Democratic centralism and collective leadership must be adhered to at all times.

If any revolutionary organisation wants to fulfil its tasks and complete the revolution, then it must strictly adhere to these fundamental and basic prerequisites to membership.

If any one of these requirements are absent then the organisation will suffer and will not function satisfactorily.

And finally, the leadership must be dedicated, dynamic, energetic and inspiring not only to its membership, but to the masses of the people it is leading.

Its only such a leadership that could rally the masses of our people to a successful revolution.

The failures, bad style in work, lack of guidance and clarity stems from a poor or bad leadership. And when one speaks of leadership one does not only refer to National leadership but leadership at all levels.

This short discussion paper has raised a number of questions concerning the Congress Alliance, its role and leadership and we hope that the debate that would follow will clarify the issues raised and make concrete proposals to the forthcoming National Conference.

THE A.N.C. - Z.A.F.U ALLIANCE

1. There has always been an identity of interests between South Africa and Rhodesia. Indeed, the very name RHODESIA is derived from the arch-imperialist Cecil Rhodes. The White South African history shows that both the Boers and the British have always cast their covetous eyes across the Limpopo. By means of the Grootvlei Treaty of July 1887 the Transvaal Republic tried to lay claim to parts of Rhodesia. Then Rhodes stepped on the scene. By 1888, the agents of Rhodes and the South African mining interests had outmanoeuvred King Lobengula and secured the notorious Rudd concessions. Britain blessed this act with a Royal Charter to Rhodes and in September 1890, Rhodesia was annexed in Queen Victoria's name.
2. In modern times there has been steady cooperation between the minority regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia in the economic, political and military sphere. These relations took a sharp upward turn round about 1960.

During the struggle of the African Nationalists against the oppressive Central African Federation, Roy Welensky acted then, very much like Ian Smith today. Welensky, alarmed by the political developments in Central Africa, dashed to South Africa for help.

In the economic sphere, the economies of both South Africa and Rhodesia are dominated by the same financial magnates like the Anglo-American Corporation, De Beers Consolidated Mines, the Standard and Barclays Bank, the National and Grindlays Bank has major interests both in Rhodesia and South Africa etc., etc.

Recently, South Africa has given Rhodesia a loan to the tune of R10,000,000. Military co-operation between the two countries has been in force since 1960.

THEN CAME U.D.I. Ian Smith admitted at his party conference in Gwelo in 1967, that Rhodesia would never have declared UDI without promises of concrete support from South Africa. Since UDI, Rhodesia has virtually become a satellite of South Africa. Today, South African troops occupy the country.

3. As far as the Africans were concerned, in both countries, our people realised at an early stage that they were indeed fighting against a common enemy. Hence leaders of the African National Congress made common cause with the people of Zimbabwe in the struggle against the notorious Land Act of 1913. In the legal battles in Zimbabwe African lawyers from South Africa also participated for example Advocate Mangena went there in 1918 and after he was deported the lawyer Richard Msimang also went.

Then in 1919, Rev. Ngcayiya who formed part of the A.N.C. delegation which went to petition Britain against racist oppression, also spoke for the people of Zimbabwe, among whom he had worked.

In 1932, the Africans in Zimbabwe formed the African National Congress.

Quite clearly, there were deep similarities between our A.N.C. and the A.N.C. of Zimbabwe.

Many leaders of the ANC in Zimbabwe had been to South Africa where they had fully participated in the struggle under the banner of the A.N.C. Such leaders as Joshua Nkomo the President of ZAPU, James Chikerema, the Deputy President of ZAPU, the late Dr. Parerenyatwa, T.G. Silundika and many participated actively in our A.N.C. or in its Youth League.

The late Chief A.J. Luthuli, one of the most glorious leaders of the A.N.C. was born in Zimbabwe.

4. The UDI crisis clearly proved beyond all doubts that our worst fears about the existence of an Unholy Alliance between South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal were indeed justified. During the five years preceeding UDI we of the ANC and ZAPU became convinced that our enemy was acting in concert. Our two organisations, therefore, began step by step to join hands. UDI proved that the White racists of Rhodesia were bent on selling the country to the South African fascists and relied entirely on them for political, economic and military support.

OUR ANSWER TO THIS INCIDIOUS CONSPIRACY WAS THE FORMATION OF A MILITARY ALLIANCE BY US AND ZAPU.

5. When \surd crack of rifle fire and the clash of bayonets outside Wankie, announced the birth and baptismal, --- in blood, of the ZAPU-ANC alliance, the two organisations issued a statement on August, 1967, declaring, in the name of Pan-African solidarity, the determination to conduct and prosecute a joint struggle against the combined fascist-racist forces of South Africa and Rhodesia. The statement declared inter alia:

"We wish to declare here that the fighting that is presently going on in the Wankie area is indeed being carried out by a combined force of ZAPU and ANC which marched into the country as comrades-in-arms on a common route, each bound to its destination. It is the determination of these combined forces to fight the common enemy to the finish, at any point of encounter as they make their way to their respective fighting zones.

6. PROBLEMS OF THE ALLIANCE

The alliance has been and will be subjected to intensive attack by the enemy.

Enemy propaganda seeks to give the impression that the trouble makers, the real culprits in the present fighting are the South African ANC men and NOT THE ZIMBABWIANS. This is mischievous propaganda calculated to undermine our alliance. We must find means and ways of rebutting this enemy line.

Secondly, the alliance is under attack from ill-informed and some malevolent people in Africa who claim that the creation of the alliance has complicated the situation in Zimbabwe. They claim that as a result of the alliance South Africa has sent in troops there. Whereas, South African intervention in Zimbabwe took place long before we formed the military alliance with ZAPU.

