

But it is a source of encouragement and inspiration, a source of strength, that ~~(by far)~~ the vast majority of those of us who have become separated from the field of battle are still ^{part of} in it and able to assemble ~~as we have~~, to observe June 26. ~~I cannot conceal my own feeling of inspiration at meeting you here.~~

This day, ~~(as the Chairman has indicated,~~ dates from the not so very distant past, ~~but it~~ ^{It} is about ~~(in fact,~~ the history of all our people. We use it to rededicate ourselves to ^{our} that struggle and, if possible, even to take a look at the mistakes we have made, the victories ~~(that)~~ we have ^{achieved} won, the friends ~~(that)~~ we have won for ^{our} the struggle. ~~(And)~~ it is part of my pleasure today to ^{we} convey our greetings too to those who have stood side by side with us - the dynamic Anti-Apartheid Movement, that expresses itself in action in different parts of the world, our friends in the socialist countries, in the United States and Western Europe, our fellow freedom-fighters in the liberation movement, the people of Africa united behind the OAU, and in particular, those battling revolutionaries of Southern Africa ~~which, at least in Africa, is today the focus of world attention.~~

~~Again~~ The progress ~~(that)~~ they have made in Mozambique and Angola constantly ~~poses an increasing~~ challenge to those of us who come from beyond Mozambique and Angola, from the very seat and fort of reaction, South Africa.

The challenge is the greater ~~(particularly (and even) for the very success (that is) being scored in Mozambique and Angola and Namibia, as well as Zimbabwe.~~ It is greater ^{The} because these successes [^] tend to overshadow and to dwarf our own struggle, a struggle that has gone through ~~some of the most difficult times of any struggle.~~ And yet one finds as one moves from place to place that somehow we are like a people who are behind a great range of mountains, who are known to be there, were last seen there, but are not seen anymore.

The mountain of Mozambique and Angola, whose growth is in part

We have not become ^{quite} ~~(quite)~~ accustomed to rejecting this system in all its manifestations, and rejecting it in action, in ~~(our)~~ deeds. We have tended to try to seek accomodation with it, to reach some kind of understanding with racism and oppression and exploitation, to content ourselves with saying that it is evil. That is not ~~(quite)~~ the way of revolution to which we must resort if the system is to change.

Ten years ago, in 1962, we had ~~already~~ declared for armed struggle in South Africa. Ten years before that ~~[the campaigns referred to by the Chairman]~~ we ^{went} ~~(had gone)~~ into the streets in defiance of ~~(these)~~ unjust laws. Great militants ~~(had)~~ emerged from this struggle. It is true the fascists tightened the screw in response. But this was not to be unexpected. ^{and it brought} It merely called for greater sacrifices from us, and they came. ^{among} ~~(That is why)~~ the great names associated with the Defiance Campaign are ~~(among)~~ such people as J.B. Marks, ~~(who defied on that occasion)~~; Moses Kotane, ~~(who had been in it before and after and since to this day.)~~ Yusuf Dadoo, Nelson Mandela, Flag Boshielo. ^{and a host of others.}

^{curiously,}

In fact, at about one minute past twelve this morning my telephone rang ~~(incredibly at that hour)~~ and a voice said "O.R., Twenty years ago at 2 pm this day the first batch of defiers, led amongst others by the great Nana Sita, left to defy. At 3.15 Nelson Mandela delivered a letter ^a to some magistrate at Boksburg, at 11 o'clock something else happened,...

and he went on citing one instance after another. ^{" time} Somewhere near midnight Nelson Mandela and Yusuf Dadoo . . . and I listened ^{unbelievably} ~~incredibly~~ and then he wound up, ^{concluded} ~~(his voice deep)~~ by saying ^{that} at such and such an hour, so many minutes past so and so, Oliver Tambo led a group ^{of defiers} ~~from the~~ building ^a ~~(in which the defiers were being prepared)~~ by some secret passage ~~(from the building)~~ into Marshall Street. We were retreating according to plan.

I was reminded of the ^{famed} great British generals who were famous for withdrawing, according to plan - retreating according to plan. According to plan, but retreating. And I felt that perhaps I was retreating from the police.

