

lum / 092 / 0002 / 01

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 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 racist 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 can 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 issues. 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 Holden's 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

would 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.
