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statements

OAU STRATEGY FOR LIBERATION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

DOCUMENT PRESENTED BY THE AFRICAN NATIONAL  
CONGRESS (SOUTH AFRICA)

THE NEW SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND  
THE POSITION OF THE OPPRESSED MAJORITY  
IN A ~~APARTHEID~~ SOUTH AFRICA.

1. OAU Pillar of Strength.

The OAU has without reservation given its support at all times since its inception in 1963 to the struggle against white supremacy and the minority racist and colonial rules in Southern Africa. The rejection of the minority regimes, the determination to assist the Black majority to achieve the rights of nationhood and sovereignty have been a cornerstone of unity in Africa. This is one issue on which all states on the continent have been able to agree regardless of the many divisive factors that have emerged from time to time in different regions. The African National Congress (South Africa), recognises in this unanimity a deep understanding of the position of our people, and of all Africans in the sub-continent who have suffered the consequences of a vicious colonial system based on national oppression, race discrimination and exploitation. The OAU has earned the respect and confidence of progressive mankind in all parts of the world because of its consistent stand against the white minority regimes, and its support to the limit of its capacity for the liberation struggle in the sub-continent. We have every confidence that that support will continue to be given until the whole continent has been purged of the vicious social system which finds its extreme expression in what has come to be known as Apartheid, a system which not

only practises race discrimination but elevates it to the height of a moral order. Should this particularly offensive and oppressive form of colonial rule be allowed to continue, it will distil a poison and spread it through the whole of the sub-continent and eventually other regions which are vulnerable to the virus of neo-colonialism, racism, fascism and imperialism.

It is hardly necessary to remind members of the OAU of their passed resolutions denouncing apartheid and pledging their support for our armed struggle. Nevertheless, for the record and to give confidence to ourselves and our people we wish to recall resolutions adopted by the OAU on these matters like the one passed in Mauritius affirming the support of the OAU to our struggle in all forms including armed struggle, for the seizure of power by the people and the recent one passed by the 34th Session of the Council of Ministers.

We of the African National Congress (South Africa) have always regarded these resolutions as a solemn covenant, a genuine and binding commitment by our brothers and sisters in Africa to reinforce our struggle by moral and material means. This does not mean that we look elsewhere for deliverance, or expect other people to perform our historic mission of bringing about a social revolution that will demolish the entire structure of colonial rule, national oppression, racism and exploitation all of which constitute the system of Apartheid. This is our mission and we shall carry it out regardless of the obstacles or the sacrifices that must be made.

At the same time, and because of the significance of our struggle to Africa and indeed to all progressive mankind, we look with confidence to African states of the OAU for affirmation of belief in the justice of our cause. We recognise however that it is necessary for us to specify the grounds upon which we call

for such affirmation in the light of the changed situation that has arisen since the liberation of Zimbabwe.

It will be known to the members of the OAU that we the people of South Africa have never acquiesced in white man rule, have never accepted the rape of our land, the seizure of our mineral wealth, the extraction of vast fortunes from the soil of our land for the benefit of foreign investors, bankers, industrialists, and all those others who benefit from the ravages of imperialism in our country. We the people of South Africa, fought relentlessly and without cessation against the foreign invaders who by the use of violence and superior armaments expropriated our land until eventually we were left with little more than one-seventh of the total territory. It is a certifiable historic fact that our people in the Cape took the first shock of resistance to the invaders, fought no fewer than ten distinct wars in defence of their territory between 1779 and 1877. It is similarly noteworthy of mention that the last war fought by our people against the white oppressors took place in Natal in 1906 when our people under the generalship of Bambata rose in armed struggle in defence of our land and people.

## 2. Our Struggle.

The formation of the African National Congress (South Africa) took place shortly afterwards in 1912, under the pressure of continued dispossession and denial of our legitimate claims to participate in a decision - making process under a democratic form of government. The British made constitution which ushered in the Union of South Africa in 1910, denied franchise rights to the Black majority of three provinces while retaining in the fourth, the province of the Cape, voting rights that have been granted to all persons irrespective of race in as far back as 1883. In response to this monstrous piece of discrimination which doomed

our voteless people to perpetual slavery, the fathers of the African nation met in solemn conclave to devise ways and means of uniting the people of South Africa in defence of the interests and for the achievement of their national objective of equal participation without colour bars.

