

O. R. TAMBO: Born 1917, in Pondoland, South Africa, graduated in physics and mathematics, Fort Hare University College, Cape, 1941. In 1944, he founded the African National Congress Youth League; 1948, studied law and formed first African law partnership with Nelson Mandela, 1951. He was accused in Treason Trial, 1956; and left South Africa in 1960 on instructions of A.N.C. to organise international solidarity for the liberation struggle.

At present, Mr. Tambo is Acting President-General of the A.N.C., stationed in Zambia.

^ 5. A . S . /t * * W.

OJhc &

CALL TO REVOLUTION

For centuries the White oppressors of our country have lived by the sword. Now they shall perish by the sword. For decades White supremacy has been maintained by the gun. Now freedom shall be achieved by means of the gun. Our aims are clear. There can be no turning back. The sound of gunfire has been heard from the banks of the Zambesi river. Very soon the sounds shall be heard inside the Republic itself. The tide of revolution will grow and develop until it covers the whole of Southern Africa. There can be no compromise with the fascists. Our struggle will not cease until apartheid and oppression

2 La Guma, Apartheid

have been smashed and freedom comes to all the people of South Africa.

The long struggle for freedom in our country has entered a vital new phase. Fully conscious of its responsibilities our national organisation, the African National Congress, has decided to call on all the African people and their allies of other races to take up arms against the hated apartheid regime which oppresses and exploits our people.

We have not embarked on our present struggle lightly. We know that the revolution in South Africa will be a long and bitter one calling for maximum sacrifices from all lovers of freedom. Yet our national organisation with full support of the vast majority of the nation has chosen this path as essential if we are to lead our country out of the nightmare of White oppression.

The founders of our nation - Seme, Makgatho, Montsioa, Mangena, Mapikela, Plaatje, Dube* and others - taught us that the African people were conquered because the Europeans had the guns and were better organised. In addition, our forefathers fought separately and divided. In this way the Whites were able to defeat our peoples one by one. Therefore we had to concentrate first on removing the divisions among ourselves and creating a single African nation.

Our people fought in many different ways against oppression and for freedom.

The White government of South Africa treated all the demands and struggles of our people with contempt, because they had armed might on their side. All peaceful methods of drawing attention to our grievances were ruthlessly abolished. The methods used to crush the national strike of May 1961 in protest against Verwoerd's White republic showed that the White minority was determined to maintain itself in power by force.

* Founders of the national movement

It was then clear that the African and other oppressed people could not hope to achieve their freedom except by organising their own liberation army and arming the masses to fight a revolutionary war of liberation.

The African Revolution which began after the Second World War reached its climax in 1960 when the largest number of African states achieved their independence. This process has continued, until today there are thirty-eight independent African states. Only the Southern part of our great continent still remains under foreign or White minority rule.

The elimination of foreign rule over the larger part of the continent of Africa has changed the balance of power in favour of the oppressed people. Despite the difficulties faced by the independent states as a result of the legacy of colonial oppression, they are doing their best to assist the freedom of the remaining colonies and foreign-ruled territories in Africa. In preparation for armed struggle we have received and will continue to receive the support of our brothers in the Free African states.

Except for a small number of traitors who are prepared to sell their souls for a mess of pottage, Africa will help us to free ourselves. Today the African drums of freedom are beating their message right inside the White-ruled countries of Southern Africa. The day of reckoning for White supremacy has arrived.

The structure of the apartheid state with its elaborate mechanism of security laws depends in the final analysis on the army and security forces for its continued existence. Supporting these armed forces is an administrative machine of civil servants and officials who carry out the numerous attacks on our freedom in the pass offices, Bantu Affairs offices, law courts, public and private jails, in town, country and farm. Our armed struggle will be directed clearly and specifically at all those who support, work with, and cooperate with the fascists in the oppression of our people. This includes all those business inter-

2*

csts that help the apartheid armies and their police by producing weapons and materials of war. All the enemies of the people w'll not escape punishment.

All those, whatever their race, who dissociate themselves from the instruments of oppression and either refuse to help the government or remain neutral, will not be regarded as enemies of the freedom struggle.

The African people are the most oppressed and exploited people in South Africa. They are the basis of our struggle for freedom and the most reliable force in our liberation movement.

But they are by no means alone in the struggle. The Indian people are today faced with complete economic ruin as a result of the Group Areas Act and other legislation. Like the African people they have no political rights whatsoever. The Coloured people similarly face, as they have done for many decades, racial humiliation and exploitation.

These people are part and parcel of the oppressed majority in our country, and their destiny is inseparable from that of the African people. Their place is alongside the freedom fighters against apartheid.

