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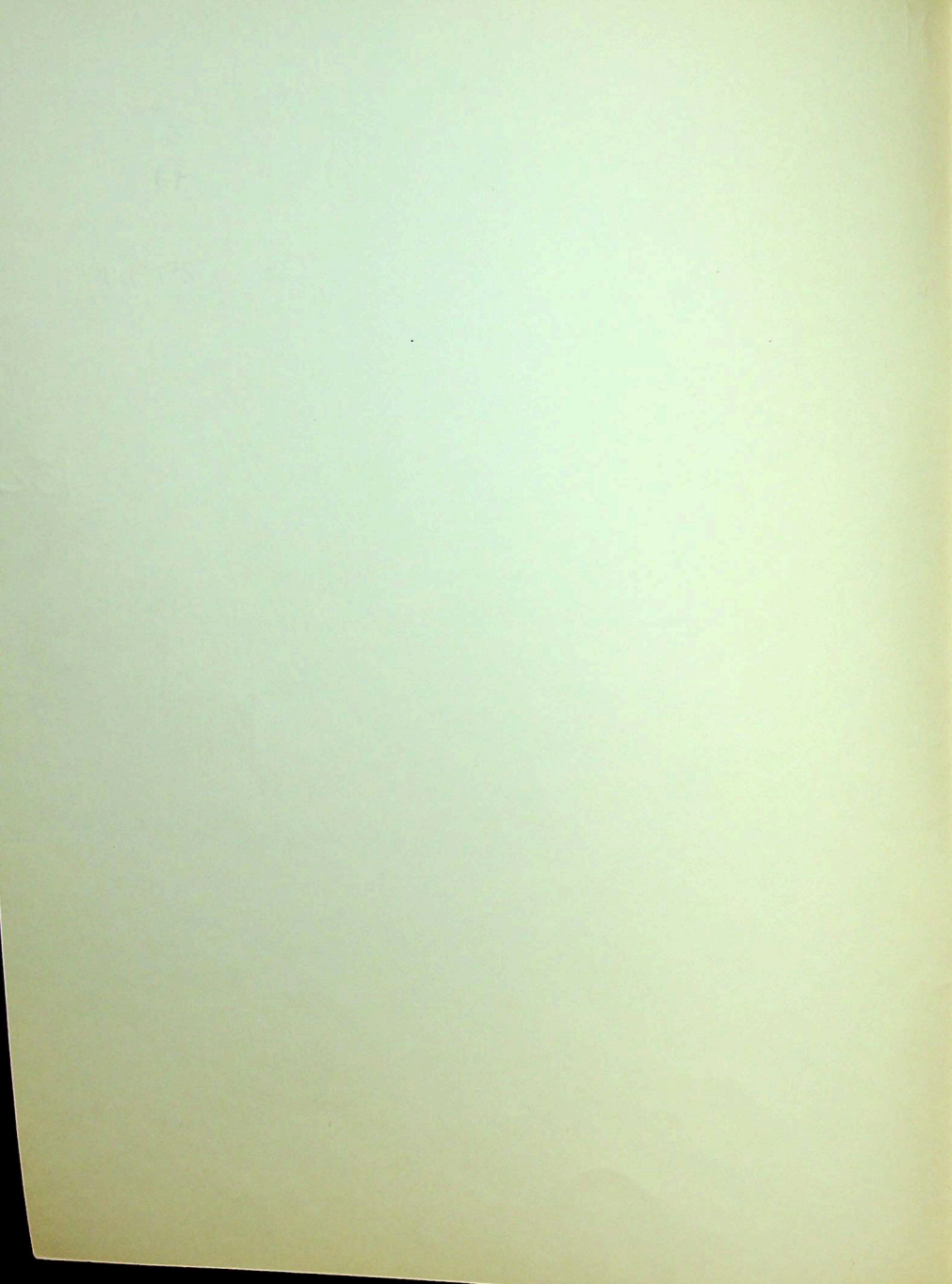
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A Short History

Published by:
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African National Congress
49 Rathbone Street
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AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS SOUTH AFRICA

A SHORT HISTORY

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INTRODUCTION

Today the African National Congress of South Africa is leading the fight against the most vicious form of racialism since the destruction of Hitlerite fascism. Our armed guerilla forces, together with the forces of our allies, the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) have confronted the enemy in several encounters in Zimbabwe.

Units of political activists inside our country are bewildering the South African Bureau of State Security (BOSS) which is among the most highly organised political police force in the world and which has powers equal to Hitler's Gestapo, with gallant and dramatic acts propogating the cause of the A.N.C. and espousing the programme of the South African revolution.

In order to fully appreciate the political and social significance of, and necessity for, the type of organisation we have today, we have to take a peep into the past; we have to look back into the history of the contact between the African people and the Whites in South Africa. The history of the contact between the Whites and the African people in South Africa is a bitter and grim story of national struggles against foreign invasion, plunder and political domination.

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

White settlement in South Africa dates back to the beginning of the second half of the seventeenth century. On 6th April, 1652, employees and servants of the Dutch East India Company, a mainly Holland concern, arrived at the Cape to establish a half-way house or station for supplying their ships going to Asia with fresh provisions. At first the settlement did not appear to have been conceived as a base or a bridgehead for the conquest of the country. Not long after, however, it turned out to be such. Soon a struggle began between the inhabitants of the territory and the new settlers. The causes of the dispute were the questions of: –

- a) labour supply;
- b) livestock; and
- c) land ownership and control.