This was a key note of our struggle for the next half century, throughout this period the leaders and people protested, agitated, demonstrated, resorted on occasion to strike and civil disobedience for the principle of equality before the law, for fundamental human rights, for the abolition of colour bars and national oppression.

Britain by the Act of Union had divested itself of political responsibility for our country and for the voteless Black majority. Colonial power was transferred to the white minority under the constitution that enabled it to perpetuate its supremacy at the expense of our people. Although the South African state was made sovereign in terms of international law, it retained all the characteristics of a colonial power vis-a-vis the Black majority. Let us not be mystified by legal jargon and constitutional technicalities. We assert that the white minority occupies the position of a colonial power in relation to our people, and therefore our struggle is in essence a struggle for national liberation. We shall now proceed to demonstrate the factual basis of our analysis.

### 3. Against Colonial Domination.

A universal characteristic of colonialism is a discrimination exercised by the white settlers against the indigenous population, an institutionalized system of inequality that denies them access to education, skills, employment, social welfare, health services and equal terms with the colonial masters.

The cornerstone of this edifice of inequality before the law and in substance is a deprivation of political rights suffered by the indigenous people. All power is concentrated in the hands of the settler community acting in conjunction with the imperial power. Apartheid and Racism in South Africa are products of the colonial conquest of our country and people, used by the enemy as a rationale for the perpetuation of the colonial status of the Black majority, and can therefore be eliminated by force of arms.

Was it not against this colonial system that African peoples revolted? What is meant by national liberation other than the rejection by the colonised people against the inequalities and injustices forced on them by foreign rule in the form of colonialism? And is it not against such a system of oppression that we the people of South Africa are engaged in mortal combat?

We therefore claim with reason that our struggle against racism and white autocracy is in substance identical with the liberation movement fought throughout the continent during the past fifty years. There is a difference, our brothers and sisters in Africa fought against an external enemy, the imperial states of France, Belgium, Britain, Portugal, Spain, Italy. Our enemy has always consisted of the combined forces of British imperialism and internal colonialism. That situation, that combination of forces remained unchanged when Britain, the imperial state relinquished its direct control of South Africa in the same way as it had done for Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

We repeat that legal and constitutional forms did not change the situation when Britain delegated the responsibility for government to the white minority, it retained the substance of power in the form of ownership of the mines, factories, commerce and much of the land. Even a superficial examination of the

was impregnated with race laws and colour bars, such as existed and could only exist under colonial capitalism.

Our leaders, the founders of the African National Congress included members of the learned professions, peasants, workers and chiefs of high standing. One and all recognised that separate isolated acts of resistance by individual communities would fail to stop the advance of racial jaggernought. Their only hope of survival, the only prospect of obtaining their just demand, was to unite into one nation.

In this respect, we differed in no way from the rest of the continent. Colonialism was a rapacious system which denied basic human rights, trampled, rough-shod over nationalities, draw boundary-lines arbitrarily and without regard to the identity of language, groups and ethnic communities. Nevertheless, and with few exceptions, the national movement that proliferated during the course of the century accepted the colonial boundaries as given and obtained independence for the states artificially carved out by the imperialists. Nowhere in Africa have independent countries agreed to fragmentation into separate ethnic states. Any attempt to secede by civil war has been resisted with the full force of the majority. Africa rightly rejects the principle of secession when it is applied or when ethnic communities within a state demand it as a right for themselves.

In our case however partitioning has been imposed upon us from above by the white autocracy. We have not been consulted, no referendum was organized to test our opinion. Arbitrarily and in its interest the white autocracy has proceeded to dismember the common society, to establish tribal states, the so-called homeland or as it is contemptuously called by our people, the Bantustans. This system of tribal nationalities which the rest of Africa has rejected has been imposed on us by force with the consequence that we, the original owners of the land and the sole occupants have

been turned into foreigners by legislative decree. And we enter the so-called White South Africa comprising 87% of the total. When we enter these developed regions in search of employment we are required by law to take out passports, residential permits because in terms of the White man's law we are foreigners in the land of our forefathers.

