complicity and guilt in the crimes of eolonialismé neoécolonia; lism and racialism; recently they resigned from the Committee for Deeolonisation; In an outrageous statement they made their stand abundantly clear; They stated that colonialism was a product of history and that there was nothing criminal about it: 15;

This statement was a contemptuous and arrogant challenge to the Declaration on Deeolonisation, to the objects, aims and efforts of the United Nations Organisation, the OAU, the progressive national and international organisations, to the Whole of world opinion;

To the imperialist powers, therefore; colonialism, that

16:
brutal and ruthless exploitation and Oppression of people; their
enslaVement, the plunder of their land and wealth, their
destruction physically, mentally and culturally, their subjection
to poVerty; disease and ignorance, is justifiable and not.erié

minal at all; Hence their conspiracy to recolonise Africa;

The colonialist neVer welcomed the collapse of the imperialist system; It is true that they claimed that they were granting independence to their colonies; This was a despicable lie; The change in balance of forees in the world, the growth of the pwoer of the Socialist countries and indeed the determined struggles of the National liberation movements forced them against their Will to giVe at least political power to their former colonies:

18:

17:

HoweVer, it is necessary in retrospect to face the issue 'bluntly that in too many respects, and sensitive aspects at that, our African Revolution yet young and incomplete placed too much reliance

on the assistance of our former colmnialists in our

efforts to advance and consolidate our independence: Economicalyy; 'technically, culturally; educationally and even for diplomatic and military training we relied on the experts, personel and

'training institutions of our former oppressors and exploiters  $vi\gamma\202ao$  harboured bitterness and sinister plots of suhVersion againt

cyur independence and Were fundamentally opposed.to the consoé , lidation of independence;'When Presidentihwame Nkrumah was oVer4 t;3tiâ\200\230t:â\200\230own9 Time magazine had a caption which said: â\200\235The sons o f

Sandhurst have done it;  $a\200\235$ 

19:

It is our duty to draw attention to these facts because

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ we \$ee that some Af iean states are beginning to rely heaviky an the racist goVerhment of South Africa; a sworn.enemy of Afri¬201ean Independence and the African Retolution and we fear

that the fascist tentaï¬\2011es

; Of:..;;5/;

8:

The fascists claim that they have the same role to play in Africa as the U S has :3n the world 1 2" $\hat{a}$ 200\230the policeman or gendarme against Comm.nism 1n Afriea $\hat{a}$ 200\234

9;

This aggressive and expansionist policy is being put into effect rapidly and systematically.

ykl0.

The past decade since the year 1960  $a\200\234$ the year of Africa $a\200\234$ thas been an era 01 the most Uhpleeedented upsurge of the Natiori2011 revolution in Airiea Which resulted in the rapid disintergration

of colonialism in its old form; The frontiers of imperialism shrunk under the offensive and pounding blows launched by the

liberation strucbble.

u 1J5.

HoweVer? the VICTOflâ\200\231G of the National Lleeretien.MoVGe ments were in most cases not easy, smooth and cetplete, nor was the retreat of the imperialists always unplanned and a complete defeat; The imperialist powers systematically planned and resorted tommany political, economic and even military strata; gems to launch a countermoffensive in order to reverse the African revolut10h, and to restole their domlnatlon in Africa.

12;

Colonialism.was outlawed by international law in that historie"lâ\200\230eclaration Oh the granting of independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples", adepted ln 1960§ Which solemnly proclaimedz" The necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconé ditional end colonialism in aLl its lorms and manifestationslâ\200\234 The UlNo Gehelal i¬\201ssemhly vehemently e ehdemhed the imperialist stateS'Whieh were helping the eolonialists and racists by declaring that â\200\234The continuation of colonial rule threatens

international peace and accuritr and that the practice of apartheii¬\201g as also all forms of racial discrimination; constié tutes a crime against lmma:3171"

15:

