

STATEMENT ON THE EXPULSION FROM THE A.N.C. OF
SOUTH AFRICA OF: T. BONGA, A.M. MAKIWANE,
J.D. MATLOU, G.M. MBELE, A.K. MQOTA, P. NGAKANE,
T.X. MAKIWANE AND O.K. SETLHAPELO

- issued by the expelled eight members

By now it should be clear even to those who have a cursory acquaintance with the affairs of the African National Congress of South Africa that all is not well within that organization. Chaotic conditions and anti-revolutionary tendencies have arisen within the external mission of the organization. These have manifested themselves in various ways, namely:

- what is called the executive is, in fact, a self-appointed body which has steadily developed into a self-perpetuating bureaucracy which meets at its own sweet pleasure and exercises an unlimited tenure of office. It is accountable to no one and is a power unto itself;
- over the years, this executive has acted in an arbitrary manner in numerous matters involving long standing members of the ANC and its acts of omission, default, perjury, malice and vindictiveness have led to the isolation of many talented people who could be an asset to the organization;
- there has been conduct amounting to criminal neglect of dedicated cadres, who have received training. Some of these comrades fell into enemy hands in Zimbabwe and South Africa and they were forgotten the minute they were sentenced. In this category

also comes up the affair of Flag Boshielo (Mogomane), a member of the Executive, who together with three military cadres was ambushed by the South African troops in 1970 whilst crossing the Zambezi. Whilst there were reports that his three colleagues were killed outright, there has been no specific information about him and no further investigation by the ANC or international campaign for his release, if he has fallen into enemy hands;

criticism of official ANC policy and practice has come to be regarded within the leadership circles as nothing less than treason. Democratic discussion and the constitutional process have been substituted by arbitrary punitive measures. There has been a series of expulsions;

ANC policy is made in the interests of rank opportunism, military adventurism and political expediency such as:

- (a) the arbitrary decisions on the 1967 Zimbabwe campaigns without prior discussion in the ANC national executive or authorisation by it;
- (b) the failure later to explain whether the ANC/ZAPU (Zimbabwe African Peoples Union), alliance under whose auspices these campaigns were launched was still in force and, in effect to date;

- (c) the continued reluctance of the executive to abandon military adventurism that is always anti-revolutionary and has already resulted in the reckless sacrifice of many patriots including Patrick Molaoa, the last President-General of the ANC Youth League;
- (d) the opening of ANC membership to whites, Indians and Coloureds at the 1969 Morogoro Consultative Conference of the ANC in complete disregard and violation of established ANC policy and constitutional procedure;
- (e) the adoption by the said conference of a document entitled "Strategy and Tactics" which was never discussed in the conference itself at all.

The upshot of this deplorable state of affairs has been the inevitable paralysis of the democratic decision making process in the ANC today. And, indeed the ANC, abroad, once regarded as a serious organization, has today lost its credibility.

It has lost its sense of purpose and direction and has become co-opted by forces to whom the national liberation of the African people and other oppressed nationalities is not a priority and to whom revolution is a plaything.

Far from trying to arrest further deterioration of the situation the corrupted and co-opted section of the ANC leadership has dashed headlong from one folly to another. The

latest madness has been the expulsion of eight leading members of the ANC without even laying charges against them and calling upon them to make a defence. Some of the expelled have made many sacrifices in the course of the struggle, stood trial and have even served long terms of imprisonment on the notorious Robben Island.

The manner of the expulsions itself is scandalous. Three of the expelled, first heard about them through the mass media and second hand sources. And five of them who reside in the United Kingdom heard of their expulsion at a multi-racial meeting of South Africans and non-South Africans convened by the London ANC office in October, 5 1975. There they listened to an irresponsible tirade delivered by Duma Nokwe accusing them of being 'imperialist agents', 'anti-communists', 'racialists', and even 'tribalists.'

After carefully considering the grave issues that lie beneath these socalled expulsions, the cloak and dagger tactics into which the organization sunk, we deemed it necessary to make a statement dealing with the problem within the ANC as we see it.

First, we declare with utmost firmness, that not only do we reject with utter contempt, the illegal and unconstitutional expulsions but secondly, we pledge our determination to do all in our power to rescue the organization from the morass into which it has been plunged by a clique of desperate men and traitors and indeed we consider no sacrifice

too great for the implementation of the major tasks that lie ahead, particularly, the mobilisation of our people for a decisive battle for freedom.

