

In general at the diplomatic level and in pursuance of the

policy of isolating the South African regime through the economic boycott and other measures, the member States of the OAU have, with a few exceptions, maintained considerable international pressure which has greatly helped to consolidate world opinion against the fascists in South Africa.

At the United Nations, The QAU stand, greatly fortified by the Socialist and Asian groups of nations, has provided support and backing for measures against

South Africa proposed by the Special Committee on Apartheid which keeps a vigilant eye on developments inside the fascist régime.

Our major contact with the OAU is through the African Libe-

We have seen the PAC becoming more and more an

ration Committee. In some respects an extraordinary situation has arisen here.

organisation sponsored and supported by the Liberation Committee. Our movement had earlier warned the OAU and the Liberation Committee that once they assume responsibility from keeping the PAC from disintegration they will find themselves being dragged into South African internal politics more and more. Our advice was ignored. We predict that not only will the Liberation Committee fail to maintain the PAC as a cohesive body but the Committee will discredit itself in the process. Inasmuch as the ANC advice is being ignored we will do nothing whatsoever to stop this process which can now run its disastrous course.

We still believe that the amount of aid

and the conception

of what aid is needed is completely misunderstood by the Liberation Committee and we have said so. But we can only continue to press our case for more effective aid.

Special measures must be taken to strengthen our relations

with all African states and to keep them informed of the designs of the South African racist government. Not enough work has been done in this respect, and hardly any effort has been directed at the Arab

This should be the subject of research and action especially in view of the fact that South Africa obtains the bulk of its oil supplies from certain countries in this area of

countries of the Middle East.

The Socialist countries, and the Soviet Union in particular, have been firm and consistent friends and strong supporters of the liberation struggle in South Africa, and we have no doubt they will continue in this internationalist policy.

There was great anxiety at the developments in Czechoslovakia which involved countries all of which have always been strong friends of the ANC. It is to be hoped the situation there will return to normal. Cuba is very far from our country, but very close to our revolutionary struggle. Our relations with Cuba are excellent. The ANC, and indeed the whole progressive liberation movement in South Africa, has always maintained a specially close relationship with the people of India, cemented by Mahatma Gandhi's direct association with the struggle of the oppressed people in our country. It should be mentioned here

that this year the Gandhi Centenary Celebrations are being carried out, and our movement should play a leading role in these activities. »

Our close ties with India were strengthened not only by India

being the first country to raise the issue of South Africa's apartheid policy at the U. N., but also, and further, by the establishment in New Delhi of the first office of our organisation in Asia.

ANC and the multi-national people of Asia."

This has opened up the prospects of contact between the

The People's Republic of China is a great Socialist power

whose support is very important for the speedy success of the South African revolution. We firmly hope that the cloud that has so far

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D I S C U S S I O N

G U I D E

(Contd.)

SITUATION AT HOME.

It is essential that our orientation should now more and more reflect the realities of the internal situation in which the next phase of our work will largely take place.

Since the banning of our organisation in April 1960 we have

The first was at Lobatsi in

had two consultative conferences.  
October 1962.

The Lobatsi conference representing delegates from ' all over the country endorsed the decision to organise and prepare for armed struggle.

The next conference was at Morogoro in 1965,  
This conference took place under the shadow of the Rivonia events and the damage suffered by our internal underground organisation, The Morogoro conference laid the basis for the steady recovery of initiative by our movement reflected in the dramatic events of August 1967 in Zimbabwe.

As we approach the forthcoming conference the perspective is that of approaching activities at home in South Africa itself.

We need to review our position at home and abroad so as to plan carefully for the next step forward.

No society is static.

All the time changes occur in all

The country has continued to make spectacular advances

spheres which require close attention by the movement.

Even if the basic and fundamental situation remains the same there may be subtle changes of emphasis which need to be understood if strategy and tactics are to be right.

The biggest changes in South Africa in the last five years have been in the field of economies.

in industrial development.

The developments in this sphere have resulted in modernisation of other spheres as well as agriculture, commerce, transport and communications.

The National Income of South Africa was estimated at about R29556 million in 1960-1961. Today the figure is nearer \$4,000 million.

mining industry continues to be the main prop of the economy by reason of its supreme role as foreign exchange earner, its contribution to the national income steadily declines.

Manufacturing industry is contributing a bigger and bigger share of the country's national income.

Although the Gold

The growth of industry has been accompanied by a swift

generally.

Of great significance is the fact

increase in the numbers of the industrial proletariat and the wage-earners

that the proportion of Africans engaged in the manufacturing industries is growing rapidly and they now constitute 80% of the workers in the manufacturing industry.

earners in our country including the mining, manufacturing and agricultural workers amount to over 6 million.

number of people now dependent for their livelihood on selling their labour power constitute the majority of the South African adult population.