In these struggles the Nama who were called the Hottentots and the Khoi Khoi who were called Bushmen were practically wiped out in a similar manner as the so-called Red Indians in America. The White colonial usurpers actually organised hunting expeditions to track down and kill off the Khoi Khoi like wild animal. Possessing superior weapons, the Whites shot down these relatively unarmed people, deprived the survivors of their land and drove them out of the area, took away their livestock, and forced those whom they had captured to work for them as slaves.

Clash at the 'Bay of Cows'

Long before the time of White settlement, as far back as the second half of the 15th century, there had been several bloody clashes in which lives had been lost on both sides. Those clashes had been between the Khoisan and other African people on the one hand, and the would be Portuguese colonizers on the other hand. One such historically interesting clash took place in November–December, 1497, at a place named "Bay of Cows" by one

Portuguese explorer, Vasco da Gama. The "Bay of Cows" is our present day Mossel Bay. It is said that the place was so named "because many cattle grazed near the shore".

The Portuguese had landed at the "Bay of Cows" under the pretext of distress, to repair their ships and to get supplies of fresh water and food. These Portuguese sailors were treated as guests and lavishly entertained by the local inhabitants.

Dealing with this incident, Isabel Barclay, in her book, "The Great Age of Discovery" states:

"As the Portuguese worked on their boats, a number of Africans came down to the shore to watch. They were tall, black men with frizzy hair and 'given to playing musical instruments'. They were friendly and pleasure loving, and the Portuguese were very entertained by their dancing and singing . . . They were herdsmen and shepherds, and the Portuguese were able to get large supplies of fresh meat from them in return for a few trinkets . . .

"Unknown to their unsuspecting hosts, however, the Portuguese proceeded to proclaim the country in the name of their King and annexed it to Portugal! When the work on the ships was completed, Vasco da Gama erected a landmark claiming the land of the Kaffirs for the King of Portugal. This landmark still stands. The Kaffirs had no idea what the landmark meant, but they began to suspect the Portuguese were cheating them in matters of trade and finally there was a fight. Vasco da Gama decided it was time to move on." (Page 51, paragraphs one and two).

Though at times armed only with bows and arrows in those early days, our people through their determination and courage defeated the well-armed invaders and drove them into the sea.

Lie Exposed

We should here deal with the notorious lie put out by colonialist propagandists and "historians" to the effect that the Dutch settlers of 1652 and the Africans arrived in South Africa at the same time.

"The Oxford History of South Africa" edited by Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson says this on the subject:

"To sum up, we may say that historical evidence long ago pointed to penetration on the east side of South Africa, by Bantu-speakers, reaching as far south as the Transkei by the sixteenth century, and probably much earlier.

Recent radiocarbon dates from the Transvaal show that Iron Age occupation (fairly certainly Bantu speakers) was widespread in the north by the eleventh century. In the absence of stematic research, interpretation of the evidence is hazardous, but one of the earliest cultures, the Uitkomst, may be attributable to the ancestors of certain groups of Sotho, whilst even more tenuously one may see the Nguni people as possible descendants of stone-village builders in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, combined with extensive evidence of mining and metal-working, point to vigorous and well organised communities." (Clarendon Press 1969, page 39).

On page 85 of the same book the authors write:

"The journals of 1552 and 1554 show that what is now the Transkei was already occupied by people who had cattle. They do not make it perfectly clear whether these were Nguni-speaking or Khoikhoi, but the fact that they 'spoke a language not so badly pronounced' suggests that they were neither San nor Khoikhoi, whose clicks later travellers commented on immediately. The journal of 1593 proves that the country was occupied by an Nguni-speaking people at least to the south of the Mthatha and possibly further. The chronicler states specifically that the 'language is the same in nearly all Kaffraria', and the Chiefs are called 'Acoses' (inkosi), a word already in the form 'Ancozes' in 1589. Bryant even goes so far as to argue that the dialect about the bay of Natal was 'Ntungwa Nguni' (Zulu) . . . The people practiced circumcision (which the Khoikhoi did not), and they cultivated millet and kept cattle."

And on Page 87:

"As has already been shown there were Xhosa-speaking peoples as far south as the Mthatha River in 1593, and there is no indication that they had only recently arrived there. By their own account Thembu and Xhosa (along with Mpondomise) were on the upper reaches of the Mzimvubu for generations before they came down to the coast. There were also Thembu and Xhosa in Natal, related to the Thembu and Xhosa of the Transkei and it is possible, though not certain, that the ancestors of all the Transkei groups were in Natal before travelling southward. Bryant believes that the Nguni people were in the valley of the Vaal (where Sothos are known to have been) before they travelled eastward to cross the Drakensberg, and his arguments are much more cogent than Theal's mumbo-jumbo."