A GRAVE POLITICAL CRISIS

At the root of all the accusations, protracted in-fighting, suspensions and expulsions that have taken place in the ANC, lies a serious political crisis that has been festering for the past six years. One of the fundamental causes of this crisis is the departure of the leadership from well tried and established democratic practices of the organization as well as the abandonment of elective procedures, the accountability and renewal of the leadership. Consequently, not only did the executive committee become distant from the membership but it invoked 'security' as a means of withholding genuinely sought-after information and as a means of camouflaging inefficiency and failure. Needless to say that that very 'security' has been flouted and thrown to the winds for no other reason than love for cheap publicity.

Having secured and consolidated careers for its members through these activities, the executive has thrived in the misrepresentation of the fundamental tasks of the organization and substituting irrelevant diversions for a revolutionary programme.

The source of the internal political crisis in the ANC (which has now erupted into the open) is a deliberate,

misguided and opportunistic definition of:

- (a) the nature and content of the South African freedom struggle and projecting it as if it were merely a struggle for the elimination of race discrimination in a country where all races had an equal claim to its ownership;
- (b) the presentation, internationally, of the character and image of our national organization the African National Congress as if it were an organization for all anti-apartheid resisters regardless of their national or social background, whereas, in fact it is an organization of the Africans;
- (c) the incorrect portrayal of the role of the national minorities in South Africa as that of parity between them and the African majority;
- (d) the role of the South African Communist Party (S.A.C.P.) which seeks for itself, by definition, a vanguard role in the South African national liberation struggle inspite of the fact that in the realities of the South African situation that party leads a parasitic political existence.

DISTORTION OF THE NATURE AND CONTENT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN STRUGGLE

The main content of the South African freedom struggle is the liberation of the oppressed and exploited African majority and the establishment of a democratic order in South Africa that would extend fundamental human rights to all citizens.

Its nature is, therefore, no different from the post world war II, anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist struggles

that have been waged and are being waged by our brothers on the African continent as well as similar struggles in Asia and Latin America.

The fact that white colonialism seized occupation of our country by force over 300 years ago does not entitle that colonialism to title deeds over that land without the voluntary will of its legitimate owners - the African people.

But, of late, and particularly since the erroneous decision of the 1969 Morogoro Consultative conference of the ANC, admitting non-Africans into the organization, there have been strenuous efforts to distort the main content of the struggle in South Africa.

A certain self-seeking and ambitious clique of non-Africans, rather than spend time organizing their own people, has sought to impose its hegemony over the liberation struggle and to manipulate the ANC under the theme that the main forces in conflict in South Africa are the 'progressives' on the one hand and the 'reactionaries' on the other hand.

This formulation, in fact, is nothing more than a thinly disguised sectarian attempt to substitute a class approach for the national approach to our struggle. Its most dangerous implication being to narrow down the broadly based African resistance and seeking to highlight only a workers' and peasants' conflict against capital.

To this clique, the national oppression, the racial discrimination and exploitation of the African over and above everybody else, is a matter of academic interest and the fact that the Africans are in the majority is to them something that is purely incidental.

And the failure of this clique to 'humble themselves' and submit themselves to the African cause has been glaring.

WHAT IS THE ANC?

We, the indigenous people of South Africa, today, find ourselves in the throes of a grave political crisis in which the White oppressors of South Africa have robbed us of our country, our birth right, our organization, the ANC - the very instrument our fathers created in 1912 to fight for the recovery of our land and our national birth rights - which has now fallen under the complete domination of a small clique loyal to the white - led South African Communist Party.

The ANC is a nationalist organization which is committed to the liberation of the African people of South Africa from White domination and the complete destruction of the political system upon which national oppression and economic exploitation in South Africa is based. The ANC is not a political party committed to any political ideology.

OPPRESSED NATIONAL MINORITIES

The Indian and Coloured people of South Africa are oppressed national minorities who form an integral part of the

national struggle for emancipation from white supremacy and exploitation. We continue to appeal to them to fully identify themselves with the African cause.

