

We, on our part realise the enormity of our revolutionary tasks. The enormity of this task facing us has given rise to suggestions and hints that the liberation of Southern Africa should be approached as a project to be achieved in geographic stages - first Mozambique, then Angola and in the end South Africa. We have of course rejected these suggestions. It is obvious that when Portuguese rule reaches a crisis point, Caetano's fascist friends in South Africa will intervene on a massive scale.

Despite the seeming militant superiority of the fascists, despite the absence of sanctuary-providing and logistically important friendly countries, our movement is committed to armed confrontation with the fascists. Our organisation maintains that the prerequisites for guerilla are to be found in the general political situation rather than in physical and geographic factors. In South Africa, there is a colonial type situation and armed struggle becomes feasible if the following political conditions are present. The first condition must be disillusionment on the part of the majority of people with the prospects of achieving its liberation by traditional and violent means. There must also be a readiness on ~~their~~ the part of the people to respond in various ways to the call for armed confrontation and actually joining and helping the guerilla.

We think that these factors we have enumerated, though they cannot be said to have ripened, do exist in our country. The movement must nurture them and must consolidate the years of intimate political connections it has had with the people and the situation. There is a tendency to be fancifull at times and we as a movement must approach with extreme caution the attempts of some of our friends to dictate to us what we should do in our own situation. A true assessment of our situation can only be done by us who are directly involved.

What is the situation in our country today ? The South African ruling class is on the defensive. The repression and plunder carried out by whites against the blacks continues with fierceness and viciousness. But despite this repression which has been going on for centuries, there is convincing evidence that the people have not submitted. The Bantustans, the macabre products of fascism are in a state of ferment. There is intensified political activity in these areas. People are clamouring for democratic rights and the repeal of obnoxious laws. The people have realised that the Bantustans will never improve their plight. The restlessness of the youth in these areas and their increasing militancy is a sign of the growing failure of the

ruling class of terror and intimidation. More than ten years of rule through detentions and bannings have failed to frighten the people. Strikes in schools have become endemic; this half year alone has seen student strikes in more than eight institutions. The fascists, true to form have reacted violently to these but the young people refuse to surrender.

The Coloured people are showing militancy and impatience with white rule. The Coloured Labour Party is effectively using the representative council to expose the brutality of the fascists. The demonstrations against bus fares and against the celebration of ten years of the white republic are signs that the black people want nothing to do with the white government.

There is a mood of anger and bitterness in the ranks of the black working class. This anger is illustrated in acts of riots after train accidents and similar instances. The ruling clique and its spokesmen themselves admitted that only a spark is needed to bring about an ugly situation in the country. The Blacks are frequently realising the need for self-reliance. They are rejecting concessions and crumbs from the white man's table.

Our duty as a movement and a duty we are discharging is the mobilisation of our people and convincing them that we are no longer fighting to win isolated concessions but that we are fighting to storm the fortress of white rule itself. That is why we feel that these developments are a challenge to us as the vanguard of the liberation movement. We have got to guide them and be abreast of events. We must give the people weapons they need to bring about a change in the country.

Today we salute all those brave and courageous patriots who, despite the risk of working in a difficult fascist situation continue to raise high the banner of freedom. We salute the students who have refused to submit to Bantu Education indoctrination and are rejecting inferiority; we salute the patriotic clergymen and other members of the church who refuse to condemn the liberation movement despite Vorster's threats. We urge the unity of all these forces, the consolidation of all their efforts for the ultimate decisive struggle. The South African revolutionaries at home and in exile have to make things so hot for the oppressor that he is forced into open retreat. We must therefore reject any divergent tendencies, all those tendencies which want us to dwell on external rather than on internal developments. The dangers of compromise are increasing, the enemy is making strenuous efforts to devitalise our revolution, thus preventing its complete victory.

There is a crack in the wall of the ruling class. Comrades, never before in the history of the South African ruling class have contradictions been so manifest. The Nationalist Party is no longer monolithic - there is general confusion and panic. The economy is not shaping well, and the chronic economic crisis that bedevils world capitalism is affecting South Africa as well, the ever rocketing cost of living which has wrought havoc on the Blacks is being felt by the whites as well. All these factors ought to galvanise us into action and make us all the more determined to put everything into the struggle for liberation.

The external mission of the ANC has scored significant victories in its campaign to isolate South Africa. The effects of this isolation is being felt inside the country. In the field of sport, white sportsmen are beginning to question the whole concept of separate sport. In countries like New Zealand and Australia which are the traditional friends of South Africa, anti-apartheid committees are gaining strength and there are militant campaigns to stop sporting links with South Africa. South Africa has truly become the polecat of the world.

But let us not be complacent. The fascists are trying to reverse these gains. There is a big campaign to have links with independent African States. Everyday Radio South Africa blares a jarring tirade on the advantages/dialogue between white South Africa and the Black states. The dialogue does not have its setting in Africa; it was conceived by the imperialist countries which back South Africa to the hilt. It is a ruse to neo-colonise Africa, to isolate and eliminate the liberation movement. South Africa's obsession with dialogue is no sign of strength. The South African ruling class is faced with acute conflicts and contradictions. Consequently, it wants the people to focus their attention on external problems rather than the reign of terror inside. The ANC will fight, with all the means at its disposal against dialogue between the fascists and independent African States. To us, armed struggle is a historic necessity, the decision to embark on it was reached after a clear and sober assessment of both the objective and subjective ^{the} conditions in our country. We thus salute and applaud the rejection of/Dialogue Trojan Horse by the OAU and express the hope that we shall be consulted on matters which affect us. We must make it very clear that the South African revolution is to be carried out by the oppressed people of South Africa and that decisions on policy, strategy and tactics will be worked out by them.

