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No doubt it is possible, on a purely academic level,, to discuss the South African situation over a confined twenty-five year period - e.g., 19^8 - 1973Â© The justification for this would perhaps be that the Nationalist party came into power in 19^8 and has been in power ever since, but, even at the academic level, the sub-title 'Apartheid after ^5 years' cannot be justified unless one is indulging in sterile semantics. The apartheid policy of the Nationalist Party was and is qualitatively no different from the evil social system of colour-class oppression that Black South Africans have been subjected to ever since the white man set foot on the soil of South Africa.

I have thought it necessary to clarify my position vis-à-vis the title of this symposium, for I came here, not as an academic, but as a freedom fighter; as a man placed at the leadership of the vanguard liberation organisation of South Africa, the African National Congress. To those of us who are in direct and armed confrontation with white racism in Southern Africa, the situation there is not one of debate but of life and death. Struggle - when we discuss and analyse the situation, it is not from the point of view of clarification, but so that we can confront the enemy better equipped in our knowledge and understanding.

I should like to say from the outset that 1948 or the all-white elections of that year (or any other year) hold no special significance in so far as the oppressed Black majority is concerned.. We had no part in the election and could not expect any radical change in our conditions of life whenever white men came to power. This is not to say that we took no interest in the elections or even that some Blacks, in their utter frustration, clutching at straws, supported one or another white party. Our interest was that of onlookers, not of participants or partisans.

to see the South African situation dynamically, as a historical continuity from the arrival of the Dutch and Portuguese, through the

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occupation by the British, the discovery of gold and diamonds* the Act of Union of 1910, to all subsequent events to this date. It is a tragic, cruel and callous history of deceit, robbery, murder; of, at first chattel., then wage enslavement; of barbarism and rapacity no different from colonial d,pt>ression elsewhere except for one important factor - the systematic and well-planned exclusion of Blacks from the white society except as servants; the legalisation of racism from the outset*, whether it was styled as 'protection' or 'trusteeship' or 'segregation' or, as now,, 'apartheid', the content was always the same - the domination and exploitation of the indigenous black people by the whites.

This, then, is the nub of the problem - domination of the Whites and subjection of the Blacks.

Over the centuries the nature and purpose of white domination underwent qualitative changes with the economic changes that took place in Â£Â»A. society. Black reaction to this changing condition of their oppression also underwent metamorphosis. But these changes did not come about accidentally or chaotically; they arose out of the social transformations that came about in S.a. society as a result of economic development. Black reaction to oppression has followed a definite pattern through the years and the present stage of preparation for armed confrontation is a logical outcome of the nature of struggle over the,Â«arg; true, the method of struggle in the post-1946 period underwent several important changes but this was not because of black reaction to the mere replacement of one white political party by another - the changes arose for two reasons firstly they were a result of major developments in society

arising out of the 2nd world sÂ»ar; and secondly, the previous method of struggle had not borne fruit.

I am labouring this point because I cannot emphasise too strongly that to understand black reaction to oppression in the post-1948 period one has to study the history of black reaction from the arrival of the white man in

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Initially, the Whites were received with courtesy and generosity by the tribes they came into contact with, they were given food, cattle and land for settlement and grazing. But the whites abused this hospitality, attacked the tribes, destroyed their crops, and confiscated their land and cattle on the pretext that the Blacks were thieves and despoilers. Later, an additional, hypocritical pretext was that the tribes needed protection either from the British or the Boers (depending on who got there first) and in this way unequal treaties of protection were foisted on them.

The Black reaction to these depredations was armed resistance and many a glorious battle was fought under leaders like Hintsa, Tshaka, etc., but it was an unequal battle of the spear against the gun, of a tribal society against a modern capitalist power and the outcome was inevitable.

The Blacks were defeated and South Africa came under imperialist domination under the alliance of British and Boers.

The defeat of the various tribes and the capture of their land ended the first phase of Black reaction.

