

living standards of the African people.

4.

South African government officials cynically refer to

b. the Bantustan scheme as one of decolonisation, claiming that what Portugal is doing in 1974, South Africa did as early as 1959.

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The racist government has accelerated its own reformist programme of creating a puppet force of black politicians, senior civil servants and professional men, and military personnel.

d.

All semblance of blacks serving in the army as volunteers has been discarded.

By promising exorbitant financial bribes to blacks who register to serve in border areas, South Africa is clearly creating an army of mercenaries.**

A pronounced reformist tendency is beginning to emerge among the white supremacist politicians and the white electorate.

This was shown during the April, all-white general elections.

In these elections, the part of consistent reform, the Progressive Party, increased the number of its

Members of Parliament from one to six. that this party won mainly at the expense of the official opposition party, the United Party, indicating that some sections of the white population are beginning to see consistent reformism as the only meaningful opposition that

It was significant they can offer to apartheid.

The aim of these reformist tendencies is to give certain sections of the oppressed people a stake in the continuation of the apartheid system, in order to divide them and use the privileged minority against the majority for the perpetuation of white supremacy.

As a result of the investment drive, a West German firm

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Maohinenfabrik Bernhard Braun announced in June 1974 that they are building a R760 000 factory at Butterworth to make

In 1975 another ERG firm, Laborban,
saw milling machinery.
built a R520 000 factory in the Transkei to make laboratory
fittings and furniture.
** Besides the basic pay there will be a special allowance
for 12 months continuous border duty;

For Whites
Blacks

â\200\224 R 5 902
- R 2 573.

3.

In short, no changes have been made to improve the lives of the people.

Daily, the situation is worsening and the desperation of the people increasing sharply.

Meanwhile, the standard and style of life of the oppressors continues to improve.

The gold price on the world market has resulted in fabulous profits for the South African mining magnates.

With these funds, the mine owners have accelerated their programme of buying white mine workers out of the process of actual production and promoting them to supervisory positions at higher rates of pay.

The aim of this programme is to overcome the bottleneck caused by the shortage of skilled white labour.

White

skilled workers are therefore being replaced with black workers, who, needless to say, are paid at rates up to twenty times lower than the white workers they replace.

This means intensified exploitation of black labour, whose sweat and blood is being used to enrich both the white mine owners and the white mine workers;

This process is taking place throughout the South African economy, making for an increased black contribution to the Gross National Product, for which they get a diminished share of that product in return.

The racist government is also using the state budget to redistribute the national income in favour of the white minority population.

The changing balance of forces, both nationally and internationally, in favour of the forces of national end

social liberation, coupled with the continued isolation of the South African racists, is forcing them to do some thinking;

The racist government is doing its best to promote the

a;

idea of Bantustans as truly independent areas within the

Part of this programme involves the call by

Republic.

Bantustan chiefs for increased investment by foreign firms ;*
firms in the Bantustans as a way of helping to raise the

11.

Our organisation's capacity to meet this situation is increasing.
the country.

Much organisational work has been done inside

Problems of dynamic contact, coordination and

consolidation have become more pronounced in view of the progress achieved in organisational work.

There is, however, no doubt that we are gradually gaining

command of the situation.

in

all the main directions of our work - the strengthening of our underground machinery, mass mobilisation and military work.

Large material and financial resources are very

We have to move faster

necessary.

of our country to halt the offensive of the enemy.

The possibility exists for the liberation forces

We also have to work for the further isolation of the

apartheid regime.

for even greater victories in this work.

The international situation is favourable

The efforts at the United Nations to withdraw the

credentials of the south African racist delegation must continue.

The conditions for this to succeed have been

created by the adoption of the convention declaring apartheid a crime against humanity.

The ratification of this

Convention by all the freedom-loving people throughout the world is also a matter of great importance.

we are working to consolidate our links with the great,

world-wide movement of solidarity with our struggling people.

in the forthcoming period, we ask all our allies and

friends to lay emphasis on the following main issues;

1.

The campaign for the release of South African political prisoners.

This year coincides with the tenth anniversary

of the Rivonia Trial, where leaders like Mandela, Sisulu, and others were sentenced to life imprisonment;

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Exposure of the role of foreign investments in helping to ooost and maintain apartheid.