In rebutting this atroneous attitude we must show that not only did the White racists join hands before we did but **that it is** a fact that right now South African troops are committed in Mozambique and Angola.

7. DEFINITION OF THE ALLIANCE

Does the alliance mean the merger of ZAPU and ANC? Does it mean the merger of the guerilla armies of these two organisations? Does it follow that at every battle or armed engagement the two guerilla armies will at the same front?

8. NEED FOR CO-ORDINATING MACHINERY:

In view of the fact that the organisations forming the alliance have different backgrounds and slightly different problems which they face from time to time, should't we set up a permanent co-ordinating machinery to ensure the smooth running of the alliance?

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A F R I C A .

1. The struggle in South Africa is intimately and unextricable bound with the struggle and developments in Africa, historically, politically, and economically. The victories and reverses of the struggle on other parts of the continent are as much ours in South Africa as it is a their

2. We need hardly remind ourselves, that the founders of the ANC in South Africa from its very inception were deeply conscious of the fact that the unity of the African oppressed and plundered people was of paramount and vital importance. This was expressed unequivocally in resolutions, speeches, songs and our Anthem. Actions were made to urge encourage and participate in Pan-Africanist Conferences whose aim was to Unite the people of the continent to strive jointly against the racialist colonialist and plunderers of our people and resources, and for freedom and human dignity of all the oppressed exploited and humiliated peoples of the whole continent of Africa.

3. Since its inception, the African National Congress of South Africa was the tutor, guide and inspire of many a leader and organisation in parts of Africa which have now attained national independence. This is a historical fact which cannot and should not remain undisclosed.

4. The realisation of the fact that no part of Africa can completely be free and independence unless the whole of Africa was liberated is inherent in the ANC outlook.

5. To some extent the seeds of revolt in many parts of Africa sprouted from the most oppressed, exploited and disarmed people of South Africa. They spread and grew throughout the continent of Africa. Many other factors gave impetus to the glorious chapter in history now known as the African Revolution, which to use the common saying swept like a hurricane throughout the continent in a matter of less than a decade.

6. Colonialist political rule in Africa was coming to an end. Numerous countries one after the other were gaining their independence and sovereignty. This was the first step towards the destruction of all the evils of colonialism, poverty, disease, and illiteracy, on the African continent.

7. It is the irony of history not without reason that when millions and millions of the people of Africa heralded the dawn of freedom and political independence (however formal this might have been) the organisation and people who sparked off or assisted in sparking off this historic epoch on our continent, continue to strive against an avalanche of growing repression, and exploitation of the people. Their victory is not yet in sight in their own country and for themselves. They fortify their courage and determination by what they see in brother African States, that the enemy cannot and will be defeated and victories won, however high the cost might be.

8. THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION) ITS STRENGTH, WEAKNESS AND POTENTIALITIES.

The African Revolution had had a tremendous impact on the world. It has swept aside the hollow myth of white superiority over black. The inability of non-whites ruling themselves, without dominance and trusteeship of a Western state.

9. In world forums the rapid appearance of independent African state has tilted the balance against the former imperialist states on many international issue. political, economic and cultural, and in particular on policies which were.../2

were so reactionary that only outright puppets would support them like racism, and the denial of African Majority Rule.

UNITY ON FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES THE INNATE STRENGTH
OF THE INDEPENDENT STATES OF AFRICA.

10. The fact that the independent states from the beginning sought to unite themselves on common issues was an historic event which shook the imperialists
11. Apart from the meetings and conferences which took place before 1963. The convocation of the OAU in Addis Ababa in 1963 was an historic event and an indelible milestone in Africa and the world. The conference brought together African states of different outlooks and influences, who in the interests of unity of objectives and joint action tried to cement the continent, into a single solid African Anti-imperialist unit.
12. The meeting of African states and the formation of the O.A.U., strengthened and laid the foundations for the discussion and solution of the major issues in Africa and the world. Differences between the African states were there, but credit must be given to the participants in the conference who unequivocally dedicated and pledged themselves to eliminate in joint action colonialism in the remaining parts of Africa, the abolition of Apartheid and racialism in South Africa, and Rhodesia, an attack on foreign monopolies in the continent.
13. It is possible to assess now over six years what the O.A.U. has achieved and what it has not achieved.
14. What is certain, however, is that the imperialists have done everything possible to ensure that its convocation is disrupted each and everytime it tried to meet thereafter. All efforts were made to sow dissension, conflict amongst the members of a potentially powerful force. It is to the credit of the O.A.U. that it has survived all machinations and continues to struggle to assert itself as an anti-imperialist force.
15. Its rejection of war bases, racism, neo-colonialism, the Zimbabwe betrayal, assaults on Arab Sovereignty, and its support for liberation movements struggling against fascism however inadequate this might be, ensures that the flame of anti-imperialism continues to burn, despite desperate efforts by imperialists to extinguish it and abuse this mighty organisation for their own ends.
16. The organisation for African Unity has been a forum for attempting to solve some state and inter-state problems and problems of liberation movements. It would hardly help to gloss over efforts, failures and defeats. Obvious mistakes are the recognition of GRAE, Roberto Holdens so-called revolutionary organisation as opposed to MPLA. The recognition of ZANU which was established as a splinter movement after the OAU Conference itself which declared the need for one organisation in a country.
17. It must be mentioned that to its credit the OAU has vigorously tackled border problems and even violent clashes as in Nigeria.
18. Apart from tribal problems and boundary problems, there do exist problems of differences between what is called Arab Africa and Black Africa. French Africa and English Africa.
19. All these problems are temporary and can and will be solved.
20. What is most disconcerting, however, is the absence of a proper appreciation and assessment of the struggle in South Africa. The inspirer and tutor of African Unity and liberation—the African National Congress of South Africa, is too often relegated to the position of having to be inspired and a student. The strategy and tactics for the struggle in South Africa have become the prerogative of people well meaning but who could hardly have the faintest knowledge of what we have to face. To give just one example there are people who would hold

could hold the view that the South African s oppressed will only gain freedom when the rest of Africa has been freed. This is a wrong understanding and assessment of the situation. As a matter of fact no part of Africa can genuinely be free until and unless the monster of Fascism in South Africa has been smashed.

