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STATEMENT OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS TO THE ORGANISATION.  
OF AFRICAN UNITY MINISTERIAL COUNCIL. HELD IN ADDIS ABABA  
FROM THE 26th FEBRUARYÂ« 1971.

Your Excellencies:

1# The African National Congress of South Africa wishes to take the opportunity to draw the attention of this session of the Foreign Ministers Council to certain matters which we believe are crucial and vital to the defence and progress of the anti-colonialist and anti-racist African revolution. These problems in our view strike at the very roots and foundation of the stability, consolidation and advancement of genuine African Independence and the achievement of liberation in the unliberated areas of our continent, in parts still completely dominated by white minority racialist and colonialist ruleP

2. What is at stake, and critically at stake, is the defence of African Independence and sovereignty, however incomplete

it might be, and the advancement of the liberation struggle in our continent in order to free,our people from the blight and plight of colonialism and neo-colonialism, T^e greatest d.anger which faces Africa today is the destruction of the gains of the historic African revolution and the aggressive and brazen assault by the imperialists to commit a second rape of Africa and to recolonise it, restore their domination and perpetuate their brutal and ruthless plunder, robbery of land, labour and the wealth of Africa,

3, The bitter and blunt lesson which must be learnt and accepted from the events in Vietnam, Indochina, Cuba, Latin America, the Middle East and Africa today, is that the Western imperialist powers and the fascist regimes of South Africa and Zionist Israel are using every possible method ranging from direct military aggression, economic sabotage, coups, bribery and corruption, intimidation, espionage and subversion, the systematic seduction of some Africa states, and the fomentation of division and conflicts on tribal and national bases to achieve their aims. The global and grand design

of this whole exercise is to restore the domination of the imperialist powers to intensify their subversion of all socialist inclined and progressive governments of Africa Â«

In their desperation the imperialists and racists accept

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no compromises no? half-hearted friendships. They ruthlessly demand and desperately work for complete subservience, submission and loyalty to their capitalist system of oppression and exploitation which serve their basic interests, otherwise they are determined to use every conceivable means of subversion and to instal their puppet regimes. This is a bitter but grim truth,

4, Banda in Malawi has proved the success of an experiment by the colonialists and racialists to continue to maintain all the features of colonialism and to continue their conspiracy against the people in a whole state which is nominally independent e The old system through which the imperialists oppress'd and exploited the people of Africa by indirect rule using reactionary chiefs as their tools is now being successfully applied in some so-called independent states"The success of this experiment has spurred the imperialist and racist powers in their counter revolutionary activitiesc

Hildegard Muller, the fascist Foreign Minister of South Africa, openly boasted in Parliament in March 1959 that his policy of creating little Malawis in Africa was yielding unexpected results. This was no empty and idle boast. South Africa is indeed, in the whole global conspiracy of the imperialists, one of the main spearheads and springboard for aggressive colonialism and subtle neo-colonialism in Africa,

6. Already with the active assistance of the Western imperialist powers she has penetrated and seduced a number of statss to deny the possibility of a successful armed struggle against the white regime, and has ensnared them tp adopt a policy of accomodation, dialogue as led by Houphuet-Boigny, and so-called good neighbourly relationse

. 7\* This is a betrayal of the African Revolution and complicity

in a plot to re-establish the domination of the colonialists and racialists in Africa. It is surrendering not only the basic aspirations of the people of Southern Africa, but thosa of the whole continent. We have consistently warned that South Africa has become a fullfledged imperialist power in its own right and that its foreign policy was expansionist and aggressive, Botha, the Defence Minister,himself has said that South Africa,, is no longer on the cofensive but on the offensive, and her priority was Africa.

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8. The fascists claim that they have the same role to play in Africa as the U.S. has in the world - "the policeman or gendarme against Communism in Africa"

9. This aggressive and expansionist policy is 'being put into effect rapidly and systematically,

10. The past decade since the year 1960 'the year of Africa' has been an era of the most: unprecedented upsurge of the National revolution in Africa which resulted in the rapid disintegration of colonialism in its old form. The frontiers of imperialism shrunk under the offensive and pounding blows launched by the liberation struggle,

11. However the victories of the National Liberation Movements were in most cases not easy, smooth and complete, nor was the retreat of the imperialists always unplanned and a complete defeat. The imperialist powers systematically planned and resorted to many political, economic and even military stratagems to launch a counter-offensive in order to reverse the African revolution, and to restore their domination in Africa,

12. Colonialism was outlawed by international law in that historic declaration on the granting of independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples", adopted in 1960, which solemnly

proclaimed "The necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations,"

The U.N. General Assembly vehemently condemned the imperialist states which were helping the colonialists and racists by declaring that "The continuation of colonial rule threatens international peace and security and that the practice of apartheid, as also all forms of racial discrimination, constitutes a crime against humanity"

13. In complete defiance of international law, the resolutions of the O.A.U., and world opinion, the imperialist powers, the

