

It is a well-known fact that the anti-imperialist revolution needs world peace as a necessary precondition for its rapid development. Any effort towards lessening international tension is therefore welcome. The anti-imperialist forces of the world are in the forefront of the struggle for world peace.

Mr Chairman, we wish in conclusion to express our deep gratitude to Mwalimu Ndugu Julius Nyerere, to TANU and the people of Tanzania. There are strong bonds of brotherhood between our people; amongst many things, TANU and the Government have honoured our organisation by adopting the tune of its national anthem.

Mr Chairman, in our view Pan Africanism can only have a **useful** and meaningful future if it is deeply rooted in the anti-imperialist forces.

We can assure the people of Tanzania, and indeed the whole anti-imperialist world, that our commitment to the struggle against the racists and fascists is irrevocable.

Long live the African Revolution!

Long live the anti-imperialist forces of the world!

bouring countries are living with a constant threat of subversion and terror from the white racist agents. In particular, Zambia has lost many a citizen through the violence inflicted upon its people by the white racist regimes of Southern Africa.

In examining the question of racism and fascism in South Africa, it is necessary to bear in mind the strong alliance and bond of fraternity which exists between Zionism and apartheid, which are both based on racialism, and also take due regard of the mutual co-operation between Zionist Israel and South Africa.

Racism and apartheid, like capitalism and imperialism, are dying systems which have no place in the development of human society. The alliance of imperialist, fascist and Zionist forces are resorting to all forms of stratagems to extend the lease on life of these monstrous systems.

Nowhere has the weakness of imperialism been demonstrated more vividly than in the glorious victory of the Algerian revolution against France. The ignominious defeats of the most powerful imperialist state - the US - by the Vietnamese people, the victories of the peoples of Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and Angola against the Portuguese colonialists; indeed the blows of the rising struggle for national liberation in Asia, Africa and Latin America are spelling the inevitable doom of these wicked systems. The OAU is making a considerable contribution to the anti-imperialist forces of the world. Against the global conspiracy of the racists and imperialists is a mighty and invincible anti-imperialist force. It is composed of the national liberation movement, the democratic forces in the capitalist countries and the socialist countries of the world.

The concern of these forces is with the establishment of a just, prosperous and peaceful society and the total destruction of all forces whose aim is the artificial division of man, and which are the cause of war and wanton human destruction.

Mr Chairman, the racist regime of South Africa and Rhodesia are the last outposts of imperialism in Africa. Both Vorster and Ian Smith are living through a nightmare of resistance, strikes and demonstrations, and in the case of Zimbabwe, of armed conflict; in the whole of Southern Africa a revolutionary situation is maturing. The racists have replied with the most ruthless forms of repression, ranging from massacres, executions, imprisonment and detention, but none of these has quelled the wrath and granite determination of the people.

We have a duty and heavy responsibility to discharge in crushing fascism in South Africa. We and our organisation will never flinch from its historic task, because we are confident of the mighty support of the anti-imperialist forces of the world, we are confident that the future and victory is on our side.

STATEMENT MADE BY THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
OF SOUTH AFRICA DELEGATION TO THE SIXTH PAN AFRICAN
CONGRESS HELD IN DAR ES SALAAM FROM 19-27TH JUNE, 1974.

Mr Chairman and Comrades,

We take the floor on behalf of the people of South Africa in this Congress for many reasons.

The leaders of our organisation, the oldest existing political organisation in Africa, are not strangers to the Pan African Movement. The South African people have been represented at all Pan African Congresses from 1900 to date.

The participation of our people through the ANC, their national liberation organisation, does not arise from sentiment but has always been based on the objective realities of the situation and the conditions which must be fulfilled for the advancement of the basic and fundamental aspirations of our people.

The experience of our struggles has taught us that the fundamental and basic aspirations of the overwhelming majority of mankind throughout this world are the same, irrespective of colour, race, religion and sex. The problems which arise in the genuine effort of mankind to eradicate the basic scourges of the world - poverty, ignorance, disease, oppression and exploitation of man by man - must, in our view, be examined scientifically rather than sentimentally in order to find the correct solution.

Mr Chairman, we also take the floor and this opportunity because we believe that the experience of our people who have lived through the ravages of more than 250 years of violent and rapacious European aggression, which ended in the complete and total dispossession of our people of their right to life, liberty and land, would help in charting the path of a revolutionary movement and gathering of this kind.