We demand, and have demanded since 1912 the right to determine the form of our nationhood. This is why the African National Congress was formed and this is what it has struggled to achieve throughout its existence. But the white autocracy, a racist minority, denies the right of self-determination even to the extent of prohibiting our organization and all other forces that reject partitioning into Bantustans and demand the right to form one nation. Is this not national oppression? There is no difference between the White man's ban on us and the action taken against national movements in other parts of Africa during the struggle for independence. With these reasons we maintain that we are victims of national oppression in the same way as the peoples of Africa who rose in revolt against foreign domination and colonial rule.

#### 6. The independence of Zimbabwe.

Our case for recognition as an authentic national liberation movement has stood the test of time. As stated in the opening paragraph, the OAU, the UN and progressive forums throughout the world have never challenged our contention that we are fighting a genuine war for national self-determination against an autocracy which exercises the powers and imposes the oppression characteristic of any colonial system. We welcomed and supported as best as we could the demand of Africa for freedom from imperialist domination and colonial rule. It was and remains our conviction that our case

will be strengthened by the liberation of other parts of Africa. Therefore we welcomed and drew comfort from the spread of the tide of liberation that spread across Africa from the West to the East and from the north to the south. And when that tide was brought to a halt along the Zambezi we supported physically and morally to the limits of our capacity the struggle for the emancipation of the colonised people in the sub-continent. When Mozambique and Angola were liberated we rejoiced and our people reacted positively as in the case of the black consciousness movement and the Soweto uprising. The defeat of the Portuguese colonialism brought added confidence to our people, raised the level of political consciousness and accelerated the maturing of the revolutionary situation in our country.

The authenticity of the liberation struggle was not called in question when the people of Mozambique and Angola liberated themselves. On the contrary our allies recognised that these historic feats of liberation had deprived our enemy of the protection afforded by the buffer states along the borders, and opened new fronts for our onslaught on the bastions of white supremacy.

The liberation of Zimbabwe has brought about a situation where another buffer state has fallen to the triumphant advance of the Africa cause for freedom from foreign rule and white domination. The defeat of the rebel regime and its western allies in Zimbabwe is a glorious victory for the people and also to the whole of Africa. We are confident that the success of the patriotic forces brings us closer to our objective of marshalling the resources of Africa and the international community for the final assault on the last bastion of colonialism and imperialism on our continent - the South African Apartheid regime.

7. Illegitimate transfer of power to the racist minority.

We have already pointed out that our struggle against white domination and colonial invasion goes back to the early days of white settlement and continued in different regions and under varying circumstances, throughout the succeeding 330 years. Our enemies were both British imperialism and Afrikaaner Nationalism.

After the defeat of the Boer Republic in the war of 1899-1902, Britain transferred political power to the white minority in defiance of the pre-war protests of our people.

To illustrate, we cite some of the outstanding features of this protest such as the petition organised in October 1903 by the Transvaal Native Union asking for a common voters' roll throughout South Africa. In February 1909, another Congress was held in Orange River Colony, and in March similar gathering took place in the Cape, Natal and Transvaal. The only issue was the draft South African Act. The 1910 constitution confined the Black vote to the Cape, prohibited Blacks from sitting in Parliament and based the number of parliamentary seats on the white adult male population to the exclusion of the Black majority. Every Congress passed resolutions condemning the colour bar clauses and demanding the extension of the franchise to Africans, Coloureds and Asians in the north. From these regions came 60 elected delegates who met in a South African Native Convention in March 1909. It too rejected the colour bar clauses and resolved "All persons within the union shall be entitled to full and equal rights and privileges subject only to the conditions and limitations established by law and applicable alike to all citizens without distinction of class, colour or creed".

Recognising that the racist minority would ignore our people's legitimate claims, the Native Convention sent a deputation to London to lobby the British Parliament for an amendment of the draft Constitution in favour of a non-racial franchise irrespective of race, colour or creed. The delegation put a responsibility for the entrenchment of white hegemony on the British Parliament the author and source of the legislation.

This and other forms of pressure failed. Britain was then committed to unifying the Afrikaners and English whites in a solid front as a price of appeasement for the violence used against the Afrikaners in the Anglo-Boer war and as a means of reinforcing the imperialist interests. Parliament therefore passed the draft Act with its colour bar clauses intact. The only achievements of the delegation was the exclusion from the Union of the High Commission territories of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. Out of this agitation and because of this failure emerged in 1912 the African National Congress dedicated to the struggle for the removal of colour bars and the creation of a non-racial society open to all South Africans.