In conclusion, we appeal to all South African patriots to close ranks and to make the fullest use of the existing confusion, uncertainty and

terror, years of massacres and to resolve to carry on with the struggle despite the brutalities and crimes perpetrated by the white ruling class.

Thereafter June 26 became a day ~~of~~ on which the brutalised and exploited blacks launched their campaigns against fascist rule. Among these campaigns were the Defiance Campaign of 1952 which brought panic and consternation to the white oppressors and their lackeys and flunkies. The result was the introduction of more draconian laws to contain the revolutionary upsurge of the people.

It will be realised that in the struggles launched on June 26, there is ^a/clear sign which speaks of a determination of a people to win, which speaks of dedication to a national cause and the principle of unity among all the oppressed.

This year on June 26 we seize this opportunity to salute the heroic combatants of MPLA in Angola and Frelimo in Mozambique where Potuguese, allies of fascist South Africa, are suffering ~~xxx~~ reverses at the hands of the patriotic forces. The determination of the revolutionary forces in these countries plus the acute internal crises in fascist Portugal is an unmistakable sign that the writing ~~x~~ is on the wall for Portugal. We also salute the militants of ZAPU who despite the blandishments and paltry sops of British imperialism, are refusing to be diverted from the path of struggle. We also salute our brithers in SWAPO who are waging a gallant battle against the fascist occupation of Namibia. We want to assure our Comrades and brothers that we will not fail to discharge our duties of harrassing and finally defeating white imperialism in South Africa. itself. South Africa is a bastion of imperialism and reaction and the African revolution can never be complete so long as this evil system remains intact. The machinations and plots hatched in Pretoria pose a special challenge to South African revolutionaries. It is a challenge they cannot shirk.

Dear Comrades, the presence of the South African regime's armed forces on Zimbabwean soil, in Angola and Mozambique is an indication that the minority regimes in the whole of Southern Africa have come to regard the survival of white, fascist rule as indivisible. Consequently, South Africa's strategic borders are more and more conceived as extending to the northern parts of Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. We must stress the need and urgency for a strategic connection between the efforts of guerilla forces in every part of occupied Southern Africa. The Alliance between ANC and ZAPU demonstrated the need for political and military co-operation and the correctness of this strategy can never be in doubt. Let us therefore express the hope of increased collaboration between all liberation movements in this area.

We, on our part.../3

ANC of South Africa Speech delivered on the Occasion
of June 26, South African Freedom Day.

We once again call upon the people of Africa and progressives the world over to commemorate June 26, the National Day of the oppressed and exploited people of South Africa. This is a day observed by the liberation forces of our country under the leadership of the ANC(SA). On this day we re-dedicate ourselves to the revolutionary struggle to wipe out fascist tyranny and colonisation by the whites.

To us, June 26 is a symbol of the black peoples' unshakeable determination to seize power and be masters of their own destiny. This day has its roots in the history of the long struggle of the black people and other revolutionaries against the sadistic, violent and brutal repression of white rule. June 26 is a day born in the crucible of bitter and fierce resistance.

On this day, we rededicate ourselves to the sacred and historical cause of liberating our motherland. On this day, the oppressed people of our country pledge themselves to avenge the martyred heroes who gave their lives to eradicate the scourge of white repression.

The value and significance of June 26 will be understood if we recall that the rule of the white man is a history of rule by force, violence and massacres. Suffice to mention a few like:

- (a) The shooting and killing of Africans during 1919 anti-pass campaigns; during the strike of 80,000 Rand African miners and Port Elizabeth workers' strike in 1920.
- (b) The notorious Bullhoek massacre of 1921, the Bondelswart massacre of 1922.
- (c) The killings at the Durban beer boycott in 1929.
- (d) The brutal massacre at Sharpville and Langa in 1960.
- (e) The violent repression of the Pondos in 1961.
- (f) And the latest murder of peaceful Coloured demonstrators at Port Elizabeth township Gelvandale.

The rule of terror and torture was intensified when the present white fascists got into power in 1948. This was to be an era of naked autocracy, of intensified tyranny and brutal repression. Various Acts, whose sole design was to terrorise the black people found their way into the statute book. Among these was the notorious Suppression of Communism Act which was followed by the bloody shooting of 18 Africans during May Day demonstrations in Johannesburg in 1950. The same year the ANC called on the Africans and all oppressed people to join in ~~stronger~~ unity and solidarity on June 26 in a national stoppage of work. This was an act of mass defiance, the aim of which was to honour the victims of years of white

terror, years of massacre and.../2

and indecision in the ranks of the oppressors. Let us all be ready to harass the enemy, force him into a corner and, finally, to his knees. This is the wish of Nelson Mandela, Elias Motsoaledi, Govan Mbeki, Walter Sisulu, Peter Tladi, James April, Matthews Ngcobo, Dorothy Nyembe Mabhalana and many others in prison. These comrades in prison and concentration camps are looking to us to deliver the final verdict of history which is complete liberation. Let us therefore, on this occasion, re-orientate ourselves to the struggle and give 100 per cent attention to it. Undoubtedly, VICTORY IS INEVITABLE.

AMANDLA ! MAATLA !