A revolutionary movement, or gathering of people who claim to be revolutionary, must, if it is useful and purposeful, undertake a serious study of the situation which is confronting the peoples of the world, the peoples of that particular region or area, in order to arrive at a meaningful and progressive solution; anything else, any other exercise is not only useless but indeed may result in confusion and retrospection. We would like at this stage to endorse the wise guidelines of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, President of the Republic of Tanzania, which were so forcefully endorsed by that dynamic leader, Ahmed Sekou Toure, President of the Republic of Guinea. It was indeed refreshing and inspiring to listen to them.

Mr Chairman, the white racist regime of South Africa is the crucible of the worst evils in Africa and the world. It is an object lesson of everything that is hateful, abhorrent and in direct conflict with all the basic aspirations of the people of South Africa, Africa and humanity

as a whole. It is no accident that since the days of Hitler's Nazism, Mussolini's fascism, apartheid is the one system which has been declared a crime against humanity, against the whole of mankind. Its eradication and punishment is basically the duty of the people of South Africa, but in addition it is the duty of every genuine anti-racist, anti-fascist, anti-imperialist person and organisation throughout the world.

Mr Chairman, we would like to draw the serious attention of this gathering to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, as well as the international convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination. It is also necessary to mention that 1971 was a year designated by the United Nations General Assembly as a year of combat and action against racism and apartheid. Many organisations throughout the world, amongst peoples of all colours and creeds responded to this call because of their dedication against racism and fascism.

December the 10th last year - Human Rights Day - was the beginning of a decade of action and struggle by the international community against racism and apartheid. What various individuals and organisations are doing to implement this international crusade is unhappily not clear yet. But an international call it certainly is.

Apartheid and racism haunt the people of South Africa, the people of Southern Africa, the peoples of Africa and the world. It is a menace and a scourge which has to be obliterated from the face of the earth. It is perhaps time to analyse and understand the anatomy and muscle power of this hideous spectre in order to strike at it effectively once and for all. Any other exercise is costly in time and lives.

What precisely is the crime of apartheid and racism? What are the people of South Africa, Africa and the international community up against? What must they do to rid themselves, free themselves from this horror and nightmare?

We would like to deal as briefly as we can with the roots, stem and branches of this system in our country, against which our people have been and are still struggling for centuries. We welcome the sincere participation of the peoples of the world, the legitimate anxiety and action of the peoples of Africa and the world in our fight against our common international criminals.

We would like to repeat that the white racist regime of Vorster is the crucible of a dangerous and violent experiment against the peoples of South Africa, Africa and the world. There is every justification in characterising that system as a crime against humanity, against the peoples of the world.

The roots of apartheid and racism lie in the brutal and savage invasion and wars of aggression and genocide by white pirates and robbers against our people, their land, its wealth and resources, its energy and its manpower. Political oppression, economic exploitation, the dispossession of

Our era, the dynamic twentieth century, has been characterised as the sharpest conflict between imperialism and the progressive forces in history. At the beginning of this century, the violent and aggressive forces of international imperialism unleashed a barbarous war in their quest to divide the world, its people and resources. The First World War revealed the savagery of the world-wide and international imperialism. It was during this act of barbarism that a new state was born, dedicated to the interests of peace and security of the ordinary people and the working class. The October Revolution in the Soviet Union presented a direct confrontation with the evils of capitalism and imperialism in the world. Since then, the course of development of mankind changed fundamentally and radically.

It is no accident that the Second World War, with all its savagery and barbarism, which was unleashed by Hitler's racists, fascist and imperialist hordes against humanity, was ultimately defeated by the valiant efforts of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union together with all the anti-racist and anti-fascist forces of the world.

In our situation in South Africa, it is necessary to bear in mind that the white racists and fascists led by Vorster are dedicated disciples of Hitler. The military machine which is so fervently and frantically being built up in our country is the spearhead of aggression and violence, against our own people primarily, the peoples of Southern Africa, Africa and the world. In short, it is the modern Wehrmacht, whose purposes don't differ in any way from the purposes of the Nazi regime under Hitler.

In our view, the important role which the South African racists are trying to play in the political, economic and military strategy of the imperialist powers is based on their common interests and identity of purpose.

Racism and racial discrimination are inherent in all systems based on exploitation. It is for that reason that in the United States and Britain the cancer of racialism and discrimination is rampant; it could not be otherwise. It is also for that reason that the racist, fascist government of South Africa can bank on the full and unstinting support of their imperialist friends and allies.

The joint conspiracy of the South African racist regime and their imperialist friends in the reconquest of Africa expresses itself in the aggressive and expansionist foreign policy of the white South African regime. It finds its political, economic and military wherewithal in the vast resources of our country.