Considered in this historical context, and with due regard to substantive issues we have no hesitation in contending that the South African Act of Union was essentially of the same order as the UDI by rebel Rhodesia in 1965. The power that the rebel Ian Smith seized illegally in 1965 was conferred by a British Act of Parliament in 1910. In both cases a racist minority acquired absolute power over a black majority. Let us not be taken in by legal subterfuges or the outward look of things. The substance of our case is that Britain by force deprived us of our legitimate rights in 1910. If there had been at that time in existence the Organisation of African Unity or the United Nations, it would have undoubtedly condemned the violence perpetrated against us by Britain in the same terms as it condemned the violent perpetrated by the Rhodesian rebels against the African people in 1965.

### 8. Forms of struggle.

The new situation brought about by the unification on 1910 demanded of our people new forms of struggle. For more than 250 years our forefathers had taken up arms against the white invaders, but had done so in separate encounters organised by individual chiefdoms or coalitions of chiefdoms. It was not possible during this whole period to achieve maximum unity based on the growth of national consciousness which would embrace all ethnic communities, all tribes and clans. As part of the development of a national consciousness, the African National Congress provided the subjective factor, utilizing common experience and living conditions of common oppression and identity of suffering to combat narrow tribalism and inculcate in all sections of our people the concept of a single nation born to be free and fighting for emancipation and in its formative year it resorted to constitutional means such as deputations, petitions, demonstrations, industrial actions, anti-pass campaigns and protests of all kinds.

The conditions for armed struggle came into being for three primary reasons:

- (i) The coming to power in 1948 of the Afrikaaner National Party, the creator of Apartheid and the most vicious exponent of a tyrannical racial order.
- (ii) The shift in the balance of forces in Africa resulting from the defeat of imperialism and the abandonment of colonial rule after World War II marked among other things by the formation of the OAU, which gave a universal shape and ideology to the strivings of African peoples for self-determination, the right to secede from imperial constellations, and the achievement of sovereign powers of government.

- (iii) The change in the balance of world forces, resulting from the defeat of racism and fascism in Hitler Germany, all of which were deeply entrenched in our own country. Without the unqualified and generous support of Africa, the non-aligned and socialist countries, we together with other liberation movements would not have been able to obtain the military training and receive armaments required for an armed struggle.

These were the underlying structural reasons for the decision to take up arms. But the immediate occasion was the ban imposed upon our organisation. That prohibition closed the door to all possibilities of political action within the structure. If we as a nation we were to survive, we had no option but to take up arms against the enemy.

#### 9. South Africa's Total Strategy.

The Apartheid regime's white paper on Defence for 1977 was prepared when Botha, the present Prime Minister was the Minister of Defence and therefore directly responsible for its policy. The White Paper declared that "South Africa was today involved in a war, whether we wish to accept it or not". The liberation of Mozambique and Angola, SWAPO's armed struggle in Namibia, the Soweto uprisings and the unfolding of the armed struggle by the military wing of the African National Congress (South Africa) - all these constituted a mounting threat to the Republic of South Africa. "It was a situation that demanded the adoption of "Total National Strategy" in all fields - military, psychological, technological, diplomatic, ideological and cultural. A primary objective is to prevent through Western diplomatic action, the build-up of Marxist influence in neighbouring states. The defence force would be maintained in a

state of alertness for the immediate support of police action within the country and in neighbouring states.

The Pretoria regime's conception of total strategy involves an enormous increase in the expenditure of the armed forces, the defence budget, which increased fourfold between 1961-65, trebled in 1974-75 and soared to R1700 million in 1977-78. In 1979-80 nearly R2000 million went to the army. This increased army spending is one symptom of the country's militarization. It was no accident that Piet "Weapons" Botha, the former Minister of Defence became Prime Minister. Some of the most significant political statements came from Magnus Malan, the Army Commander in Chief. The military is extending its grip on the country by placing army men in teaching posts in schools and colleges throughout rural areas and in Soweto. The top of the military structure is the State Security Council which includes politicians, military and police chiefs.

