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41.

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In the case of Britalnit is wellknown that under the pretext of proteotihg the Cape Route and her so-called obligations under the Simonstown Agree:xnent she is selling arms to South Africa.

The U0 S. has been known to sell arms Clandestinely to South

Africaâ§ On the 13th of May this year the Chairman of the Special :hCommittee on Apartheid Mro Farah stated that the sale of heli-

Mi-\202copters by the UoSo to South Africa was taking place openly.

He

also stated that despite resolutions of the Security Council Britain, West Germany, France, Israel, Switzerland, Belgium, the

U.S. and other countries continued to supply arms to South

- Africa.

42a

Special mention must be made of FTance.

France has with shameâ\200\224

less arrogance pursued an open economic and military alliance

Â« with the White fascists of South Africa.

We all know now that:-

+(a:)

(b)

4y(c)'

(d)

France is South Africa's biggest arms seller;

FTanoe has joint military projects with South Africa;

\*There are regular Visits between Defence Ministers and commanâ\200\224  
â\200\230derS'ffom South Africa and the red carpet is openly unrolled  
â\200\234foi'thems

France openly tries to encourage and seduce her former colonies to adopt a policy of reconciliation with the racist Government of South AfricaQS Houphouet Boigny's attempt at dialogue. Malagasy's treacherous betrayal, Gabon and others are all joining the band wagon of peace and friendship with South

African racists.

43.

FTanoe has got a neoâ\200\224oolonialist and colonialist Southward policy in Africa which complements the racists, Northward aggres~

sive and expansionist policy.

44.

It should also be mentioned that there is a growing alliance  
Zionist Israel

and aggressive axis between South Africa and Israel.  
like South Africa is a dangerous springboard against Africa, as  
events in the U.A.R. and Middle East have already demonstrated.  
It is also necessary to mention Israel's sordid role in the coup  
in Uganda.

45-

The special relationship between the regime of South Africa, the  
W. German Nazis and the Portuguese fascists is based on a com-  
mitment for the resurgence of Nazism in the world and in parti-  
cular the fascist oppression of Africa.

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THE NATURE OF INTERNATIONAL FORCES AND TRENDS

ON THE REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

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4.

The document entitled-\202pr3 "Notice of Meeting" of the African National Congress of South Africa, the NoEo C. Zambia, August 27/31, sets at the Eurgeses and historz of a series of consultative meetings or conferences convened by the

Enlarged meeting

-\_ National Executive Committee as constituted outside South Africa;

The present meeting is a continuation in terms of that document is a continuation of that practice.

'The document elaborates the objects of the meeting.:

This document confines itself to the terms of referen0683 stated in the â\200\234Notice of the Meeting" and an elaboration by the President in a letter dated 17/8/71.

5-'

In this document we will seek to examine

"The nature and impact of international forces and trends

on the Revolutionary situation in South Africa and Southern

Africa"

It will in terms of the suggestions of the Acting President's letter involve the enation of "Vorster's Campaign in Africa and its implications, African reactions and the strategy of

â\200\235\*which it is part, bringing in Trance, UoKe, and U.S.A. and

'others; In that context the significance and evaluation of the Banda/Vorster Affair

L"The international situation should be looked at from the point of view of or against the background of, or in relation to its effect and influence on our situation, and to determine our international strategy with reference to its effect and influence."

â\200\230The nature and impact of the international forces and trendsâ\200\230v?

on the Revolutionary situation in Southern Africa and' South

fâ\200\231Africa.

The situation in

Southern Africa and South Africa has for many centuries always represented a theatre of conflict and a oaul~dron of national and international forces and trends

AIn its fundamental essence axĩ-\201 Gentext it has been impossible to ,.assess the development, struggle and cooperation in South Africa

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\* 55; ,;

\_8~'

We have tried to give certain aspects of the nature and impact of the international forces, their trends on the revolutionary situation in Southern Africa and in particular South Africa. A document of this type cannot be exhaustive, more particularly because of the time at our disposal.

