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Do'ac^ Comrades,

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Is dylegation of the MC of South Africa ©aid like

total": £Z£Â£F*I£!!2**

for the invitation exf^mded/to our organisation by tho

Central Comittee of che taaanlan Comaunist x>arty. On behalf of the struggling oppressed people of south Africa we wish to extend our warm fraternal greetings and express our gratitude for all the support and assistance we received from the iuaanlan Party, Government and People foil ©win; our laat bilateral discussions in your friendly city.

We have no doubt that this ae «ti%-,will farther cement tho close bonds of nutual undusstMbdisg and cooper; /

existing betv/een our respective organisations* e are fully confident; that as a result of out' joint efforts we shall brla closer the achievement of our comas goals for the distraction ox ap^ -L;he. a s./st on, tho establishment of a free democratic South ^frioa and the prunotioa of,/orlds,. Security and Peace,

What follows is a brief appraisal of the 3itua ion obtaining in South Africa, what th., MC is doing to change the situation, the needs of our organisation in general aad what we are 9m f ujour Human comrades and frienc.

'The current political situation in South Africa continues to be characterised by a sharpening open confrontation between tho oppressed people, particularly tho workers*

"Ihoro is continuous open strugj, lit of tholJr

legit aato dem ands. On the ot: or hand, tho enemy is sooting this upsurge aribh ©ore frequent resort to physical repression Twice, in less than a year, tho South African Police liave suppressed workers strikes by shoot lag, killing at least 14 siae-workers and injuring naoy others. In an effort to defeat the united stx'ike sovesent of tho workers, the racists, within t, is period, also prov ked an ugly internecine fight between African South African workers and

their brothers fro© Lesotho working in South Africa, This resulted in tens of workers killed.

worried by the continuing militancy of tlie block workers ia the ifatal of *k*m are of • nlu ntttiQfis±tty»

th@ Vorst^r regime dn --v 5f

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Hatal as ttcki:ate serious explication* fWsStie

racists in asd area which aecetaB&3 for 80 per cevtKef

the count-sy * o total induy loreduct »

many eople AilldN^ alia o* this

that the Zulu andHte rest of tlMl not follow t-ioir brothers in

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ur two comrades» Boy i.lve Sizwe the military wing,

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.ve, a leading cadre in Mkhonto We four organisation and Abraham Tiro,

South

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leader of the V_____
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^\libant upsug^e among

people. It has however made it very imperative that the A1IG, as the leading organisation of the South African Liberal; on front, should re-open the front of armed combat against the racists.

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of the peo^i^lt would also encourage other scthe oppressed pcopa^a^iave not uo -.o so, active-/ to participate in the struggleV^o-^th# knowledge that the liberation movement can meet the aaso^* s^?ned^; error wit; armed defence. It would also iperse th^^at^ent on of

the eaeay forces asking their work mo. e corv/licated>aat [easi: our,

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hvo continued to deteriorate. A steep Inflationary spiral is continuing to reduce the standard of living of the oppressed people . «â€¢ ich was already one of the lowest on the African continent.

Tile racist regime continues to pursue its policy of urban and rural mass removals by means of which millions of black people have been concentrated in camps for the unemployed*

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depending, if they are lucky, on govern .ent food rations for survival.

In the countryside, the continued pressure of the population on very limited land which is exacerbated by the policy of mass removals, is also resulting in the further impoverishment of the peasant masses.

In short, no changes have been made to improve the li#es of the people. Daily, tlie situation is worsening and the desperation of the people is increasing sharply, tj-,'9'Z"jrr «hz^&K .., ata id .. st. Iti oi i£m life of

the oppressors have continued to improve. Tim gold price on the world market has resulted in fabulous profits for t ie bOUC;: CcJa 4-y

/;ith th se funds, the mine ow ers have accelerated their programme of buyin; the uhite mine-workers out of the process of act al production and promoting them to supervisory positions, higher rates of pay.