It must not be forgotten that side by side with the white settlers came the missionaries who played an important role in the conquest of the Black tribes. Some Blacks acquired a modicum of schooling in mission schools where they had been taught about Christianity and western civilisation, western culture and the great white queen of Britain.

They had come to believe in the greatness and goodness of the English queen, whose actions were motivated by charity and other principles of Christianity. So, at the turn of the century, with the passage of several unequal and oppressive laws, the Blacks sought methods of protecting and defending their rights. Various appeals to the settler government fell on deaf ears. The Blacks then sought the protection of the English queen whose subjects they were and in pursuance of this sent delegations to

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appeal to her tout, of course, to no avail. One such delegation went abroad to appeal to the British government against the colour Bar clauses of the Act of Union of 1910 which constituted the Union of South Africa. Another went to the Peace Conference in Versailles in 1919 to appeal for the rights of Africans but again with nothing to show for it.

In the meantime, the African National Congress was founded in 1912. It was the first African organisation with a national base and it is in the evolution of the ANC that we can see the gradually changing methods of struggle of the African people most clearly reflected. Initially constituted as an upper chamber of chiefs and a lower house of commoners it saw its task as one of pleading to the authorities on behalf of the African people for amelioration of their conditions of life. But very quickly disillusionment set in. In the twenties a younger element within the ANC spoke for more militant action and organised anti-pass campaigns, strikes, etc., but these were on largely local levels and were brutally crushed by the army and police. The leadership of the ANC, still largely conservative, educated in mission schools and imbued with the tradition of Victorian humanitarianism, continued to make appeals to the white government, to send delegations to Prime Ministers and other ministers and generally sought to improve the conditions of the African people without recourse to direct confrontation with the white State machine. Despite the more intensive exploitation, despite the steady erosion of the Africans' right to vote (till there remained none) despite the various laws which restricted 90 percent of the land to Whites only, despite the more brutal enforcement of the pass laws, and despite the legalisation of job restrictions, these leaders of the ANC hoped against hope that their patient pleadings for the justice of their cause, which to them seemed self-evident, would slowly convince the white government of the evils of the colour bar; that their appeals would ultimately be understood and acted upon. They passionately believed in democracy, in western civilisation, in ... Christian principles and despite continual rebuffs

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they hoped that those were the principles guiding the govern-

ment. The ever-increasing state of repressive legislation and the failure of the leadership to stem the tide led to a decline in the ANC which plummeted to the depths in the thirties.

Towards the end of that decade the initially minority views of the more militant section of the ANC began to gain ground and to win the support of the masses. The war years of the early forties

saw rapid industrialisation of the South African economy, which was geared to a war footing. This resulted in a rapid increase in the

urban African working class which began agitating for trade union rights, for higher wages and better conditions of employment. At the same time a group of young African intellectuals formed the ANC Youth League with the express purpose of re-vitalising the African National Congress and shifting the emphasis of struggle along more militant lines. They were deeply imbued with the spirit of African Nationalism, and they were determined to give a new force and direction to the struggle for freedom and equal rights. They took the

struggle onto a new plane, away from passive protests against oppres-

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to an active demand for their birthright. They began to search for alliances with the other sections of the oppressed, the Indian and Coloured people, as well as the white people, with a view to building a united, broad-based struggle of the oppressed people for a non-racial democracy. Towards this end, the old constitution of the ANC was scrapped and a new one devised more in keeping with the changed method of struggle.

Two events at this time reinforced the ideas of the new leadership of the ANC and rapidly propelled the drive towards a mass-based struggle and towards a unity of the oppressed, first was the Great Mineworkers Strike of 1946, when 80 000 black mineworkers employed on the Gold Mines of the Rand under the most miserable conditions came out on strike. The strike was brutally crushed by the South African army and police with almost 80 workers shot dead and hundreds

injured. The second was the Great Passive Resistance Campaign launched by the Indian section of the oppressed against the racist

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onslaught on their already meagre land rights, Thousands of Indians, supported by Africans, Coloureds, and Whites, deliberately courted

imprisonment by breaking colour bar laws and refusing to pay fines when sentenced.