But ten years is only part of the struggle that has been going on for a long time. There has been no independence of the kind that the masses have been struggling for. It is continuing. And that body has made progress, maybe slow, but it has not failed. And perhaps that itself is an achievement, if one has regard to the forces that combine to make it fail. It has succeeded.

The meeting was historic in a number of respects, on the part of those who observed it, not least of which was the fact that the meeting was characterised by the closing of ranks in the face of the continued colonisation of millions of African peoples.

We pride ourselves in having been perhaps among the first to make the clarion call for unity. We still are under obligation to respond to this kind of success on the part of the OAU - a much younger body than our movement.

What Yakubu Gowon of Nigeria described as the "spirit of Rabat" was a spirit of reconciliation among brother countries and a vastly increased resolve to defeat the common enemies of Africa.

I suggest, friends, that we have a lesson to learn. There is room for a spirit of reconciliation among our own ranks.

There are many, who include the Vorster regime, who have gambled on the hope that Africa would fail to unite. Rabat has dashed those hopes. Homage is due to all who have fought so long for the unity of Africa, including the liberation movements who have also contributed significantly, and that great son of Africa, Dr Kwame Nkrumah, who must be counted among the few who had a vision of a united Africa.

Why is the OAU so important to us? Precisely because it is a condition of victory that we must unite all revolutionary forces and to the extent that Africa is a revolutionary force that is close to us, on our continent, a force that is determined to help us destroy imperialism on our continent. To that extent this is a body of historic importance

~~I do so because I am not satisfied, and many of us are not~~
~~satisfied, that we could not have been doing better. To be sure, we~~
~~have a great record and great names in the course of our history, past~~
~~and present. But we are not there to develop names. We are there to~~
~~succeed.~~ ^{But} ~~Why have we not succeeded beyond the victories that we have~~
~~won?~~

There are many ^{causes} ~~causes~~, but I think perhaps the greatest of them is
the lack of ^{concerted} ~~concerted~~ effort by all of us. ^{However} ~~I must repeat that the~~
~~changes that are taking place - favourable changes - are the result of~~
~~our efforts, but they are nothing to justify our patting ourselves on~~
~~the back. What is lacking?~~

~~First of all, I should like to congratulate the university students~~
~~in their courageous rejection of the policies of the South African~~
~~regime. We have heard a great deal about this lately, and we were happy~~
~~about it. That is why we should congratulate them. We are heartened~~
~~when they seize the bull by the horns ^{and} ~~struggle in the country~~, when~~
~~they do not look hopefully for a messiah from without the country, when~~
~~they turn on their own resources, and face the enemy. This is what we~~
~~need to do.~~

We congratulate particularly the ~~students~~ of the universities of
Cape Town and Johannesburg and other so-called ~~white universities~~. But
it has taken twenty-two years of ~~June 26~~ to be in a position to
congratulate these students and perhaps it will take a few more years
to have occasion to repeat the congratulations.

In South Africa we have tended to sit comfortably with evil, and
leave it to history to evolve the change we demand. ^{Now} ~~Let us take the~~
~~university students of Turfloop who have been very courageous and~~
~~militant, ^{and} ~~took very correct decisions supported by others.~~ The~~
~~chain reaction of protest has been long overdue. We knew it would come,~~
~~sooner or later, but we wished it would have come sooner rather than later.~~

the result of our own efforts, is ^{putting} ~~sending us to~~ the shadow, and it is a challenge which grows with every victory in the struggle against Portuguese colonialism. The question ^{is being asked -} persists - what are they doing in South Africa? There is nothing to show, ~~for it~~, certainly not on the face of it.

The challenge rises as much for us who are outside as for our people in South Africa, precisely because we are part and parcel of them. And if our activities here are unrelated to their activities, then they are activities that must, in the final analysis, be in vain.

The movement represented here today has ~~(the)~~ opportunities ~~(of)~~ to rallying international support, which it has done. But the most powerful forces ^{from outside} ~~in~~ the world will not bring freedom to South Africa, ^{ultimately} ~~ultimately.~~

The answer must come from the people themselves and if our activities do not have the effect of injecting activity and revolution in South Africa, ~~(to that extent)~~ we are failing in our most important task.