The aim of this programme is to overcome the bottleneck caused by the shortage of skilled white labour. .kite skilled workers are therefore being peplaced with black workers who, needless to say, are paid at the rates a number of times lower than the white workers thoy replace. This means intensified exploitat on of black labour ..hose sweat and blood os being used to enrich both the white mine-owners and the white sine workers

African economy, making for an increased blac., contribution to the gross national product and a diminished share of that product.

The racist government is also using uhe state budget to redistribute the national income in faSrour of the white minorit/ population*

The changing balance of orces natioa&Lly and internationally, JdcocEDc in fafeour of the fore s of national and social liberation aae their continued isolatie* mm- fogoing 7

in /t> -rXsCr^jT

the South African racists to ^ some clanking.

(a) The racist government is doing its best t jnete Ua. ccC

Bantustans as truly independent areas within the iepulibc. Part of this programme involves the call by Bantustan chiefs

for increased investments by farsign firms in the Bantustans as a wey of helping to uplift the living standards of the African people (i)

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(b) South African theoreticians cynically refersr to the

Bantustan scheme as one of decolonisation, claiming that what Portugal is doing in 197 • South African, did as early as 1959.

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I (oO All scru*lance of blacks serving in the anay as *olunteeers ^ has been discarded* Qy promising exorbitant financial bribes to blacks who register to serve in border areas. South Africa is clearly creating an ar y of â— srcenai'ies# (2)

A pronounced reformist tendency is beginnin j to emerge aaong th. "white supremacists politicians and the white electorate. TMs was shown during the (April) all Thites General elections. In these elections the party of consistent reform, the Progressive Party* increased the number of its IIP*s from 1 to o# It was si;niflean* tha- this party won nainly at the expense of the official opposition party, the UP, indicating that some sections of the white population are beginning to see consistent reformism. as the only meaningful opposit on that they can offer to apartheld*

-., [T;j .-aciot gover u:ont lias accelerated its own reformists programme of creating a puppet forces of black politicians, senior civil servants and professional mm an*. 7J -faster govex~'aaeat .iu*s

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•â– rec-5- ------i,

- (1) As a result of tlie investment drive a est German firs. Machinenfo.brlc Bernhard Braun annoinced in June 1974 that they
 are building a E760,000 factory at Butterv/orth to make Saw
 Milling machinery. In 1973 another another #G* firm, Laborban,
 built a >520,000 factory in the Transkei to make laboratory
 fittings and furniture*
- (2) Besides the basic pay there will be a special allowance

fox' 12 months continuous -border duty*1 For ...hites - B5,#02#

For Blacks - H2,573«

Bid aim of these two reformist tendencies is quit® cl^ax*. They both ain to give •ertuln sections of the oppressed people a stake la the contlsBStion of the apartheid system, thus to divide them and uae the privileged minority against the majority for the perpetuation of eblte

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the fact that the Progressive Party has new accepted the government app^.dated black politicians as the genuine leaders of the oppressed people. The racist government v on its side has reciprocated by sending out PSP politicians as its emissaries to independent Africa* believing that these would .have greater credibility than this) cabinet ministers of the ruling national party.

These efforts by the z*eactionary politicians of our country are of course supported by external reactionary forces* Imperialist an& agencies and reactionary groups of all sorts have recently increased their contact with the puppet groups in -our country* As recently as March this year* the British fUC suggested the setting up of an ICFTU trade union office in i-outh Africa through whoch it proposed that the reformist trade union centres of the imperialist countries should channel large subs of money as well as advice to the black workers of our country, for the creation of a"non-political" blae i Ajf lea aovor.-ont All these contitude dangerous manoeuvres designed to defeat tho revolutionary movement of ou* country by moans other t an muerely police terror.

There is no doubt that we will defeat these aanurovres* Time has however oeeone of the essence. .e need te thwart the enemies plans at this early stage, before he has had tirie t*. cons ilc.ate .'ilo positions*

THE INTERIM .A TIUNAL S ITUATION

Developements in the international scene nave been characterised by a steady advance of the forces of freedom, progress and peace and a resultant reduction in the effective strength of the imperialist and reactionary forces.