CO-OPERATION WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

The ANC has a long tradition of working for a united opposition against the South African racist regime. It has worked with such bodies as the Industrial and Commercial Union which was led by Clement Kadalie, and participated in the All African Convention which was a united front of Africans set up to oppose the 1936 Hertzog Bills which removed the Cape Africans from the common voters roll. In the post war period the ANC has collaborated with the South African Indian Congress as a result of a pact that was entered into by the then ANC president Dr. A.B. Xuma and the Indian leader Dr. G.M. Naicker. There was also the defunct Congress Alliance, and the All-in Maritzburg Conference of 1961 to which everybody including the recently split Pan-Africanist Congress was invited.

All this clearly shows that there has never been an isolationist outlook in the ANC. At all moments of national crisis the organization worked for a united African front and with the other racial groups it insisted on collaboration on an organization to organization basis.

It is therefore a felony now to suggest that those of us who are struggling to re-assert the independence of the ANC, for the return to its authentic political line, for African unity are seeking to isolate the organization from other revolutionary groups as our detractors would claim.

But in its dealings with other organizations the ANC must conduct itself, as it did in the past, as a sovereign organization in full control of its decisions, policies and programmes - and must resolutely reject manipulation from whatever quarter.

THE DEFUNCT CONGRESS ALLIANCE

During the mid-fifties an alliance developed within South Africa between the ANC, the South African Indian Congress, the Coloured Peoples' Congress, the Congress of Democrats (a white body) and the South African Congress of Trade Unions - this was what came to be known as the Congress Alliance. The Alliance was dissolved in 1960 for two important reasons:

- (1) two of its component parts, the ANC and the Congress of Democrats were outlawed in that year. The ANC decided to go underground and continue the struggle. The Congress of Democrats decided to disband;
- (2) the ANC decided to embark on an armed struggle. But some of the constituents of the alliance, the South African Indian Congress, the Coloured Peoples Congress, and the South African Congress of Trade Unions did not adopt the policy of armed struggle.

But outside South Africa, the non-African section of the defunct Congress Alliance - that is that section which did not adopt armed struggle and continued to function legally within South Africa, albeit under pressure of bans, house arrests, detentions without trial etc., pressed hard for a re-alignment

of forces which would in fact effectively revive the defunct Congress Alliance in exile.

In 1966, this matter came up for review and the ANC leadership invited the representatives of these non-Africans who were living in Britain to discussions in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania.

The main controversy revolved around two issues, namely the formation of a council of war in terms of a document that the non-African contingent had prepared. The war council would include people from all races as was the case in the Congress Alliance before it was disbanded. The ANC strongly and unanimously rejected this attempt to revive the multi-racial Congress Alliance machinery in which the principle of racial parity operated irrespective of the organizations (and their social weight) represented by the individual delegates. Such racial parity had the odious by-product of putting the African voice in the minority!

But the main basis of the ANC's rejection was on the ground that the non-African contingent in their organizations had to consider the repercussions for all involved in a situation wherein some organizations had adopted a policy of armed struggle whilst others had not.

How very immoral indeed are some people to speak of a council of war before they have even taken a decision to wage war!

However, the ANC did set up a commission, based in London to act as liaison between itself and revolutionaries from other racial groups.

But even that arrangement did not suit those forces who were hell bent upon manipulating the ANC and thus it happened that in 1969, the South African Communist Party (S.A.C.P.), taking advantage of some serious inner-organizational problems that had arisen within the ANC, saw its chance and pushing a call for 'intergration of all revolutionaries' hijacked the ANC.

From then on the non-African section of this conspiracy made it its business to impose its control over the ANC whilst abandoning all efforts to mobilise their own people. Little wonder today that some voices are heard among the South African Indian community declaring that they prefer the present order of white minority rule to black power.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY (S.A.C.P.)

The S.A.C.P. was formed in 1921 as a white organization. It remained as such for a full decade and when, during the thirties, it decided to recruit Africans into its ranks, it was to pursue a consistently incorrect policy on the national question. For instance it resisted the slogan of the Communist International calling for the setting up of a black republic in South Africa, and it opposed all moves aimed at consolidating African Trade Unionism, insisting on a multi-racial set up despite the fact that the white working class had shown its determination to carve for itself a position of privilege and was to support the industrial colour bar and job

reservation.