9.

Exposure of the fraudulence of the Bantustah scheme.

4.

Collection of material and financial support for the ANC, together with victims of apartheid.

5.

Total boycott of all segregated apartheid institutions in the political, economic, socio-oultural and sporting fields.

Public demonstrative actions in supportci the

2.

Twice, in less than a year, the South African Police have suppressed workers' strikes by shooting, killing at least 14 mineworkers and injuring many others.

In an

effort to defeat the united strike movement of the workers,

the racists within this period also provoked an ugly internecine strife between African workers from South 'Africa and their brothers from Lesotho working in South Africa.

Worried by the continuing militancy of the black workâ\200\224ers, the Vorster regime has unsuccessfully tried to foment divisions and disunity among the workers.

In its desperation, the South African fascist regime has resorted to assassination of the political representatives of the oppressed people.

Our two comrades, Boy

Mvemve, a leading cadre in Umkhonto wesizwe, the military wing of our organisation, and Abraham Tiro, leader of the South African Students Organisation, are two of its latest victims.

But these acts of desperation have failed to stem the revolutionary tide among the people.

It is, however, very

imperative that the ANC, as the leading organisation of the South African liberation front, should mobilise the people into armed combat against the racists.

Conditions of life for the people inside our country have continued to deteriorate.

A steep inflationary spiral

continues to reduce the standard of living of the oppressed people, which was already one of the lowest on the African continent.

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The racist regime continues to-pursue its policy of urban and rural mass removals by means of which millions of black people have been concentrated in camps for the

unemployed, depending, if they are lucky, on meagre government food rations for survival.

In the countryside, the continued pressure of the population on very limited land, which is exacerbated by the policy of mass removals, is also resulting in the further impoverishment of the peasant masses.

5.

The ostensibly divergent trends of though within the white camp complement one another, as can be seen from the fact that the Progressive Party has adopted the Government-appointed black politicians as the genuine leaders of the oppressed people. reoprocated by sending out Progressive Party politicians as its emissaries to independent Africa, believing that these will have greater credibility than the cabinet

The racist government, on its side, has

ministers of the ruling i-\202ational Party.

These efforts by the reactionary politicians of our country are of course supported by external reactionary

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forces.

Imperialist agencies and reactionary groups of all sorts have recently increased their contact with the puppet groups in our country.

As recently as March this year, the

British Trade Union Council suggested the setting up of an office in South Africa by the International Confederation

of Free Trade Unions; through which it proposed that the reformist trade union centres of the imperialist countries should channel large sums of money, as well as advice, to the black workers of our country, for the creation of a "nonâ\200\224politioal" black trade union movement.

All these constitute dangerous manoeuvres designed to defeat the people's revolutionary movement by means other than mere police terror.

There is no doubt that we will defeat these manoeuvres.

Time has, however, become of essence.

We need to thwart

the enemy's plans at this early stage, before he has had time to consolidate his positions.

The International Situation

Developments in the international scene have been characterised by a steady advance of the forces of freedom, progress and peace, and a resultant reduction in the efieciâ\200\224tive strength of the imperialist and reactionary forces; The successes scored by the heroic Vietnamese people against concerted aggression by United States imperialism

and its agencies were of far-reaching importance, and ushered in a new era in international relations.

By their

resolute struggle and immense sacrifices, and with the full

8.

She has effectively used the neighbouring

territories.

territories as buffer zones and the springboard from which to launch attacks on other independent African states.

with the evolving changes in Mozambique and Angola, with

the mounting opposition to the settler-colonial regime in Rhodesia, South Africa has, for the first time, become the main focal point in the movement for the decolonisation of Africa.

In Guinea-Bissau, since the declaration of Independence

in September 1975, more than 90 countries have recognised the new state of Guinea-Bissau.

Portugal is now working

out steps towards formal acceptance of the independence of that country.

in Mozambique, after several attempts to delay the forma-

tion of a Mozambican government led by Frelimo, the Portuguese have been forced to recognise and accept that there can be no ceasefire or lasting peace in Mozambique without the participation of Frelimo in any future Mozambican government.

In Angola, the imperialists are not prepared to lose

their stake in what is potentially the second richest country in Southern Africa.