U.S.A., Britain, France, West Germany and Portugal, together with South Africa etc., have not merely sabotaged and violated those fundamental decisions but have lately openly justified colonialism

14. Britain and the U.S. who were members of the 24 Nation Special Committee set up to supervise the implementation of the Declaration for Decolonisation participated in the deliberations

Of the Committee, then subsequently boycotted it because of their complicity...../4

complicity and guilt in the crimes of colonialism, neo-colonialism and racialism; recently they resigned from the Committee for Decolonisation. In an outrageous statement they made their stand abundantly clear. They stated that colonialism was a product of history and that there was nothing criminal about it,

15\* This statement was a contemptuous and arrogant challenge to the Declaration on Decolonisation, to the objects, aims and efforts of the United Nations Organisation, the OAU, the progressive national and international organisations, to the whole of world opinion,

16, To the imperialist powers, therefore, colonialism, that brutal and ruthless exploitation and oppression of people, their enslavement, the plunder of their land and wealth, their destruction physically, mentally and culturally, their subjection to poverty, disease and ignorance, is justifiable and not criminal at all. Hence their conspiracy to recolonise Africa,

17, The colonialist never welcomed the collapse of the imperialist system. It is true that they claimed that they were granting independence to their colonies. This was a despicable lie. The change in balance of forces in the world, the growth of the power of the Socialist countries and indeed the determined struggles of the National liberation movements forced them against their will to give at least political power to their former colonies,

18, However, it is necessary in retrospect to face the issue bluntly that in too many respects, and sensitive aspects at that, our African Revolution yet young and incomplete placed too much reliance on the assistance of our former colonialists in our efforts to advance and consolidate our independence. Economically, technically, culturally, educationally and even for diplomatic and military training we relied on the experts, personnel and training institutions of our former oppressors and exploiters who harboured bitterness and sinister plots of subversion again &

our independence and were fundamentally opposed to the consolidation of independence. When President Ewe Nkrumah was overthrown, Time magazine had a caption which said, "The sons of Sandhurst have done it,"

19\* It is our duty to draw attention to these facts because we see that some African states are beginning to rely heavily on the racist government of South Africa, a sworn enemy of African Independence and the African Revolution and we fear that the fascist tentacles of...»5/~

of South Africa will spread, colonialism and neo-colonialism over  
very many parts of Africa,

20, It is the view of the A.N.C. that the adamant determination  
of Britain to sell arms to South Africa is part of a deliberate

and brazen project connected with the global strategy of the  
imperialists to suppress the national liberation movement in  
Africa, to jeopardise African independence and to reinforce the  
racist government as the fulcrum and bastion of reaction in  
the Southern Hemisphere, This audacious move by Britain calls  
for concerted action from the OAU,

21, In conclusion, we wish to stress, as President Nyerere has  
said in his "Guidelines", the whole of Africa is in the throes  
of the most serious stage of the liberation struggle which is  
now being openly assaulted by the imperialist counter offensive.  
We should earnestly seek to identify our enemies, the U.S.,  
Britain, France, West Germany, Japan, Portugal, South Africa,  
and understand their objectives and aims against  
genuine independence and the liberation movement,

22, Indeed the African Revolution is a liberation struggle  
which is being fought throughout the continent at different  
levels, but its enemies are the same and they are highly co-  
ordinated in their sinister conspiracy,

23â€¢ Regrettably the forces of the African revolution lack  
that high degree of unity and coordination necessary to defend  
it,, It also lacks sufficient coordination with the genuine  
anti-imperialist forces of the world,

24, The salvation of the African Revolution lies in a serious  
reappraisal of the situation. To forge and weld together the  
mighty potential of the independent states with the forces of  
the liberation movements. The role of the P.A.I.G.C. in Guinea  
during the treacherous assault of Guinea by mercenaries is a  
clear example of what power can accrue from the coordination  
of the forces of independent states and genuine liberation  
movements,

25\* We also feel that having identified our enemies it is  
necessary and urgent to identify our friends, our comrades in  
arms, the world over, and to have maximum cooperation and  
coordination in working out and acting on a common

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anti-imperialist, anti-racist, and anti- counter revolutionary strategy.

26, We are confident that with maximum vigilance, maximum coordination and determination we can stem the counter offensive of the imperialists and racists,

27. The counter offensive of the imperialists and racists, coincided with the most unprecedented and voluminous international campaign against the South African racists and their allies, particularly Britain and France, the biggest arms merchants to South Africa. Credit is due to Dr. Kaunda's mission,

28\* This year the U.N. has called upon the world to dedicate itself to combat racism; the A.N.C. is confident that the OAU will lead and take the initiative in this campaign,

29, We would like to assure your Excellencies once more, that we believe that the brunt of the struggle to liberate South Africa must be carried by the people of South Africa . under the leadership of the South African National Congress, We shall never shirk our duty (however difficult it might be) because we are deeply conscious of the fact that until we have seized power from the racist, African Independence remains precarious and in peril,

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25th February, 1971»