These two events, following closely one upon the other, galvanised the S.a. nation and roused the oppressed people to a realisation of the possibilities of a united mass based struggle for an end to colour-class oppression and for full democratic rights. They were in the nature of a giant flexing his muscles, for it was these events and not the coming to power of the ANC in 1948 which are an histo-

rical landmark and a turning point in the struggle for national liberation. The ingredients for the new methods and strategies are to be found in the rise of an urban African intelligentsia, heavily conscious of the injustice and humiliation of racism; the rapid growth of the urban working class during the war years and its militant demands for living wages and trade union rights; the ideas of democracy, freedom and liberty, which were so prevalent as an

ideological counter to Nazism and Fascism. It must be remembered too that one war and post-war years saw heightened struggles for independence throughout the then colonial world and the seething ferment did not and could not leave S.A. untouched.

With regard to Black reaction in the 25 years since the advent of the NP to power in 1948 I would like to divide the period into two parts with the year 1960 as the demarcation point. I shall explain the reason for this division later on.

The period up to 1960 was an era of intense and militant national struggle against apartheid and for full democratic rights on the basis of one man, one vote. It was also the period which saw the gradual cementing into a solid, united front of all sections of the oppressed people of South Africa. I must, however, point out that this was a gradual process over several years. The white ruling class had constantly pursued a policy of divide and rule, whereby

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oppression w&s unequally applied with the Indian and Coloured sections being tixrown a few crumbs - what to them a peared to be privileges. For a long tflune their leaaers had followed a policy of reconciliation and protection 01 their privixages. But just as the war years saw a growth oi Afrxcan nationalism, so also among the Indian people there was a rapid groeijh of nationalism arising out of the realisation among Indian intellectuals supported by the Indian working class that their destiny lay in a united struggle ' with the African majority for full democratic rights.

Mutual suspicion among various sections oi the oppressed gave way to an understanding oxtne value of a common struggxe. On the siae ox the African majority this process was greatly assisted by the courage of the thousands of Indian passive resisters of 1945-19^6 who so bravely suffered imprisonment in defence oi their r rights. It was also accelerated by the stand of the Government of India at the Uâ€ i;â€ , which spoke up for all the oppressed people of 'â- 'â€ a. and stressed the primary of the African section in liberation Struggle*.

Meetings were held between leaders Ox the African and Indian National Congresses to reach mutual understanding and work out a joint strategy of struggle. The idQ-as which had been propogated by the Youth league in its Programme of Action became the basis of Congress poncy. The programme called for militant action through the methods of demonstrations, strikes, ooycotts, and general defiance. I must, however, emphasise here that throughout tne peiiod u^p to 19b0 and during every campaign Congress leaders went to great pains to underline the non-violent nature 01 their struggle and patiently prevailed upon the mass of tne people to retrain from every act ol violence and to ireiuse to oe provoked into any acts of violence no matter what tne provocation.

Thus, wime the racist government continued to pass harsher legislation, to ban organxsatxons and individuals, to banish and exile them; and whue the police used the greatest violence against

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strikes and demonstrators, leading to the loss of hundreds of lives and causing injury to thousands, it is a tribute to the organisational skills of the ANC and the discipline it was able to instil into its followers that there were few acts of retaliation against the police or some of the more rabid white civilians who joined the police in brutality.

The first truly national strike for political rights was called by the AUG on June 26th 1950. This was in protest against the policy of apartheid and in particular the Suppression of Communism Act which, while ostensibly directed against the Communist Party, was so widely framed that any form of political protest could be labelled Communist. The ANC saw the dangers inherent in this piece of legislation and subsequent events proved the AMO analysis to be correct. For over the years the Nationalist Party has used this iniquitous piece of legislation to imprison and ban non-communist bodies and the national organisation of the oppressed.

A couple of months earlier on May 1st, 1950, the Communist Party together with sections of the AUG had called a strike on the Rand in defence of free speech. In the Johannesburg area the police opened fire without warning on a defenceless and non-violent crowd of demonstrators, killing 18 and injuring over 30.