A

It is no necessary to examine our strategy and tactics in this

"i-situation such a strategy must not only advance the revolution in

South Africa, in Southern Africa, in Africa as a whole but also ensure that we make our full contribution to the whole anti-imperialist struggle in which we are a vital part.

1975.575

Basically the questions to be answered are: -

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

589

60.

who are our irrevocable friends and supporters in the world;

who are those who are wavering,  
, who are those who should and must be neutralised by us consciously;

who are our enemies.

It is on the basis of answering these questions that we can determine our international strategy and tactics

It is hoped that the brief statement made here lays at least a basis for answering some of these questions.

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b

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It is of course not easy to give general replies to so vast a Conditions may subject as international strategy and tactics. differ in different areas.

a

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610

In Southern Africa and Africa

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(a)

it is urgent and necessary to build up and consolidate in all fields our alliance with the national liberation movements which we have been trying to do, but in a rather unplanned and Spontaneous manner.

This style of work; should now be abandoned for a more systematic one.

(b) there are certain countries in Africa who have stood firm

against French, South African and other imperialist manoeuvres designed to induce them to withdraw support for the liberation struggle in South Africa. Our relations with them should not be taken for granted and left to develop accidentally:

9/.....

â\200\2349".-

we should try to forge links with the Governments and mass organisations to strengthen our association.

(0)

even in those countries where governments and government leaders appear to chew the carrot of reaction and treachery it is still necessary to devise means of studying and forging strong linkso

It is of vital importance to establish direct links with national ToU. movements, particularly in Eranoe and other countries whose governments are Openly supporting the racist regimeo and to get them to support our struggle politically, financially and materiarlly.

We have to mount a massive propaganda against the open enemies of our struggle.

The case for practical support and material support by the OAU must be taken up as a major issue.

The U.N., AAPSO, werld Peace Council, W.I.D.F., WoYoDoFo and other international organisations are ready and willing to support Ohr struggle and could participate in our offensive against the raoialists.

The long~established ties with the socialist countries which constitute our lifebeit and the lifebelt of the anti-imperialist strugâ\200\224gle should be tightened and strengthened in the interests, not only of our struggle but also of the entire anti~imperialist struggle.

The time has come for a demand to be make without any hesitar tion that the racists in South hfrika do not represent the majority of the people of S.Ao and that the hoNoC. should be given an appropriate status in all international bodies.

It is also necessary to launch a campaign against Britain, France and the U.S. which are not only abusing their position on the Security Council but are flagrantly defying its solemn resolutions.

~7.

46.

The White minority regime of South Africa is irrevocably hostile to genuine African independence., There is no contradiction

between the policy of the ruthless Oppression and domination by the White minority regime in S.A. and its foreign policy.

The

common factor is domination and plunder

47-

In the country the White regime pursues a policy of escalating terror as part of, and a firm component of the global strategy of counter-revolution.

48.

Always and everywhere in Africa the White regime will be found to pursue subversive methods, blackmail; psychological Warfare, threats, financial, economic and military actions in pursuance of its aggressive, expansionist and counter-revolutionary objectives.

49.

The White racist regime of South Africa has the full and unqualified support for her foreign policy from N.A.T.O.

In fact the

White racists are being promoted as the pillar of a counterpart of N.A.T.O. in Africa and the Southern Hemisphere.

50.

An expansionist policy and the ever-expanding capitalist and imperialist policy has made an insular policy for South Africa

The South African racists were compelled by both unworkable.

Apart

ideological and economic lessons to expand or explode.

It is itself created and is creating, suffocating conditions for capitalist development.

51c

The result has been the formulation of the "outward or Northward Policy" which we all know to be a superficial attempt by the racists to extend "the hand of friendship and co-operation to independent African States.

52.

53-

This strategy is being supplemented by crafty and sinister



calls for "nonâ\200\224aggression pacts' and 'dialogue'.