In fact Vasco da Gama found the Xhosa people at Mossel Bay in 1497 and the Dutch invaders found them in the area where the towns of Swellendam, Montagu and Heidelberg stand today. It is in these areas that the Whites first met the Africans, and not at the Great Fish River as the South African History books say. The Xhosa section of our people were already living on the banks of the Breeder River at that time. That was during the second half of the eighteenth century. It is therefore a gross distortion of a historical fact and a deliberate lie to say, as many White South African historians, intellectuals and politicians do, that the African people "began to trek from the North across the Limpopo when van Riebeeck landed in Table Bay."

Aggression and Expansionism

It is therefore crystal clear that whereas the Africans welcomed the new arrivals from Europe with open arms, the latter, however, harboured evil designs. The colonists soon spread rapidly over a wide area and violated the boundaries which had been fixed with the indigeous people. They rode rough-shod over the prior rights of the original inhabitants to hunting, grazing and arable land.

Because of the intrusion and the predatory and aggressive policies of the Whites, disputes which soon led to wars, ensued. In the Cape alone there

were nine such wars of resistance against encroachment on the part of the Whites. These wars were waged almost continuously for nearly a hundred years. The Boer forces and later both the Boer and British forces were checked. But because of superior arms which the Whites possessed, the Africans were slowly pushed back beyond the Great Fish River. **Yet as was the case throughout the country, our people were never conquered by the Boers.** In order to continue their march into the interior the Boers were forced to change course, to travel northwards instead of in an easterly direction which they originally intended to follow.

The People Fight Back

Wherever the Boers went they met stiff resistance and were routed in some dramatic battles. For example, the Zulu section of our people thoroughly outmanoeuvred, outgeneraled and completely wiped out a Boer marauding force headed by the iniquitous, racist Piet Retief, the architect and author of the racist Great Trek Manifesto of 1836 on which present day apartheid policies are based. To this day they have not forgotten the defeat at the hands of the Zulu King, Dingaan. On the other hand every African in Southern Africa vividly remembers Dingaan's battle-cry on that occasion when he ordered: "Bula L'Abathakathi!" (Kill the evil men). Today this very battle-order is being reechoed by our young guerrillas who are locked in battle with the same racist forces in Southern Africa.

The Boers veered away from Natal towards the Mountains of Lesotho only to be welcomed with a rain of stones and spears by King Mshoeshe and his men who had dug in, at impregnable defensive positions on Thaba Bosigo (Mountain of the night).

We note with satisfaction that our people in Lesotho were never defeated in battle either by the Boers or the British. In the Eastern Transvaal, by their own confessions, the Boers were time and again beaten back and routed by the armies of King Sekhukuni.

Our civilisation was not a script civilisation and no history books were written by our people. But we, as children, drank the knowledge of these events from the breasts of our mothers. One thing which we learnt and knew from childhood was that the Boers never defeated us in battle. In fact after their Great Trek East towards the Indian Ocean and North towards the Limpopo River, the Boers were reduced to roving bands of brigands.

Had it not been for the arrival of the British forces the Boers would eventually have been destroyed. As it is the Boers never really ruled any section of the African people, all they managed to do was merely to levy tributes from small and weak tribes.

The Arrival of the British

The arrival in South Africa of the British military forces towards the end of the eighteenth century brought about quantitative and qualitative changes in the resistance struggle of our people; they immensely strengthened the

forces of colonisation and national oppression. The British were the foremost reactionary power in Europe and were at that time allied with Holland in the war against Republican France. With their overwhelming superiority in arms, their economic might and above all their long experience at intrigue, they were able, in spite of bitter and spirited battles against them, to eventually subdue all opposition offered by the African people to their grand design for the colonisation of the country and the subjugation and exploitation of our people.

After a sustained and protracted resistance by our people even against the might of the then imperial and arrogant British, our people were finally defeated.

However, despite the lack of sophisticated arms note should be made of the heroic resistance of the Xhosas against the British who were subdued only after the treacherous and barbarous assassination of King Hintsa of the Xhosas by Sir Harry Smith, a representative of British colonialism.

The Zulus too utterly disgraced and humiliated the British army under the aegis of Theophilus Shepstone, colonialist delegate stationed in Natal, at the battle of Isandlwana in 1879.

In Lesotho, King Moshoeshoe, as we have already stated was never defeated in military confrontation. On the other hand he exhibited a high degree of diplomatic skill and emerged victorious in an extremely difficult and complex situation.

The last attempt at armed resistance by our people was the Bambata rebellion in 1906 in Natal which was drowned in blood by the British colonialists.

Reasons for Defeat

There are various reasons which brought about our military defeat and our political humiliation. We have to analyse these carefully, especially, now that the African National Congress is engaged in a struggle for the seizure of political power from the White minority overlords in South Africa.

There are political, economic, military and historical reasons which contributed to the setbacks we suffered. Let us list these briefly as follows: –

- 1) This was a confrontation between an advanced, commercial capitalist Europe personified by Britain and Holland. Our part of Africa was only emerging out of communalistic social organisation and no modern industrialised development had emerged. Therefore the ganging up of a powerful combination of Britain and Holland proved difficult for our people to withstand.
- 2) The industrial development of Europe placed powerful up-to-date weapons of destruction in the hands of the colonialists which they did not hesitate to use against our ill-armed people.
- 3) There was lack of co-ordination and united struggle on the part of our people against the common enemy. We know that attempts were made by the various tribal leaders to achieve a grand alliance of the African people against the White invaders, but these did not succeed.