They are therefore doing their best to

sow confusion and divide the people of Angola.

however, the

current demonstrations and meetings attended by thousands in the capital, Luanda, leave no doubt about the authority the

MPLA commands among the Angolan population.

The results of the recent "election" in Rhodesia, where

the re-elected Rhodesian Front led by Ian Smith was returned

with an overwhelming majority, have only strengthened the

resolve of the liberation movements and the African National

Council to wrest the power from the white settler-minority by

all means at their disposal and, particularly, to intensify

the armed struggle.

The people of Namibia, under the guidance of SWAPO, have

unequivocally rejected the South African plans aimed at the

balkanisation of their country.

South African army troops

illegally stationed in Namibia have suffered a steady loss

of personnel and supplies, and are resorting to mass destruction

6.

support of progressive forces throughout the world, the Vietnamese people struck a heavy blow at the pillar and mainstay of international imperialism and reaction.

The

Vietnam war mobilised and strengthened the progressive forces, deepened the contradictions within the imperialist system as well as within American society itself.

The combined effects of the war unleashed a chain reaction of events which further weakened the position of international imperialism and tipped the balance of power in favour of the forces of freedom, peace and socialism.

In Indochina, the people of Laos have succeeded in throwing out American troops and instituted a coalition government in the interest of all the Laotian people. The struggle of the Khmer people in Cambodia has advanced to a level that renders imminent the withdrawal of all American troops.

In neighbouring Thailand, the movement for ending American tutelage and restoring full democratic rights, which was sparked off by unprecedented student and mass actions, has already compelled changes within the pro-American government.

Meanwhile, negotiations are in progress

for the peaceful reunification of the Korean land and people.

Acceptance of the policy of peaceful coexistence and detente is becoming an important feature in contemporary international relations.

Such a situation greatly favours.

the progressive forces, as can be seen from the emergence of

Bangladesh and the recognition of the German Democratic Republic as a sovereign state.

In the Middle East, the 1973 October war has resulted in a further setback for imperialism with the defeat of Israeli Zionist forces and the recapture of Arab lands;

The struggle

of the Palestinian people for the possession of their

motherland; for a democratic Palestine, has advanced to the heart of enemy territory and is gaining increasing support from various sections of the people inside and outside Israel.

The solidarity action taken by the independent African states in support of the Arab people has helped forge Vital This action may links between the African and Arab people. well be the beginning of closer ties and joint action by the developing countries in their fight for equitable com-

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LUSAKA

ZAMBUL

Memorandum of the Delegation of the African National Congress of South Africa to the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party, Bucharest, August 1974.

Dear Comrades,

The delegation of the AND of South Africa would like to take this opportunity to register its deep appreciaâ\\200\\224 tion for the invitation extended to our organisation by the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party. On behalf of the struggling oppressed people of South Africa, we wish to extend our warm fraternal greetings and express our gratitude for all the support and assistance we received from the Rumanian Party, Governâ\\200\\224 ment and people following our last bilateral disoussimms in your friendly city.

We have no doubt that this meeting will further cement the close bonds of mutual understanding and co-operation eXiSting between our respective organisations.

We are fully confident that as a result of our joint efforts we shall bring closer the achievement of our common goals for the destruction of the apartheid system, the establishment of a free, democratic South Africa, and the promotion of world security and peace.

What follows iS'a brief appraisal of the situation obtaining in South Africa, what the ANC is â\\200\\235doing to change the situation, the needs of our organisation in general, and what we are asking of you, our Rumanian

comrades and friends.

The current political situation in South Africa continues to be characterised by a sharpening open conflict.

On one side, the oppressed people, particularly the workers, are intensifying the struggle in pursuit of their just demands. meeting this upsurge with more frequent resort to

On the other hand, the enemy is physical repression.

10.

importance to us is the long-standing tie of solidarity that exists between the ANC and the authentic representatives of the struggling peoples of the Portuguese colonies.

The Vorster regime and its allies in the world imperialist system are undoubtedly working to sabotage the decolonisation process in the Portuguese colonies.

These forces

will undoubtedly also try to insulate South Africa from the effects of the worsening situation in Southern Africa.

Already the South African Defence Force has been put on permanent alert.

In the areas of the country bordering

Mozambique, intense military activity is taking place.