Of interest is the fact that on European farms

the numbers of Europeans is steadily declining and non-whites are even more than before the mainstay of the country's agricultural production.

absentee.

The white landlords are becoming more and more

The numbers of wage-

In other words the

The economic changes and growth experienced in the country has

not been reflected in much change in the so-called "Reserves".

These areas of subsistence farming remain reservoirs of labour for the rest of the economy.

with a population of over 4 million, have had just under 2,000 new jobs created in them.

This ludicrous situation illustrates

the bankruptcy of the policy of "separate development".

In the last five years the "reserves",

Up to 1960 there was in existence a huge mass movement with

a programme which united various national groups and democratic organisations." The Congress Alliance led by the AND included the SAIC, SACPC, SAOTU and COD.. Then the ANC was declared illegal, closely followed by the GOD. The other partners in the alliance retained legality which however more and more became a farce. IN other words the Congress Alliance as we knew it really came to an In addition to that we now have a

{end as an organisational form.

perspective of armed struggle which would in any event call for drastic changes in political organisation.

A further factor is

the emergence of the Communist Party of South Africa in 1961 as an active political force in the liberation movement. It should be noted that this emergence was after the ANC had itself been declared illegal.

Therefore the question has become very sharp as to what form

of structure should be established to unite and consolidate all revolutionary forces in the country. There are a number of things which we can immediately state should not happen.

In the present\_

revolutionary~type situation we cannot recreate the Congress Alliance in its old form.

different period of history.

structure based on parity and communal representation would lead to all the weaknesses of the former structure without any of the advantages.

for the conditions of armed struggle with a high degree of centralisation and effectiveness.

Therefore we need a new type of structure suitable

This would be a step back to a totally

Also the pyramidal form of structure

It is of fundamental importance that any machinery we set up

It is an essential of a correct appraisal

should be under the banner and leadership of the ANC.

just a cheap demand.

and understanding of the political situation in South Africa.

But leadership means that those who lead must have the complete confidence and trust of those whom they claim to lead. Therefore, it is essential that all nationally oppressed groups and revolutionary elements must be in full support of the steps taken to

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integrate the revolutionary forces in any structure that is created.

This is not

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In considering this question a clear distinction should also be drawn between the position outside the country and that inside South Africa itself;

ensure that all available talent of our movement is effectively utilised at all levels.

ground machinery to mobilise the Africans, Indians, Coloured and progressive Whites in support of the armed struggle.

At home we must be able to create under~

Outside the country we have the means to

In the current preparation all sectors of the movement are expected to make a contribution to the satisfactory solution of this big political and organisational question. able to solve it in all its aspects especially at home where conditions are very hard and complex. taken to ensure that all national groups and revolutionaries are able to give their full contributions to the solution of the problems of South Africa and this must be expressed in proper organisation forms.

But steps must and will be

We may not be

This can only take place when liberated areas begin to

It is impossible for a revolutionary organisation to allow the full play of democracy including conferences, elections and so on. emerge in our country and certain relaxation of the laws of revolutionary warfare takes place. faced with the need to find some suitable ways of renewing leadership and bringing in new and young talent to the leadership. This

Nevertheless every movement is

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is a very serious and reSponsible task that cannot be tackled by measures which can only lead to disruption and penetration of the movement by enemy agents. But carefully and with skill, new people should be brought into the positions of responsibility in the movement. to meet these needs.

Special revolutionary methods have to be devised

Our aim is the overthrow of the present regime and its

It will not perhaps be possible in the

replacement by a democratic state along the lines indicated in the Freedom Charter. course of a few days at a conference to deal in detail with some of the big policy matters such as our land policy in the building of a guerrilla movement or the role of the urban areas in the armed struggle. guide can and must be commented upon by our comrades in the course of the preliminary discussions. ssion except those matters which are secrets of our military struggle. merely to point to some of the issues which are likely to feature more immediately at the forthcoming conference.

The intention of the discussion guide is as its name implies

But these and others not dealt with in this discussion

There is no

limit to the discu~

March 1969;

Preparatory Committee.

denied us the continued support of China, Which as far as we are concerned we are not responsible for, Will soon disappear.

Every effort must be made to resume relations of friendship between the ANC and China in the interests of the struggle, and in keeping With the friendship and esteem in Which the ANC has always held and continues to hold the people of China.