CHAPTER II

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS IS BORN

On January 8th, 1912, an unusual and truly remarkable conference assembled at Bloemfontein. Present were a few professional men and intellectuals; a large number of chiefs and tribesmen, workers and peasants. They came from all parts of South Africa, which only two years earlier was constituted into a Union; they came from the rural areas of the Transkei and Zululand and from the urban areas of Johannesburg, Kimberley, Durban, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town; they came from far as Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland.

The most astonishing feature of that conference was the number of tribes who sent representatives. There were Zulus, Xhosas, Tswanas, Sothos, Vendas, Shangaans, Tongas, and others. These tribes, some of them only recently locked in feuds, had looked upon each other with suspicion; each was proud and could only, with difficulty look upon others as equals. For two years before they had seen the bitter fruits of their disunion and division when, at the formation of Union, they had all been ignored when Boer and Briton met to form the so-called Union of South Africa. As Dr. Pixley ka Isaka Seme, prominent leader and lawyer, stated at the Conference:

"We are one people. These divisions, these jealousies, are the cause of all our woes and of all our backwardness and ignorance today."

The assembly conferred and at the end of their deliberations emerged the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

In some ways the thoughts and ideas of those pioneers reflected the different social strata from which the conference participants were drawn. For example, they had a House of Chiefs and a House of Commoners. But basically they were far-sighted. They saw the need for a united National Struggle of all the oppressed. They also saw as their most important demands, the demand for universal franchise and land. In matters of foreign policy the conference advocated the freedom and unity of the whole of Africa.

Since its formation, the A.N.C. has gone through various phases; it has

been in the vanguard of innumerable struggles although some of its work and leadership was under fire from other organisations. Today there is no doubt about its supreme position as the spearhead of armed revolution in South Africa.

The A.N.C. is not only the oldest liberation organisation in South Africa, but, unquestionably the only body with a mass base; with the organisational framework; with a dedicated leadership; and above all a highly-trained People's Army – Umkhonto we Sizwe (The Spear of the Nation) – capable of leading the National Liberation struggle to ultimate victory in South Africa.

As we look back on those far-sighted pioneers who met on that hot 8th day of January, 1912, we salute them. Since then thousands upon thousands have sacrificed much including their very lives in the cause of liberation.

Key to Our Freedom Struggle

The A.N.C. realised from the outset that the problems of forging unity among Africans was the KEY to our freedom struggle. The formation of the A.N.C. therefore, marked the birth of a nation whose foundations were laid in a stirring call by Dr. P. I. Seme, later to become its Treasurer-General, when in an article written in 1911 he declared:

"The demon of racialism, the aberrations of Xhosa-Fingo feuds, the animosity that exists between Zulus and the Tongas, between the Basuto and every other Native, must be buried and forgotten . . . We are one people!"

Throughout the years, the A.N.C. patiently and tirelessly preached the doctrine of African Nationalism and African Unity. On the other hand successive White minority regimes and particularly the regime of Apartheid did their utmost to foster tribal divisions among the Africans. They incited and continue to incite inter-tribal faction fights, ethnic grouping of Africans at school and residential areas along tribal lines. But these evil and insidious schemes of the enemy have failed to divide our people.

Britain, in 1910, granted 'independence' to the White minority and the **Union of South Africa**, which excluded Africans and other non-Whites, was established in the place of four existing Provincial regimes. Soon after assuming power, the White minority regime passed the notorious Land Act in 1913. This law robbed the Africans of their remaining land and created a state of affairs whereby 87% of the land passed into the hands of the Whites whilst the Africans retained only 13%. This piratical piece of legislation was designed to impoverish the African people and thus compel them to work in the mines, industries and large White-owned farms for miserable wages.

So far-reaching were the implications of the Land Act on the economic well-being of the African people that the A.N.C. decided to launch a campaign against this measure. At that time Great Britain still retained powers to disallow discriminatory measures passed by the South Africa Parliament. The A.N.C., therefore, sent a delegation to Britain to obtain British intervention for the repeal of this iniquitous measure. But using the excuse of the outbreak of the War in 1914, Britain refused to help the African cause.

The year 1913, also saw the great A.N.C.-inspired antipass struggle of the African people. That year the pass laws, long regarded as a badge of slavery by the African people, were extended to women as well. A bitter campaign of defiance by the women ensued. Many women were jailed and beaten. They persevered and finally the Government was forced to retreat and repeal the section of the law compelling women to carry passes.

At the end of World War I in 1919, the A.N.C. sent another mission abroad to champion the cause of our people and to put more pressure on Britain to use her constitutional powers and intervene in favour of the Black man. The delegation attended the Peace Congress in France in 1919. There they demanded freedom for our people and bitterly resisted the handing over of South West Africa as a mandated trust territory to South Africa. Whilst in Paris the A.N.C. delegation also attended the first Pan-African conference sponsored by Dr. W. du Bois and other Pan-Africanists.

However, the delegation's mission to London met with failure. Instead Whitehall referred them to the White racist minority regime against whom the African had sought British protection and assistance in the first place.

