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It was this one decade which witnessed the epoch-making  
reason for the end of the 3m reeve led to the world during this period  
began to draw support for the liberation movement from America  
in the west, across Europe to far off lands. As the tempo of  
struggling in South Africa continued to rise, quickened by the  
treason trial

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herald in 2010 the "hundred years" of the

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monumentation of defiance etched by the African

movement against the pass system, international hostility to

apartheid began to express itself in such forms as the boycott

of South Africa condemned the white man's fight against the cause

of freedom in South Africa

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By 1960, the campaign of militant struggle erupted in 1950

had to grow to an unprecedented dimension and apartheid had

become an outrage to the international public. 200\231 It was at this

stage that armed White police massacred innocent men, women, and

children in Sharpeville. In that atmosphere of internal tension 200\231

and international agitation against

the violation of freedom,

the country with a violent sense of horror and shocked a stunned

world into adopting new pressure on South Africa.

This world-wide

reaction to the brutality of apartheid was the greatest in 2010 200\235 in 2010

single act of universal denunciation and condemnation of S.A.

as a regime guilty of incredibly evil and inhuman policies

against Black people;

this represented the unanimous world plea to

to heed one voice of protest by the order, and to establish  
its policies.

South Africa heard one else who replied to it With  
more apartheid, more evil, and more inhumanity.

This was

dialogue at its best and highest beyond which dialogue and violent  
conflict would mean the same thing. From one point of view, it would  
seem that the use of the term "dialogue" today by Opponents of  
apartheid is extremely unfortunate; for if we are not taking

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the word "Shall we" is more important. What it would mean

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tragically that Voreter is able to feed everything into our minds,  
then by using it in the context in which it lives, it ceases,

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We are writing off some 60 years of patient effort in the course

of which committed those 3 men, \Omvï-\202, children, elected.: DLOn i-\201hite  
have sacrificed, suffered even leiï-\201 Æ0Wn their lives.  
Among them...,7

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December 1971

AFFICF EFF 9:, FTFUGGLF' F F IIMMMFION

The Qtruwle for freedom and independence in Mfrica

began to 3ether momentum durin3 end after Morld War II.

This is accountable to several reasons:

TIMQE, Magi Germany, pwuruih3 eh openly proclammed policy of worli-\'201 conquest and domination, had promptly over~run, occupied and dominated practically the Whole of Murcpe, compelli3 the occupied countriee to etru33le for freedom anÃ© independence from German rule, in much the same way that colonial peOplee in Afrio3 were on a emeller Scale but over a much lQh3er period etru331ln for freedom and independence from Murohe Colenial rule.

In this struvgle a3ein3t Mezi feeciet end domination, the coloniSed peeple of Africa fought side by eide with their cOthiel maStere in defence of democracy.

Indeed,

the el03eh of democracy was ceunterâ\200\224po:LJed to that of Mezism and faecim.

It formed the central theme in the Atlantic

charter which set out the noble 3oele for WhiCh the allies fou3ht the war.

Lhe charter spoke for all men an3301trayed

a future in which, 3iveh the i-\'201efeat of Hitler's Germany, freeÃ©om and democracy would prevail for all rule everywhere in the world.

The war over, colonial peoplee everywhere continued

the etru33le for freedom and independence from forie3n

usÃ©d the eeme slogan of freedom and democracy in en in-  
tengified Struggle e33inet their colonial rulers.

Second: The Colonial.../2

as White a)

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Second, that all economic power is and remains with the White man, protected by, and in turn feeding strength to, political power;

Third, that the line of demarcation between those who hold and enjoy politico-economic power is defined strictly, precisely, plainly and unashamedly in terms of White and not White;

The otherwise totally meaningless fact of skin colour and race is employed as the political, economic and moral justification for the brutal Exploitation, humiliation, and violent Oppression of the indigenous majority in the interests of political and economic domination by a white minority.

It is the making and effect of all these which the

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word "apartheid" connotes

But it is to the manifestations of the system that most people react with a sense of unrestrained horror and disbelief ;

For example a

The fact that no matter how many pairs of trousers you wear, one on top of another, no matter how impervious the material, no matter how thickly you pad yourself all over, exposing only the eyes, you may not sit on a bench marked reserved for white skins only in a depopulated park;

you may not stand in a white queue

but you own bathe and feed a white child and place it on your lap or carry it on your back as if it was your own;

you may not sit

next to a white man, you may not have meals or tea in a white restaurant, nor can you have a black restaurant in a White area.