So the national strike called by the AUG on June 26th was also in protest against this brutal massacre by the police. The call of the AUG was spectacularly successful; tens of thousands of Africans and Indians throughout the country, especially on the Rand, Durban and Port Elizabeth, stayed away from work. Factories, ships, schools were empty; bus drivers and hotel workers stayed at home; garages and restaurants were closed. The significance of the success of this first national strike cannot be over-emphasised. Under the most difficult conditions, with a ban on meetings, the African and Indian workers responded to call for a purely political strike. It must be remembered that they had no trade union rights and were largely unorganised; their response under these conditions demonstrated the ability of the Congress leaders to lead the political struggle and the level of political maturity of the mass of oppressed peoples.

The African people had shown not only their determination to fight for their political rights in a peaceful manner, but had also demonstrated, to such as might have doubted, their ability to exercise those rights.

The government's response was more oppressive legislation, attacks on workers, withdrawal of passports, and a move to take away the very limited franchise rights of the coloured people of the Cape. Many white employers openly sided with the government

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in discharging large numbers of workers who had joined the strike.

The leaders of the African and Indian Congresses went around the country addressing large meetings of Black peoples, appearing jointly on platforms calling upon the people to prepare themselves for greater sacrifices in the struggle for freedom. In the meantime, the joint - executive met to plan the next phase of the struggle and so were laid the foundations of what subsequently became the Congress Alliance.

Out of this arose a decision in December 1952 to launch a mass, nationwide, non-racial campaign to defy a set of laws which were regarded as bearing down most heavily on the non-white people. Thus was launched the great Defiance Campaign against unjust laws of 1952. Once again the emphasis was on non-violence, for, as Professor Mathews explained, "We believe that a violent revolution would leave such an aftermath of bitterness and resentment that indeed the country would be unstable." One sees here the consciousness of the Congress leadership not only to struggle for a democratic South Africa, but also to ensure that in such a new, free S. A. all sections of the population would be able to live amicably. This was in sharp contrast to the ruling white minority which used violence at every turn, not only to suppress and exploit the Black people but also to stifle their legitimate struggle for a share in their country. It was also hoped that by choosing non-violent and humane methods of struggle it might be possible to encourage a substantial section of the White population to side with the cause of the Black majority and this despite the fact that even those Whites who claimed to be liberals were opposed to the Defiance Campaign. Thousands of volunteers defied various unjust laws and chose to go to jail. This involved all sections of the oppressed and a handful of democratic Whites. The government's only response was more violence, banning and restricting of bodies.

The Congress movement gained tremendous strength and confidence and hundreds of thousands of Blacks rallied to the banner of Congress. A new spirit of unity of the oppressed had been established and it was time to concretise that unity in a programme of common demands for a free, non-racial South Africa. Such a programme could only be drawn up on the basis of the genuine needs and aspirations of the oppressed people. Thus a nationwide call went out from the Johannesburg headquarters for people to meet in branches, in groups, on farms and mines, in factories, in the townships and towns, to discuss their needs and forward them to headquarters. A great National Convention

vention, the Congress of Peoples, comprising representatives from all sections of the South African population met at Klip-town, Johannesburg, in June 1955, for three days to discuss and agree on the programme of the Congress Alliance, the Freedom Charter, which is now a historic .1 document.

But the decade of the fifties was not only one of nation wide campaign; the oppressed giant had awoken, and local strikes, boycotts, demonstrations were a continuous feature of the struggle. I here appeared to be no turning back. The mood was of optimism, of militancy, of inevitable victory and the movement was growing from strength to strength. The mass struggle had not only successfully adhered to non-violence in the face of police brutality, but had increased in militancy. The action of the minority regime seemed totally incapable of turning the tide.

In an attempt to do so the government in 1956 in midnight raids throughout the country arrested 156 of the top leaders of the oppressed people on a trumped up charge of treason. Thus began the infamous Treason Trials, which were to last for more than three years, and to result in acquittal of all the accused. The nationwide struggle continued, taking the form of strikes and boycotts. But already there was a murmuring among the masses and among a minority of rank and file leaders against the policy of non-violence. There was a small but growing feeling that liberation could not be achieved by non-violent means; the government action in meeting non-violence with increased violence and brutality, with arrests, bannings, and exile gave justification for this outlook.