No section of the population is spared. Bantustan tribal chiefs are incorporated into the army territorial command. The so-called "military aid" is being forced on the Bantustans. The Cape core of Coloureds units have been expanded as part of the permanent force. Indians are being drafted in the South African Indian Corps. Ovambo and Kovango battalions have been launched in Namibia. African soldiers constitute more than 20% of the infantry services in the operational areas, both as combat units and in non-combat roles, but can rise no higher than the rank of sergeant - major. Even the Khoisan, described in official army publications as "primitive Bushmen" are called upon to use their "one great skill" as trackers in the Caprivi Strip and along the border with Angola.

Members of the civilian force and commandoes are being used in combat operations for three months, a time beyond their compulsory period of service which is two years. The permanent force is being expanded. They number nearly one-third of the total force. It will increase its codes of Coloureds and Indians units and step up the recruiting of Africans. The regime contends that South Africa is in a state of undeclared war and by amendments in 1977 of the Defence Act it extended its war time powers to cover existing conditions defined as "operations in defence of the republic". The legislation increased the period of compulsory National Service from 12 months to 24 months, authorised the Prime Minister to declare a state of emergency arising out of the guerilla war.

In spite of the UN Security Council arms embargo South Africa continues to import sophisticated weaponry from Britain, France, U.S.A., West Germany, Israel and other Western countries and is able to produce an atomic bomb. It has a pilot nuclear plant of advanced technological design, because of technical aid, machines and material supplied by France, F.R.G. and the U.S.A.

As widespread bannings and detentions grow, the United Nations Security Council adopted a resolution in October 1977 imposing an embargo on arms sales to Pretoria. The Western powers vetoed another resolution placing embargo on nuclear and the supply of civilian goods of potential military use to South Africa. In December, the General Assembly passed 14 resolutions condemning Apartheid and calling for sweeping military and economic sanctions. Nevertheless South Africa has in recent months exploded a nuclear device.

In terms of the United Nations resolutions and by general consensus of the progressive world, white South Africa stands condemned of being an illegitimate minority racist regime whose

armed forces have grown into a monstrous octopus spreading its tentacles over the whole of Southern Africa seeking the economies to feed itself, mobilizing white youth, and now even blacks to risk their lives in the defence of white privilege and domination.

The political mask of Apartheid South African total strategy purports to be aimed at winning "hearts and minds of the people", including the Blacks who as we have seen are already an important part of the state armed and coercive apparatus. Having robbed Africans of <sup>their</sup> natural birthright, the right to national self-determination and citizenship in their own ancestral land the regime now seeks to recruit them to fight in protection of White man's life and property. Since African Nationalism, the conception of one, single, all embracing nation is diametrically opposed to the Pretoria schemes of perpetual subordination of Blacks, an attempt has been made to substitute tribal nationalism. Africans must not be allowed to think of themselves as Africans, or as Blacks. They are given an identity of ethnic communities, Xhosas, Tswanas, Zulus, Vhendas, Shangaans, Swazis, Pedis, Sothos, or Coloureds and Indians. This device is incorporated in the "New Total Strategy", under the projected three-tier parliament - Whites, Coloureds and Indians - which applies the familiar divide and rule system. The aim is to split the Coloured and Indian peoples from the Africans. This is the essence of Botha's proposal to call the multi-racial Convention which is a variation of a scheme put up by his predecessor Vorster in 1977.

In the latest version of this proposal, P.W. Botha said on March 9th. 1980, that the conference would include representatives of all races. Unlike the earlier proposal, the regime now intend to include Africans in any multi-racial Convention called to discuss their position and that of a country as a whole. The reason for

this decision according to Botha is the victory of President Mugabe's ZANU(P.F.) in the recent elections and its effects on South Africa.

Botha has not changed his stubborn and unqualified rejection of democratic solutions. On the contrary, he undertook on March 9th to maintain White domination. His party he said would "defend the White man's political rights, culture and his right to self-determination". One of Botha's predecessors, Hans Strydom called such a policy, the "policy of baaskap".

This being so, what purpose could be served by calling the Bantustan chiefs and other so-called spokesmen of the Black oppressed majority? The fascist regime in this and all other matters is interested only to safeguard the interests of its constituents who are first and foremost the Afrikaans speaking Whites and secondly the White minority as a whole. The purpose of the proposed conference is to involve the Black people in the total strategy for the defence of White minority interests. We the nation of the oppressed, the exploited source of profit accumulation, the victims of discrimination in ghettos, labour compounds, slums are being called upon to defend the oppressor. We are being called upon to put our stamp of approval on the policy known as Apartheid which the international community condemns as a crime against humanity. In this case we want to refer to what Nelson Mandela wrote in 1953 under the very appropriate title: "The Shifting Sands of Illusion".

