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Proposals for strengthening liason between the ANC and other organisations in the Congress Alliance .

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Following a series of meetings of supporters of the Congress Movement held in London on the initiative of the Deputy President Mr. Tambo a committee was appointed to draft proposals for submission to the HQ of the ANC in Dar-Es-Salaam.

Broadly speaking the problem dealt with at all the meetings was the question of maintaining close liason between the leadership of the organisations comprising the Congress Alliance and the mobilisation of the different sections of the South African population behind the struggle both at home and abroad.

Concretely the questions boils down to co-operation between the ANC, South African Indian Congress, the South African Coloured Peoples Congress and the South African Congress of Trade Unions . The Committee was faced with certain difficulties in regard to the Congress of Democrats which was formally dissolved at home . There are however a large number of senior members of the COD residing in London . It is felt they should be incorporated in the proposals.

As indicated above the main objective is to secure political co-ordination at all levels as between the various national and trade union organisations as part of the task of mobilising all our forces for the struggle. The machinery previously constructed to achieve this has broken down by reason of repression , arrests etc at home and will require gigantic efforts to re-establish . It is assumed that these problems will be discussed in detail at the proposed Conference of the Congress Movement which the ANC decided upon at the meeting of representatives held in Tanzania earlier this year .

In the interim , that is, until the top level conference is held it is suggested that a Special Liason Group should immediately be set up. This would consist of top-ranking representatives of the SAIC, SACTU, SACPC, SACOD and ANC. The Special Liason Group will function as a confidential committee . This means it will not establish any kind of public image or have offices or anything of that kind. The object would be to maintain direct contact with the HQ of the external mission of the ANC in DAR . In other words in place of the present unofficial, and personal and often ragged links we propose official, recognised links functioning to the knowledge of the various supreme committees of the other



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rests on the leaders outside the country . They have to do what can no longer be done at home - to formulate policy and take practical steps to give leadership to their communities. It is in the spirit and tradition of our movement that they should do so together and not in isolation from one another. It was never envisaged that the External Mission would extend its functions to include the direction of all the alliance partners in these new tasks which history has placed before us. Indeed the ANC external mission neither is nor claims to be the director of these tasks. We require recognised means of mutual consultation and joint action . The means we had before no longer exist and may in any event have been inadequate for this new historical stage.

We should therefore direct our attention to the creation of new forms which would revitalise the alliance and assist its constituents to give leadership to their communities.

#### A PROPOSAL FOR A TOP LEVEL MEETING.

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The difficulty about deciding on important new steps to meet the greatly changes situation at home and abroad is that we no longer have formally constituted organisations able to elect delegates to a conference, or mandate them. At the same time we obviously urgently need a conference. In these conditions of illegality or semilegality and acute struggle we cannot stand on constitutional niceties. We do have a number of tested and experienced leaders outside the Republic . They are concerned in numerous ways with organisations at home and with solidarity work abroad. They continue to nejoy the support and confidence of the members of our organisations . We think therefore without overmuch regard to formal questions of "representation etc. a top level selection of leaders should be convened whose authority and standing is such that it is not likely to be challenged . We can think for example of colleagues such as the following whose standing and record would make their presence highly desirable and generally acceptable.



Such a meeting should review the situation in South Africa, in Southern Africa and deal with international developments which have a bearing on our movement. It should decide on practical organisational measures to be undertaken in present-day conditions ~~xxxxxi~~ to continue the existence and leadership of the alliance in a new form. The form we propose is that of a ~~Supreme~~ War Council of National Liberation .

COUNCIL OF NATIONAL LIBERATION.

The Council of National Liberation appointed and authorised by the top level meeting referred to above should be of such calibre as would win the allegiance of all the organisations and individuals who uphold the Freedom Charter .

The Council of National Liberation should :

- (i) Issue a new manifesto or call to the people of South Africa giving them general guidance in the present situation;
- (ii) Carry on sustained organisational and political work at home to mobilise all sections of the people in actions of resistance to Apartheid.
- (iii) Be responsible for the overall planning and direction of revolutionary activities.
- (iv) Consider and decide upon the most effective means of realising international solidarity and allocating resources to various organisations and spheres of activity.

To summarise the immediate essential is to have a sort of "Council of War" to hammer out a common political assessment arising out of which would flow practical and organisational tasks .