But even at this time when its leaders were standing trial

for their lives on false charges of treason, the Congress con-

tinued to pursue a policy of non-violence. But time was running tight; the people sensed their strength in their numbers and in the need the S.A. economy had for their labour; they were restless and becoming impatient. Into this explosive situation the shooting at Sharpeville came as a bolt of lightning. The fascist police had shot dead more than sixty peacefully demonstrating Africans in cold blood - the effect was electric. The shock waves reverberated not only in South Africa but throughout the world.

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The Sharpeville massacre was a turning point in the struggle. Not because of the brutality of the police, for this was a common feature of the South African scene which had been dotted for decades with equally horrifying massacres. Sharpeville was a turning point because of its timing in history. The massacre came at a time when the mass of the oppressed not only felt their strength but had begun to lose confidence in the possibility of non-

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violence,, Sharpeville confirmed their worst fears. Freedom would only come about through violeg.ee. The racist white minority which lived by the gun would only be toppled by the gun,

The ANC which had fought for democratic rights in a non-violent manner was banned,immediately after the Sharpeville massacres. The message was clear - the white racist government was not prepared for a dialogue with the major organisation of the oppressed Black majority. It went further and arbitrarily detained hundreds of leaders of the Congress Alliance, When the people demonstrated In their tens of thousands, all over the country for the release of their leaders, the government could only respond with more violence.

Even at this late hour the ANC had called for a National Convention to resolve the problems besetting South Africa, ^ut to no avail. The ANC was driven underground and its leaders met to take stock of the situation. They could see no alternative to an armed struggle and after deep deliber tion resolved to begin laying preparations for the training of militants in the methods of guerilla warfare. The underground umKhonto we Sizwe was launched but the leadership knew that preparations would take a long time. Eor a century, Blacks had not been allowed to own guns - they would have to learn to use them. For half a century, they had fought on a non-violent platform and the sharp change would take time to filter down*

A campaign of sabotage of government installations was launched in order to give experience to militants in underground methods and to spread the idea of getting ready for warfare. The government passed the notorious Sabotage Act which provided for detention in solitary confinement for anyone suspected by the political police of being associated with the underground - to begin an era of detention, barbaric torture of detainees and in several instances of their death under torture. The underground was crippled by suc'h harsh police state methods; a major blow was struck when the underground leadership was arrested a* Rivonia, For a time, the underground organisation was left in disarray and a period of apathy followed.

It took several years for the underground to begin to re-group, part iculary as the osriod before Sivonia had exposed major weaknesses in the proper understanding of conspiratorial methods. Patiently, over the years, a better organised, more dedicated underground organisation has been built up inside S,A, It activities have already since 1968 shown a re-surge of Black opposition on a more militant basis, as evidenced by the establishment of the militant student organis:,tion SASO and the BPC

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both of which are propagating ideas of Black Consciousness; the revitalisation of the organisations of the Indian and Coloured peoples, the major strikes in Natal and elsewhere earlier this year, where in many instances workers used the slogans and the clenched fist salute of the underground ANC.

It is not possible here to go into details of the organisational structures, the methods of work and the internal preparation of the underground ANC in S.A. - for obvious reasons,

As always, in the earliest stages of guerrilla preparation, for us "nonews is good news", and the world only knows of the ANC's activity when a cadre here or there is discovered by the political police and brought to trial. Suffice it to say that, unlike the pre-Rivonia period, the arrest of a cadre does not set off a chain of arrests - an adequate testimony to the new methods of organisation and work*

Since the decision was taken to prepare for armed struggle the underground ANC sent hundreds of its most militant cadres for training in guerrilla warfare to different parts of the world.