It is we who must win

On this occasion we greet our brothers who have thrown ^{to} ~~this~~ challenge at us. We greet our men, our women, our youth in South Africa, who are facing up to the challenge, so far without drawing the dramatic applause which comes from Guinea Bissau, from the Caprivi Strip, from the valleys and hills, from the cities and dorps of Zimbabwe.

I put the blame, ~~on this day~~, not on the strength of the South African regime. Rather too often ~~do~~ we make an excuse of the power of the enemy. I put the blame not even on the unprecedented concentration of imperialist power in South Africa, a singularly powerful concentration, perhaps unequalled anywhere. ~~Not even imperialism is to be blamed.~~

I would like to place the blame squarely at the feet of those of us who are most affected by the policies of the regime and ~~the continuance of those policies~~, policies which continue unabated, which grow from strength to strength in their severity and viciousness. It is ^{we} ~~us~~ who must win, ~~[and if we haven't the blame is ours.]~~

any blame for not having done so is our own.

Africans Must Unite

^W When we say that the Africans, who are the most tortured, the most oppressed, who have the greatest ^{reason} cause to struggle, must unite, we mean they must unite in action. And when they ~~do~~ act together - ~~(these millions, even acting alone)~~ because they are acting, they ^{will} draw to themselves men and women who are as revolutionary as they are. Unity ^{is built} ~~(then builds up)~~ on the basis of ^{by} ~~(this)~~ action of the African people. It ~~cannot be an action for victory if~~ its purpose is ^{not} to make enemies, But if its purpose is to isolate and identify a common enemy and strike at him, ^{and this} it is bound to draw ^{wide} support from everywhere.

I think when the students from Turfloop and the other so-called Bantu universities went into action, united, this was a message to other students, ^{who came} ~~who came~~. The mistake of course, is that there has been a tendency ~~(when this happens)~~ for ~~(the)~~ Africans to tend to fall back and leave the white progressives to tackle the white regime. In the end we look like people who are waiting to be emancipated. But if we persisted, no matter who is supporting us, and met them in the field of action, South Africa might have made much greater progress than it has.

I have found ^W when I come to London and when I meet my brothers and comrades elsewhere, that there is great unease about the emphasis on the unity of the black people in South Africa, ~~in their action~~ against white racism. I think this is a mistake. I think it is an absolute mistake. I think this ^{unity} must be encouraged because that is where you ^{is found} have the power of numbers, the power of revolution - people who are fighting because they have to, because they are persecuted.

The workers are a revolutionary force because they are being exploited. A shop-owner, who merely runs his shop efficiently, however little he makes out of it, has little reason to be as revolutionary as the exploited worker. The Africans are the exploited workers; the blacks are the exploited workers. Why don't we use this force! It has nothing to do with racialism because when that force gets moving, even-

The question of unity of course extends beyond the borders of South Africa. There are many people in Africa who are concerned about the fact that there is no unity among the liberation movements in South Africa. This is particularly felt in the circles of the OAU which recognises certain organisations and does not recognise certain others. The OAU, ~~our people should know~~, is concerned about the lack of unity between the ANC and the PAC.

This concern is understandable and we must treat it as a concern of people who are supporters of our struggle and who believe that in that unity success will be found. We tried to explain that the ANC is itself a united front. It speaks in the name of progressive organisations and parties in South Africa and therefore it understands the need for unity, that it has been involved in building this unity over the years.

It is interested in expanding, ^{but not in form only, then} (it is not really interested in expanding it in form only,) leaving nothing but chaos and subversion in substance. ^{its water} (And) its own experience has taught it to be cautious about ^{we} what you mean by unity. Who is it that you want to unite? ^{we} (And we are being completely frank and honest about this. There are no ulterior motives. (And) ^{when} the moment to expand unity presents itself, we shall seize it.

(But) ^{we} we also emphasised ^d, perhaps wrongly, that the true place of unity is in the area of action against the enemy, and not in the conference halls of the outside world, useful though this is. (But) the kind of unity that we have in mind is the kind of unity that was forged in our case in the battlefield.

For example, the first June 26 was action in unity in the field of battle in South Africa (and we are seized of that situation.