Here is what this great patriot said: "Talk of democratic and constitutional means (of struggle) can only have a basis in reality for those people who enjoy democratic and constitutional rights. We must accept the fact that in our country we cannot win one single victory of political

freedom without overcoming a desperate resistance on the part of the government, and that victory will not come of itself but only as a result of a bitter struggle by the oppressed people for the overthrow of racial discrimination .....

No organisation whose interests are identical with those of the toiling masses will advocate conciliation to win its demands .... The only sure road to (the) goal (of freedom) leads through the uncompromising and determined mass struggle for the overthrow of fascism and the establishment of democratic forms of government".

#### 10. The constellation of Southern African States.

The multiracial conference is to be a preparation for a "Constellation of Southern African States". The regime wants to link up with "other states" meaning thereby not only Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana, Zambia, Mozambique, Angola, Zaire but also domestic Bantustans, Transkei, Vhenda, Bophuthatswana, Lebowa, Kwa-Zulu etc. One obvious purpose of such a constellation is to surround South Africa with <sup>puppet</sup> states linked to the regime by military, political and economic ties which will take the place of old buffer states represented by Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe so long as they were under Portuguese and British colonial rule. It is precisely because of their liberation and the liberation of Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland that this multi-racial conference is being put forward. Previous attempts to lure independent states into the Apartheid trap failed because of the deep seated resentment of Africans everywhere to the vicious system of racial discrimination, national oppression and economic exploitation that

constitute Apartheid. It is necessary for the regime to combat and dissipate this resentment while at the same time it seeks to hang on to preserve the substance of White power by means of bogus multi-racialism and the so-called removal of petty-apartheid. These are devices intended to deceive the world at large and Africa in particular into thinking that Apartheid has been dismantled. Infact a mask is being fitted to hide its true nature from the world. Undoubtedly the removal of certain types of discrimination and the grant of certain kind of rights such as the 99 year leases offered to Blacks in Black townships, the promise of improving facilities for trade, the narrowing of the gap in the salaries between Black and White professional men and women such as doctors and teachers are intended to concilliate the middle class and win their support. Nevertheless this middle-class will not be satisfied with any arrangement which leaves it exposed to arbitrary detentions, and banning orders, or prosecution for political offences, or other measures denying them the right to participate in decision making at all levels, and at equal terms with the White minority. Therefore we consider that no concessions can be worthwhile or acceptable to our people provided they go the whole way of giving us full political power.

#### 11. Economic penetration.

The multi-racial conference is the political dimension of the so-called constellation strategy of which much has been said in recent years. In the last 30 years the South African economy has grown enormously. Secondly it has been dominated to an increasing extent by big business's. Thirdly multi-national corporations have increased their share of their investments in South Africa. Fourthly the extra-ordinary increase in gold price has provided South Africa with a huge surplus estimated to yield R1600 million to the state in 1979-80.

The economic development through the concentration of wealth in the hands of the white minority, has resulted in massive unemployment among Africans, generally assumed to be of the order of two million people. The rural areas have become poorer and offer only the prospect of permanent unemployment. The aim of the racist total strategy is to expel the unemployed to the rural areas and to settle them in the Bantustans with the cost of maintaining themselves and their dependence.

This is the familiar result of the colonial monopoly of wealth. Polarization with great wealth at one end of the scale and extreme poverty at the other end. South Africa contemplates a growth rate of 5% in the present year, a rate which is far beyond the capacity of the big capitalist economies. To maintain the momentum of economic expansion at that level, South Africa must find an outlet for its surplus capital and its manufactured goods. The constellation is to provide such outlet in the form of a huge common market dominated by South Africa's industrial might and financed by international Western agencies which are themselves partners in the profits of apartheid.

## 12. Political mobilization.

The decision to form Umkhonto We Sizwe, the military wing of our movement, was a major change of policy after 50 years of reliance on political pressure and non-violent forms of struggle. The decision took into account the necessity to combine the armed struggle with all forms of political struggles. The Soweto uprising, though one of the most dramatic episodes in our confrontation with the enemy, serves as a classic example of what we mean by political mobilization.

