

5. REVIEW OF THE STATE OF ORGANISATION  
OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT

Under this item I shall attempt to deal with the organisation as it affects the A.N.C. This item should be divided into two parts:-

- 1.(a) The state of organisation inside South Africa and
- (b) The state of organisation outside South Africa
2. And outside South Africa be further divided into two parts: Africa and the rest of the world.
3. This has been done and another speaker will deal with "the rest of the world".
4. So, I shall confine my remarks to the state of organisation in South Africa and in Africa.

*Under this item we should, to the best of our knowledge, try to give an honest picture of the state of organisation in sectors in which we can operate.*

4.

In South Africa

5. In spite of the severe blows which the movement received at the hands of the Verwoerd-Vorster's fascist police and in spite of the difficulties and dangers of public campaigns and of open political activities the struggle for freedom continues in South Africa.
6. In this grim and bitter struggle all sections of our people: Africans, Coloureds, Indians and progressive Whites, are involved in varying degrees.
7. But in a situation where there are "informers in every street corner", police agents in practically every underground unit, where the "police are using the M Plan in reverse", and where several key and leading persons have confessed and exposed the organisations, their members and plans to the police, it is unwise and fruitless to attempt to continue with open political activities.

8. Of course people are aware that a large number of their sons and daughters have been sent out for training. They are waiting for the return of this army, and they are reserving all their energy for the time of its arrival. So that they can take part in the struggle for final victory.
9. Notwithstanding this, however, the struggle continued underground. The arrests by the secret police <sup>are</sup> ~~and~~ an indication of this.
10. The South African Government is also expecting the arrival of our trained men. It is therefore at present busily engaged trying to destroy the the mass base of that army. Our strategy should be to prevent the government from succeeding in its dangerous plan.

#### Outside South Africa

11. Apart from the Africans we have a large contingent of non-African comrades outside South Africa.
12. The African National Congress by agreement with the other Alliance organisations in South Africa is supposed to be the leader and spokesman for the liberation movement in South Africa.
13. As already stated in the report under item 4, all members of constituent bodies of the Alliance should work as ~~under~~ individuals under the auspices of the A.N.C.
14. But perhaps this is expecting too much, and overlooking the weaknesses of human nature. Perhaps we should not expect individuals to forget themselves to be completely selfless, to subordinate their individual selves to the interest of the cause, and thus serve the movement in any capacity without regard for their prestige !
15. The African National Congress in this part of the world has a number of political problems facing it; problems which are connected with and directly affecting our struggle at home.

affecting ~~our~~ our struggle at home.

16. We have a large number of trained men waiting here to go home. The strain of waiting is undermining their morale, they show signs of restiveness.

17. On the other hand we are experiencing difficulties in moving them home.

\*\* Firstly, it is difficult to get the men into Zambia.

\*\* Secondly, it is difficult to get them to Botswana.

\*\* Thirdly, it is difficult to get arms into Zambia, even into this country.

18. It is true that we have some men in Zambia and that we have managed to get a very limited number of weapons into Zambia, but this was after many months of endless struggle and representations.

19. Yet instead of lessening our difficulties seem to increase from month to month, and the friendliness of independent African states seem to decrease every day as the influence of imperialism increases.

20. In spite of these difficulties, however, we are doing all in our power to get our fighting men into South Africa, we are determined to get them into the country armed for the battle.

21. And we are highly confident that, difficult as the situation may be, the difficulties will soon be overcome and our efforts crowned with success. We are confident that we shall not fail our people at home, that we shall not disappoint their expectation.