Some of these have already made their mark on history by the valour with which they fought the South African and Rhodesian armies during the Wankie campaign. Many have been infiltrated back into the country where their task is to pass on their training to their Compatriots in order to prepare the guerrilla nucleus.

'Here are those in certain parts of the world, and I include among these pseudo-liberal elements inside South Africa, who counsel patience to the Black oppressed, who point to minor splits in the ruling Nationalist Party as signs of better things to come, who mechanically assert that as the economy advances to greater industrialisation change will become inevitable. These are the same people who oppose sanctions against S.A. and the isolation of the racist white minority regime on the spurious ground that it is only by 'more frequent contacts that it is possible to influence the situation for the better. I think I have more than amply demonstrated that more than 50 years of patient pleading on the part of the black man; more than 50 years of an attempt at dialogue; more than 50 years of non-violence have not only failed to influence the racists but, on the contrary, those years have seen an increase in repression, more violence, murder, torture, failings, and bannings.

No more can patience be counselled to Blacks who die of starvation and disease, who are pushed around like pawns on a chessboard, who cannot live a normal family existence, who do not have the right to live in South Africa except as labour units in the white man's machine.

These are also the very people who point to the apparent might of the fascist military and police in S.A. and, like soothsayers Of O o o o O o 15/

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sayers of doom, prophesy a bloody massacre of the Black population,, They forget the experience of the French in Algeria and the U0S. in Vietnam,, They forget the might of ideas, the power of a people convinced that their cause is just and worth dying for,,

The seventies have seen a resurgence of militant political activity on the part of the Blacks oppressed on a national scale accompanied by a broader unity of all sections of the people. The Black student body, SASO, has a wider support among students than any previous student body; its leaders, who came from African, Indian, and Coloured colleges, speak a new language of defiance of the power structure and of the apartheid system, they not only actively reject the establishment and its mores, but actively propagate an alternative to it, and, in doing so, proudly and defiantly assert their Blackness. Black political organisations, functioning under most difficult conditions, are actually challenging white racism in a situation where their every act or word borders on breaking one law or another. The new spirit of self-confidence and challenge was earlier this year reflected in the strikes of thousands of apparently unorganised Black workers throughout the country. This resurgence of political activity came in a context where preparation for armed struggle have been going on for a decade and where already freedom fighters from South Africa have fought victoriously against the A. armed forces. Trained freedom fighters are now operating inside the country against this background of militancy, which to no mean extent is due to the cadres of the underground ANC.

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There are, of course, numerous problems to overcome. The work of the ANC is considerably hampered by an acute lack of money and material. Our total annual budget is only a fraction of what the racist government spends on its armed forces in a single day. But these are not insurmountable difficulties. We shall overcome them. After all, nowhere has guerilla warfare been decided on the basis of material strength and resources. The black people in recent times have in local areas confronted the fascist military machine by armed resistance, e.g. the peasants of Sebhukhuni in the fifties and the Bardo in the sixties. While these armed struggles were eventually crushed it demonstrates clearly the people's willingness to fight and their ability to organise in a situation where it is illegal for Blacks to possess guns. The apparently very strong S.A. economy and its military might are extremely vulnerable, for the economy is overwhelmingly dependent on the Black labour force which is highly conscious politically and

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v.'Siiah. v'll certainly act with: ..and. on the side of the freedom fighters. In addition, it is a closely integrated economy, vulnerable to dislocation at many points which cannot be defended, It is already very short of skilled manpower and the need for a large white force for fighting against the freedom fighters must place an intolerable burden on the economy,,

I have so far spoken of the South African situation and the prospect for struggle in geographical isolation but, in fact, the whole of Southern Africa has been a battleground for more than a decade. The racist minority regimes, supported and instigated by international imperialism, regard the whole area comprising Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa as a single, politico-military complex. The unquestionable leader, inspirer, supporter and defender of what is infamously known as the unholy alliance is the fascist Vorster regime,,