In complete defiance of international law, the resolutions

of the 01A9Ul§ and world epihiong the immerialist powers, the  $\begin{tabular}{l} $U$\^A§S,Al§ Britain, Eranee§3leeu Germany and Portugl1, together with Seuth Africa etcl§ hate not merely sabotaged and violated these <math display="block"> . \^A \ll \end{tabular}$ 

fundamental decisions but have lately Openly justified colonial;  $\2011sm$ ; Br:talh and the U s who were members of the 24+ Nation

14+:

special Committee set up to supervise the implementation of the Declaration fer Decolonisatlon palt1010ated 1h the deliberations 6f the Committee, then subsequently boycotted it because 0: them 6

comellelty1..../4

,

no compromises nor halfmhearted friendships; They ruthlessly demand and desperately work for complete subservience; sub; mission and Joyalty to their capitalist system of oppression and exploitation which serve their basic interests9 otheIWlse they are determined to use every conceivable means of subversion and to instal their puppet regimes; This is a bitter but grim truth;

4.

Bays111Malawi has proved the success OI an experiment by the oolon1al1sts and racialists to continue to maintain all the

(1

features of colonialism and to continue their conspiracy against the people in a whole state Which is nominally indeé pendenta The Old system through Which the imperialists oppresséd and exploited the people of Illioa by indirect rule using react101lev chief

as thew} toclls is now being successfully
applied in some somoalled independent states; The success of
this experiment has sJurredthe imperialist and raeialist
powers inlelr counter revolutionary actiVitiese

5:

Hildegani Muller? the fascist Foreign Minister of South
Africa, openly boasted in Parliament in March 1969 that his
policy of creating little Malawis in Africa was yielding
unexpected results; This was no empty and idle boast; South
Africa 1

indeed? in the Whole global conspiracy of the imperialists9 one of the main spearheads and springboard for aggressive colonialism and subtle neOwcolonialism in Africa;  $.F\Ei\arrowvert \sim 201 \arrowvert \sim 201 \$ 

Already'with the active assistance of the'Western.impeâ\200\224 rialist yovcns she has penetrated and seduced a number of states to denyii¬\2021e possibilit; of a successful armed struggle against the White reglme, Mndhas ensnared them to adopt a policy of accomodetion dialogue as led by HouphuetéBoigny; and soéealied good neighbourly relations;

This is a betla\*al of the African.ReVolution and complicity

in a plot to fewestablishthe domination of the COlonjalists

and racialists in Africa: It is surrendering not only the basic a9 $\hat{a}$ 200\235rat1on of the peeple of Southern Africa, but thos 01 the whole continent. We have consistently warned that South

Africa has beeoome a fullfledged

imperialist power in its ovn

right and that its foreign policy was expansionist and aggâ $200\234ss(1ve. Botha, the Defence uln1srel,hlmself has said that South Africaâ<math>200\235$ 

is no longer on the iefensive but on the offensive, and her

priority'was Africa;

Theg.../5

of South Aflica. Will spread colonialism and heo-colonialisem ote very many parts of Africa;

It is the view of the A,N,o, that the adamant determihetIOh

20:

of Britain to sell arms to South Africa is part of a deliberate

and brazen project connected With the global strategy of the imperialists to suppress the national liberation motement in Africa, to jeopardise African independence and to reinforce the racist goternment as the fulcrum and bastion of reaction in the Southern Hemisphere; This audacious move by Britain cells for concerted action from the OAU.

In conclusion.9 weâ\200\230Wish to stress, as President Nyerere has

21;

said in his "Guidelinesâ\200\235; the Whole of Africa is in the throes of the most serious stage of the liberation struggle Which is now being Openly aSSIulted by the imperialist counter offensitee

Ye should earnestly seek to identify our enemies, theIU,SH Britain, France, West Germany, Japan, Portugal, Smith; ieeeist South Africa; and understand their objectiVes and aims against genuine independence and the liberation movement:

Indeed the African ReVolution is a liberation struggle
22}

Which is being fought throughout the continent at different, letels; but its enemies are the same and they are highly co; ordinated in their sinister conSpiracye

Regrettably the forces of the African revolution

251W

that high degree of unity and coordination necessary to eefehd

lack

it; It also lacks sufficient coordination with the genuine anti~imperialist forces of the world.