The fact that there is no evidence of ^{as well} conflict of the kind that gets reported in the newspapers has nothing really to do with the question whether we are fighting in the country. We are. We do have militants. They are in complete contact and they are the people who must form the base of that unity.

(But) we must let our people know the truth - what role they are being called on to play for the first time.

And it is also a pointer to the importance of the armed struggle. The ^{white} South African policeman or soldier is not prepared to die. The black man must die for him in the Caprivi Strip. He would not be prepared to die ^{inside} in South Africa either and our militants, our planners and strategists have surely taken the hint, *this into account.*

Friends, on this day, June 26, it is a ^{custom} practice for us to say we dedicate ourselves to the struggle. In parts of the world where this day is being observed, our people will make a declaration or a pledge.

Rather we should decide.
I do not think we should do that today. I think that our task today is, without declaration - and we have had enough declarations - just silently and quietly to strengthen this movement, to demand political direction if this is missing, to face up to our internal problems, to engage together in struggle. It is a matter of acting rather than making declarations and promises of action.

(To you) who are in London, in great strength and force, ^Mmany of our people are looking to you in South Africa and elsewhere. We are heavily represented here by products of our struggle, men and women who have been made by it.

Omit
It should not be impossible for us to make our collective presence here to be felt not only internationally but especially in South Africa. The voice of the people of South Africa who are outside here should be heard inside by the things that we do rather than the things we say.

I should like to refer in this connection to the recent Rabat meeting of the OAU which should be an encouragement to us, despite statements of disparagement which have been made against the efforts of the African people, made in spite of the fact that truly independent states have been independent for ten years.

at the instigation of all revolutionaries, then the enemy is ⁱⁿ seriously in trouble.

I think we must move against the campaign to discourage the unity of the black people. ~~This is to me short-sighted, because what we want~~ ^{which} is to defeat the enemy and in South Africa the enemy is frightened of the unity of the opposition. But that unity must not be built from the top, but it must be built from the bottom, in the area of conflict.

It may be an abuse of an opportunity to make these statements when they cannot be debated. But comrades we have been together in this struggle for a long time and it is part of my task to provoke your thoughts on some of these matters.

I must say that this is also misinterpreted to ^{mean} me that I must show maximum tolerance if I find Essop Pahad ^{wanted} in the ANC office (doing some work.) I am not talking about attitudes between individuals, or in areas outside here. I am talking about where there is an enemy to fight. There is no enemy to fight in the offices of the African National Congress. And I have come here before and found that the comrades were much too concerned with what was happening among themselves in London and (had) raised this ^{it} to the level of national policy. I am talking about the unity of the people who are fighting the enemy at home.

The least that we can do here with a correct leadership - and I do not claim to be part of that correct leadership - is to find the best ways in which we can support ^{the} that struggle. It is not one of the best ways to support that struggle to be involved in in-fighting (in various areas) whether ⁱⁿ (it is) London or Dar es Salaam or Zambia. That does not help ^{the} that struggle.

What we should demand of one another here is service, and if the leadership is unable to indicate where this service could express itself, let it not blame the members of our movement. The leadership is then failing and if people have nothing to do, it should not be surprising that they turn on one another and create all sorts of political situations only to keep themselves busy.

^{Those}
~~But these are the events~~ that marked a new spirit of united militancy. Why is it that today we are ^{bogged down} behind the great mountain of action and struggle, when we started so early. [Some of us have thought that perhaps our (strategy and) tactics - (not our strategy, our strategy is correct - our tactics) need (a great deal of) improvement. That is a matter (of detail) ^{on} which it is not necessary to elaborate at this meeting.]
But it does mean that we ^a (who) are part of this great movement which has seen so many martyrs and heroes, which has come together in moments of challenge ^{been forced} ^{time} to struggle, ~~and to do so~~ with success, success not in overthrowing the regime, but at least in scoring significant victories. We have a greater challenge today than at any other time in the past. That challenge means that our people in South Africa must accept it that success will depend on even being unpleasant.