Naked aggression and violence is being persisted in and carried out in flagrant violation of international law and the overwhelming protests of the world in Namibia. Direct **Military** material and personnel of the South African Defence Force is being used in the intervention against the national liberation movements in Angola and Mozambique, on the side of the Portuguese colonialists. In Zimbabwe, it is no longer any secret that the white racist regime of South Africa is playing a leading role in helping the Smith regime to try and suppress the national liberation movement. Neigh-

objectives.

The South African racist and fascist regime was born in violence and aggression. It is sustained through violence and brutality and it is expanding through a foreign policy which is based on the octopus tentacles of racism and fascism.

It has so often been said that the white racism regime of South Africa is the bulwark and bastion of imperialism in Africa, a launching pad for the recolonisation of Africa. This is true or partially true.

However, a more careful analysis of the South African regime will reveal that its true essence is a special form of colonialism within the country and an aggressive and expansionist imperialist power in the continent as a whole.

The South African white regime is a vital and integral part of the whole reactionary and imperialist world, which is so dangerously and effectively led by the United States, France, Britain, West Germany and a host of other imperialist powers.

The South African racist regime is irrevocably committed to the global strategy of the imperialist powers, whose designs are the suppression and crushing of all efforts towards establishing a just and humane, human society in the world.

The existence of an unholy alliance in Southern Africa whose pivot and pillar is the racist and fascist regime of South Africa, has too clearly been identified by all serious-minded revolutionaries. The aims and objectives and character of this alliance has been the subject matter of many studies. For our purposes in this paper, we merely wish to warn that this unholy alliance has a common political ideology - racism and fascism; - a common economic objective - the ruthless exploitation of the material and human resources of Africa; a common military objective - the violence and aggression against the indigenous people of Africa. Behind this Southern African unholy alliance between Vorster's racism and fascism, Portuguese fascism and Rhodesia's racism, lies even a greater, more dangerous and unholy alliance represented by the consortium of the leading imperialist powers.

And at this stage, Mr Chairman, may we make ourselves clearly understood. When we refer to imperialism and imperialist powers, we have in mind those Western countries who have either inherited the concept and fruits of colonialism and who are advancing neo-colonialist subterfuges in order to perpetuate the oppression and exploitation of man by man. We have no doubts, as far as we are concerned, that in no way can the socialist countries of the world be confused as being part of imperialism and its system.

The basic roots of the danger which South Africa poses to the peoples of South Africa, peace and security in Africa and the world, must naturally be examined from the total involvement of the South African racists and fascists, in the world system of capitalism and imperialism, and the commitment of the imperialist powers to that fascist and racist regime.

the fundamental conditions of life, prosperity and development of our people and the glorious history of their struggle in defence of their motherland and birthright against enslavement, is the basic theme underlying the history of our people and their organisation, the African National Congress.

Mr Chairman, we believe, in common with many people in the world, that in South Africa, ruled by racists, are a people who have fought against forces whose aims and objects were to reap profits and to amass wealth through violent plunder and subjugation of one group by another.

We would like to submit that the peoples of South Africa have got a unique experience of having lived through and fought against the horrors of naked slavery, colonialism, racism, imperialism and, today, fascism. We live in a country where the ruling class harps on the question of colour, white and black, black and white. Powers and privileges, poverty and wealth are determined in terms of colour. What is even worse is that this false fragmentation and division is being pursued by the racist and apartheid regime of South Africa in an attempt to divide the people in terms of ethnic groups - hence the frantic attempts to justify Bantustans or so-called homelands. There is nothing which resembles a home in those deathlands!

Racism is a myth, a barbaric, brutal and savage myth. It is the enemy not only of those peoples who are immediately and directly affected by it, but of all mankind.

The classification of peoples, nations and groups into superior and inferior is an instrument and weapon of oppression and exploitation by the so-called superior group over the so-called inferior group.

Racial discrimination, Mr Chairman, is an international phenomenon and scourge. It is the basis of genocide, a weapon for colonialism, imperialism and fascism.

Nowhere in the world are there any people who should be classified on whatever standards as superior or inferior.

Power and domination of the human and material resources of our world is at the root of the history of the conflicts which have, and still are, continuing to afflict our world and peoples.

At the root of the issue is power. Domination by whom, by whom, and for what purposes? Is it power for revolution in the interests of the overwhelming majority of mankind? Or is it power for reaction in the interests of the few, and for the few self-seekers? Our organisation has grown and developed in the situation in which it had to lead the people, in the interests of humanity, on a simple slogan - Power to the People, all power to the people, be that power political, economic, cultural or otherwise.

It is only under conditions when the masses of the people wield power, determine their destiny, that their future is safe in their own hands, and talents and energy can be unleashed to serve their cherished ideals and