You

may not send you: black child to a white hospital or, being a medical doctor, give orders to white nurses and junior medical staff; being

a black police senior sergeant, you may not arrest a white thief,  
robber, or murderer, or take him in for criminally assaulting a  
woman, nor may you, with you 30 years serving in the police force,  
give any orders to a day-old White police recruit; .As a black  
student, you must have a white rotor and white lecturers (including  
graduates of Pretoria or Stellenbosch University)  
in your black  
university college; 4  
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university colleg ,which is the only one permitted to admit you,  
but as a black lecturer, you may not be on the academic staff of  
Pretoria or Stellenbosch universityo

These pih-pricks are not the substhee but the eign-poets  
of apartheid, showing the i-\201lack man his place, and the White one  
his, in the apartheid society.

They comprise the psychological  
atmosphere in which' i-\201hitee are taught to regard Blacks as non~  
people, and the Elaoks to show gratituÃ©e for the rare privilege  
of being alive and outside hrion walls.

They are the subtle  
insult to all Black peohle, administered by peOple Who have taught  
themselveetn hate and deepiee Black peeple with their very blood,  
who consider them the untouchables of this world.

Eor to say a  
Black man can only sit in your Parliament ovet your dead body, as  
South Africa's rulers say, is to unleaeh e studied and hate-charged  
insult on every Black person in the world.

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There are four appnoaohee to the total destruction of the  
sooio-economic system it all its manifestatiene;

The one ie to aim at the seizure of political power by the  
Black majority and to uee that powey to end racial discrimination  
and correct the gross injustices in the Ã©ietribution of the count-  
ry'e wealth and in its obligations to the well being of its citigens;

The second is \$60 introduce economic chaos, and thus sharpen  
the contradictions between the white ruling clique and all workers;  
This would turn the white voters against their political leaders  
and compel a change of economic holicy or a change of government,  
the aseumption being that

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among them are some of the  
finest and best of our people, some of  
the greatest leaders of men by every human standard;

We have no

right to write them off in this manner et all.

The astounding feat of course is that nobody wants "dialogue"

311 over again;

Vorster is willing to deliver a lecture on the

"virtues" of apartheid;

he does not want a debate about it ~ and

he says so

He knows everything everyone on earth has to say

against apartheid ~ it has been said millions of times by millions

of people over decades;

And I fully agree with him.

What he does

want is the economic domination of African States and thence,

Africa's co-existence With apartheid, with the consequent isolation

or weakening of the

liberation movement;

In other words, what he

wants is to break the international offensive which is now beginning

to hit the country's economy ~ the roots of apartheid - and to

create new and alternative conditions for the perpetuation of

White, racist minority rule in South Africa;

What "dialogue"

means in this context is no more nor less than friendship with the

independent Blacks at the expense of the oppressed Blacks;

Such

a friendship expressed in trade agreements, cooperation at various

levels and fields of enterprise, and in economic, political, social

and cultural relations, would, by delusory definition, not only

qualify the South African racists for full membership of the OAU

but would also strangle to ignominious death the OAU's central

concept of a struggle for total liberation of Africa;



At that

point the rest of the world would have good reason to lay down  
its arms against apartheid and resume normal relations with South  
Africa.

This is precisely Vorster's calculation :

If Africa falls,

apartheid, white minority rule and domination will, internationally  
at least, become an acknowledged fact of the "western way of life"  
of the "free world";

And what "apartheid" or white minority rule means is three  
things :

First, that all political power in South Africa is, and stays  
in the hands of the White men to the total exclusion of any-

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one or any group which the White policy makers do not define  
as white; 5

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The OAU basis of participation and euphort involved collective action by member~etetee without precluding biloteral arrangements as between an African State enĩ-\201 any one or more liberation movementeo

In adĩ-\201ition and within the frameâ\200\224work of the agreeĩ-\201 etrategy of AOU, each African etate can competently embark on tactical initiatives deesigned to aid and eeeert the general etruggle for liberation in a particular territory.

#### AFRICA:

For many decades the eruggle was conducted on the eeeumption that public opinion and preseure can influence government policy anĩ-\202 even lead to a change of government. ?he Africans had no vote, but the preeeeuree they employed kept Wlat wee termed â\200\234Native Problem" at the centre of South African politics for deceÃ@ee, as it does.

the preeeeuree

cone'eted of :~

(a) The use of the limitedfrenchiee rig te enjoyed by a few Africans before union, which progressively diminished and ultimately vanished during the present apartheid regime.