Workers Organised

During the twenties with rapid industrialisation taking place in South Africa and with hundreds of thousands of African workers being drawn into secondary industry the struggle of our people shifted largely into the economic plane. Trade union activity was stepped up and a great deal of industrial struggles and economic strikes took place. The Industrial Commercial Union, led by Clements Kadalie, played a prominent role in rallying the masses of the African workers. But the A.N.C. played an equally significant political role in supporting strike action by the African workers. The A.N.C. vigorously denounced the massacres by South African military forces on striking African workers.

During the mid-thirties, exploiting the upsurge of Nazi and Fascist reaction in Western Europe, the South African White ruling circles executed their grand design of taking away the vote from the Africans of the Cape Province and Natal, the last remaining areas where Africans "enjoyed" the right to elect White representatives to Parliament. By ruse and intrigue the South African „Whites Only" Parliament trumped up the two-thirds majority required to remove from the constitution the entrenched clauses which supposedly guaranteed the vote of the Cape Africans. Much later, the Coloured people were disenfranchised by similar intrigues. So much for the constitutional guarantees pledged for Africans by the White men of Whitehall. The entire African population was outraged by the disfranchisement of the Cape Africans.

To meet this crisis, the African National Congress, convened a special Convention which embraced Africans from all walks of life in Bloemfontein in 1936. It is regrettable that the action emanating from this Convention amounted to nothing much more than the sending of a deputation to the South African regime. But the struggle for the franchise had received a

serious setback. And our history has long ridiculed the compromise reached with the ruling circles about the representation of Africans in an advisory capacity.

The Programme of Action

The period of the Second World War and after saw a new upsurge of National Liberation Movements in Asia and Africa. In South Africa, this upward wave of anti-colonial struggle gripped the ranks of young African intellectuals and there were political disturbances in education centres like Fort Hare, Lovedale and elsewhere. In 1943, the A.N.C. formed a Youth League. The A.N.C. Youth League played a prominent part in getting the mother-body to adopt a militant programme of action.

The Programme of Action adopted by the A.N.C. conference in 1949 proclaimed that the main content and principal vehicle of the struggle against the racist regime must be mass action. The programme set out various tactics to be employed flexibly, depending on the prevailing situation. These tactics of struggle included the use of boycotts, passive resistance, strike action and other forms of mass action.

Mass Struggles

The adoption of the Programme of Action in 1949 ushered in a new militant era of mass struggles. Thus, in 1950, the A.N.C. in the Transvaal Province participated in the launching of a one day strike on May Day. On June 26 the same year, the A.N.C. together with the South African Indian Congress called a national day of mourning in the form of a nation-wide strike to mourn the victims of police shootings during the May Day strike and to protest against new repressive legislation.

In 1951, the A.N.C. National Conference in Bloemfontein resolved to embark upon a massive Campaign of Defiance of Apartheid laws. On June 26, 1952 together with the South African Indian Congress, the A.N.C. launched the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign. The Defiance Campaign carried on through 1953 covering all major centres in South Africa. Over 8,000 volunteers belonging to the A.N.C. and its allies defied Apartheid and were jailed. In 1954, the A.N.C. launched a struggle against the imposition of the inferior Bantu Education System calculated to reduce African youth into 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' for the White man. Massive agitation took place among the parents and teachers and a boycott was organised against Bantu Educational schools.

United Front Grows And the Struggle Broadens

In the meantime, the question of unity among all genuine democratic forces which has always consumed the serious attention of the A.N.C. was beginning to take a more concrete shape.

We have shown above that co-operation between the Indian Congress

and the A.N.C. had already been tested in action. Steps for this co-operation were taken in 1947 when the late Dr. Xuma, then President-General of the African National Congress signed a pact with Dr. Y. M. Dadoo and Dr. G. M. Naicker, Presidents of the Transvaal Indian Congress and Natal Indian Congress respectively, in which they agreed to co-operate on matters of common interests. This agreement was subsequently endorsed by the then African People's Organisation (representing the Coloureds) and its successor the Coloured People's Congress. Since then a firm basis of solidarity and joint action in the struggle among Africans, Indians and Coloureds was firmly established. Later, during the Defiance campaign of 1952 some progressive Whites joined the struggle on the side of the oppressed people, and the Congress of Democrats was formed.

This alliance was further strengthened with the South African Congress of Trade Unions, the only non-racial Trade Union federation in South Africa, actively joining in.

Having succeeded substantially in mobilising the various African tribal groupings into a single fighting nation, the A.N.C., in keeping with its overall strategy, to lead a united front of all anti-racist and democratic forces, hammered out a common programme with the representatives of the various racial groups and the trade union movement.

The Freedom Charter

This programme was further crystalised when early in 1955 the A.N.C. called for 50,000 volunteers of all sections of the South African people to go among the people and collect **freedom demands** to be incorporated into a common programme for South Africa.

Thus began one of the greatest campaigns in the history of the South African liberation movement. Demands flowed into the offices of the A.N.C. from every corner of South Africa; from Africans, Indians, Coloureds and Whites; from workers and peasants; from shop-keepers and intellectuals.

On June 26, that year at the historic Congress of the People, the fighting demands of the people were enshrined in The Freedom Charter.