Moreover, the S.A.C.P. was to develop a pathological hatred for any independent minded African members who it denounced, at the slightest pretext, as 'bourgeois nationalist.' For example, the following admission appears in an article entitled '50 years of the Communist Party' published in the magazine, African Communist (3rd quarter 1971):

"M. Kotane, who continued to call for a united front policy in the national liberation struggle, was denounced as a 'bourgeois nationalist' with others who upheld his views. He was removed from the editorship of the party journal Umsebenzi, and later expressed the opinion that had he not left the party headquarters at Johannesburg for Cape Town at that time, he also might have suffered exclusion from the party."

On the other hand the concept of African nationalism has always been the propelling unifying force of all sections of the African people in South Africa on the basis of their dispossession, and their denial of political and economic rights by white colonialism and on the basis of their struggle for basic human rights.

But the S.A.C.P. persists up to this point of seeking to identify two strands in this situation - a so-called bourgeois nationalism and a so-called revolutionary nationalism whilst not even bothering to demonstrate the existence, among the Africans in South Africa, of a bourgeois class, that owns landed estates and industrial means of

production.

Such dogmatic infusion of Marxist terminology into a situation with special characteristics of its own only serves the forces of confusion and division.

But the major anomaly of the S.A.C.P. is the fact that it has no grass-root base - neither among the black workers nor the white workers. Its white leadership is drawn from middle class, South African white backgrounds, where the norm is to give instruction and patronising tutelage to the African - these people have found it impossible to divest themselves of this background even though they claim to be communists, hence their arrogant attempts to impose their hegemony on the national liberation movement in South Africa.

This lack of grass-root support on the part of the S.A.C.P. was eloquently demonstrated when it was faced with a banning order from the Pretoria regime. The Party could think of nothing else but to disband - to run away in fact.

The S.A.C.P. whose leadership has remained in the hands of the same handful of white families, was dormant for a whole decade until 1960. In that year the ANC faced the same threat of proscription but refused to dissolve itself and decided to continue the struggle, unlike the S.A.C.P.'s decision to commit suicide in similar circumstances.

In 1960, the S.A.C.P. decided to re-emerge, but typical of that Party, it could not muster sufficient manpower of its own to distribute the leaflets announcing its resurrection and had to rely on some members of the ANC to help out.

Since then the S.A.C.P. has led a parasitic life on the body politic of the ANC.

A further example of that could be seen in the workings of the Party outside South Africa. Most of its white leaders live in Britain. The Party operates an office in London with full time staff. Yet, although it is not illegal abroad, it never convenes rallies, meetings, demonstrations in its own name. Its members carry out all those activities under the banner of the ANC.

In 1969, the S.A.C.P. went further when it seized control of certain key departments in the ANC. This included the so-called Revolutionary Council, which includes Yusuf Dadoo, Joe Slovo and Reggie September whose membership of that committee was prematurely disclosed in the Sechaba publication, although this was supposed to be a clandestine committee.

As a means of camouflaging its reckless policy of dominating the ANC, the S.A.C.P. has long resorted to the weapon of branding as 'anti-communist' all those who resist this state of affairs. The same slander is now being resorted to against the expelled eight whose opposition to S.A.C.P. tactics is portrayed as opposition to all communist parties.

And consequently that political interference in the affairs of the ANC gave rise to the distortion of the basic issues underlining the liberation struggle. The national character of the struggle was blurred and clouded and talk of African nationalism became blasphemous. Those ANC Leaders who resisted this trend were branded 'bourgeois nationalists'.

In matters of tactics in the struggle, the S.A.C.P.'s role has proved adventuristic and disastrous on several occasions. For example:

- the S.A.C.P. was responsible for luring underground African leaders to its hide-out in Rivonia, Johannesburg, which resulted in their arrest in 1963, and enabled the South African police to have their biggest field day in uncovering incriminating evidence, including war materials and copies of the insurrectional plan 'operation mayibuye' at that supposedly impregnable hide-out:
- the S.A.C.P. leader Arthur Goldreich who was in charge of the Rivonia hide-out, mysteriously escaped from prison, ended up in Israel where he was to fight on the side of the Israeli army on the Jordanian Front in the 1967 Six Day War against the Arabs. Not even a mere denunciation of Goldreich was ever forthcoming from the S.A.C.P.;
- the S.A.C.P. has resorted to recruiting non-South African whites, e.g. Moumbaris and Horsey to carry out clandestine work inside South Africa

whilst its own white South African members continue to live in the comfort of Europe;

- instead of building up a membership of its own, a cadre of its own, the S.A.C.P. relies entirely on using the ANC as its recruiting ground, its platform, its front organization.

