

Our revolution is one continuing process. Its immediate emphasis and the chief mobilising factor is black liberation. (African Communist, No. 87, 4th Quarter, 1981, p. 36.).

belong to the same historical period. The two represent two distinct categories of the revolution. ("The Freedom Charter is our Lodestar" Part 3, in Sechaba, September 1985, p. 28.).

We must not allow our desire for socialism to intoxicate us. The people of South Africa must be taught the bitter truth simply, clearly and in a straightforward manner: the chief content of the present phase of our revolution is the national liberation of the Black people. It is actually impossible for South Africa to make even that advance to socialism before the national liberation of the Black oppressed nation. (Ibid, p. 29.)

The Black workers are of special importance . . . and are, as we have said before, the backbone and leading force in our struggle for national liberation. (Conference Communiqué presented by O. Tambo, in Sechaba, August 1985, p. 6.)

4. We are clear about the priorities of our struggle, first national liberation and then an advance towards socialism . . .

(Moses Mabhida, "The Alliance Born in Struggle: ANC-SACP" in Umsebenzi, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1985, p. 2.)

4. The NEC* went on to elaborate the following important positions: the assertion of the national identity of the oppressed black peoples is . . . not an end in itself. It can be a vital force of the revolutionary action . . . (O. Tambo, Political Report of the NEC to the Consultative Conference, Zambia, June 1985, p. 11.)

* NEC: National Executive Committee (of the ANC).