Tne successes scored by the heroi

profound significance and ushered in a new era in international relations. By their resolute struggle and immense# sacrifices and with the full support of progressive forces throughout the world, the Vietnamese people struck a neavy blow at the pillar and mainstay of international imperialism and reaction, 'ihe Vietnam war mobilised and strengthened the progressive forces, deepened the contradictions withm the imperialist camp as well as 4 within the American society itself.

The combined effects of the war unleashed a chain-reaction of events which further weakened the position of international imperialism and tipped the balance of power in favour of the forces of freedom, peace and socialism.

in Indochina the people of Laos nave succeeded in throwing out foreign American troops and instituted a coalition government in the interest of all the Laotian people. The struggle of the Khmer people in Oambodia has advanced to such a level that the withdrawal of all American troops is imminent. In neighbouring Thailand the movement for ending American tutelage and restoration of full democratic rights which was sparked off by unprecedented student and mass action has already resulted in some changes within the pro-American government. Meanwhile negotiations are progressing for the peaceful reunification of the Korean land and people.

The acceptance of the policy of peaceful coexistence and detente is becoming a permanent feature in contemporary international relations. Such a situation greatly favours the progressive forces as can be seen from the emergence of Dangla Desh and the recognition of the German Democratic Republic as a sovereign state.

In the Middle East the 1973 October war has resulted in a further setback for imperialism with the defeat of Israeli Zionist forces and recuperation of Arab lands. The struggle of the Palestinian people for the creation of a non-sectarian, democratic Palestine has advanced to the heart of enemy territory and is gaining increasing support from various sections of the people £fi inside and outside Israel.

concerted aggression by the United

The solidarity action taken by the independent African States in support of the Arab people coupled with the Oil embargo has helped to forge vital links between the African and Arab people®.T This action may well tie the concrete beginning of closer ties and joint action of the developing countries in their right for equitable compensation for their exports in the international market6 The events in Chile, though tragic, have already become a rallying point for

- a) the ending of American hegemony in Latin America and
- b) unified concerted action to oreak the stranglehold of multinational corporations in the economy of developing "third world" countries. Current developemenjrs in Cyprus have brought about the crushing

defeat of 7 years of military dictatorship in greece. what was calculated to destroy thr legitimate government led by Archbishop Makarios ended as a confrontation between NATO partners, thereby sowing further divisions and dissentions within the network of the aggressive NATO Allianceo AFRICA

The liberation of the Portugese people from hair a century or fascist rule and the unfolding developements in the Portugese colonies can oe described as the beginning of the second phase in Africa's struggle for complete liberation and independence. The admission by Portugese army officers that force is incapable of stopping people from gaining their freedom and independence is a tribute to the organisational ability and field perfomance displayed by the liberation moVemnts In Guinea Bisau, Mozambique and Angola. Relying on mass popular support and the moral and material solidarity of the world progressive forces, particularly the socialist countries, the liberation movements in the Portugese colonies have shattered one of the cornerstones in the pyramid of the Unholly Alliance of Portugal, south Africa and Rhodesia. They have scorched one of IMA TO1 s tentacles in Africa.

To us in south Africa these events are of tremendous importance. It has always been known that the bastion of colonial and imperialist intrigues and manouvres in Africa, and particularly in Southern Africa is South Africa. South Africa not only rigojlrously pursued the policy of white domination and oppression within her own territory but actively contributes and participates in the oppression and exploitation of the African people in the neighbouring territories, she nas effectively used the neighbouring territories as buffer zones and the springboard from which to launch attacks on other independent African states.