21. It is not realistic for us to expect that every country in Africa must do the same, or give equally to the struggle against the bastion of reaction in South Africa. Nor would it be realistic to assume that because a country is African it necessarily must support our liberation. South Africa is strong and backed by powerful forces some like Banda in Malawi will be seduced by her temporary might but in the end the anti-imperialist and anti-racist and anti-fascist forces in Africa will rally to our support.

26. COUNTER OFFENSIVE BY THE IMPERIALISTS.

Imperialists have never approved the abolition of colonialism and the oppression and exploitation of the people. When they were forced out of their former colonies by the strength of the people they tried to cover their retreat by making loud announcements that they were "granting the people their independence". This was a despicable lie. It is only through the courageous struggles and sacrifices of the people that they have won their freedom.

27. The disintegration and collapse of colonialism and the growth and unity of the anti-imperialist forces have driven the imperialists to desperation which has led them to launch a sinister and vigorous counter offensive against the newly independent states, the national liberation movement and anti-imperialist organisations.

28. This counter offensive is yielding spectacular victories for the imperialists and temporary but serious reverses for the African revolution as well as dangerous cracks in the unity of the anti-imperialist forces of the world. The initiative which has been so firmly held by the anti-imperialist forces of the world is in grave danger due to this counter offensive of the imperialists.

29. It is true that that initiative has not yet been completely lost but within a period of about two years the imperialists have done sufficient damage to independent states, liberation movements and anti-imperialist organisations to shake us out of our complacency and to call for greater vigilance and a closer study of the methods of the imperialists.

30. The victories of the imperialists and the reverses of the revolutionary anti-imperialist forces are of course a temporary feature. That is a fundamental fact. However, comforting as this fact may be it is no solution to the grave problems which now face us. Nor is it an effective answer to the grim and brutal counter offensive which is causing so much suffering to millions of people. The real solution can only be found by an exhaustive and candid examination of the strength and weakness, mistakes, faults and potential of the anti-imperialist forces on the one hand and on the other, the strategy and tactics of the imperialists which has enabled them to exploit these weaknesses and mistakes to score the victories which they have now scored.

31. The bold and aggressive counter offensive of the colonialists has been timed to take place at a time when there is discord in the entire imperialist forces of the world both nationally and internationally. In many instances as in the newly independent states the colonialists have cunningly created internal problems through political and economic intrigues and by bribery and subversion in order to undermine the independence of these states and to retain political and economic control over them.

32. DISCORD IN THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST FORCES.

One of the greatest tragedies of our time has been the discord in the Socialist camp which has weakened the main shield of the peoples against imperialism. This division has reflected itself in all international anti-imperialist organisations. Those of the youth, women, trade unions and even inter-continental organisations like the Afro-Asian Organisation.

33/.....

33. The potency and effectiveness of these bodies have been unfortunately reduced at a critical time. So most precious time is spent by certain sections in reckless and disruptive activities whereas the positive contribution by these anti-imperialist organisations in a common strategy against imperialism is invaluable.

34. This discord has had the effect of dividing newly independent states, Communist Parties and even National Liberation Movements.

35. The imperialists are striking and are engaging in the most reckless adventures in Asia, Africa, and Latin America and of the factors which spurs them in their criminal acts is the knowledge of the discord and disagreement which exists among the anti-imperialist forces.

36. Some of the strength and energy of the anti-imperialist movement is being tragically wasted on internal disputes whilst the enemy continues to strike with ever growing audacity. Solidarity, that powerful weapon of the anti-imperialist forces is being corroded. In some instances corrupt methods have been resorted to in a bid to win support. Those organisations which maintain their independence and which refuse to yield to pressure become the objects of vilification and abuse. On the other hand charlatans and political careerists whose reputation cannot stand examination by day light are being frantically recruited and exalted as revolutionaries and the true representatives of the people, despite the fact that the contrary is well known. There have also been attempts to establish anti-imperialist organisations which were merely factions or cliques. This is a serious situation, so long as it exists, so long will the imperialists bolster their courage and engage in bolder and more aggressive acts against the people.

37. Imperialists military intervention and aggression in Vietnam, the Dominican Republic and the Congo, the numerous counter revolutionary coups and all forms of subversion to restore the domination of the colonialists have succeeded particularly because of the discord which exists in the anti-imperialist forces. The forums of the anti-imperialist organisations are not platforms for ideological and inter-state disputes but are an anvil where all anti-imperialists should try to forge their common weapon to fight against imperialism. Difficulties there might well be between members of the anti-imperialist movement but these must never be made to appear more important than the historic and common duty of destroying the monster of colonialism in all its forms.

