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THE COMMENTARIES FOR THE FORTHCOMING I.N.C. CONFERENCE THE STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

For the past 10 years, the White minority regime has suppressed any resistance to such an extent that there has been no mass out-breaks or collective demonstrations of rejection of the status quo. At first sight this looks as if the government has been successful in crushing the resistance movement. It also means that the movement has not found

a way to break through the repressive techniques employed by the state against its political opponents. This situation has created a sense of false security among the Whites who are no probably more united than ever before behind the government and its apartheid policy. We cannot expect any change in this position unless and until the liberation movement succeeds in challenging the regime on a significant scale. Our first task, therefore, must be to provide the people with a militant leadership inside the country, to organise them, and bring to the surface the universal hatred that Africans, Indians, Coloureds and progressive Whites feel for the entire system of White supremacy. For this purpose it is necessary to give our people a rallying point or slogan behind which they will mobilize their resources. The old slogans, the old programs are no longer adequate. We need a bold and imaginative policy that will arouse enthusiasm among our young people, workers, peasants, intellectuals, etc. We must call on them to overthrow White power and put in its place African majority rule. We must make it clear that the policy of our movement is to give the voteless people, not only political power, but also economic power. Farms and factories[^] mines and shops and banks (all forms of private capital which form the basis of the White man's rule must be transferred to the people under public ownership* In no other way can African, Indians and Coloureds overcome their backwardness in education, technology and organised administrative experience from which they suffer as a result of 300 years of racial domination, oppression and injustice. We must call on our people to take their place as rulers of their country and owners of its wealth.

ARMED STRUGGLE

The task of a revolutionary movement is to prepare ground for a revolution and secondly it is to provide the leadership that is necessary for success when a revolutionary situation comes to a boil. We declare our unshakable conviction based on confidence in the courage and deter-

mination of our people at home that such a revolutionary situation will materialize and we dedicate ourselves to the task of hastening the process and bringing closer the day when our people will rise in tens and hundreds of thousands against their oppressor. It is our responsibility here and now to prepare ourselves for that event by creating the cadres and organisational supports which will be required to direct the revolutionary movement towards the central objective of overthrowing the White settler regime. It is our intention to make systematic preparations and to adopt the required techniques for the coming period of mass

revolutionary struggle, so that when this event takes place our movement will be adequately prepared.

CONGRESS ALLIANCE.

The Congress alliance was formed in the early 1950s during the early stages of the Africaner government's remorseless campaign to crush the

extra-parliamentary opposition, to destroy both revolutionary class movement and the revolutionary national movement and to consolidate the

regime of White supremacy behind a network of fascistic and racialistic laws. The Congress Alliance retained its cohesion and went from strength to strength under the blows of the White terrorists. In the Treason Trials in all other forms of persecution resorted to by the Boers, the Alliance remained steadfast with Whites, Indians and Coloureds holding the front with their African comrades against all attacks. We recognise the contribution made by all sections of the liberation movement

to the launching of MK and to the opening of the phase of armed struggle. The decision to embark on armed struggle and the preparation for armed struggle were shared on equal footing by all sections of the alliance. Indians, Whites and Coloureds, as well as Africans are serving life sentences in South African prison, because they dared stand up to the regime in a revolutionary movement. It is our intention to continue and strengthen this alliance between patriots and freedom-fighters of all colour groups. It is our intention that White, Coloureds, and Indians should not only belong to the alliance, but should be seen as so belonging. Our movement must embark on a campaign to recruit men and women of all races for our revolutionary war, both as guerrillas and as members of the underground resistance movement. We are convinced that the presence of Whites, Indians and Coloureds among freedom fighters

in the White settler region South of the Zambesi will be a success of great strength, will arouse enthusiasm among our people and will give our struggle a world wide attention. So too, we believe that, Whites, Coloureds and Indians can make an enormous contribution to our struggle

at home and must be regarded as an integral part of the fight for liberation. It is therefore, our intention to give all sections of the Congress alliance their proper place in our movement both in our councils and in our public deliberations. Our representatives must include all those who have earned a right by sacrifice and devotion to our cause to speak in the name of the oppressed people of our country,

