

INTERNAL POSITION

We have once again come to the cross-roads in our struggle in South Africa. There have been many crossed roads in the history of our movement, when old ideas had to be scrapped and new objectives had to be worked out.

1. One such turning point in our history came after the 1st World War When Congress realised that it could expect no relief from British Imperial authorities.
2. There was another turning point in 1935-193 , when the Cape voters were removed from the common voters role, which forced the movement to realize the futility of the Parliamentary struggle.
3. The third turning point in our history was when Boer nationalism came to power in 1948. This resulted in a qualitative change in the political structure of South Africa which started from among the oppressed a process of mass defiance and unconstitutional struggles which culminated in the burning of Congress in 1960.
4. Then followed a major turning point, when our movement decided to go underground and to prepare for armed struggle.

We are once again at the cross-roads. We are once again faced with the necessity to re-consider and revise our entire movement, our structure, our strategy, our programmes and our aims.

This necessity results from the basic contradictions that has developed in the Movement ever, since we resorted to armed struggle. We adopted a trully revolutionary method, but did not at the same time change our programmes or even our attitude and state of mind to correspond to the new phase. As a result we have been conducting a revolutionary War without a revolutionary theory. The result of this contradiction is that our movement has experienced serious enternal strains. These strains will contnue and ~~become worse~~ ^{become worse, even} to the point of destroying the Movement unless we adopt a ~~new~~ ^{TRULY REVOLUTIONARY} strategy backed by a revolutionary theory.

What do we understand by a revolutionary theory? It means fundamentally that our entire movement, every individual at every section must break with old habits and ways of thinking, must acquire a completely new approach to our problems as a political movement, to our situation within the country and to the structure of our society. It means that we must have the will, the courage, the desparation to turn South African society upside down, to shake ourselves loose from everything that ties us to the past and only than can we reshape our society.

What is our goal for the future of South Africa? Nothing less than the utter destruction of internal colonialism, imperialism and White supremacy and domination. It is nothing less than the removal of every vestige of discrimination, legal or otherwise, it is nothing less than the complete power for the majority of the people, which means for the oppressed Africans, Coloureds and Indian people who have suffered under the tyranny of racial domination for the past 300 years.

Comrades let us recognise this fact! Our movement has not had a revolutionary theory since it came into being. For the most part, and certainly for the 1950's we operated as a extra-parliamentary, though strictly constitutional movement that relied on petitions, deputations, protest meetings, demonstrations, strikes etc. even though these proved over and over again to be completely futile, because they were not backed by effective power. Our methods were constitutional and our program was constitutional. We knocked on the door which never opened. We asked for a seat ~~inserted~~ on the floor of White parliamentary power.

The long years of non-violent struggle, of constitutional struggle of respectability left a deep impact on us, an impact that persisted even after we were banned and even after we resorted to armed struggle. This can be shown by the fact that even

today we base our whole political objectives on the concept of the Freedom Charter, a document drawn up when our movement was still technically legitimate, even though the police state had begun to develop unmistakable fascist characteristics. The proof of this is that the entire Treason Trial was based on the Freedom Charter. The racist regime insisted on reading into the Freedom Charter evidence of a conspiracy - a treasonable conspiracy to overthrow the White racist state.

This, it was not. The Freedom Charter was drawn up without a revolutionary mind. It was drafted with a view to providing the broadest possible basis for a meeting point - a *MEETING* between the White minority and the disfranchised majority. The proof of this is demonstrated by the failure of the government to prove the charge of a treasonable conspiracy. The prosecutor failed in the Treason Trial because there was no Treason, because our movement had not constituted or planned revolution.

Circumstance after 1960 was such that the movement was compelled to abandon its non-violent stand and to organise M.K.; out of which developed the armed invasion of Zimbabwe by the joint forces of ANC and ZAPU. The important thing to note is that this change over from legitimate extra-parliamentary struggle to violent revolutionary struggle has not been accompanied by a similar qualitative change in our thinking - in our political strategy and in our objectives.