The success of this campaign and the widespread support the Charter received from the people did not go un-noticed by the racist regime in South Africa.

In 1956, the political police swooped and arrested 156 leaders of the A.N.C. and its allies and charged them with High Treason using the Freedom Charter as the basis of its charge. It was alleged that the A.N.C. planned a revolutionary overthrow of the regime. In 1957, the A.N.C. together with local residents' associations organised the Great Rand and Pretoria bus boycott. In April 1958, the A.N.C. organised another one day national strike. In 1959 at its national conference in Durban, the A.N.C. resolved to conduct the following year a **massive nation-wide struggle against the Pass Laws**. This campaign was under way when the P.A.C. sought to wreck it by launch-

ing its passive resistance campaign only ten days before the National Anti-Pass Campaign was to begin on 31st March, 1960. When the police shot the people at Sharpsville and P.A.C. was in disarray the A.N.C. called a national one day strike on March 28, 1960 and ordered massive burning of passes. The South African regime, alarmed by the powerful wave of mass action by the masses of our people, declared the African National Congress illegal. The A.N.C. refused to accept the order of the powers that be, and decided to continue the struggle as an underground and illegal organisation.

The Correctness of Non-Violent Struggle

The A.N.C. leaders did not stand behind and merely command the people into action. They were in the forefront at all times. The very first banning orders imposed in 1950 by the regime victimised A.N.C. and S.A. Indian Congress leaders like Moses Kotane, J. B. Marks, Dr. Yusuf Dadoo and others. In 1953, A.N.C. leaders and other leaders of the Defiance Campaign were arrested; in 1956, a total of 156 A.N.C. and allied leaders were arrested and charged with High Treason. Numerous A.N.C. leaders at the national and local levels were either arrested, banned, banished, restricted, or victimised in one way or another. Thousands of local leaders and rank and file members fearlessly faced the bullets of the forces of tyranny.

Some ill-informed armchair dogmatists have the nerve to suggest that by waging a non-violent struggle the A.N.C. was somehow pursuing a reformist line. In Africa today, we have militant revolutionary governments like Guinea, Tanzania, Mali, Congo (Brazzaville) which came to power by non-violent means. At the same time we have, in many parts of the world, witnessed examples of the failure of armed struggle. Historical experience has clearly demonstrated that any struggle, whether non-violent or violent, will end in failure if it does not conform to objective and concrete conditions in the country in which it is fought. Its revolutionary content is determined by the objectives of the popular movement and the correct and flexible application of various tactics by the revolutionaries. Experience has also demonstrated that even in the course of an armed struggle, political and non-violent action is still valid. For example, the A.N.C. will continue political agitation inside and outside South Africa to isolate the regime of racism and whenever opportunity arises, we will yet again call upon the masses to take part in mass demonstrations, boycotts and strikes whilst in another theatre of struggle our militants will be engaging the enemy in armed action.

Flexibility of Our Tactics

In South Africa, the A.N.C. flexibly applied all the non-violent means of action at its disposal. We brushed aside armchair dogmatists, like the now

defunct Non-European Unity Movement, who religiously advocated the use of one tactic, viz. boycott, as a weapon of struggle. On the other hand our organisation changed tactics without hesitation as soon as objective conditions changed. We condemned the disruptive activities of the so-called Pan-Africanist Congress in 1960 when they disregarded the conditions of open fascism and thus exposed the masses to massacre. They paid not the slightest attention to preparing the people to counteract the violence of the regime that might await them. This splinter group misled the people by urging them to march unarmed to a police station thus giving the fascists the opportunity to open fire, killing and injuring scores of people. And these opportunists unscrupulously exploited this tragic event. The P.A.C. saw in the tragic massacre of our peoples at Sharpeville, an occasion to put themselves in the limelight, proclaiming themselves militant heroes. As we have already pointed out, in spite of these reckless tactics which had played into the hands of the police, the A.N.C., immediately called a national strike following the Sharpeville massacre and obtained unprecedented mass response. (In our next Chapter we deal more fully with the Sharpeville massacre).

African Unity

Having dealt a death blow to tribalism in our country and having forged a fighting alliance of all democratic and oppressed forces in South Africa the A.N.C. followed up on its earlier efforts to work for broader African unity embracing the whole continent of Africa. The slogans of the A.N.C. clearly reflect this. Our slogan "Mayibuye i' Afrika" (Africa must come back to us) is an example. We never said "Mayibuye i' South Africa" (South Africa must come back to us). The A.N.C. thumb up salute signified the unity of Africa: the fist stands for the continent and the protruding thumb, the Ethiopian horn of Africa while the bent elbow formed South Africa. Our National Anthem "Nkosi Sikelela i' Afrika" (God Bless Africa) also speaks for itself.

Our representatives attended the first Pan-African conference held in France in 1919, the fifth Pan-African Conference held in Great Britain in 1945 and The First All-African People's Conference held in Accra in 1958. In 1959, the A.N.C. was elected to the Steering Committee of the All-African People's Conference. At the Conference which resolved the end of World War I at Versailles in 1919, the A.N.C. delegation which was there raised two very important issues in addition to its own case, namely:

- 1) the rights of the African people of Rhodesia, to freedom. The Rev. Ngcayiya was the chief spokesman on this burning question; and,
- 2) strongly opposed the granting of the mandate over S.W.A. to South Africa and prophetically predicted that if the voice of the A.N.C. was unheeded, then the lot of the indigenous people of S.W.A. would be no different from that of the oppressed people in South Africa.