No, the time has come for the S.A.C.P. to be finally told to get off the ANC's back.

Past experience obliges us to examine at this point the problem of dual loyalty. A slice of the bitter fruit the ANC external mission is now tasting arises out of the exercise of membership of two organizations simultaneously. A conflict situation was bound to arise when it came to reconciling interests of two organizations which, could not always be co-terminous particularly against the background of rank opportunism on the part of one of them.

In fact, the problem of dual loyalty came up on quite a few occasions in the past, and specifically, it was discussed by the national conferences of the ANC in 1923 and 1943. The conferences found, correctly in our view, that the ANC being a national liberation movement would continue to admit in its ranks all Africans regardless of ideological persuasion.

In that event no confusion ensued regarding communist party membership up to 1950 when the S.A.C.P. still enjoyed legal status in South Africa. For one thing Africans who were also members of that party were identifiable. But after the party dissolved itself in 1950, it re-emerged clandestinely

in 1960, vis-a-vis the South African regime as well as vis-a-vis the ANC.

And thus arose a situation in which S.A.C.P. members could speak in the same breath in the name of the S.A.C.P. and in the name of the ANC. A glaring example of that deplorable state of affairs showed itself, when the then Chairman of the S.A.C.P., the late J.B. Marks, attended in that capacity a conference of world communist parties, held in Moscow in 1969. In his speech he made an attack on China, and found it necessary to drag in the ANC - and thus the ANC, a national liberation movement became embroiled in an ideological dispute that was irrelevant to its own programme.

To further illustrate our allegations against the S.A.C.P. we quote from a document adopted by the S.A.C.P. leadership in March 1970. The document entitled 'Central Committee Report on Organization' has a section on page 13, sub-headed; 'The Party and the ANC in the post 1960 period.' In pages 14 and 15, paragraphs 35 to 36, the following appears:

"It was only at the (roughly 18 monthly) plenary sessions of the Central Committee that our leading body was able to turn its collective thoughts to the overall problems facing the whole liberation movement and particularly, its most important cadres. In between the contact which was maintained proved inadequate for collective leadership purposes: an extreme example of our failure in this respect was that the CEC was totally unaware of the Zimbabwe events of 1967 until they hit the world's press.

The 1965 plenary session of the Central Committee recorded the need for those comrades directly involved in the strategic areas to keep the CEC informed on the main outlines of ANC activities both inside and outside the country in order "to enable the CC to provide adequate political leadership and guidance." But as time went on it became more and more clear that the absence of proper institutional links with the ANC in the new conditions acted as an obstacle to the ability of the Party to exercise its vanguard role. It was to overcome this weakness and also the unsatisfactory situation which had developed in relation to effective participation by the oppressed minority groups, that the Central Committee helped to initiate the steps taken in November 1966 to bring into existence the Consultative Congress Committee. This body was a sub-committee of the ANC....."

THE MOROGORO CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE

This conference was convened in the town of Morogoro, Tanzania, by the ANC, in 1969, as a result of a suggestion to that effect by some of the ANC leaders (some now expelled). The conference was to consider the stalemate the organization had reached following the military campaign, in 1967 and 1968 in which the ANC had been involved in alliance with the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union (ZAPU). The outcome of the campaign raised certain fundamental questions and criticism related to the strategy and tactics to be pursued in a warfare related to our situation.

It is the Zimbabwe campaign to which the S.A.C.P. document refers in the section, quoted above, which says, "the CEC was totally unaware of the Zimbabwe events of 1967 until they hit the world's press." The Party is, of course, lying. Among the ANC leaders who decided on the Zimbabwe campaign were prominent African leaders of the S.A.C.P., namely J.B. Marks (the then Chairman) and Moses Kotane (Secretary-General). What is true is that the white leaders of the Party were not told hence their strategem in 1969, to agitate for the opening of ANC membership and to worm themselves into key positions in the organization.