What do we understand by African majority rule? What does one man one vote mean in terms of reconstruction of our society? Are we as a movement fighting so that our leaders can move into the seats of office in Pretoria and Cape Town in the same way as Africa have moved into the seats of colonial power in Abijan, Lagos, Nairobi etc.? Do we seriously contemplate taking a government system as an on going power system? Do we intend that black and brown faces will be seen in the offices similarly occupied by White faces? Do we mean to do things in the same way as they were done by White bureaucrats? If this is our idea we are leaving in the dream world. We will never expel the Whites racists if we approach our revolutionary struggle with such naive half baked ideas. If by some miracle we succeed to take the state intact, we would lose the revolution before we have even begun if we adopt a policy of conciliation and continuity.

We are dealing in South Africa not with a small colonial bureaucracy which can be expelled without an upheaval. We are up against a large, powerful entrenched White settler population which controls not only the centres of power, but dominates the entire economy; mines, farms, factories finance etc. as well as the whole governing structure, the armed forces, the lines of communication, the means of transportation. How can an African revolution succeed if it permits such a powerful, deeply entrenched ruling class to remain in control of the strategic points, both in the public sector and in the private sector? We need only to ask this question to realise the absurdity of the proposition.

No! Comrades it is not enough to take political power. We shall fail unless we use political power to capture the centres of economic power. This must be our goal from the onset.

infact we should go further and say, we shall never win our revolution unless we set our sights on the major task which is to take over control of the entire social structure, of all the key points, of all the centres of power - that complete power to the oppressed people. How can we expect our people to rise against the oppressor behind the slogan of one-man-one-vote! Why should our people in the reserves and on the farm risk their lives for a revolution which promises no more than that land should go to those who worked it, when that includes the White farmer who exploits and drive them to the ground? Why should the factory worker, the town man run the risk of being ~~murdered~~ ^{murdered} by saracen tanks and going to the gallows for a vote which if he were to get, it would live the employer in possession of the factory, the mine and the work shop.

Some how or other we have to communicate to the people the vision of a revolution that would put them in the position to acquire and exercise all the rights and privileges now monopolized by Whites, who are the ruling race and class. Our revolution programs must embody the principles of a whole transformation of society and the transfer of power to our people in the economic, social and political sphere of our society. Such a program will inevitably antagonize the entire White population with the exception of few dedicated White revolutionaries who accept and understand the justness of our cause.

Such a program will be used by the ruling clique to terrorise the Whites into presenting a solid White front of opposition to our claims.

Comrades, if there are those of us who think that such a reaction is to our disadvantage let them ask themselves if there is any less opposition to our struggle at the present time. The answer is that the White regime has mobilized a greater measure of support and solidarity among the Whites since the beginning of the armed struggle than ~~it~~ it ever had before. That is inevitable until such time as we record successes until such time that the battles swing to our favour. Only then will a significantly large proportion of the White population reject the White supremacist dogmas of apartheid, reject the system of colour oppression and turn to us as allies.

What we have to bear in mind at the present time is not the impact of our policy on the White minority, but its impact on the black masses i.e. how it can effectively mobilize the masses of Africans, Indians and Coloureds for a truly revolutionary struggle. That must be the measuring rod of our policy - the standard by which we judge its correctness for our present and future purpose.

THE INTERNAL SITUATION IS S.A. MUST DETERMINE THE EXTERNAL SITUATION:

Having defined our revolutionary objectives, we must adopt a strategy that is adequate for our aims. The starting point for any program of political action must be located in the internal situation. By this we mean the distribution of forces and power relation inside South Africa.

What we are saying is that, the entire attention of the Movement must be focussed on the position at home. All our activities and strategies must be concentrated firstly on bringing about a revolutionary situation inside and secondly on creating the instrumental means for leading the revolutionary struggle as and when it breaks out to a successful conclusion.

It is not our intention to discuss in this analysis the ways and means of developing the struggle at home. ~~In~~ our opinion the line, cannot be drawn clearly until such time as the movement has adopted the strategy and has created the necessary apparatus for putting it into effect. Let us first decide on the objectives, and then discuss the means that must be adopted to achieve our goals.