Banda's recent visit to S.Ag is in pursuance of this policy despite the very historic, clear and unequivocal declaration by the last O.A.U. meeting against dialogue and unilateral rela-

tions with South Africa.

54-

South African racist epokemen have always boasted that they were no longer.on the defensive but on the offenSive and their prioâ\200\224

rity was Afrioae

Banda and others demonstrate that.

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(0)

(d)

Â»The use of the White regime in South Africa for an aggressive  
tfand expansionist policy particularly in Africa.

From the ideOlogical point of view; the employment of all  
reactionary forces Black and White for an anti-socialist, antiâ\200\224  
Cbmmunist crusade, and the frustration of the African Revolution.

25.

It is hardly necessary to repeat the statement and boast made  
by spokesmen of the South Afrieen racists, that they repreSent  
and are the defenders Of Western Civilisation in Africa and  
what is eveh more, that they have the same role to play in  
Africa as the U08. has in the world â\200\224 the Gendarme against  
Communism.

26.

It will be recalled thatâ\200\230dialogue, between African States; the  
increase of arms sales to South Africa, by Britain are all  
justified On the baSis of "Communism' or 'Communist Threat', -  
whatever that meaï-\201s.

27.

There is\*a spectre which isteing created to haunt Africa today  
and it is the spectre of what is called 'Communism'.

A railway

,.line built\_with the help of the Chinese is painted by the South  
,IAfrican fascists and their friends as a terrible threat of  
\_oommunist infiltration and 'imperialism'.

28.

Threhghout its history the African National Cï-\202ngress of South

Africa has alWays held an independent policy.  
,judged communism for its contribution to the liberation hr the

It examined and

people of South Africao.

As a national liberation organisation

it has never allowed itself to be befogged by an anti-communist  
bogey whether this was engineered from within its own ranks or  
from without.

This is a great credit to one of the greatest  
and oldest national liberation movements in Africa.

29.

â\200\231(a)

(b)

'(0)

This tradition has enabled our organisation:-

to chart the correct strategy and tactics in a most complicated  
and reactionary situations created by the ruling regime)

to forge a united front of peOples of all ideologies;

to win internatioggigsupport from

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i) the Socialist countries;

ii) the working people in what is commonly termed capitalist

or imperialist countries;

iii) genuine national liberation movements;

iv) all democracy and peaoeyloving peoples of the world.

5/.....

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17-

â\200\230A cursory-review of the victories achieved in the UoNo and its agencies against the racists and their allies leads to the meritable conclusion that there is a deeper and more fervent involvement by the peoples and nations of the world in the situation in South Africa, from a governmentai and organisa-  
tional point of view.

1,18..

.There can be no doubt that the fact that the U.N. designated 1971 as an international year of action to eombat racism, the very apartheid and Nazism in,aĩ-\202further indicatien serious view taken of the question of Southern Africa by inter-  
national opinion.

19.â\200\230

The question of White South Africa' s annexation and aggression against Namibia is one more instance of internatienal agitaâ\200\224 tion legal and political against the policies and praetiees of the fascist and racist South Africa.

20.

The state and committments of internagional igperialism in  
Â\$gpth.Afrioa

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We have said it before and there is no harm in repeating it again that South Africa is the pleasure house of'imperialisi  
exploitation;  
finance monopolies is now a well establiShed fact.

The vast economic state of international

In previous documents we have emphasised that S-A. is not merely a treasures house, but is also of strategic importance  
in the Eiestern defence system.

This aspeet has grown in importance in recent years with the Suez  
advance of the African Revolution, the closure of the Canal and the developments both in the Middle East and South  
Eastern Asia.

We have in-previous documents and statements also refered to the global strategy of the imperialists and South Africa's vital role in that strategy.

21.

22.

23.