The Morogoro Conference also took place against the background of a crisis within the ANC cadre organization, that crisis had surfaced in the form of a memorandum by seven militarily trained cadres articulating the mood of the men. The memo turned out to be a scathing criticism of the leadership and its conduct of the struggle. The majority of the leadership not only took unkindly to the criticism but was in a scape-goat seeking mood by the time the consultative conference was convened.

The conference itself was a multi-racial affair which was attended by Africans, Coloureds, Whites and Indians. But the S.A.C.P. saw only one thing in the situation - the moment for the realization of its cherished goal of taking over the ANC.

True enough, the carefully worked out subterfuge passed as a call for 'the intergration of all revolutionaries'.

THE ACTING PRESIDENCY

The ANC over the past six years was to steadily deteriorate into a body that no longer had a programme of its own, that merely drifted along, with a leadership that spent most of its time travelling from one capital to another and even attending the most irrelevant international gatherings, to our struggle, like the 1975 U.N. conference on "the law of the sea."

A few individuals have undertaken numerous tasks on their shoulders - to give the impression of business - whilst on the other hand there has been the pathetic wastage of able and talented personnel. Trained cadres have been confined in camps for a number of years.

Presiding over this sorry situation is O.R. Tambo, the Acting President of the ANC. He was Deputy-President in 1959 when he was sent abroad by the organization in South Africa to set up an external mission in view of the imminence of the proscription of the ANC.

When the ANC adopted armed struggle in 1961 as an additional form of resistance, his mandate was extended to encompass preparations for that struggle and cadres were sent out of South Africa for that purpose. He was also at the head of that programme.

It should be noted that he became Acting President after the untimely passing of our President-General, Chief A.J. Lutuli in July 1967. Since then no serious attempt has been made to elect a new President-General and eight years after Lutuli's death, Tambo is still acting.

It must now be admitted that his leadership of the external mission has been disastrous. He has failed to take a firm stand and give a firm lead on even the most fundamental issues the ANC has faced abroad. And significantly on the interference of the S.A.C.P. in ANC matters, it was not he who went on record as having taken a stand on the matter but the Secretary-General of the Communist Party, Moses Kotane, who when the C.P. wanted to organise meetings of its members within the ANC cadre organization - Umkhonto We Sizwe - in 1965, resisted, stating that Umkhonto was the military wing of the ANC and that the C.P. when it had created its own army, could hold meetings there. Unfortunately, that enlightened and correct policy of Kotane was thrown to the winds after he suffered a stroke at the end of 1968 and the C.P. leadership fell into the hands of the Yusuf Dadoo/Joe Slovo clique.

On subjects like these and many others, Tambo has failed to make public pronouncements as Head of the ANC, instead; in private gatherings he says different things to different people, depending on who and where they are. As he globe trots from country to country, for no apparent reason, he makes personal deals, pacts and arrangements with individual members which, however, are never carried

out except, perhaps in so far as they might politically be inconsequential. This style of work creates bad blood among members. A recent example of his habit of saying one thing here and another there, occurred over the adoption of resolutions affecting the organization by ANC members in London, and addressed to the executive, identifying the reasons for the present stagnation in the ANC and suggesting remedies. In a private discussion with a leading member (since expelled), Tambo gave the assurance that on getting to the ANC headquarters in Africa, he would see to it that the resolutions were given attention before their substance got distorted and he further stated that he accepted the view of the U.K. membership; that it was the practice of the ANC to review its past decisions at conferences whenever the need arose. However, as soon as he appeared before a meeting of the extended executive, and in the presence of the very man to whom he had given assurances in London, on the subject of resolutions, he made a vitriolic attack and damaging insinuations against the conduct of the African membership of the ANC in London.

It is this kind of duplicity also which has given the impression to Bantustan leaders like Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, that their political activities on the international plane (though contrary to the declared ANC policy), had, nevertheless the backing of Oliver Tambo, as Head of the ANC.

Oliver Tambo, his hand always clutching to a passport, always on the point of flying off somewhere, makes a remarkable

contrast to a leader like Samora Machel, who during the struggle was seen always having a gun slung over his shoulder, leading his men into the fight.

Tambo stands in contrast to leaders like Mondlane, Cabral and Chitepo, who lived with their families at the headquarters of their organizations in Africa. Tambo chose to buy a stately home in the posh Muswell Hill suburb of London.