We are satisfied, however, that if this approach were adopted it would necessarily bring about far reaching changes both in the pattern of the organization of our movement and in the mode of operation outside the country. We propose now to discuss some of the implications for what has been loosely described as the external mission.

The first and most important action to take is to create one central leadership which will be responsible for planning and executing all operations inside the country and all measures ancillary to our main objective. Such a central leadership, which we shall call the High Command ought to be responsible for and supervise all departments including the political, military, financial, publicity, logistics, and education of cadres.

Something ought to be said about the relation between the military and the political counter-parts which are at the ^{present} separated and which ^{concluded} ~~concluded~~ their affairs in some respect as independent and autonomous units of organization. This division of functions was introduced at the outset of the period of

armed struggle and when the decision was taken to establish UNKHONTO. The separation at that stage was dictated by security reasons and was no doubt correct in the circumstances.

Conditions have altered since then. The external mission must maintain the highest standards of vigilance and security. Of that there can be no doubt. Operating as it does in comparatively "free" circumstances, we must take advantage of this fact to synthesize our political and military tactics in one single stream of policy and in one central leadership. This is **the only way** in which the movement will maintain a balanced perspective and keep these two essential departments in agreement and ensure that the two departments will co-operate in every phase of the struggle.

The basis for this proposal is to be found in the character of our movement and of the nature of our armed struggle. Both are essentially political in form and in content. Our freedom fighters, the guerrillas, who risk their lives are not conscripts, they do not fight for money or for glory they are patriots who are prepared to sacrifice their most valuable possession - life. They must not be treated as soldiers in the ordinary sense of the term, but as men with a high standard of political consciousness and a great devotion to their people. They must therefore at all times be allowed and in fact asked to take part in political discussion, in the political life of the movement, as long as these are compatible with their military-political functions.

A second important consequence of the new approach that is being urged here is the irrelevancy of the old familiar division between the various sections of the Congress Alliance. These two were products of history and they served a useful purpose inside the country, so long as the various sections of the people they represented were at various levels of development, political consciousness and even social status.

The distinctions between the Congresses may still have some significance within the country for the majority of the people who are aware of themselves as belonging to the different social and physical groups. It may be useful to continue issuing statements in the name of one or other of the member organizations of the Alliance. But the differentiation which is implied in the structure of the Alliance can have no reality for members of the movement who are part of the external mission. All of them regardless of skin colour and social background are contributing to a cause which they have made their own in identical terms and this is the reality which ought to find expression in our form of organization of our external mission.

We propose therefore, that the distinctions between sections of the liberation movement should be abolished. There should only be one test of membership and that is the loyalty of the individual to the cause and his complete acceptance of the policy and programme of the movement subject to these two conditions, all members should be given functions and roles according to their capabilities, on the one hand and the interest of the movement on the other.

In other words, we propose for the external mission a merging of all members into a single non-racial organisation which will retain the title of the A.N.C. of S.A. but which will both in theory and practice be constituted of all sections of our population and it must consist of all who have sworn to give their energies and if necessary their lives for the cause.

The strategy of the new organization will necessarily call for a considerable revision of current practices in every section of the movement. If the emphasis is to be placed on the struggle within the country, if the whole movement is to be geared to that practice, then we must all prepare ourselves for new tasks and new situations, and this is true for all members, both at the highest level of leaders and in the rank and file.

Many of us may have to undergo new kinds of training and new forms of political education, many of us must be prepared systematically and with as much

care as was taken to train the soldiers for the risks and difficulties of underground work. We must regard it as criminal neglect to call on any freedom fighter to work within the country until he has had the most careful and systematic training - as rigorous as the training given to the guarillas.

It may be necessary for this purpose to send many of our people to countries where they can observe, study and participate in a revolutionary movement. It may be possible to give some of our people the desired kind of training in the one or other centre in Africa. Whatever the decision may be, we cannot afford to allow our young men and women to waste away in idleness while they wait for the hour of action to arise. That procedure can only result in personal disorganization and in bitter conflict within the movement itself.