(b) Demands eXpreeeedin resolutions adopted at various meetings, conferences and rallies held by different bodies and organisatione at different terms throughout each year anĩ-\201 all over South Africa.

(0) Dehutatione to Government leaders, officials and pelicy~meking government organe, where the grievances claims and demands of the eppreeeeĩ-\201 were eXpleineĩ end diecueeed.

(d) Public protests and maeẽ demonstrations, including ihÃ@uetriel and national political strikes, all of which focuaeed attention on the growing Oppoeition of the Black people to the relentiemebrutality of white rule.

(6) repeated campagne.Â¢../5

Secondly, we the individual, but more Crucially, the collective commitment of African independent countries to the continued pursuit of and active euphoric for the liberation struggle in rest of Africa.

It is a corollary feature of political thinking

and a recurrent theme in policy statements by Africa's Heads of State and government that the independence of their countries has meaning only in the context of the total liberation of every African territory.

It is interesting to note that the objectives of liberating the whole of Africa were, and continues to be a powerful unifying factor.

He recalls that in the early sixties, before African countries had developed a common understanding of international problems, they were often divided on many issues, torn between the great powers and the Uh member states.

But the one single issue on which they invariably and consistently stood solidly united was the question of apartheid.

It is ironic that the policy of division, separation and decriminalization should have drawn to pull the continent apart.

United in they resolve to secure the total liquidation of white minority rule and colonialism in Africa, the OAU regards the liberation struggle in each African territory its own business of the liberation movement in that territory.

Proceeding from this premise, and in most instances on agreement with the leaders of the liberation movement concerned the OAU evolves a strategy and various tactics for aiding the forces of liberation towards victory.

This has been

the practice since the formation of the OAU.

Prior to this, it

individual countries associated individual liberation movements  
in the form indicated by each movement, to the extent each  
country's capabilities.

The OAU base.o. 4/4

SECOND: The colonial powers had been economically and militarily weakened by the war and were ill prepared for the logical consequences of meeting an increasingly militant demand for freedom.

The wind of change was showing signs of growing into a raging hurricane.

THIRD: The impasse ended in 1960 for freedom, everywhere

self determination, independence was being made at the height of a chilling Cold War

The struggle for self-determination and independence in the early 1960s, Africa was characterized by two outstanding

features:

First, one was the recognition by the people of Africa

and Portugal by the leadership of the liberation movement, that although divided by colonial boundaries and by details of custom, culture and tradition, they were, nonetheless one

people with one destiny and a common enemy. came together in a united action involving the participation

They then

to shoulder, they forged and cemented a unity which survived the divisive effect of individual success, where each territory or group of territories acquired independence at different times, inheriting different economic and social problems, and still largely dependent, for development and aid from

the colonial power. In the history of the formation of the OAU.

It was found continuing and

Second, was the 0...../3

(e) hepeeted cempeigne anī-\201 orgehieed defiance of  
oppreeeive laws; newepepere articles, pamphlets,  
preeeâ\200\224cenferehcee enī-\201 occeeionel books in WhiCh the  
inhumanity of the South African eyetem was theâ\200\224  
roughly expoeed to the South African voters ~ all  
White.

(f) mobilieing international Opinion and preeeuree  
against the eperhheid policiee of the South ī-\201fricen  
regime including preeeure on the countries which  
were South Africe'e\_treditionel fwienī-\201e to exercise  
their influence in encouraging ebouhement of eper~  
theiī-\201 in favour and ī-\201emocrecy for ell in South  
Africa.

It can be eeiathat the eum-total of all that has been  
said and done to South Africa's white governments anÃ© white  
voters over many decades by the different methode eet out  
above was an exercise in peaceful dialogue on a ecele'impee-  
rellelled anywhere in the history of eocioâ\200\224political  
conflict.

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?erhape at no time was thie dialogue on a more impreeive  
scale than during the deCade of the 50's.

This wae the  
decaī-\202e which saw an unprecedented series of national political  
strikes, of the great campaign for the defiance of uhjuet  
laws, of e movement that grew in power and strength with  
every new repressive meaeure; the decade of numerous hehnihge,  
reetrictione end beniehment of leedere, of meee political  
triele that took place year after year in town and country,  
of increasing police violence and military repreeeion ee'  
the rulere loet ell moral juetificetion f0? their policies  
in the face of the united enÃ© militant voice of the oppheeeed  
umaceee.

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Ho South Afticen Government in the history of that

country had to employ so much violence and kill so many  
people'over'e period of a mere 10 years, all in the act of  
regreeding liberation movement that preached and practiced  
non-violence

It was this.ooo/6