With the evolving changes in Mozambique ana Angola, with the

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with, tli© mounting opposition to th,. sot jler-colonial re.jlme in Hhodesla, South Africa has for the first time becoem the main focal point in the movement for th© decolonisation of Africa*

In Guinea Bissau, since the declaration of Independence in September 1973 already 90 countries have recognised the new state of Guinea Issau. Pox-tu sal is now weirking out steps towards formal acceptance of the indepen., ence of Guinea.

In Mozambique, after several attempts to .elay the formation of a Mozambican government led by Frelimo, the Portugese have been forced to recognise and accept that there can be no cease-fire or lasting peace in J.loza bique with© it the participation of Frelimo in any future Mozambican government.

In. Angola the imperialists are not prepared to lose their stake in the potentially the richest country in Southern Africa, 'hey are therefore doing their be;.;t to sow confusion and divide the people of Angola. However th© cur ent demonstrations and meetings attended by thousands, right in th© capital, Xaianda, leave no doubt about the authority the MHA ctosmaads among the civilian population.

'The recent ",oii©ctionsn in Hhodesla where the racist Khodesian Front of Ian Smith was returned with an overwhelming majority lias only strengthened the resolve of the liberation moves-nts and the African National Council to wrest the power from the white settler minority by all means at their disposal and particularly to intensify the armed struggle.

The people of Namibia under the guidance of SWAPO have unequivocally rejected the South African plans aimed at belkunlsatiom of their country. South African army troops illegally stationed in Memibia have suffered a steady less of personnel and supplies and are new resorting to mass destruction and massacre of civilians including women and children. It was in fact in Namibia that the first blac.£ recruits into the. South jifrican array were used. International pressure must bo stepped up to secure release of Namibian*; in South Africa; i#acfc in South African jails and the withdrawal of South African troops from Uamibia*

Foreign firms must withdraw their investments from a Namib:....lllgally occupied by;oui;,,frica.

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Tho new situation created by the . v>ril coup in ^

.Portugal, with its consequences for Angola and Mozambique in particular, has made the task of stepping up *,he struggle in South Africa even more urgent.

The enem/ is unable to hide -h^ fact that the victories scored by our orother liberal: on movements in the Portuguese colonies were the decisive factor behind the evert iron of the fascist government in Poxtugal. They cannot hide the fact that the impending victory of uile peoples of the Portuguese colonies has coats through their own struggles and not through the magnaruinity of tile colonisers.

This has served to inspire our eople to even greater hights of rovolutionar./ enthusias • Thu moral conditions in favour of our revolution haape therefore significantly improved. At the same time, the pressure on our organ! a to take advantage of this situation, to sharpen the confrontation with the racists, has also increased.

Our organisation is working to take advantage of all tlie matex*ial advantages that have emerged particularly in Mozambique as a result of tlie coup in Portugal, Of particular importance to us is the .ong-standingt ties of solidarity that exist between the ANC and the authentic representatives of the struggling peoples of the Portuguese colonies*

The Verstar regime and its allies in the world imperialist system are undoubtedly working to sabotage the decolonisation process in the Portuguese colonies*

These farces will also undoubtedly try to insulate South Africa from the effects of the changing situation in Southern Africa*

Already the South African Defence Forces have been put on permanent alert* In the areas of the country bordering on Mozambique intense military activity is taking place.

The patrols along th© Botswana border h_ve been intensified*

Bren the decision openly to recruit tlie black population for military service has been forced on the racists by the rapidly changing situation in Southern Africa.

It is ho, ever significant that whilst all these efforts are being made, there have been reports in the South African press to the effect that "one of the largest i^ydro-electric

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schemes in the world is to be built in South Africa. Tho Drakensberg scheme (costing S180 million) is expected to b® completed by 1980."

Following the experience with the Cabora Bassa Baa Project, no nention was made as bo who will finance and provide the technical skill for the scheme.

It Isa also obvious that the police terror inside will be Intensified in order to ensure there io"peace" inside South Africa white the racists attend to their counterrevolutionary business in southern Africa,

The racists will however also be forced to accelerate their programme to create black puppet forces inside South Africa.

