

STATEMENT OF A JOINT MEETING OF THE NEC AND THE RC
OF THE ANG (SA) HELD IN LUANDA ON 27th DECEMBER 1978
TO 1st JANUARY 1979.

1. The meeting was convened by the NEC to receive and consider a report by an NEC delegation to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam which visited Vietnam from the 11th to 26th October 1978.
2. During the visit which lasted 16 days the delegation visited all parts of Vietnam and met representatives of the Party, government and Army and Fatherland Front, various personalities, workers, peasants and intellectuals, for the purpose of discussing with them and studying the outstanding revolutionary experience of the Vietnam people and drawing such lessons as may be useful for the advancement of our own struggle.
3. The delegation obtained the clear understanding that at all times the Vietnamese Workers' Party (now called the Communist Party of Vietnam) was guided in its work by a strategy which was continuously elucidated during the process of struggle.

The Vietnamese experience gives real meaning to the relationship between political and military struggle. A golden thread of the strategic thinking of the VWP runs through the complex web of shifts in relationships that characterise the whole process of the struggle, a thread consisting of many strands. These include the following:-

- (a) The struggle was for the victory of a national democratic revolution which would proceed uninterruptedly to the construction of a socialist Vietnam.
- (b) Throughout the struggle, while keeping under review the correlation of national and class forces with a view to drawing them into the struggle, the VWP understood that the workers and peasants constituted the core of the revolutionary forces;

- (c) The vanguard VWP would, while maintaining its independence, work with other broad patriotic forces;
- (d) The VWP would continuously strive to create the broadest national front around a minimum programme, to unite all classes and strata,^a at all times to create legal and semi-legal organisations, work within and influence existing ones, leading all these forces on the basis of correct policies;
- (e) The revolution could only succeed through the united strength of the masses expressing itself in organised political activity;
- (f) Revolutionary armed struggle itself can only succeed if it grows out of the mass political base;
- (g) The political struggle is primary in all phases of the revolution. Revolutionary violence is necessary for the victory of the revolution but this violence must itself be constantly assessed and controlled to maintain the correct relationship with the political struggle;
- (h) The Vietnamese struggle was part of the World Revolutionary process, influencing and being influenced by it.

4. Having listened to the report of the delegation, the joint meeting expressed its warm appreciation of the insights and ideas conveyed by the delegation. It was agreed that the Vietnamese experience reveals certain shortcomings on our part and draws attention to areas of crucial importance which we tended to neglect.

5. Having regard to the length of the discussions and the wide range of ideas and suggestions raised the joint meeting agreed this interim report to a bare statement of the more significant conclusions or proposals arrived at, these being:

- (a) ⁴elaboration of an overall strategy based on mass mobilisation;
- (b) Creation of the broadest possible national front for liberation;
- (c) Strengthening the underground machinery by drawing into ~~it~~ activists thrown up in mass struggle;
- (d) Development of operations out of political activity and guided by the needs and level of political mobilisation and organisation;
- (e) Creation of a central organ to plan, co-ordinate and direct all activities inside the country;
- (f) All our organisations, including the women and youth sections, should direct their activities towards the advancement of ~~the~~ struggle at home;
- (g) Involvement of the whole movement in support of SACTU's struggle to build a progressive trade union movement which rejects all attempts to isolate workers from the struggle for liberation;
- (h) Formulate strategies and tactics towards political institutions sponsored by the regime for coloured and Indian communities
- (i) Formulate correct policies and strategies towards Bantustans;
- (j) Undertake a systematic study of our people's history, languages, customs, traditions and culture in the ^{training} country and selection of personnel for specific regions and assignments;
- (k) Consider the question of membership of the ANC;
- (l) Review the capacity and organisation of the NEC

for its task of leading the nation.