The enemy will do everything to divide and cause confusion among the oppressed with the help of the few traitors ready to sell themselves for money and favours from the oppressors. But our policy will be to secure unity in struggle among all oppressed people.

Also worthy of mention is the small group of Whites who have been prepared to turn their backs unreservedly on White privileges to fight side by side with the oppressed masses. Although they are few, such Whites are the salt of the earth and our armies will welcome the support of honest White supporters who have proved themselves in years of struggle against oppression.

It will require all our political skill and leadership to build a powerful movement of all revolutionary forces to support the armed struggles, based on unity, first of all,

of the African people, and then of their allies among the Indian, Coloured and White lovers of freedom.

All those who hate apartheid and the system of racial oppression that has been practised in our country for so long, must work closely together under the leadership of the African National Congress in the armed revolution until victory is won.

Revolution calls for supreme vigilance, organisation and capacity to sacrifice. The movement needs men and women willing to fight and to perform all the tasks of war. In the political sphere we need organisers, propagandists and activists who will spread the message of struggle all over the country, in towns, rural areas and farms. Men and women, students workers, peasants, religious people - all must join the struggle and find a place in it.

Special responsibility in the revolution will rest on our splendid youth who have already shown that they are capable of great deeds. The armed struggle will require that our young men and women prepare themselves to learn the arts and skills of war and then fight with weapons in hand for freedom. This will be a great challenge to the youth, on whom the nation depends for victory in the revolution.

Our task is to organise and lead the struggle for freedom in South Africa. But we must not forget for a moment that Africans in other parts of Africa - in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Angola, South West Africa, Guinea-Bissau - are engaged in the same struggle, confronting the same enemies. Therefore we are working closely with other freedom movements in the struggle against colonialism and White minority rule.

There is hardly anybody who can be found to support apartheid except those who profit by the exploitation that goes with it. All progressive mankind condemns and abhors apartheid.

The African states know that they cannot really be free until this monster has been eliminated from the con-

continent. The Afro-Asian states at the United Nations and elsewhere have played a leading role in exposing the evils of apartheid and initiating measures to isolate the South African White rulers in the political, military, economic and social spheres.

All the Socialist countries actively support our cause. Millions of common people who hate oppression of others in the imperialist countries have always stood on our side in the struggle for freedom.

Even the big financial interests that are trading partners of South Africa in Japan, U.S.A., Britain, France and West Germany who benefit from our shameless exploitation are too ashamed to support apartheid openly. South Africa has become "leper of the world", and our planet will be a cleaner place after apartheid has been destroyed.

Now the task is to mobilise all the sympathy of the world into a mighty solidarity movement in support of the armed struggle in Southern Africa. The people of the world must be told why we have taken up arms and what we fight for. All the pressures that have hitherto been applied against South Africa must be greatly intensified. The White minority regimes must feel the indignation of the world at their continuing defiance of progressive opinion. Not only must the White supremacists be isolated but full material assistance must be afforded to the freedom fighters in the battlefield.

We do not imagine that the defeat of imperialism in Southern Africa will be quick or easy. We realise it will be long-drawn and bloody. But we are confident of the final outcome. As our forces drive deeper into the South, we have no doubt that they will be joined by the whole African nation: by the oppressed minorities, the Indian and Coloured people; and by an increasing number of White democrats.

The battle lines have been drawn up. There can be but one result: victory over the fascist oppressors and the establishment of a democratic state in South Africa!
VICTORY OR DEATH, WE SHALL WIN II

BRIAN BUNTING: Born 1920, in Johannesburg; educated at Witwatersrand University; air mechanic and lieutenant in information service during World War II. In 1948, he was editor of the left weekly, *The Guardian*, and of *Advance* and *New Age* until banned in 1962. Member of Parliament as African representative in 1952, but expelled 1953 after being banned under Suppression of Communism Act. In 1962, he was banned again and placed under house-arrest. Mr. Bunting lives in London with his wife and family, working as journalist. He received an award from the International Organisation of Journalists, 1961. He is the author of *The Rise of the South African Reich* (Penguin Books).

THE ORIGINS OF APARTHEID

Apartheid means, literally, "apart-ness", the state of being apart, "separateness" or "separation", and in the South African context means racial distinction. According to the political correspondent of the Nationalist newspaper *Die Burger*, an Afrikaner writing under the pseudonym "Dawie", "the word was used for the first time in a leading article in *Die Burger* on 26 March 1943. In this reference was made to the 'Nationalists' policy of apartheid'. The next use of the term was again in a leading article in *Die Burger* on 9 September 1943, in which mention was made of 'the recognised Afrikaner standpoint of apart-