Hone of these things can save the apartheid regime from the anger of the people. Tile heightened military activity Inside the country is further accentuating the atmosphere of tension and crisis. More Intense police terror will lead and is leading, to a sharper polarisation of forces, and a greater urge for freedom among the oppressed people.

Tlie policy of creating puppets is resulting in an ever greater political awakening of the people.

Our organisational capacity to meet this situation is increasing. Much organisational work has been done inside the country. Problems of coordination arid consolidation and contact have become more pronounced in view of the progress achieved in organisational work.

The e is however no doubt that we are gradually coming on top of the situation* We have to move faster in all the main directions of our ..ork - the strengthening of our underground machinery, mass mobilisation and military work. Large material and financial resources are very necessary.

The possibility exists for the liberation forces of our country to halt the offensive of the enemy.

We also have to work for the further Isolation of the apartheid regime. The international situation is favourable for even greater victories in this work.

The e forts at the UN to withdraw the credentials of the South African racist delegation must continue. The

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conditions for this to succee^i^have been created by the adoption of the £onve ^llibn .parthoid as a (rim* Against Humanity and its Suppression* The ratification of the Convention by the all the freedom-loving people throughout the world is also a matter of greats importance*

We are working to consolidate our links with the great world-wide movement*of solidarity with our struggling people*

In the forthcoming period we are asking all our allies and friends to lay emphasis on the following main issuesj-

1* The ca paign Cor the release of South ASrican P litical Prisoners* /(&v^~SLAsGkx?% U~a (C

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A* Collection of material and financial support for the AKC as well as for dependents of victims of apartheid*

5>* Total boycott of all segregated apartheid institutions in the political, economic* soclo-cultural and sporting fields. Public de®ononstrative actions in support of the struggle by the oppressed South African people.

A systematic and consistent exposure of the evils

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country, the prospects for tho

have become much brighter*
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continue to stand steadfastly with us
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fraternal anti-imperialist soli arity
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Public demonstrative actions in support of the struggle by the oppressed South African people.

A systematic and consistent exposure of the evils of apartheid through various channels of mass media.

In this fituation, in which the eyes of the world are focussed with ever sharper interest on our country, we are working to ensure that all the component elements vital for the success of our struggle are sufficiently mobilised, that is, primarily, the combat readiness of our forces, proper understanding and full support for our cause by the international solidarity movement.

tin the period since the ANC last sent a delegation to this great socialist country, the prospects for the victory of our revolution have become much brighter. We are convinced that the Party, the Government and the people of Romania will continue to stand steadfastly with us in the difficult and decisive phase of struggle that now faces us. So long as the bonds of fraternal anti-imperialist solidarity bind us as firmly as they do today, the victory of our common cause is assured.

O.K. Tambo,

Acting President.

ABIJEX I

The following is a list of the consignments which we received from you follov/ing our last discussions in ITcrv mber# 1972*

15 bicycle©

11 bags of rice b barrels of cooking oil 50 watches 2 landrovers

6 Bales of 100 blankets each.

MHEX II

This is the list of material we are now requesting for our immediate needs:

6. barrels of cooking oil 40 bags of sugar 50 bags of rice 40 cases of tinned peas

40 cases of tinned beans

20 cases of tomatoes

30 cases of hard biscuits 2 Trucks, 10-ton weight, diesel or petrol fuelled for transporting goods.

Uniformsi

Small size, 100; 'tedium sizes 300j Large t ize: 100, Uniforms:

Small size, 100; Medium size: 300; Large size: 100, Military Boots:

Size 38: 100 pairs; Size 40: 200 pairs; Size41: 200 pairs;

Six 42: 100 pairs; Size 44: 50 pairs; Size 45: 50 pairs*

This makes a total of 700 pairs.

Allow me once more on behalf of my delegation, on behalf of all Doath Africans united under the banner of the

African National Congress, to express our deep gratitude

for the warm reception accorded us by your Committee and

the entire Romanian people,

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