The Scandinavian countries, including especially Sweden, â\200\230

â\200\230 1 have been consistent friends of the liberation movement

in South.Africa and leading supporters of international funds giving aid to victims of Apartheid. The recent statement by the Swedish Foreign Ministry on support for the guerrilla struggle is important and Will further consolidate friendship.

In the United States, France and Britain the ruling circles

maintain their policy of aiding and abetting Apartheid in its oppression of our people.

countries growing numbers of people and organisations vii-\20lorously oppose the proeApartheid policies of their governments. support armed resistance to White supremacy. Others Who shrink from sup>orting armed struggle nevertheless Iâ\200\234ivre aid in various ways to our people for humanitarian reasons.

But in these and other imperialist

Special attention needs to be paid to the tremendous struggles

of the Afro~Americoans in the United States. The similarities beâ\200\224tween the struggle for freedom and equality in the U.S. and in South.Africa make ooâ\200\224ordination and oo-operation not only possible, but even essential.

'We need to examine this carefully.

Last but not least there are the people of Vietnam Whose

heroism deserves at last to achieve its final victory. The current peace talks-in Paris represent a hope that peace and unity might still come to Vietnam in the near future. Imperialism does not stop its conspiracies to undermine the peace talks. But we all hope for success. Our relations With both the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the South Vietnam National Liberation Front are eX0e~llent and are developing in scope.

.Our movement has gained much as a result of its external

work. Our recovery from the Rivonia and other events would not have been possible Without firm friends in the foreign field. But there is noW a feeling that a disproportionate amount of time and resources is being expended on external work. NOW, more and more 01 the best brains and talent 0:? the movement must be utilised Ior the armed struggle and the internal political deve~lopments in our country. The Whole movement has to swing decisively back to Work at home.

This means too that there must be more concentrated and

specific foreign policy work and less 01 general and rather diffuse campaigns to influence and persuade.

and durable links With those countries Willing and abl e to stand With us in our revolutionary struggle through thick and thin.; HOW this is actually worked out in j1>raotioe is a matter of detail. But a change here is needed as VJell.



We must establish long-term

QDR MOVEMENT OF LIBERATION

A revolutionary struggle requires for its success a strong

movement representing the vast mass of the people. Such a movement must have a correct strategy and tactics. Some problems need to be discussed here.

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Van Den Bergh and operating directly under Vorster from the Prime Minister's Office.

South African army for the first time is available for action outside the country against guerrillas and not on a volunteer basis°

These are the realities of the situation.

The

The outward-looking policy on which so much has been said

is essentially defensive and military in its purpose.

Africa feels the need to neutralise certain African states as part of its counter-revolutionary offensive.

that Dr. H. Muller suffered a humiliating defeat when he stood for the leadership of the Nationalist Party in Natal with the full backing of Vorster.

tion of working with African countries and so they demonstrated against the man believed to be the author of the outward-looking policy.

and viciously racist group makes the running.

usual in South African white politics the right-wing

ultra-right wing dislikes any suggestion

It is to be noted

South

The

As

The United Party, and the Progressives shrink every day in The Liberal Party has vanished from the political scene.

size.

Therefore the polarisation in the country is still the trend with all the reactionary elements gravitating towards the government and all the progressives towards the ANC and its allies. middle-groups are being squeezed out in the process.

The

As far as the masses of the people are concerned they retain their spirit by all accounts and anxiously hope for the spread of the growth of the revolutionary armed struggle.

This applies also

to our precious militants in the gaols of South Africa who retain

faith in the victory of the struggle despite all done to them by the Fascist torturers.

against the guerrillas and the liberation movement which has sunk to levels that constitute a record even for South Africa is an earnest of the progress the revolution in Southern Africa is making with the people.

that has been

The fantastic propaganda

The finding of more efficient forms of organisation and

activity capable of mobilising the entire people inside the country is a chief task of the movement. on this later.

We will have more to say

## THE REVOLUTION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA;

Since the last conference in 1965 the chief feature has been

the emergence of the armed struggle in the whole of Southern Africa. For the first time in 90 years big military clashes between armed groups have taken place between the White ruler and the oppressed people in our part of the world.

More and more the politics of

Southern Africa will be centred on the progress or otherwise of this struggle.

guerrilla

heroism and skill of our joint forces in action in Zimbabwe have won admiration and considerable political credit for the two movements.

In Mozambique, Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe, the

Our Alliance with ZAPU, and the

movement is spreading.

THE

ZAPU/ATC ALLIANCE

The Alliance of ZAPU/ANC has not sprung out of the blue.

It

is founded on a belief in a united struggle; a belief shared by all the people of Africa and expressed by decades of close cooperation between both the leaders and rank-and-file of the political movements of both South Africa and Zimbabwe.

was formed in 1912, it was founded as the national movement for South Africa, the then protectorates and Rhodesia, in all of which the African people were the victims of British colonial rule. /woc..