It is unpleasant to say that the victory of the struggle in South Africa depends, first and foremost, on the unity of those involved in that struggle. That is unpleasant when you begin to define that unity in the form that it should express itself. If you say that all opponents of racism should unite, whether they are black or white or brown - that is unpleasant because some people cannot understand that in the South African situation that is the answer, to begin with.

It is unpleasant to say that the black people should unite in the first instance, and accept responsibility - that sounds like a piece of racialism. It is even ^{more} unpleasant when you say that Africans must unite. What makes this unpleasant?

It is because it stays at the level of theory only; unity in action involves those who are in action. The biggest enemies, the people who like themselves least, will find themselves united if they are involved in action, and they will forget that which divides them. This has been the fault. It has always been at the level of argument and debate, but in action there is inescapable unity among those who are involved in that action.

OTP/07/0133/3

Self critical

ADDRESS BY THE ACTING PRESIDENT, AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (South Africa) ON THE OCCASION OF JUNE 26 1972, IN LONDON.

Comrade Chairman and Comrades,

It was by sheer chance that I happened to be in London at the time of our observance of one of the most important days in the history of our struggle. ~~But I think I was fortunate in being here and it~~

^{has given}
This (gives) me the opportunity to meet my countrymen, my comrades-in-arms, members of the revolutionary vanguard of our country and to convey to you and all our friends ~~(in these parts)~~ the most sincere greetings of your colleagues in the struggle who are concentrated in East and Southern Africa, from ^{whence I have} ~~where I~~ come.

In that part of the world there is a ^{considerable} ~~very great~~ awareness that just as we are a great force in South Africa, so is that force represented by militants of great devotion and experience ~~(who are)~~ in various parts of the world. It is thanks to their combined efforts wherever ^{are} they have gone, ^{bearing} ~~(by carrying)~~ the message of our struggle, that ~~the name~~ ^{phrase} ~~or~~ the word apartheid has acquired such a strong distaste in the mouths of decent people throughout the world.

These efforts on your part and on the part of our friends all over the world are a great inspiration, particularly to those of our people who wait for the first available opportunity to return to the field of struggle ~~(and)~~ there to engage the enemy ^{together} ~~(with the masses of our people.~~

I think we all share the sense of frustration at the distance that keeps us away from the place in which we have grown ^{up,} a place that can only be defined ~~and will be for some time,~~ in terms of conflict, in the interests of justice and ~~the~~ freedom of ^{the} people. In varying degrees, this frustration has ^{taken} had its toll on our people. Some have been ^{put} completely ~~struck~~ out of action; some have been incapacitated. Others have even turned against us and joined the forces of reaction.

It is easy for us to go marching arm in arm with people with whom you can do nothing in the country. That kind of unity we have discouraged.

A Wider Unity

But I should like to warn, comrade Chairman, that we must not be superficial about this matter. We must explore the possibilities for a united front, or whatever you may wish to call it, within South Africa.

A proper starting point is the unity of our own ranks. I would be less than honest if I said this unity is today at its strongest, whatever aspect of the ANC or the South African liberation movement you wish to address yourself to. But there is that question of unity.

There is ^{also the} another question of unity that we must watch very carefully. And that is the unity of the liberation movements. There are forces that are working to disrupt that unity and set one group of liberation movements against another, cultivating and developing ill-feeling. ~~That campaign is also in progress and~~ ^{It might get} the enemy might make it even worse in some of our areas of action because the enemy has ^{it} now decided to create a puppet army, something we have not had for a very long time.

It is ^{now} a puppet army of South African blacks who are dressed up in beautiful uniforms and who are sent to different parts of Africa to fight what is called communism. That is all. It is not SWAPO, it is not the people of Namibia that they are told they are going to fight. They are told they are going to fight a terrible kind of animal called a terrorist and a communist. They receive political lectures which ^(lay) emphasis ^(on) the evils of this communist and terrorist. It is the poor and the unemployed who are being recruited to do this.

And no doubt when some of them have been wiped out, propaganda ^{be spread} will ^(return to the country) to the parents, the wives, ^{and} the children, of ^{about} how good people have been murdered by these communists and terrorists.

^{We must}

^{and}

all the It rests with us to unmask this deception, while dealing with ^(all) traitors in the struggle. ~~The South African policeman or soldier is~~