Z o A^© P o U o ^eN^C^

Our alliance with Z^PU is based partly on comradeship and solidarity, but mainly on recognition of the fact that we face a common enemy and that the White settlers of Rhodesia and of South Africa constitute a single power system dedicated to the maintenance of White supremacy, and that neither can be defeated whilst the other remain strong. Events since U.D.I have emphatically demonstrated the correctness of this analysis and fully justify our alliance with Z.AcP.U. All the world knows now that the White minority regime in Rhodesia exists only with material support of S.A, and that the minority regime in South Africa is committed to maintaining White supremacy in Rhodesia, because that country is an outpost and bastion of South Africa's imperialism. The time has now come for our movement to recognise the need of a wider alliance embracing also the heroic freedom-fighters of Angola, Mozambi-

que and S.W.Ao The time has come for us to recognise the fact and to act upon the fact that Southern Africa, although divided into different nation states, is in fact, one single economic, strategic and political complex. The most speedy and economical method of fighting the White settler governments of Southern Africa is for all freedom fighters to combine their forces in what should be in fact our single combined operation. This does not mean, necessarily that our forces must be merged or that operations must be conducted from one single centre. We

urge only at this stage that there should be close and continuous co-operation and consultation between all freedom fighters engaged in this front and that as far as possible and desirable operations should be co-ordinated in one great strategic plan,

FOREIGN RELATIONS

The South African ruling class is part of an international political and economic order; which is dominated by private capital and capitalist imperialism. That basically is the reason why 25 years of protest and pressure at the U.N.O. and other international bodies have failed to secure any tangible results in the form of sanctions against South Africa. This experience has had the value of satisfying the movement once and for all that the liberation struggle will not be given assistance in circles of Britain, U.S.A. and countries associated with them. For this reason the movement has found its allies on the other quarters among the independent states of Africa, the progressive nations

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of Asia and the socialist countries. We acknowledge on gratitude and indebtedness to our friends and allies and affirm our solidarity with them. At the same time we must recognise that our movement is not a government, and cannot therefore, adapt and implement an international policy in any real sense of the word. We can, and we will continue to express our sympathy with progressive cause but apart from verbal demonstrations, we as a movement cannot give material aid to our allies.

In the second place, we find that our allies are not always united.

Our friends who are in agreement with our objective of liberating Southern Africa from White minority rule are not always in agreement among themselves. One only need refer to the deplorable war in Nigeria or the dispute between the U.S.S.R. and the Peoples Republic of China as example. We cannot now or in the foreseeable future unity and solidarity among the opponents of world imperialism. For these reason, it is necessary that our movement, must as from now refrain from identifying itself with one particular section of the anti-imperialist and anit-colonial sector of the countries and forces that have made as a stand against world imperialism and colonialism. This does not mean that we adopt a policy of non-alignment in the sense of being equally indifferent or equally impatial to the contending parties in international affairs. We are not and should continue to be irrecocably committed to the cause of anti-imperialism, to the cause of liberation from colonial rule and racial domination. It is not for us, however,

as a movement to chose sides in that camp. Our duty to the liberation

movement and to our people, must compell us to ally ourselves in the side of justice and progress against imperial domination and to maintain good relations with all peoples who recognise and support our

struggle for freedom, justice and decency.

THE A.N.C. - Z.A.F.U ALLIANCE

1. There has always been an identity of interests between South Africa and Rhodesia. Indeed, the very name RHODESIA is derived from the arch-imperialist Cecil Rhodes. The White South African history shows that both the Boers and the British have always cast their covetous eyes across the Limpopo. By means of the Groblier Treaty of July 1887 the Transvaal Republic tried to lay claim to parts of Rhodesia. Then Rhodes stepped on the scene. By 1888,

the agents of Rhodes and the South African mining interests had outmanoeuvred King Lobengula and secured the notorious Rudd concessions. Britain blessed this act with a Royal Charter to Rhodes and in September 1890, Rhodesia was annexed in Queen Victoria's name,

2. In modern times there has been steady cooperation between the minority regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia in the economic, political and military sphere.

These relations took a sharp upward turn around about 1960.

During the struggle of the African Nationalists against the oppressive Central African Federation, Roy Welensky acted then, very much like Ian Smith today. Welensky, alarmed by the political developments in Central Africa, dashed to South Africa for help.

In the economic sphere, the economies of both South Africa and Rhodesia are dominated by the same financial magnates like the Anglo-American Corporation, De Beers Consolidated Mines, the Standard and Barclays Bank, the National and Grindlays Bank has major interests both in Rhodesia and South Africa etc., etc.