24c

The aims and objects of that strategy are clear and simple,

/ (a)

The consolidation of racialism, White domination and the Special type of colonialism which prevails in South Africa;

(b)

The intensification of the plunder of the wealth of our country and the ruthless exploitation of African labour;

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\*2â\200\235.

and Southern Africa, without the premise-that South Africa and in particular Southern Africa have since the days of coloniar

liSm and slavery been an important political, economic, financial and military intergral and Vital part of international

;

events.

10-.

Developments in Southern Africa have depended on world events

and yet at the same time many parts of the world have dependeĩ-\202

to a large extent on developments in Southern Africa and South

Africa in particularo

11-

This phenomenon has its roots in the Social development which entrenched itself in Southern Africa through reactionary interâ\200\224 national policies which had the active and massive support-of inter~

national colonialism and imperialismo

12.

The result was that South Africa and Seuthern Africa became

The crucible, fortress, bulwark and bastion of the most aggres~

sive9 violent, vicious and most wicked systems which are still surviving todayai~\202\_Colonialism, neo~colonialism, racism, apart~

heid and nazism,

13Âç

South Africa is a centre of the most brutal tefrorism and

violence byte White minority ruling groupa

Ithe launching pad and springboard for the most brazen aggression

It also constitutes

against the African continento

14o

Southern Africa and South Africa are the theatre and interâ\200\224 \* looking centre in Africa of political domination, ideological

reaction and the most ruthless plunder and exploitation of the peeples of Africa by a consortium of imperialist and fascist powers like the UoSo, Britain, France, W. Germany,

Portugal? Belgium, Italy and others.

In no other part of the

world have imperialist powers relegated their differences to the background as they have done in South African

15.

16.

However, commensurate with the efforts of international imperialism and reaction there has been a growing movement in support of the struggle in Southern Africa and South Africa.

It is perhaps, worth recalling that this year is the 25th Anniversary since the question of Apartheid and racism was first raised in the United Nations in 1946s

Since then it has been

'-;deÂ§eeted with ever meuhting condemnation in all agencies of the Uhitedeations, and Other international organisations.  
3/.....

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30-

IA is not necessary to elaborate that the firm antiâ\200\224imperialist policy of the A.N.C. has internally evedked the full wraAh of the This was to be fascisAs and externally the iâ\200\230oroes Of reaction.

' expected.

310

Efforts have been made to divide the organisation; and ouï-\201â\200\231 history is net lacking in cliques and factions which tried to impose or expound pure nationAlism like the nationel minded block, the P A C. Cr eVen whaA called itself the Bantu National

Cengress under Bhenguoâ\200\230

32c

The A.N.C. has steadfastly survived and destroyed all those groups, whether they were based on pure nationalism or tribap lism.

This is also a.credit to this organisation.

33-

It is not possible in a short statement of this Kind to ndwell on all important details lessons or even improve our strategy and tactics, and revise, our policy Ae meet the changing situation.

from which we can draw important

.34' .

Perhaps iA is sufficienA merely to reâ\200\224emphasise that fundamenâ\200\224 tally the national and inAernational peliey which has been â\200\234pursued by ourorganisation requires no basic revision.

.g35Ã@,

IA is that policy which has been responsible for rallying the everâ\200\224inoreasing international and national support which we enjoy today. -'

36.

37.

38.:

Our organisation has overAhe past 25 years been able to Africa. This proeess of isolate the fascist regime of South isolation has had a considerable effect on the White minority regime, politically and economically.

'It has also had an effect on the allies of the White minority regimes, who have openly rallied to come to assistance of the fascist.regime of South Africa.

In this respect it is necessary to mentionBritain and the U.S.A. resignation from the deâ\200\224oolonisation committee and their state- ment on the 10th Anniversary of the Declaration for the granting â\200\230"1



of independence to colonial peoples, that there was nothing wrong with colonialism.

39.

Add to this, it is well known they apart from sabotaging Security  
Council resolutions these two major powers are flagrantly violat-  
ing them.

6/00....