When the United Nations Organisation was formed in 1945, the late Dr.

A. B. Xuma who was President-General of the A.N.C. at the time, led an A.N.C. delegation to the U.N. and among other subjects, sharply raised the question of the S.W.A. mandate and demanded its immediate repeal and the transfer of S.W.A. to direct U.N. Trusteeship.

These actions of the A.N.C. in the struggle against White domination, not only at home but on a Continent-wide scale, clearly show the zealous belief of the A.N.C. that a stable unity of all the countries of Africa was an essential prerequisite for the defeat of Imperialism on the Continent and the destruction of white domination.

CHAPTER III

GOVERNMENT BY VIOLENCE AND MASSACRE

The Sharpeville Massacre of 21 March 1960 was one of the worst in the long history of indiscriminate killings of Africans in the Republic of South Africa. It was not the worst, as anybody with any knowledge of our history will know. The importance of the Sharpeville massacre was that, occurring when it did, in "Africa year 1960" when people all over the world eagerly anticipated the complete collapse of the disgraceful colonial system, it received maximum world attention and laid bare a side of racist rule in South Africa which was not generally appreciated outside the country.

The historians and researchers of African history who are so fond of enquiring into obscure and irrelevant subjects ought to spend some time examining the use of violence and massacre of peaceful people in South Africa as a technique against protest. The material is vast and is well documented. Almost every African family remembers the most notorious occasions on which trigger-happy police have killed scores of people in order "to teach the Kaffirs a lesson."

The Bulhoek Massacre

We remember the massacre at Bulhoek in the Queenstown district, when a group of Africans refused to move from a site which they were held to be occupying illegally by the authorities. This amounted to a civil wrong of trespass – a very petty matter. But in South Africa any sign of disagreement by Africans soon becomes a challenge to the very basis of White rule, fit to be visited with the severest measures. General Smuts, who is always pictured as a kind of holy of holies in imperialist literature, ordered the army into action. The Africans assembled at Bulhoek were given a few minutes to disperse from the site. The next moment there was the rattle of machine-gun fire. No less than 163 Africans died and many more were wounded. 95 were arrested and charged with Public Violence!

A few months earlier, in October 1920, a strike in Port Elizabeth was crushed by force even before it began. A peaceful meeting addressed by Masabalala was broken up by shooting in which 20 Africans were killed, including Masabalala himself.

Shot for Dog Tax

In 1921 the people of Bondelswart in South West Africa refused to pay a dog tax that had been imposed by the government. In accordance with accepted principles of White Supremacy detachments of the army and police moved into the area. In the resulting massacre 100 people were killed, scores were mutilated and many arrested.

On 16 December 1930, a meeting was called in Durban to protest against the pass laws. The meeting was addressed by Johannes Nkosi, a popular leader of the people. A large force of police arrived. Shots were fired, killing Johannes Nkosi and three others and seriously wounding 27. Twenty-six Africans were arrested and sentenced for "incitement to violence".

And so the story goes on. In the urban and rural areas, in demonstrations against arbitrarily imposed and absurd taxes, pass laws, removals, culling of stock, dipping-tank fees, municipal beer halls, the people have been met with bullets. The examples are legion.

Incidents Arranged

Knowing all this, organizers of the political movement have had to work out methods of organization which would make it difficult for the police to arrange provocations which would enable them to shoot the masses. This was not always easy, especially in areas where there was an inexperienced leadership not fully acquainted with the tactics of the South African regime. Yet even where a strong political organization existed, it was no simple matter to anticipate the moves of the oppressors who often used massacres not only to intimidate the people but to prevent the development of campaigns by disruption.

Thus the Great Miners' Strike of 1946, in which workers sat peacefully in the hostels and compounds, was broken up through wanton shootings not only at a demonstration but inside the compounds themselves. During the non-violent campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws (1952), the police deliberately organized incidents in Port Elizabeth, East London and Kimberley which disrupted the movement.

In May 1959, the African National Congress at a conference in Johannesburg decided upon a massive campaign of resistance to the Pass Laws. The first step in the campaign was a potato boycott, directed against the practise of sending people convicted under the pass laws to farms as forced labour. The Potato Boycott achieved tremendous support and the Government suspended the system and appointed a commission to investigate the whole matter.

The anti-pass campaign rolled on. It was announced that the climax to the anti-pass campaign would be on 31 March 1960. Early in March 1960 a little-known organization which had come into existence at its first conference held in December 1959, announced that it would be starting an anti-pass campaign of its own on 21 March 1960. This was the Pan Africanist Congress. The organization announced that the form their campaign would take would be for thousands of Africans to gather outside police stations as a protest against the pass laws.

Not a single person with any experience doubted what would happen. Instead of taking every opportunity to avoid giving the trigger-happy South African police a chance for a provocation, here they were being handed one on a plate. Warnings were issued to the PAC against this sort of irresponsibility.