The fundamental principle of our strategy has been that military operation should be subordinate to our political and industrial campaigns. In principle the two types of action should go hand in hand, the one serving the other, but always with the emphasis

on political education which would create the setting for our armed struggle in a close and continuous interaction with the people.

It is our constant endeavour to establish internal bases for our political and military campaigns and consequently to diminish dependence on our external allies within Pretoria's proclaimed zone of military surveillance. In effect, this zone embraces South African neighbours which share a common border with one country.

It is our understanding that the Frontline States on their own account and as members of the OAU have ungrudgingly accepted enormous sacrifices in support of the liberation movement throughout this region. Just as Mozambique and Angola relied on the resources of Frontline States in the region, so they in turn have provided assistance to ourselves and to the liberation armies of Zimbabwe and Namibia. Seen in its historical perspective therefore, the war against white racism has been an ongoing struggle throughout the entire sub-continent. The conflict has shifted from one country to another and from one area to another within each country. In spite of national differences between the armies of liberation as also between the forces of oppression, it is historically, politically, and strategically correct to see us all as being engaged in the single struggle against a common enemy. That enemy is imperialism and its offshoots of colonialism, racism and fascism.

Therefore the struggle will and must continue until the entire sub-continent has been liberated. This concept is in strict accord with the basic principles of OAU's policy towards national liberation in the sub-continent. A principle which has been repeatedly stated in resolutions adopted by the OAU since its inception. It is one struggle against the common enemy who has dominated a great part of our continent. By means of hard and

tenacious fighting involving enormous sacrifices, destruction of life and property, the peoples armies have stormed and taken position of one bastion after another of white supremacy. There remains one citadel, one fortress in South Africa and Namibia. That is the last stronghold which we are determined to occupy in pursuit of our historic mission which is to bring about the complete liberation of Africa from the last remnants of colonialism, fascism and racism.

Precisely for this reason and the enormous concentration of industrial power capital and arms force in the South African complex, the final round of the struggle will require immense resources, on our part and from all peoples which have declared themselves against the evil system of apartheid. International solidarity for our cause has reached unprecedented heights, as can be seen in the decision taken by the General Assembly of the United Nations to recognise SWAPO as the sole legitimate representative of the people of Namibia. In so doing, the UN explicitly considers that SWAPO and the people are waging a legitimate struggle for liberation against the racist regime in Pretoria. That regime is also our enemy. There can be no distinction in essence between the liberation war in Namibia and our liberation war in South Africa. The same power, the same government, the same constellation of forces, the same illegal use of violence are being against us as against the people of Namibia.

The enemy is formidable but it is not invincible. There is irrefutable evidence that in proportion to advances made by our political and military campaigns, the enemy is compelled to adopt defensive strategies which are having the immediate effect of raising enormously the level of fire and coercive measures. The enemy seeks to the same extent to sustain the political, economic, social and moral basis of his regime. Like any

wounded beast of prey, the enemy is vicious and capable of inflicting injury and destruction on those within his reach. This is no reason, however, for abandoning the struggle against the beast of prey, he has to be destroyed if we are to safeguard the lives and interests of our people and of the people in the neighbouring states.

Those countries which border South Africa and which have generously with great cost provided us with shelter and technical aid have a genuine and honourable claim upon the rest of Africa and the world at large for assistance. In the inaugural conference of the OAU, Comrade Ben Bella, then spokesman for Algeria, told the assembled delegates that "we must all be prepared to die a little for the liberation of Africa". He meant in saying these memorable words that the cause of the people is the cause for the whole Africa and that geographical distance should not be a reason for shouldering off a share of the responsibility as rest upon the shoulders of <sup>who</sup> those, because of geographical proximity are required to bear the burden of aiding us in our struggle. An equal sharing of the burden means that at the very least the financial costs of erecting safeguards against the racist forces should be shared by all the members of the OAU.

We have reached the stage where we are able to think in terms of planning a final assault. This might not come about in the immediate future. But it will be a continuous campaign ending in victory. We look forward to a political upheaval of such dimensions as to overwhelm the enemy and render his massive arsenals of armaments ineffective against the whole nation backed by Africa and international community. We cannot foresee the form that this last round of conflict will assume. We do know however that we must strain every nerve, utilize every resource, and employ the maximum amount of force available to succeed against our enemy which has enormous wealth and support of the imperialist world. For these