APPENDIX TO: COMMISSION ON

"THE STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA AND ITS PROGRAMME":

1. The main task of the Congress Movement is to prosecute the armed struggle and this being the key question for the liberation of our country, the leadership internally and externally must mobilise all its forces for the political and armed peoples' struggle. The leadership at all levels must give this urgent task its undivided attention.
2. In order to carry out this gigantic task we must create a full time Revolutionary Council or Front both at home and abroad from the Congress Alliance. In the absence of such a Council or Front we cannot hope to fulfill our tasks and its headquarters should be in Zambia.
3. The leadership must see that every freedom fighter who goes into the country to join the guerilla warfare, must not only be given training in military tactics, but also political training, because guerilla warfare is a peoples' war and therefore every guerilla must be fully equipped to lead a peoples' war.
4. Whilst the main task is to organise, mobilise, educate and rouse the people for the armed struggle, we cannot achieve it without combining it with political and economic action. So therefore at the present juncture we must mobilise the masses for political and economic action which should lead to guerilla warfare.
5. Another main and important task at this stage is to work among the people through the various organisations and gradually set up firm political and guerilla bases before we launch the peoples' war. Without such bases we will be cutting ourselves from the masses.
- WE** will do well to remember that "all the conceptions born of impatience and aimed at obtaining speedy victory could only be gross errors". Because our struggle is going to be a protracted and difficult one and therefore, our patience must not lose sight of this fact, and we must not allow our feelings to determine a situation.
6. We must strengthen both the legal and illegal organisations and the emphasis must be on the underground organisations.
7. It is an accepted principle that the organisational strength will determine our political fate and we must therefore draw into activity every member of the various organisations to fully participate in the affairs of the Liberation Movement both at home and abroad.
8. South Africans studying outside should be organised so that they could participate in our struggle when they return home.
9. Contact with the home front is another task that faces the leadership and therefore immediate steps must be taken to fulfill this task.
10. Political and military training must be undertaken by the leadership.

11. All those who have trained and are presently in camps and are not destined for the home front in the immediate future should be sent to the various countries where they received training or to any other progressive country for further training in both the political and military aspects of our struggle. The reason for this proposal is that instead of our trained people rotting, and living under frustrating conditions, we should deploy them to various countries whereby they could profitably be engaged and recalled when necessary.

12. The present unsatisfactory state of affairs that exist in the M.K. and the leadership should be put to an end. The present set up stems from the fact that the M.K. is regarded as a separate unit from the political organisation. We cannot have parallel leaderships, but we must have one, ~~and that~~ ~~must have one~~, and that must be the political organisation which is leading the struggle for liberation. It is the political body that would decide on how, when and where the armed struggle would be carried out.

This approach to our problem will be in keeping with the scientific principle that the armed struggle is merely the continuation of the political struggle. In our organisation we must create a military wing which will be subordinate to the political organisation. This method will eliminate the present sorry state of affairs.

13. Permanent Missions of the organisation should only be set up in centres where we could derive the maximum benefits, because at present our personnel is scattered all over and this leads to lack of co-ordination. For the proper functioning of the various missions there must be centralised directives from the leadership.

14. Our campaign for economic sanctions must be intensified, not only through the U.N., but mainly within the countries of the member states and also within our country, because its economy is sensitive to economic boycotts and industrial action.

15. On the question of the Transkei and the Government's "Separate Development" policy, we must carry out a vigorous campaign to expose this policy as a farce and the biggest fraud. We should assist the opposition in the Transkei in exposing the total failure of the Government's plans for this so-called "independent state".

16. The Role of the workers and peasants in the revolution is of paramount importance and we must therefore give our undivided attention in organising, educating and rousing this dynamic force, without which, no revolution can succeed.

17. Our Programme: The Freedom Charter.

This programme was drawn up in 1955 and at the time the question of the armed struggle did not arise nor was the question discussed by the Congresses.