The salVatiOh of the African Revolution lies in a serious

24;

reappraisal of the situation; To forge and Weld together the mighty potential of the independent states with the forces of the liberation movements. The role of the P.AI.G. C. in Guiliea during the treacherous assault of Guinea by mercenaries is a clear example of What power can accrue rom the coordination Of the forces of independent states and genuine liberation Iï¬\2010VOments:

We also feel that haVing identified our enemies it is

25:

Jaecessary and urgent to identify our friends  $\tilde{A}$  our comrades in arms, the world over, and to have me:{imum cooperation add

cOordination in working out and acting on a common

entiI....6/

antiâ\200\224imperialist, antimraeist, and anti; counter revolutionary strategy.

26.

We are confident that with maximum.vigilance5 maximum coordination and determination'we can stem the counter offensive of the imperialists and racists.

27:

The counter offensite of the imperialists and racists(
'coiheided'with the most unprecedented and Voluminous inter;
national campaign against the South African racists and
their 9lliesg particularly Britain and France, the biggest
arms merchants to South Africa; Credit is due to Dr; Kaunda's
mission.

28;

29:-

This year the U.N. has Called upon the world to dedicate itself to combat racism; the A,N.C, is confident that the OAU Will lead and take the initiatiVe in this campaign;

We would like to assure your Excellencies once more, that we belieVe that the brunt of the struggle to liberate South.Africa must be carried by the peeple of South Africa .

under the leadership of the South African National Congress:  $a\200\230$ We shall never Shirk our duty (howeVer difficult it might

be) because we are deeply conscious of the fact that until 'we hate seized power from the racist; African Independence remains precarious and in peril:

A.Nzo

Secretary~Generalw

.A.N. C. Headquarters;

2P 0. B x680,

1Morqgoro.

25th.February, 1971.

STATEMENT OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS TO THE ORGANISATIQ; OF AFRICAN UNITY MINISTERIAL COUNCIL, HELD IN ADDIS ABABA - FROM THE 26th.gâ§hBUARX, i971;

YourlExcellencies:

1;

The African National Congress of South Africa.wishes to take the

opportunity to draw the attention of this session of the Foreign. Ministers Council to certain matters Whidh we beliete are crucial and Vita; to the defence and progress of the anti:

colonialist and antiéracist African revolution: These problems in our View strike at the Very roots and foundation of the stability; consolidation and adtancement of genuine African Independence and the achieVement of liberation in the .unliberated areas of our continent; in parts still completely dominated by White minority racialist and colonialist rule;

1%: 2: What is at stake, and critically at stake, is the defence of African Independence and sovereignty, however incomplete

it might be; and the adVancement of the liberation struggle LL our continent in order to free,our people from the blight and plight of colonialism and neoécolonialism: The greatest danger

Which.faces Africa today is the destruction of the gains of the histOric African revolution and the aggressite and brazen

assault by the imperialists to commit a second rape of Africa and to recolonise it; restore their domination and perpetuate their brutal and ruthless plunder; robbery of land, labour and the wealth of Africa:

The bitter and blunt lesson which must be learnt and

accepted from the events in Vietnam, Indochina, Cuba; Latin America; the Middle East and Africa today; is that the Western imperialist powers and the fascist regimes om South Africa

and Zionist Israel are using every possible method ranging from.direct military aggression, economic sabotage; coups; bribery and corruption, intimidation, espionage and subtersiong

the systematic seduction of some Africa states, and the

fomentation of ditision and conflicts on tribal and national

bases to achieve their aims; The global and grand design of this $a\200\230$ WhOle: exercise is to restore the domination Of the

imperialist powers to intensify their subversion of all

Ν

socialist inclined and progressive agovernments of Africa a and racists accept

In their desperation the imperialists