The

patrols along the Botswana border have been intensified. Even the decision openly to recruit the black population

for military service has been forced on the racists by the rapidly changing situation in Southern Africa.

It is, however, significant that whilst all these efforts are being made, there have been reports in South Africa.

African press to the effect that, "one of the

electric schemes in the world is to be

largest hydro-

in the South

The Drakensberg scheme (costing 3180

million) is expected to

be completed by 1980.

Following the experience with the C

ora Bassa Dam

project, no mention was made as to whether

foreign firms will

help finance and provide technical/skill for the scheme.

It is also obvious that the police terror inside will

be intensified in order to ensure that there is "peace"

inside South Africa while the racists turn to their counter-revolutionary business in the rest of Africa.

The racists will, however, also be forced to accelerate their programme to create black puppet forces inside South Africa.

None of these things can save the apartheid regime from The heightened military activity

the anger of the people.
inside the country is further accentuating the atmosphere of tension and crisis.
and is leading to a sharper polarisation of forces and a greater demand for freedom among the oppressed people.
policy of creating puppets is resulting in an ever-greater political awakening of the people.

More intense police terror will lead

The

7.

pensation for their exports in the international market.

The events in Chile, though tragic, have already become
a rallying point for;

- a.
- b.

The ending of American hegemony in Latin America;
Unified concerted action to break the stranglehold of
and

multinational corporations on the economies of developing
"Third World" countries;

Current developments in Cyprus have brought an abrupt
end to seven years of military dictatorship in Greece. What
started as an attempt to destroy the legitimate government
of
Archbishop Makarios ended as a confrontation between
NATO partners, thereby sowing further division and dissen-
sion in the network of the aggressive NATO alliance.

Africa

The liberation of the Portuguese people from half a
century of fascist rule and the unfolding developments in
the Portuguese colonies can be described as the beginning of
the second phase of Africa's struggle for complete liberation
and independence.

The admission by

Portuguese army officers

that the incapacity of stopping people from gaining
their freedom and independence is a tribute to the organiza-
tional ability and flexible performance displayed by the

liberation movements of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola.
Relying on mass popular support and the moral and material
solidarity of the world progressive forces, particularly the
socialist countries, the liberation movements in the Portu-
guese colonies have shattered one of the cornerstones of the

pyramid of the "Unholy alliance" of Portugal, South Africa,
and Rhodesia.

They have severed one of NATO's tentacles

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in Africa.

To us in South Africa, these events are of tremendous

It has always been Known that the bastion of

importance.

colonial and imperialist intrigue and manoeuvres in africa,
and partlculariy ln southern Africa, is South Africa. South
Africa not only rigorously pursues the policy of white
domlnation and oppression within her own terrltory, but
actively contrloutes and partlcipates in the oppression and
exploitation of the African people in the nelghoourlng

9.

tion and massacre of civilians, including women and children.

it was in fact in Namibia that the first black recruits into the South African army were used.

international pressure

must be stepped up to secure the release of Namibians

South African galls and the withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia.

Foreign firms must withdraw their

investments from Namibia illegally occupied by South African

These developments in Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin

America and in fact, throughout the world have been made possible by the fact that today there exists a mighty

socialist community, which is not only having a positive influence on the development of international life, but

contribute directly, both materially and morally, to the

struggle of all humanity against exploitation in general,

and to our national liberation movements in particular. The

socialist countries are our allies and no force on earth

can drive a wedge between us.

Effects on South Africa

The new situation created by the April coup in Portugal,

with its consequences for Angola and Mozambique, in particular,

has made the task of stepping up the struggle in

South Africa even more urgent.

The enemy is unable to hide the fact that the Victories scored by our national liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies were the decisive factor behind the overthrow of they cannot blame the

the fascist government in Portugal.

fact that the impending victory of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies has come through their own struggles, and not through the magnanimity of the colonisers.

This has served to inspire our people to even greater

heights of revolutionary fervour.

Working conditions in favour of our revolution have therefore significantly improved.

organisation to take advantage of this situation, to sharpen the confrontation with the racists, has also increased.

At the same time, the need for our

The objective and sub-

Our organisation is working to take advantage of all the material advantages that have emerged, particularly in _Mozambique, as a result of the coup in Portugal.

of special