From 1965 onwards S.A. forces have constantly increased their involvement in the Portuguese colonial wars in Angola and Mozambique, as well as in Zimbabwe, where the Smith regime would hardly survive a month without active South African military, political and economic support. It is but natural, therefore, that there has been increasing collaboration between the various liberation organisations in Southern Africa. You may remember that as far back as 1967 ANC freedom fighters fought shoulder to shoulder with their ZAPU comrades on the battle field at Wankhosi against a joint racist force,. Since then the collaboration has increased in both the political and military fields. There is common agreement among all the liberation organisations about the need for constant collaboration and it is understood that the minority regimes are treating the whole area as one. In so far as the imperialist insists in South Africa and the South African region is concerned the bolstering up of the Portuguese and Smith regimes is absolutely essential to protect the S.A. economy from damage. In this sense the liberation organisations fighting in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe are, in fact, making a major contribution to the freedom struggle in S.A. and precisely because of this set up it is important that the South African liberation forces begin engaging the enemy in South Africa itself; this will oblige the S.A. regime to retain its army inside the country and thereby strengthen the military position of our comrades fighting in other territories.

We have in the past pointed to the possibility of a Vietnam type situation developing in Southern Africa and we have warned that world peace is endangered by the continued existence of the minority regimes. This is because racist South Africa

has very powerful international allies with huge investments in
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the economy who extract super profits from the labour of the oppressed black majority. They are actively assisting the racist armed forces in Southern Africa, as witness the U.S. and NATO assistance to Portugal; the arming of South Africa by France; the collaboration of Germany and Japan; the direct and indirect links between S.A. etc. They also give political support in international forums by voting against concrete positive action against minority regimes and even flouting decisions already taken, as witness the U.S. trading with the Smith regime in direct contempt of U.N. resolutions.

But the liberation movements also have powerful friends and supporters in the international community. The whole of the former colonial world is on our side and, in fact, many of these countries regard the fight against racism in Southern Africa as one arena of the fight against racism everywhere and, in this way, make our fight their fight; the socialist countries, too, have not only supported us in word but also in deed, and we are grateful to them for their financial assistance as well as the many facilities they have placed at our disposal. Even in the western countries, while the governments support our enemies, the broad mass of people support our struggle and grant the legitimacy of our cause. Here we can point to the actions of the World Council of Churches, the Anti-Apartheid movement, the Defence and Aid Campaign, the Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners, the recent agitation against the Portuguese in Britain; the expulsion of S.A. from the Olympic Games and from other international sporting events; and much else too numerous to mention. I would like to highlight particularly the efforts of the workers of Polaroid Corporation here in the U.S., the pressure they brought against

the Corporation because of its activities had a tremendous impact.

We are grateful for all the support we have received from the overwhelming majority of the peoples of the world. This gives us courage in our struggle and enhances the self-confidence of the black majority. Constant pressure also makes the task of the racist minority and its imperialist allies more difficult. I would, however, like to suggest that there is room for more positive action on the part of the people of the world, such as the refusal by dockworkers to handle South African goods, or by employees of companies with interests in S.A. applying pressure along the lines of workers, just to name two possibilities.

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Positive action would weaken the efforts of the minority regimes and, quid pro quo, strengthen us,

We are optimistic of the outcome of our struggle. The black people are an overwhelming majority, increasingly better organised and equipped. Given the unequal balance of military power as well as the persistent and powerful support that the imperialist powers give the minority racist regimes, we have no illusion about the task facing us. We are aware that ours will be a long drawn out, protracted struggle, requiring tremendous initiative, maximum security, and much sacrifice, but time is on our side. Already the Portuguese in Angola and Mozambique find their resources over-extended and have been obliged to call upon the South African forces for assistance; even at this early stage the Smith regime is finding it difficult to cope with the guerilla army and has not only called upon South Africa for assistance, but has desperately sent its forces into Mozambique in a vain attempt to stop what it pretends are incursions from outside its borders.

The strategic balance is clear - without the key role of S.A. in these territories the balance would rapidly weigh on the side of the liberation forces. The outlook of guerrilla operations in the urban and rural areas of South Africa will go a long way towards bringing about this state of affairs.

The A.N.C. is rapidly gearing itself to do just that.