It was only in 1961 that it was decided that the armed struggle was the only path to our liberation and the first shots were fired on the 16/12/61, without considering changes in our programme, but the time has now come when we cannot evade this any longer and make the necessary changes.

A Revolutionary organisation must have a revolutionary programme and the Freedom Charter has its limitations and it is not in keeping with our strategic aims, viz, the overthrow of imperialism, the dictatorial Vorster regime, and the reactionary ruling class through the armed struggle.

THE CHANGES THAT SHOULD BE MADE ARE:

(a) To overthrow imperialism, and the dictatorial Vorster Regime and the reactionary ruling class.

(b) Set up a people's democratic government composed of all classes, of all nationalities of all the various political organisations who assisted in the revolutionary struggle.

(c) Confiscation/....7

- (c) Confiscation of all foreign assets of monopolies, including the Banks. Building Societies and all assets of the reactionary ruling class and monopolies.
- (d) Confiscation of all land from the monopolies and redistribute it to the landless and to the tillers of the soil.
- (e) To carryout a foreign policy of peace and positive neutrality.

This should include:

1. Cancel all unequal treaties.
 2. Establish diplomatic relations with all peace loving countries in accordance with the 5 principles of peaceful co-existence adopted at the Bandung Conference.
 3. Do not join any military bloc or alliance.
 4. Develop close solidarity with all countries opposed to imperialism and neutral countries, and develop close links with all the progressive and democratic countries in Africa in particular, and with the Anti-imperialist Liberation Movements in Southern Africa.
- (f) Accept economic aid from any country willing to assist us without attaching any conditions to such assistance.
 - (g) Oppose all aggressive and unjust wars and against all forms of imperialist domination and actively support the fight against imperialism and defend world peace.
 - (h) Banish all war mongering propaganda, demand general disarmament, the prohibition of nuclear weapons and advocate the use of atomic power and energy for constructive and peaceful purposes.

CONCLUSION:

Whilst our struggle will call for assistance and support from the progressive and democratic forces the world over, we must not deviate from the path that our revolution will only succeed in the mobilisation of the revolutionary masses in our country and we must therefore rely on our own strength and our organisation and have unshakeable confidence in the masses.

Our emphasis should not be on world opinion, Anti-Apartheid, United Nations and the like, but on the revolutionary organisations and the masses at home.

We emphasise this because the present method of working is based on this wrong misconception that outside forces would bring about changes in the country.

To oppose this wrong view and the emphasis laid on world opinion we wish to quote from a revolutionary organisation in South Africa, the great importance it places on world opinion.

"The Vorster government reacted defiantly to the U.N. decision declaring the S.W. African mandate at an end, and proclaimed confidently that the territory will be defended, come what may. This confidence is based on the belief that the imperialist backers of the apartheid regime will once again come to its rescue. But this belief is not necessarily correct. World opinion against apartheid - especially African and Asian opinion - is deep rooted and cannot be ignored. Nor can public opinion in the imperialist countries themselves be ignored, if it is adequately mobilised by such bodies as the Anti-Apartheid Movement. This was shown by the Negro and progressive movement in the U.S. which recently compelled Johnson to cancel the shore leave for an American aircraft carrier

visiting Cape Town. The same opinion, aroused to greater heights, can compel the enforcement of the U.N. decision on S.W. Africa".

This belief and line of thinking creates a false sense of hope and security that world opinion could bring about changes in our country.

Our world campaign to mobilise public opinion started way back in 1946 and it has culminated in the entire world supporting our just cause for freedom and democracy, but no changes have taken place for the good of the oppressed masses, but on the contrary the burden of oppression has grown heavier and with great set backs in our revolutionary struggle.

Lets take the Rhodesian situation and world opinion. Since UDI, a massive campaign against the illegal Smith regime was launched and is still continuing and one does not see any visible sign of this minority government giving way, but on the contrary is defying world opinion.

These regimes are surviving precisely because they are supported to the hilt by the imperialists and all the reactionary forces from within and without.

Public opinion is good, but without action it would be meaningless.

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