Recently, South Africa has given Rhodesia a loan to the tune of R10,000,000. Military co-operation between the two countries has been in force since 1960.

THEN came U.D.I. . . Ian Smith admitted at his party conference in Gwelo in 1967, that Rhodesia would never have declared UDI without promises of concrete support from South Africa. Since UDI, Rhodesia has virtually become a satellite of South Africa. Today, South African troops occupy the country.

3. As far as the Africans were concerned, in both countries,

our people realised at an early stage that they were indeed fighting against a common enemy. Hence leaders of the African National Congress made common cause with; he

people of Zimbabwe in the struggle against the notorious Land Act of 1913. In the legal battles in Zimbabwe African lawyers from South Africa also participated for example Advocate Mangena went there in 1918 and after he was deported the lawyer Richard Msimang also went.

Then.../2

Then in 1919) Rev, Ngcayiya who formed part of the A.N.C. delegation which went to petition: Britain against racist oppression, also spoke for the people of Zimbabwe, among whom he had worked.

In 1932, the Africans in Zimbabwe formed the African National Congress.

Quite clearly, there were deep similarities between our A.N.C. and the A.N.C. of Zimbabwe.

Many leaders of the ANC in Zimbabwe had been to South Africa where they had fully participated in the struggle under the banner of the A.N.C. Such leaders as Joshua Nkomo the -President of ZAPU, James Chikerema, the Deputy President of ZAPU, the late Dr. Parerenyatwa, T.G. Silundika and many participated actively in our A.N.C. oi* in its Youth League.

The late Chief A.J. Luthuli, one of the most glorious leaders of the A.N.C. was born in Zimbabwe.

if. The UDI crisis clearly proved beyond all doubts that

our worst fears about the existence of an Unholy Alliance between South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal were indeed justified. During the five years preceeding UDI we of the ANC and ZAPU became convinced that our enemy was acting in concert, Our two organisations, therefore, began step by step to join hands. UDI proved that the White racists of Rhodesia were bent on selling the country to the South African faoci&ts and relied entirely on them for political, economic and military support*

OUR ANSWER TO THIS INCIDIGUS CONSPIRACY WAS THE FORMATION OF A MILITARY ALLIANCE BY US AND ZAPU.
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5* When [_ crack of rifle fire and the clash of bayonets

outside Wankie, announced the birth and baptismal, -----

in blood, of the ZAPU-ANC alliance, the two organisations issued a stat ment on August, 19^7, declaring, in the name of Pan-African solidarity, the determination to conduct and prosecute a joint struggle against the combined fascist-racist forces of South Africa and Rhodesia. The statement declared inter alia:

"We wish to declare here that the fighting that is presently going on in the Wankie area is

indeed bating carried out by a combined force of ZAPU and ANC which marched into the oountry as comrades-in-arms on a common route, each bound to its destination. It is the determination of those combined forces to fight the comiilion enemy to the finish, at any point of 0 ..counter - as they make their way to their respective fighting zones.

PROBLEMS...../3

PROBLEMS OF THE ALLIANCE

The alliance has been and will be subjected to intensive attack by the enemy.

Enemy propaganda seeks to give the impression that the trouble makers, the real culprits in the present fighting are the South African ANC men and NOT THE ZIKBABV/IANIS. This is mischievous propaganda calculated to undermine our alliance. We must find means and ways of rebutting this enemy line.

Secondly, the alliance is under attack from ill-informed and some malevolent people in Africa who claim that the formation of the alliance has complicated the situation in Zimbabwe. They claim that as a result of the alliance South Africa has sent in troops there. Whereas, South African intervention in Zimbabwe took place long before the formation of the military alliance with ZAFU.

In rebutting this atrocious attitude we must show that not only did the White racists join hands before we did but that it is a fact that right now South African troops are committed in Mozambique and Angola.

DEFINITION OF THE ALLIANCE

Does the alliance mean the merger of ZaPU and ANC?

Does it mean the merger of the guerilla armies of these two organisations? Does it follow that at every battle or armed engagement the two guerilla armies will be at the same front?

NEED FOR CO-ORDINATING MACHINERY:

In view of the fact that the organisations forming the alliance have different backgrounds and slightly different problems which they face from time to time, should we set up a permanent co-ordinating machinery to ensure the smooth running of the alliance?