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increased doubleâ\200\224fold, despite and because of the iron heel of mass arrests, torture, indefinite detention and murder of patriots.

?NC, the oppressed and exploited peOple, are not shaken in their resolve to prosecute the armed struggle up to victory.

They see that the

They see that the progressive peoples the world over are more than ever

determined to isolate apgytheig South Africa, politically, economically, culturally, in all spheres of life, and are prepared to grab at anything to save themselves from total isolation.

They realize that the South fffrican economy itself is threatened with

collapse as a result of the apaytheig policy of the super~exploitation of the Black workers.

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They recognize all this and they realize that they have to devise new

methods of continuing the system of white rule and Black exploitation and fbr deceiving the international community...

The fffrican National gongress declares that the only genuine national

convention that can be hefi~\202 in South Africa would:

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be vested with sovereign and unlimited authority to change South African society in all its aspects;

be attended by representatives of all the national groups in proportions that reflect the composition of the South fffrican population.

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Moreover, for such a convention to be genuinely sovereign and democratic; the i~\201frican National Congress declares that the following pre-conditions would have to be met:

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The suspension of the racist constitution;

The lifting of the ban on the vanguard organization, the LNG, and all other popular organizations;

The release of all political prisoners and banned, banished and restricted patriots and the full participation of the people's leaders like Nelson Mandela and others, in the preparations for and actual work of the convention;

The immediate and unconditional return of all political leaders abroad;

The immediate, complete and unconditional compliance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

The immediate and unequivocal repeal of the Land act;

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The immediate repeal of all repressive legisletion  
such as the Native Urban freas fct, the Suppression  
of Communism Act, the Terrorism Act, Proclamation  
AGO in the Transkei, and all other such legislation;

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The disarming of the police and army and disbanding  
the existing machinery of police and military terrorism.

The fffrican people, other racial groups and the world must compel Vorster

and his racist clique to agree to the national convention.  
minority still believes that it is invincible and can command and herd history  
according to its will.

Black peOple's war of liberation seriously threatens the white minority  
regime that the Nationalist Government will be obliged and ready to talk.

It is only from a position of strength, when the

The racist

. The main direction towards change, the content of the political struggle  
of the indigenous and Oppressed masses in our country is through the armed  
struggle which the [NC has already launched and will continue to prosecute  
with increasing vigour....

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Recently, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, head of the Zulu Tribal Territorial

authority, issued a call for a national convention of all races in South Africa. This idea is being supported by the United Party, the Progressive Party, the Trade Union Council of South Africa, and other organizations. This very tentative move has been firmly rejected by the ruling, fascist, all-white Nationalist Government.

However, even

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/ national convention has always been necessary in South Africa, where a

white minority group illegally monopolizes power to defend and advance its interests of oppression and exploitation.

During its long history of relentless struggle, the African National Congress...has continually demanded the convocation of a genuine national convention, representative of all the people, to discuss and draw up a truly democratic constitution in which political and economic power would be controlled by and vested in the overwhelming majority, the African people. There could be no other meaningful, realistic convention or political dialogue.

Yet the fascist Nationalist Government rejected a national convention on any basis...

us

In 1961, when for the last time, the oppressed people, led by the ANC,

made a call for a national convention in place of a whites-only Republic, the fascist regime replied with the most unprecedented mobilization of the oppressor army in an attempt to crush the national stoppage of work which we called in reply to the enemy's refusal to summon a national convention.

Our call was answered with the ruthless ferms of legalized, police and the leaders of

military terrorism.

the people were arrested, tortured and restricted.

declared Open war against an unarmed people.

chapter in the history of our struggle for freedom and justice.

avenues of struggle were closed, and severe penalties, up to the death sentence, were imposed.

compelled to lead the oppressed people in a Violent offensive against a violent repression.

In these circumstances, the African National Congress was

forced repression could only be met by armed revolt...

The white minority regime

This marked the close of a

Political organizations were banned:

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The peaceful

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Yet, white organizations and individuals that have supported and continue

to support the perpetuation of white rule â\200\224 the United Party, the Progressive Party and the Trade Union Council of South Africa â\200\224 now want a national

convention.

Why?

These white, anti-Black groups see with the greatest fear that the liberation of the Black man is approaching.

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Black people of our country that their hatred of the white oppressor and their â\200\230â  
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determination to seize political power, relying on their own strength, have

They see by the actions of the

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On the Convocation of a National Convention

Statement by ANC made on Oct. 4, 1971 on the proposal of Chief Buthelezi  
that there be convened a national convention.