

RESISTANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

1. We face a formidable, despotic and dishonest enemy, the Apartheid system, because it commands the resources of an advanced industrialism and

is supported economically by great powers; despotic because a white-minority regime, representing at most a bare fifth of the population, employs fascistic techniques to keep the voteless majority in subjection; dishonest, because it does not scruple to conceal its despotism behind a camouflage of benevolent paternalism,,

2. Our cause will triumph. But the struggle will be, "bitter

and violent. That is not of our choosing. For fifty years, since our formation in 1912, the African National Congress sought to bring about change by non-violent means. Our record of political struggle is one of deputations, petitions, demonstrations, strikes; of attempts to mobilise our people for constitutional action, and to persuade the white minority of the justice of our cause. Our people were patient, tolerant, and long-suffering - some might say, to excess - but they never wavered in their determination to abolish all forms of racial discrimination as

the first step to the creation of a free, non-racial society,,

3. We made much progress. Our movement has deeply rooted in the lives

of our people. It reached out across the racial barriers and forged links with Coloured, Indians and also white South Africans. Our ideal of a non-racial society, in which South Africans of all ethnic groups would participate on equal terms, received wide support. Corresponding to the realities of an integrated society, the ideal was infinitely superior as a moral system to the narrow, intolerant and discriminatory policies of white supremacists.

4. The more progress we made, the greater was the resistance we encountered

. While our people died or went to jail for freedom, successive governments used the all-white parliament to confine us, to frustrate our attempts to advance, and to cripple our organisations. Year after year parliament churned out colour bars that deprived us of all the basic freedoms

guaranteed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights*

5. Our demands for emancipation became more urgent, our pressures more intense, as the wave of liberation from colonial rule swept through Asia, the Pacific, and Africa* Our cause gained adherents from all sections of the population, including English- and Afrikaans-speaking whites. We received a sympathetic hearing and much active encouragement at the United Nations and in many of its member states*. We had reason to believe that our policy of militant struggle, which included passive resistance and defiance of unjust laws, would succeed without a violent racial war*

6* The Nationalist Party Government has ruled out any possibility of a peaceful solution* That government represents a basic aspect of the outlook of the most bigoted and reactionary elements in the white community. The Party has won every general election for the past twenty years by appealing to national and racial chauvinism. In utilizing an electoral system which confined the vote to whites, among whom Afrikaners form a majority, the government has utilised the state's resources to inhibit social cooperation and intercourse between members of different ethnic groups. Afrikaner nationalism and racial oppression are the corner stones of the Nationalist government's power structure*

7. Our people are excluded from that structure. Elections are fought on issues of life and death to us: our liberties, our position in the body politic, our claims to land, employment, education and social services; but we have no part in the process of decision-making* Responsible only to the white electorate, the rulers have persistently ignored, our demands and sacrificed us to the material interests of the white oligarchy. The government has consolidated its political backing by reducing our people to the position of helots* turning a cruel form of colonial exploitation.

8. To rationalise a social order that has been universally condemned, and to provide it with a semblance of morality, the racists rely on the concepts of decolonisation* the right to cultural autonomy, self-determination and secession.

secession. The white minority asserts an exclusive right to 89 per cent, of our country's area, the entire wealth of its known mineral resources, the accumulated capital of our cities and towns, our lines of communication and strategic centres. We are told that we can never become more than 'temporary sojourners', 'work-seekers and labourers in this, the white man's country'; and that we must look to the poverty-stricken reserves, the so-called 'Bantu Homelands', for permanent residence, citizenship and the fulfilment of individual ambitions or national aspirations.

9. Our people have never accepted the myth of 'separate development'. We shall never abandon our claim to participate, fully and freely, in the government of our whole country, and to share the wealth and amenities created by means of our labour. We owe this to ourselves, our children and generations yet unborn. Our people can become free, independent and full-grown not by 'separate development', but through equal participation in all sectors of public life. That is the central issue in our struggle against white domination and racial oppression.

10. The white minority regime uses the methods of a totalitarian state to crush our movement. Armed, with unlimited powers, and operating outside the ambit of courts of law, the government invades every sphere of social life in order to isolate our people from the rest of society, to prevent cooperation between racial groups, and to perpetuate the myth that we are 'uncivilised' and a menace to the ruling whites. Our organisations are banned and driven underground; our leaders are imprisoned, banned, exiled. A vast bureaucracy is created to control and limit our freedom to move from one place to another, to reside on farms or in towns, to seek and take up employment. We are under the constant surveillance of police, spies and informers. Conscripted and organised into a military force, the whites occupy the position of a garrison to maintain order over population defect; but we are subdued.

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been imprisoned on charges of belonging "to the banned African National

Congres, ot for .cts of sabotage, or for violating lavs tlx t prohibit
all concerted efforts to put an end to r,cial o^ r V: ion and. colonial
exploitation. Our vill hue not been broken; our people continu. to racist;
but they have he. to impcovise nev methous of struggle under conditions
of
illegality. Thi . i. hard and dangerous; it c',11s for skill, courage anc
patienceo We are satisfied vith the progress aa.de-, but . e do not expect
spect. icular r esults.

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Germany shovet that totalitarian state cannot be clefe-itua]^r,n intarnal
rising unles: it receives oat e rial ai from vithout* Luttre.e ed by r. tel lit e
states and vhte minority governments on its frontiers, vhte supremacists

in Jouth Africa have not yet had. to face the challenge of an external
assault. We are resolved to break through the defence.: and carry the
var into the enemy' camp, and. have taken the first step tov r.; that end.
by joining vith the Zimbabwe African People's Union in n armed struggle
against Rhod, ia' illegal government*