In fact when the ANC

played its role as an intimidatory factor persuading people to play safe.  
of the people of the Transkei.

But Matanzima was still unable to obtain the support

In other parts of the country the government still claims it policy.

is pursuing the Bantustan Authority now has a so-called legislative council headed by Chief Justice Mabandla<sup>o</sup> announced.  
and Natal.  
analyst that the Bantustan policy as a "solution" to the country's problems is a hopeless failure.

There is still utter silence about Sekhukhuniland  
But whatever happens it is now clear to any serious

In Tswanaland too a new council has been

The Ciskei Territorial

Both in the numbers of people affected and more importantly

in its long term prospects it is clear that this policy offers no solution and this is now admitted practically on all sides even within the government itself.  
as a means of deception and propaganda.

The Bantustan policy only serves

In the latter regard the effect of the policy should not be

Among politically backward elements and certain

under-estimated.  
"elite" groups who see some immediate advantages for personal gain the Bantustan policy offers more bribes than have ever been offered by any white government before.  
The high-sounding titles, salaries, ministerial houses, trading and business opportunities and so on, were bound to attract some groups in the country.  
Bantu Education and the intensive racialist, ethnic and reactionary propaganda spewed forth by the local Msakazo and Radio Bantu, are to produce a narrow social grouping that could be the basis of a comprador, collaborator class.  
Yet over and over again the government is forced by the logic of its anti-African policy of oppression to act even against the potential collaborator.  
on the one hand the government had promised that only African traders would be allowed to trade in the African townships in the urban areas.  
ful pro-government traders so  
edict that all African traders must remove their business from the urban areas and proceed to the "homelands".  
the very traders who had been so anxious to sing hallelujahs and hurrahs to the government.

This opened a huge market to a number of very grateful

The next thing was the government

This means ruin to

The effects of

Thus

That applies to the African applies in similar measures to

the Indians and Coloureds.

Coloured Affairs departments spreads, the real rights and opportunities become narrower.

intensified.

the industrial and economic development have been in spite of and not because of government policies.

Oppression, restrictions<sup>9</sup> fear have been

Whatever "benefits" have accrued to the people from

As the network of the Indian and

The repression of our people has not relaxed one jot.

The

legislation of the Verwoerd period has been altered for the worse under Vorster.

And all the indications are that it will get much

This perspective is not altered by the current tweedledee worse.

and tweedledum arguments over tactics by the Verkrampste and the Verligte within the governing party.

sharper these arguments will grow more intense.

centre on the question of how to maintain white supremacy.

naturally take full advantage of the contradictions in the enemy camp.

out of the crisis which requires a revolutionary transfer of power from those who have it at the present time to the ANC and its allies.

But these controversies do not in themselves offer any way

But they will

We

As the armed struggle becomes

The real intentions of the government are more likely to

be seen in such things as the spectacular increase in the arms budget; the creation of the new secret service headed by

Van Den Bergh...../4.

DEVELOPMENT BASED ON RUTHLESS a PLOITATION;

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The non~white peOple in South Africa have not shared in the

On the

In real terms the share

much vaunted economic progress of the country, although their labour has been a major factor in it.

of the national income estimated for Africans has fallen from approximately 21% just after the Second World War to 19% today.

The economic development is not based on an increase in African consumption and more liberal labour or wage policies.

contrary there is far greater control and exploitation of labour; the pass system still results in the arrest of an average of over 1100 Africans a day; strikes and other forms of collective bargaining are ruthlessly put down.

In other words the so-called prosper~

ity of the country exists only for the privileged and is based on ruthless exploitation of cheap labour and the greatly inflated profits resulting therefrom.

for the reformist thesis that economic development in our country will enter an â\200\234era of high mass consumption.oo.and to a granting of political reforms by the white minority:

that are thrown at our people in the form of improved housing in the urban areas, cannot alter the fact that the Africans and other nonâ\200\224Whites taken in the mass are getting an even smaller share of the national cake than they did twenty years ago.

high

economic activity is based precisely on the oppression and exploitation of the non-Whites and those who benefit thereby can hardly be expected to initiate changes.

struggle waged by the masses of the people can bring about meaningful changesÂ°

There is absolutely no justification

Only a revolutionary

The scanty crumbs

The present

THE BANâ\200\231Iâ\200\230USth FRAUD.

Ever since the passing of the Bantu Authorities Act in 1951

We pointed out then and still do today that

our movement has consistently rejected the whole basis of the Bantustan policy.

the Bantustan or homelands policy is nothing but a continuation of the exclusion of our peOple from political power.