38. The anti-imperialist forces have scored numerous victories and their potential in unity and concerted action is boundless. It is therefore the solemn duty of all genuine anti-imperialists to strengthen the unity of this mighty force, and to make it as invincible as it should be. Those who continue to sow discord and confusion are consciously or unconsciously trying to divert the movement from its objectives and are assisting the imperialists and undermining the revolutionary struggle.

39. For reasons which we will show later the African National Congress is deeply interested in the unity of the anti-imperialist movement. The success of the struggle in South Africa, its duration and cost in human life depends to a great extent upon the solidarity, strength and unity of the anti-imperialist forces of the world.

40. The establishment of the Tri-Continental conference is a historical event of the greatest importance in strengthening the anti-imperialist camp.

The solidarity of the peoples of Asia, Latin America and Africa will be cemented into a powerful instrument against the imperialists. Nothing should be done to divert it from its historic mission and revolutionary ideals against colonialism and neo-colonialism contained in its resolutions.

41. As we have stated before imperialism and fascism are using South Africa as their base and springboard for launching a counter-revolutionary offensive in Africa. The aggressive nature of these forces constitute a direct threat to peace and independence not only in Africa but also in the rest of the world.

42. In this situation, and as an internationalist duty, it is crucial in the present that all progressive forces the world over should realise that they constitute one of the main motive forces in wiping out imperialism and fascism in South Africa. That realisation must be translated in adequate concrete action in support of the national liberation movement in South Africa, as led by the ANC.

43. The duty of the anti-imperialist forces that stand against Vorster fascism is no less today than the duty that faced the progressive forces against Hitler nazism during the Second World War.

44. From the progressive point of view, there must be a fundamental change of attitude and outlook towards the struggle against fascism in South Africa.

45. The anti-imperialist movement has tremendous potential. The urgent and immediate need is to cement its unity, to ensure that it has its own global strategy to counter the imperialists, to examine the activities of its numerous components to ensure greater coordination and avoid duplication. Above all aggressive imperialist counter attack requires a bolder assault by the anti-imperialist forces along every front.

46. OUR INTERNATIONAL STRATEGY AND TACTICS.

- (a) Internationally our activities have been directed towards exposing the evils of Apartheid and racism, both among the broad masses of the people through the Anti-Apartheid Movement and international forums.
- (b) We have succeeded in getting racism and Apartheid outlawed in Declarations and Resolutions of the U.N.
- (c) Politically the policies of the White minority government have negligible public support in the world.
- (d) The U.N. and O.A.U. have supported the demands for economic and diplomatic sanctions and the boycott of S.A. in trade and culture. The full implementation of these have been sabotaged by S.A. imperialist allies. The question of the correctness of insisting on sanctions has sometimes been raised.
- (e) We have called for the expulsion of S.A. from the U.N.
- (f) Our activities have exposed imperialist involvement in S.A. on the side of the racists and we have sought worldwide condemnation of this involvement.

How can we further strengthen international action against S.A. and her allies?

1. The struggle in South Africa is intimately and inextricably bound with the struggle and developments in Africa, historically, politically and economically. The victories and reverses of the struggle on other parts of the continent are as much ours in South Africa as it is theirs.

2. We need hardly remind ourselves, that the founders of the ANC in South Africa from its very inception were deeply conscious of the fact that the unity of the African oppressed and plundered people was of paramount and vital importance. This was expressed unequivocally in resolutions, speeches, songs and our anthem. Actions were made to urge, encourage and participate in Pan-Africanist Conferences whose aim was to unite the people of the continent to strive jointly against the racialists, colonialists and plunderers of our people and resources, and for freedom and human dignity of all the oppressed, exploited and humiliated peoples of the whole continent of Africa.

3. Since its inception, the African National Congress of South Africa was the tutor, guide and inspirer of many a leader and organisation in parts of Africa which have now attained national independence. This is a historical fact which cannot and should not remain undisclosed.

4. The realisation of the fact that no part of Africa can completely be free and independent unless the whole of Africa was liberated is inherent in the ANC outlook.

5. To some extent, the seeds of revolt in many parts of Africa sprouted from the most oppressed, exploited and disarmed people of South Africa. They spread and grew throughout the continent of Africa. Many other factors gave impetus to the glorious chapter in history now known as the African Revolution, which, to use the common saying, swept like a hurricane throughout the continent in a matter of less than a decade.

6. Colonialist political rule in Africa was coming to an end. Numerous countries one after the other were gaining their independence and sovereignty. This was the first step towards the destruction of all the evils of colonialism, poverty, disease, and illiteracy, on the African continent.

7. It is the irony of history not without reason that when millions and millions of the peoples of Africa heralded the dawn of freedom and political independence (however formal this might have been) the organisation and people who sparked off or assisted in sparking off this historic epoch on our continent, continue to strive against an avalanche of growing repression, oppression and exploitation of the people. Their victory is not yet in sight in their own country and for themselves. They fortify their courage and determination by what they see in brother African states, that the enemy can and will be defeated and victories won, however high the cost might be.

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10. UNITY ON FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES--THE INNATE STRENGTH OF THE INDEPENDENT STATES OF AFRICA.

The fact that independent states from the beginning sought to unite themselves on common issues was an historic event which shook the imperialists.

11. Apart from the meetings and conferences which took place before 1963. The convocation of the OAU in Addis Ababa in 1963 was an historic event and an indelible milestone in Africa and the world. The conference brought together African states of different outlooks and influences, who in the interests of unity of objectives and joint action tried to cement the continent, into a single solid African anti-imperialist unit.