THE UMKHONTO WE SIZWE (M.K.)

The Umkhonto We Sizwe (M.K.) - the military wing of the ANC, attracted to its ranks some very brilliant and dedicated young people, and in a short period, they saw action in Zimbabwe, although fighting in terms of a badly conceived strategy, they acquitted themselves well when they met the enemy. But demoralisation was to set in leading to many of the remaining ones to assert that they can return to South Africa, to fight, only in the company of the leadership.

Tambo must also take full responsibility for the deplorable state of affairs in the organization of these pioneers of the revolutionary army of our people.

A BETRAYAL

It is our considered view that Oliver Tambo has clearly betrayed the sacred trust and mandate given him by the ANC to head the external mission. He has betrayed the African wives

and mothers who parted with their husbands and sons when they left to prepare for the liberation war. His conduct has been a betrayal of colleagues languishing in jail like Nelson Mandela, whose hopes of leaving Robben Island lie in the successful prosecution of the struggle.

No, the truth must be said as it is, that this man - that Oliver Tambo, is unfit to lead a revolutionary struggle.

THE WAY FORWARD

But there is the current situation in Southern Africa, which is dominated by the recent stirring victories of the armed struggle waged by the liberation movements of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau, which has precipitated the downfall of Portuguese Colonialism and fascism and the collapse of the point-of-no-retreat of the Racist regimes in Pretoria and Salisbury, which had been strung out along the Zambezi river.

These spectacular victories by our brothers in the former Portuguese African colonies amply vindicated the correctness of the policy of armed struggle. And that contrary to the assertions of the likes of South African Premier, John Vorster, it was not something too ghastly to contemplate.

A situation has thus arisen in Southern Africa which opens up important possibilities for the advancement of our struggle for freedom in South Africa. And it is also against this background that the depth of the betrayal and cowardice of those in the ANC leadership, who have decided to choose

precisely this moment to conduct purges and expulsions and to sow division and disruption within the ranks of the revolution, must be viewed.

On the other hand, we on our part are fully resolved to take the destiny of the struggle of our people into our hands. And we solemnly pledge ourselves to work for the following:

- (a) the restoration of the sovereignty, dignity and leading role of the ANC, revitalising and re-arming the membership for the revolutionary tasks that lie ahead. That such re-organization and efforts will be carried out at home and abroad culminating in the re-establishment of the democratic processes of the organization at a national conference;
- (b) the forging of African unity as the fundamental base around which a broader coalition of all other democratic and revolutionary forces can be constructed.

This strategy has been the basis of our progress in the past. And even other recent international experiences like the Algerian and Vietnamese liberation wars proved beyond doubt that the formula to success lay in national unity, solidly based, not on wishy-washy platitudes and coined in an irrelevant context, but solidly on the concrete political forces at work in a particular situation.

Consequently, firm initiatives will be taken by

us to bring this about;

- (c) re-instatement of a foreign policy based on non-alignment;
- (d) intensification of the struggle against White minority rule, Racist oppression and exploitation and to fight for the triumph of the aims and objects of the ANC and for the victory of a national democracy in South Africa.

BROTHERS AND SISTERS - FROM THE BRINK OF DISASTER, FORWARD
TO VICTORY

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R E S O L U T I O N S

(1) ON THE ARMED STRUGGLE

Our view of the South African situation is that problems of national oppression, race discrimination and economic exploitation call for resolution by revolutionary means. Armed struggle and clandestine resistance activity, are the main forms of repelling fascist repression by revolutionary violence. These forms of struggle, side-by-side with legal and illegal methods of mass pressure for revolutionary change, will be used to galvanise our struggle into a peoples' war against the fascist white minority system. The ability to combine legal and illegal methods; violent and non-violent pressure; political, economic, social, cultural, as well as military mobilisation of the oppressed African masses into a vanguard role against the apartheid state, will ensure the raising of the political consciousness of our people; engender broad African unity; facilitate the development of a united, democratic anti-fascist front in South Africa; and usher in the era of the victory of the national democratic revolution in our country. Every section of our people have a role to play in the struggle for national independence.