It is, as

other devices before it, a means of diverting attention from the central issue in South Africa which is â\200\224 what groups and classes are to hold power

new fraud makes its appearance some people have thought it represented a ray of light at the end of a dark tunnel.

whatsoever justifies any such hopesÂ°

As has happened in our country everytime a

Nothing

In the recent â\200\234electionsâ\200\235 in the Transkei it is estimated

that over 600,000 votes were cast for the 45 elective seats. Transkei National Indeyehdenoe Party led by Kaizer Matanzima received over 200,000 votes but got 28 out of the 45 seats. opposition parties who were divided into a number of groups including the Democratic Party received over 400,000 votes. be noted that the number of potential voters is estimated at approximately one million.

It should

The

The

In spite of the notorious Proclamation 400 Which maintains

the state of emergency in the Transkei; the restrictions of political meetings; the weakness of the opposition to Matanzima Which is opportunistic and does not constitute any alternative ~ over two-thirds of those who participated voted against Matanzima and his group. participate says a great deal. elected in accordance with the wishes of the various chiefs. in Chief Sabata's area, voters supported those candidates whom he supported. The same applies to the areas of Matanzima and Botha Sigcau.

This shows that the question of allocation of land still

The fact that about 400,000 did not even bother to

It is also noteworthy that voters

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Thus

played.../5.

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It was only in 1924 that a separate ABC of  
But cooperation continued and later? in the fifties, close~  
working~together was resumed as the policies pursued in Rhodesia  
and South Africa became virtually the same: the laws in many  
oasesâ\200\230being carbon copiesÂ°  
Any differences there were in the  
policies followed by the oppressors in Rhodesia and South Africa  
were due to the fact that Britain played a role in Rhodesia.  
The UDI brought the alliance of the white minorities in both  
countries into the open.

Rhodesia was formed.

It is vital to see the main essence of the questions relating

A unique form of cooperation and coordinationâ\200\224w

This is the essence of the question

to the ZAPU/ANC alliance.  
An alliance between two liberation movements has been established for  
the purpose of fighting imperialism and oppression.  
The purpose  
is to fight more effectively and to unite peoples more effectively  
in that fight  
The fact  
that the enemy is fighting in a united and coordinated fashion  
only adds point to the alliance.  
It is true that some legitimate  
questions can arise as to the scale and scope of the alliance and  
whether it could result in a lack of attention to the specific  
and different conditions in Zimbabwe and  
is absolutely no doubt that honest revolutionaries will approach  
the problem from the standpoint of strengthening unity and effectiveness  
in the fight against the common enemy whatever discussions  
there may be on the forms of organisation reflecting the alliance.  
The alliance has come to stay and all that can be done is to make  
it work for the greater interest of our cause

South Africa.

But there

For us the main strategic question is

to see that the

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This also depends on how widespread and

This is not to say that the enemy will in fact be

guerrilla struggle spreads to South Africa itself.  
When that  
happens the dispersal of the enemy will in strategic terms be  
complete.  
tactically dispersedÂ°  
effective the guerrilla struggle is in South Africa and other  
countries in Southern Africa:  
a fullâ\200\224scale offensive and in the result ensure the maximum  
dispersal of the forces of white supremacy throughout the whole  
subcontinent.  
Already by assuming responsibility for the defence of the whole



of Southern Africa<sup>9</sup> the military strategists of the South African army have been set an impossible task. The hasty political decision to intervene in Zimbabwe was falling into the trap set by the liberation movement to mistake, and some already realise it. INTERNATIONAL EN I:2s .

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But they cannot pull back.

For this we need to assault the enemy at home.

The enemy will live to regret their

But clearly the aim is to mount

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The international situation continues to develop in a complex

On our continent the counteroffensive of

has affected the weight and extent of practical support

contradictory manner.

imperialism has just scored another success in the overthrow of the progressive government of Malawi

There is a current blowing

across Africa that is not altogether healthy for a progressive and revolutionary orientation of the African liberation movement.

This

of our struggle by some members of the OAU

African Governments<sup>9</sup> including our brothers in Tanzania and Zambia who are making great sacrifices as far as our struggle is concerned<sup>9</sup> and we have a duty not only to maintain the friendliest possible relations with these countries but also<sup>9</sup> and more especially, to ensure that their sacrifices are not made in vain<sup>o</sup>

Deserving

of special mention in this connection are such African countries as Algeria, which<sup>9</sup> despite its distance from the scene of action, gives regular material assistance and constant encouragement to

But there are

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JEF

the fighting forces:

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