12. The meeting of African states and the formation of the OAU strengthened and laid the foundations for the discussion and solution of the major issues in Africa and the world. Differences between the African states were there, but credit must be given to the participants in the Conference who unequivocally dedicated and pledged themselves to eliminate in joint action colonialism in the remaining parts of Africa, the abolition of Apartheid and racialism in South Africa and Rhodesia, an attack on foreign monopolies in the continent.

13. It is possible to assess now over six years what the OAU has achieved and what it has not achieved.

14. What is certain, however, is that the imperialists have done everything possible to ensure that its convocation is disrupted each and every time it tried to meet thereafter. All efforts were made to sow dissension, conflict amongst the members of a potentially powerful force. It is to the credit of the OAU that it has survived all machinations and continues to struggle to assert itself as an anti-imperialist force.

15. Its rejection of war bases, racism, neo-colonialism, the Zimbabwe betrayal, assaults on Arab sovereignty, and its support for liberation movements struggling against fascism however inadequate this might be, ensures that the flame of anti-imperialism continues to burn, despite desperate efforts by imperialists to extinguish it and abuse this mighty organisation for their own ends.

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20. What is most disconcerting, however, is the absence of a proper appreciation and assessment of the struggle in South Africa. The inspirer and tutor of African unity and liberation - the African National Congress of South Africa - is too often relegated to the position of having to be inspired and a student.

The strategy and tactics for the struggle in South Africa have become the prerogative of people well meaning but who could hardly have the faintest knowledge of what we have to face. To give just one example there are people who would hold the view that the S.A. oppressed will only gain freedom when the rest of Africa has been freed. This is a wrong understanding and assessment of the situation. As a matter of fact no part of Africa can genuinely be free until and unless the monster of fascism in South Africa has been smashed.

21. It is not realistic for us to expect that every country in Africa must do the same, or give equally to the struggle against the bastion of reaction in Southern Africa. Nor would it be realistic to assume that because a country is African it necessarily must support our liberation. South Africa is strong and backed by powerful forces some like Banda in Malawi will be seduced by her temporary might but in the end the anti-imperialist and anti-racist and anti-fascist forces in Africa will rally to our support.

SOUTHERN AFRICA.

1. The situation in Southern Africa is a menace to African security and an imminent and serious threat to world peace. This has sometimes been expressed, but it has perhaps never been so vital as now, to make the point again and again and to examine its full implications and the consequences which flow from it.
2. We should remind ourselves of some of the aspects of the white racist and fascist regimes which now dominate Mozambique, Angola, Rhodesia and South Africa. These regimes have maintained through military force and police terrorism systems which have been condemned the world over as a crime against humanity. Nevertheless, in flagrant violation of world condemnation, these racist regimes have intensified their ruthless oppression and exploitation of the people.
3. There are many reasons why these white regimes have been able to sustain and maintain systems which are against the general trend of the African revolution and world development.
4. One of them is that Smith, Vorster and Salazar have systematically built and consolidated what is now known to be an Unholy Alliance. It is an alliance based on a common ideology- the maintenance of colonialism, racism and fascism. It has a common economic objective - the ruthless exploitation of the peoples of Southern Africa and their resources. It also has a common political and military objective - to stem the spread of the African Revolution and to subvert it where it has already been successful.
5. The South African forces are conducting military action jointly with the Portuguese against MPLA in Angola. Last year it was established that 80 South African helicopters were operating against the MPLA militants in their Eastern front. For purposes of working out joint strategy the Commander-in-Chief of the Portuguese forces in Angola and the South African Commander-in-Chief meet at least once a month. Military support and contingents of South African troops in Mozambique have been the subject of frequent reports. The question of South African troops in Zimbabwe will be dealt with elsewhere.
6. The Role of South Africa in the Alliance.

South Africa is the main pillar of this Alliance, with its tremendous economic resources, its military might, which is out of all proportion for its needs, it stands out as the senior partner and gives technical, financial and military aid to the Smith regime, Salazar in Mozambique and Angola. Smith openly declared to the Congress of his Party last year that but for the assurance of South African support, he would not have declared UDI.
7. The South African racist regime has acquired all the aggressive features of an imperialist state. It is only necessary to mention the brazen annexation of South West Africa against decisions of the U.N.; the constant threats of military attacks on countries like Zambia and Tanzania; the acts of subversion, sabotage and spying carried out in African states; the export of mercenaries - these are the signs of an expansionist policy.
8. The Portuguese have already violated Zambian and Tanzanian sovereignty by bombarding border villages.

9. Imperialist Conspiracies.

Behind this Unholy Alliance is an even more ruthless and desperate alliance of the imperialists, the U.S., Britain, France, West Germany, etc. They have deliberately tried to build Southern Africa, and South Africa in particular, into a fortress of racialism and colonialism. The last outpost of imperialism in Africa and a ready springboard to endanger and wreck the sovereignty of the African states and threaten world peace. South Africa is the treasure house of the imperialists but, more than that, it is one of their most important strategic military bases and ally in their global strategy directed against the forces of national liberation, democracy and peace.

10. The enormous military might of the South African racist regime has been deliberately and systematically built over many years with the direct assistance of the imperialist powers. They supplied the technical know-how, the materials and the manpower to accelerate the growth of that monstrous arsenal in South Africa. This was no idle exercise by the imperialist powers. It was part of a well considered strategy.

11. The Minister of Defence of the White minority government stated openly that the role of South Africa in Africa is the same as the role of the U.S. in the world and that was to fight what he called communism.