(2) ON THE BANTUSTAN POLICY AND BANTUSTANS

Whereas throughout the past three decades we have noted the designs of the South African government to balkanise our country into little economically ineffective states called 'Bantustans', with the purpose of destroying the basic unity of the African people;

Whereas we have noted that these Bantustans are used as a source of cheap labour to boost the standard of living of the White minorities and as a source of capital for big international finance monoliths;

Whereas we note the inhuman way in which our people are forced to abandon their traditional land which they have been in occupation of for several generations;

Whereas we note that over the years, the African people have never accepted Bantustans as a realistic basis of land tenure;

Whereas we note that of recent months, various white racist politicians in South Africa have openly stated that they are not prepared to abandon the land provisions of the 1936 Land Act;

We, members of the African National Congress - African Nationalists - resolve:

1. To reject in toto the whole concept of the Bantustans;
2. To assist all African resistance in South Africa

against the South African government's policy and its implementation;

3. To struggle for the restoration of the whole of South Africa to the African people who hold legitimate title to the whole of the country;
4. To expose the fraudulent independence which the Pretoria regime is preparing to bestow on the Bantustans.

(3) ON DETENTE

The development of the revolutionary situation in Southern Africa that embodies in a crucial way the collapse of Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique and Angola; the rapid intensification of guerilla warfare in Namibia; and the attempt to weaken the revolutionary struggle in Zimbabwe, has thrown South Africa into sharp relief as the head and nerve-centre of the sub-system of imperialism in Southern Africa.

To safeguard imperialist and white supremacist interests in this sub-system in the Southern Africa complex, the white minority racist regime in South Africa evolved a two-pronged strategy to ensure their continued domination over the internal situation in South Africa and their external influence over the region where imperialist economic and strategic interests still exist. On the domestic front, South Africa resorted to the fraudulent policy of 'Bantustans' tribal enclaves - the social basis for neo-colonies

are being forced into managing a governmental structure designed to perpetuate their own socio-economic and political dependence on the white South African state. Bantustans are the old Native reserves under a new name; they will continue to serve as reservoirs of cheap Black labour for imperialist exploitation. On the external front, South Africa pursues an outward-looking policy of dialogue or 'detente'. All these political euphemisms are a cover for South African intentions to suck the leadership or leading elites of independent Africa into a vortex of a political superstructure that co-ordinates power and authority over the entire Southern African complex. That complex is already an economic sub-system entity, with monetary currencies dominated by the South African RAND; common transport and communications networks; labour recruitment for the South African Mines; hydroelectric power and fuel supply to South Africa; trade and investment etc. It is a regional entity linked with western powers and Japan through their economic interest in the area. South Africa's role in Zimbabwe; her subjugation of the people of Namibia in gross violation of international law and United Nations resolutions; her current military intervention in Angola against the legitimate government of Angola, headed by the MPLA; her exploitation of cheap black labour from independent Africa; and her economic penetration of independent Black Africa through such devices as EDESA development Bank; foreign trade and long-term loans; as well as her detente manoeuvres are all evidence of a strategic plan calculated to draw Africans at home and abroad into upholding a socio-economic sub-system of

imperialism that feeds on African oppression and economic exploitation to the benefit of white privilege and white monopoly power.

We reject South Africa's detente policies, because, in their domestic form, they lead to neo-colonies - Bantustans; in their external form, they might lead to economic, political and military collaboration of the power-centres of Southern Africa with the South African racist regime in exercising authority and power over the entire regional complex. As majority rule is destined to replace white minority domination in Southern Africa, detente with any white minority regime in South Africa is a danger; it prolongs the subjugation of the oppressed African majority under various guises created by the white minority racist regime. Detente with South Africa must be rejected.

(4) ON ANGOLA

Whereas we, as African nationalists unreservedly support the struggle of the peoples of Angola under the banner of the MPLA, and the proclamation of the Peoples' Republic of Angola;

Whereas we note with alarm the machinations of the imperialist forces led by the CIA and the racist South African regime, to install their puppets into positions of power by the massive injection of money, logistic support and man-power, in an effort to maintain their

neo-colonialist presence in Angola;

We resolve to:

1. give all support that we can muster to the heroic efforts of the people of Angola under the banner of the MPLA;
2. Condemn imperialist presence, aggression and support for the puppet would-be governments of both FLNA and UNITA;
3. Appeal to the OAU and All African states to give recognition to the MPLA government.