12. The commitment and involvement of South Africa in the global strategy of the imperialists is no new phenomenon. In the historic patriotic war of the People's Republic of Korea, South Africa did not hesitate to send its military personnel there to fight against the people of Korea. Only recently in the Middle East war, so-called South African volunteers were mobilised to render assistance to Israel. Financial and material assistance were also given. The South African government constantly boasts that it is the most stable ally of the imperialist powers, and offers them ready passage via the Cape to prosecute their nefarious plots and war in South East Asia.

13. South Africa - Zimbabwe - Britain.

Britain is involved in one of the most despicable acts of treachery against the African people in Zimbabwe. The British labour government has deliberately permitted and encouraged the White minority to seize and monopolise political power despite Britain's persistent assurance that there will be no independence before majority rule generally known as (NIBMLR). Smith has now introduced a fascist Constitution which is intended to ensure that political power is entrenched in the White minority and majority rule is relegated to the dust bin. Despite world-wide popular demand, and also in spite of the fact that Wilson himself declared the UDI an act of rebellion by Smith and his racist henchmen, the British Government has consistently refused to use force to restore order in Rhodesia. Britain has deliberately resorted to all forms of ineffectual methods, numerous and worthless talks, cunningly manipulated sanctions which allowed Smith's regime to get all it wants through the backdoor, South Africa.

14. Both the South African fascist regime and Britain are vitally interested in retaining Rhodesia as a buffer state forming part of a reactionary iron belt barrier with South West Africa in the west, Angola in the North-west and Mozambique in the east to protect the imperialist treasure house, South Africa, from any outside attack.

15. When guerrilla war started in Zimbabwe under the leadership of the ANC/ZAPU Alliance, South Africa without any hesitation sent thousands of troops and a vast quantity of military equipment to the rescue of Smith's weaker forces. The basic purpose was to protect the buffer state from collapsing and to keep the guerrilla onslaught as far as possible from the borders of South Africa. In desperation the Vorster regime also threatened that they will hit the so-called "terrorists" where they find them, and will not wait for them to attack. Everything was being done to make sure that South Africa itself did not become the theatre of war. The collapse of the Smith regime spelt a real and imminent danger for South Africa. If that happened for once the fighting forces of the people of South Africa would have a friendly bordering country and this would bring a qualitative change in the armed struggle in South Africa, in favour of the peoples forces.

16. In pouring their forces into Rhodesia the Vorster regime was trying to solve one problem but created numerous others. One of them was the fact that this weakened their military force in the rear and drew out the fascist forces on a long line of defence. The heavy casualties inflicted by our forces came as a shock and had an adverse effect both on the morale of the so-called 'superior' white forces and on the white population in South Africa. This is part of the reason why Vorster was urging a settlement between Britain and Smith at all costs. The burden of defending Rhodesia was creating problems and difficulties for the South African regime.

17. 'The fearless talks' were intended to legalise Smith's regime without divesting Rhodesia of White minority rule. In this way Britain would be able to send its forces not against Smith but against armed revolution in Zimbabwe. At the same time Britain would be able to turn to African states and inform them that it had complied with the demand to send its forces to Zimbabwe, Smith was now under control and there was no purpose served in supporting guerrilla struggle against Zimbabwe.

18. In this way White minority rule would be protected in Rhodesia and the South African troops could be withdrawn to protect fascist South Africa from within.

19. More sinister and dangerous to world peace is the Alliance of South Africa and West Germany. This Alliance is based primarily on the objective of restoring Nazi ideology and power on a world scale. An ideology which with all its criminal features caused so much misery, suffering, destruction and death to the humanity and undermined world peace for so many years. It is not necessary to recall the details of that horrifying period. There is no doubt that the Pretoria-Bonn axis is plotting and preparing for another expansionist adventure in Africa, based on Hitler's mad dreams. This should not be taken lightly.

20. Bonn and Pretoria, it is well known, are partners in building nuclear weapons in Pretoria. Soon South Africa and West Germany will be a nuclear power. This is a grave development, because what the West German militarists are unable to do in West Germany they now carry out in South Africa. The Nuclear Alliance of West Germany and South Africa is not for peaceful purposes but for war, a war of desperation by a doomed alliance.

21. The only reliable allies of the imperialists and fascists in Africa are the Southern African racialist and fascist states. This fascist alliance includes the Smith regime.

22. The peoples of Southern Africa, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and Angola are at war, under the leadership of their organisations - ANC, ZAPU, FRELIMO and MPLA.

23. Beginning in August 1967 a new phase of the armed struggle has opened with the formation of a military alliance between the ANC and the ZAPU. Freedom-fighters of the ANC/ZAPU alliance have entered into armed clashes with the combined forces of the Smith and Vorster regimes.

24. Inevitably the guerrilla struggle will be intensified and the masses of the people will continuously join in meeting armed repression with armed revolt.

25. Our people's inevitable victory is also dependent on the vital role played by the governments and peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, the international working-class movement and the socialist countries.

26. We are waging our struggle not only against the fascist Vorster regime, but also against the Unholy Alliance of Vorster, Smith and Salazar. Imperialism, led by the USA, considers its duty to protect the White minority regime in South Africa and to maintain imperialism's hegemony over all of Southern Africa. For this reason, the imperialists ensure that South Africa continues as their fortress - hence the military, technical, economic and other might that the South African white racists control and have turned against our people and organisation.

27. An important characteristic is that nazism is firmly resolved to regroup in South Africa. The involvement of West Germany in this development has been fully documented especially by the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the GDR.

28. Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland, are in a compromising situation as far as fascist South Africa is concerned. Because of their economic, communications and other dependence on South Africa they have been blackmailed to commit acts of hostility against the liberation movement of Southern Africa and to cooperate with the Vorster regime in obstructing the armed struggle. These three countries are members of the OAU an organisation pledged to support the liberation of the whole of Africa and which is opposed to Apartheid, Colonialism, Fascism, and White Minority Rule.

SOME CONCLUSIONS.

29. The situation in Southern Africa demonstrates:-

(a) The correctness of the ANC/ZAPU Alliance, and the need to do everything possible to consolidate and cement this alliance.

(b) The urgent need (long overdue) of establishing and developing a properly organised Alliance between ANC/ZAPU/FRELIMO/MPLA and the People's Organisation of South West Africa.

(c) The concept of the Unholy Alliance which regards the whole of Southern Africa as a single indivisible theatre of war. Basically this should be the

outlook..../5.

outlook of the liberation movement, but in addition to this general view every effort should be made to kindle the fire of armed struggle in as many areas as possible and in particular in South Africa which is the mainstay of reaction. Because no part of Southern Africa indeed even Africa can really be free unless the racialist and fascist regime of Vorster has been smashed.

- (d) The struggle in Southern Africa is going to be a protracted and difficult one, and the whole movement should gear itself for the better hardships which lie ahead.
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1. THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

- The fascist Nationalist Party of Vorsters continues to intensify its repressive measures on the people relentlessly. There was what appeared to be a division within the party in the form of factions called the Verligte and the Verkrampste. This dispute was not based on the fundamental question of fascism, the right wing Hertzog-led group wanted Apartheid more rigidly applied. The Afrikaaner Nationalist Government has consolidated its position. Amongst the white population it has gained increased electoral support.
2. The United Party has surrendered on all important policy issues. It can never be of any significance as far as fundamental changes are concerned. Resistance of any significance amongst the whites and which in the circumstances deserves commendation comes from students in the Universities and the English press, and some cases, courageous priests. Vorster does not hesitate to stifle any form of opposition. Even priests have been threatened that their cloaks will not protect them from punishment if they criticised government policy. In some instances Vorster has reacted to criticism of Apartheid and demonstrations by students by deportation of anyone associated with opposition and who was not a South African national. Priests have had the renewal of their permits refused, and virtually thrown out of South Africa. The resistance which is put up by the priests and students alike is courageous but it has little or no effect in reversing the fascist trend of the Nationalist regime.
3. There is hardly any sphere of South African life which is not permeated by the political police. Students in all white universities like the Witwatersrand University have been recruited and approached for recruitment to serve Vorsters S.S.
4. Despite its sweeping majority at the polls it cannot trust even its own white base, and like Hitler's Nazis it is forced to build a network of police informers, and spies, even amongst the whites. The African National Congress long warned that fascist repression will not be confined to Africans, Coloureds, Indians and White democrats but will extend to every section of the South African population. Fascism demands absolute submission, this is the only way it can extend its lease of life, that is why the Vorster regime rules by indoctrination, terror, torture and spies. This is the basic motive force of fascist survival wherein lies the seeds of its own destruction.
5. The facade of political dominance and peace in fascist South Africa, economic stability and a dependable area for Capitalist investment are superficial beneath this mighty bulwark of fascism, imperialism and racism are the rumblings of the eruption of a struggle whose dimensions are yet unknown.
6. The African National Congress and other South African democratic organisations have over the past years succeed in isolating the Apartheid, Racism and Fascism in South Africa. World condemnation has grown in volume year after year. Internationally South Africa has lost the political battle to justify her insane policies. Even her supporters and erstwhile defenders the Western imperialist powers have been forced to retreat from justifying the brutal racism as practised by Vorsters regime. They have been compelled to condemn it as an abomination, but
- continue...../2.

continue to bolster it overtly and covertly for their own selfish economic and strategic ends. Considerable blood transfusion is being pumped into South African racist regime by the imperialist powers, through massive economic investment, military and technical assistance.

7. THE ECONOMIC SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Economically South Africa is the most advanced country in Africa. Its natural resources and wealth far surpass other countries in Africa. Gold, diamonds, coal, and numerous other valuable minerals form the basic veins of the rocks beneath the soil of the country. The soil of the country yields and is capable of yielding diverse agricultural products. The meadows are the grazing ground of ever flourishing pastoral animals - sheep, goats, cattle, horses, mules etc. These are the material resources of South Africa. But its wealth has been and is produced by the most ruthless exploitation of African labour. Cheap labour and vast natural resources are the basis for what now is an imperialist, racist and fascist South Africa.

8. South African Monopoly Companies are the greatest importers of cheap labour and the greatest exploiters of the material wealth and profits from the country. In the past there were numerous other parts of Africa which have now withdrawn from the direct export of labour. The policy of the fascist regime, apartheid and separate development is in essence fundamentally the creation of conditions for the exploitation of labour at its lowest levels and the guarantee of super dividends and profits for all those who invest in it. This is the economic stability of the South African situation so much boasted about by visiting industrialists from capitalist countries. Profits and dividends are certain and high at the expense of human life and dignity.

9. It is not necessary to mention here the labour and economic dependence of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland on South Africa. These have been referred to before. The Vorster regime fashions its relations with these countries in such a way as to ensure that their internal and external policies are shaped in the interests of the South African regime.

10. The Bantustans which have now been established in the Transkei and Ovamboland and which Vorster hopes to establish over so-called 'Bantu Areas' merely constitute cheap labour reservoirs.

11. The exploitation of the Africans in comparison to whites is demonstrated by the following in mining, manufacturing and electricity.

Whites £123½ per month.
 Coloureds £27½ per month.
 Asians £25 per month.
 Africans £17½ per month.

12. A comparison of earnings of South African white and non-white workers with those of other countries confirms the fact that South Africa's white workers were better off than English workers and not far behind American workers.

13. The national and economic oppression remains as harsh as ever; this is the basic and irreconcilable conflict between the exploiting minority and the oppressed masses which will only be

resolved...../3.

resolved by fierce armed struggle.

14. In the economic field there are conflicts within the ruling class and the Government. ^{Become of} The serious labour problems caused by the rigid application of the industrial colour-bar, a section of the industrialists are pressing for certain categories of semi-skilled labour to be opened up to non-whites.

15. Aspiring to a neo-colonialist role in Africa, certain financial circles including supporters of the Nationalist Party as the Rupert-Rembrandt group, oppose blatant declaration of crude 'baasskap' policy and advocate the opening of the reserves to penetration by 'white' capital.

16. South African balance of payments is firm, during the period when the capitalists are battling through a monetary crisis the rand remains as stable as ever. But this stability is temporary. South Africa is in effect an area of instability and revolutionary activity which is going to plunge the whole country into one of the fiercest and most bitter struggles for power.

17. THE MILITARY SITUATION.

Over a number of years now the South African fascist regime has been arming ~~the white minority regime~~ ^{itself} to the teeth.

18. Defence estimates have jumped from 44 million Rand (1960-1961) to 255 million Rand (1966-1967). Police expenditure over the same period had advanced from R36 million to R86 million.

19. The Security Council embargo on the supply of arms to South Africa has not been effective. Some imperialist powers like France have blatantly disregarded it.

20. West Germany is collaborating with South Africa in the production of advanced weapons, poison gases and nuclear weapons. South Africa is equipped with missiles of all sorts.

21. With the cooperation of imperialist firms I.C.I. of Britain, P.M. of Belgium, Panhard of France and others have assisted South Africa to set up her own ammunition factories, including automatic rifles and ammunition.

22. South Africa has built the most formidable arsenal in Africa in peace time. The character of the weapons is both defensive for use against internal revolt and offensive, for possible use against African states.

23. South Africa's white minority is behaving as if she is involved in preparations for a large scale war. For the very first time Universal Conscription has been introduced for whites for the 'citizen' force. From seventeen years of age all white males have to undergo nine periods of compulsory military training, the first period being twelve months. The aim was stated by Commandant-General Heimstra to be able to mobilise 100,000 men in 'a very short time'. This is the burden which white fascist South Africa has imposed on itself as the gendarme against so-called communism in Africa.

24. THE FORCES PREPARING TO ASSAULT THE FASCIST FORTRESS.

Economically and militarily South Africa appears as Vorsters propaganda machine paints it, as a powerful and unassailable.../4.

unassailable fortress of White domination. However a closer look reveals a state of fatal weakness and desperation. This is particularly the case now that the Armed Forces of the people have begun their struggle by routing the enemy in heroic and historic battles in Zimbabwe under the ANC/ZAPU Alliance. The spreading of the revolution to South Africa is inevitable. As the Acting President General said "South Africa which has been professing perfect peace within its borders has been drawn fully into armed confrontation with our revolutionary forces. It is clearly only a matter of time before this confrontation spreads itself to the valleys, mountains and bush of South Africa. There is nothing whatever that can halt the spread of the revolution in every part of Southern Africa still under colonialist domination."

25. "In saying this one is not blind to what constitutes the greatest source of strength for the racists and colonialists of Southern Africa, that is, the material and practical backing of international finance flowing from imperialist countries. Nor is one unmindful of the military power of the South African regime built with the active support and cooperation of some Western powers. These are factors which relate not to the question whether the revolution will grow in scope and magnitude but rather to the scale of bitterness and duration of the armed struggle. It has, however, no bearing on the ultimate result which can only be victory for the oppressed people of Southern Africa, and for the complete independence of the Continent of Africa".

26. Underground activity continues within the country inspite of the heavy network of spies, informers and security police. Leaflets, preparing the people to support the armed struggle have been distributed in the country by men and women whose commitment to the cause of freedom is greater than the fear of torture and death.

27. The White fascist government were rattled by the daring demonstrations which took place on June 26th 1968. The people are continuing demonstrations in different forms. The fact that the Transkei, which is the fascist model Bantustan State is still under emergency regulations shows the insecurity of Vorster regime.

28. There is great potentiality in strengthening the underground units of the motive forces of the revolution in South Africa. In the present era of fascist intensified repression this requires skillful and painstaking work. The ANC, SAIC, SACTU, SACPC and SACP however haunted they might be by the S.S. police of the enemy, have not only survived but are capable of rallying the revolutionary forces inside the country.

29. The major task today is to build these motive forces, strengthen the underground movement internally and spark off guerrilla warfare in the country.

30. In the international field all those public organisations like the Anti-Apartheid movements, Defence and Aid, the World Campaign for the Release of Prisoners, are doing invaluable work for the struggle against fascism.

31. FASCIST STRATEGY.

In order to further her imperialist aims and to prevent her total isolation in Africa, the fascist regime is trying to win friends.../5.

friends by offering 'generous' loans, and the possibility of diplomatic relations on an inferior scale. A system which subjects Africans and non-Whites to such humiliation has the audacity of expecting to be accepted by the African Continent. There will always be Bandas, but everything should be done to expose the dangers of this offer.

32. However, protracted and whatever the cost might be White minority rule and fascism in Southern Africa is doomed.