Sharpeville

Fortunately when the day of 21 March dawned the bulk of the people throughout the country ignored the call of the PAC. But in the area of Sharpeville and at Langa in Cape Town, people did gather outside the police stations to protest against the pass laws. In both places the police arranged incidents which gave them a chance to shoot at the peaceful crowds. The Sharpeville Massacre resulted not only in the killing of scores of our people but also incidentally disrupted completely the highly-organized anti-pass campaign of the national organization which the government really feared – the African National Congress. The police had secured their twin objective of intimidating the people and disrupting the activities of the main liberatory forces. What they could never have anticipated was the extent and nature of international reaction to the massacre. The technique of violence was almost a traditional part of the South African government. It had occurred so many times before. But the world had changed. A world dominated by a few imperialist powers had disappeared. In Asia and Africa numerous states had achieved their freedom. Such a blatant act of aggression against the African people could not go unchallenged.

General Strike

Inside the country the African National Congress called for a massive general strike for 28 March 1960 in protest at the Massacre. Thousands of letters and cables flowed from the ANC headquarters to all parts of the world urging action against South Africa. On 28 March 1960 the whole country was paralysed by the strike called by the ANC.

At 8 p.m. that day, "Blackie" Swart, who was then Governor-General, signed the proclamation of a State of Emergency. The following morning hundreds of political leaders of all races were arrested under the emergency laws, over 90% of them members of the ANC and its allies. The pattern of arrests was most interesting if the cause was the Sharpeville Massacre.

There have been further massacres since Sharpeville, especially in Pondo-

land and the Transkei which are still under emergency laws. But Sharpeville was the landmark and turning-point in many respects.

It was perhaps the last of the peaceful and non-violent protests against the pass laws. The liberatory movements, considering all the factors operating in the African revolution, has decided that the way of armed seizure of power through a planned people's revolution is the only way out of the South African nightmare. More about this aspect later.

But we must never forget and must constantly pay tribute to those who, without arms and in the face of certain death by a ruthless enemy, stood firmly and courageously for our freedom at Sharpeville and elsewhere.

South Africa's War Preparation

South Africa has been and continues to be a land ruled by the gun. The regime increased the size of its army, its navy, its airforce, and its police. Pill-boxes and road blocks have been built up all over the country. Armaments factories have been set up in Johannesburg and other cities. Army officers of the South African Army visited Algeria and Angola where they were briefed exclusively by the French and Portuguese colonialists on methods of suppressing popular freedom struggles. In fact Jim Fouche who is presently the State President of South Africa and was then the Minister of Defence declared:

"Do not think we are arming to fight a foreign enemy, we are not. We are arming to shoot down the Black masses."

Erasmus another former Minister of Defence said:

"A re-appreciation of the situation and a careful study of the course of events in Algeria have shown that the possible major task for the South African Defence Force is likely to be one of conventional warfare against lightly armed forces of aggression. Attacks by subversive elements can best be beaten off by fast, lightly armed security forces."

Yet South Africa, attempted to mislead the world public, by claiming that their arms build-up was a defensive measure to ward off "a communist conspiracy".

In the last 10 years Defence estimates jumped from 44 million Rand to 255 million Rand. Police expenditure over the same period advanced from R 36 million to R 86 million. For the very first time universal conscription has been introduced for Whites to mobilise 100,000 men.

The ever-rocketing military budget of the racist regime has now become an annual feature. Thanks to imperialist support South Africa can now boast of being self sufficient. In a whole range and variety of weapons and equipment, rifles, mortars, grenades, smoke bombs, poison gases, napalm, and other explosive weapons.

As part of the South African war psychosis even white women have been trained in shooting in numerous pistol clubs set-up all over the country.

Last year the White army was engaged in two massive antiguerrilla manoeuvres which involved 5,000 and 2,000 men in Sibasa and Thobazimbi respectively.

The Unholy Alliance

As far back as 1960 feverish activity was observed in numerous comings and goings of Government officials and top military brass between Lourenco Marques in Mocambique, Salisbury in Rhodesia and Pretoria. It soon emerged that a sinister conspiracy was being hatched among the fascist and racist powers in Southern Africa. The political, economic and military coalition of these powers directed against the forces of African freedom was soon put into practice.

In 1961, Southern, Rhodesian troops were training in South Africa and so were Rhodesian Air Force units. A military mission from South Africa and another from the Rhodesian Federation visited Lourenco Marques in Mocambique, at the invitation of the Mocambique Army Command, and took part in training exercises in which several units totalling 2,600 men participated. These operations included dropping exercises for paratroopers.

A report in a South African aviation magazine, "Wings" (December 1961) states:

"The Portuguese are hastily building nine new aerodromes in Portuguese East Africa (Mocambique) following their troubles in Angola. The new 'dromes are all capable of taking jet fighters and are situated along or near the borders of Tanganyika and Nyasaland."

Moreover it soon became clear that not only where this evil racist-fascist forces ganging up to suppress the growing liberation movements in Southern Africa but that they were also preparing aggressive designs against free and independent African states beyond their borders.

Another aspect, equally dangerous which has emerged in this situation is the intervention on the side of these racist fascist Governments by Western imperialists interests.

The important position of South Africa in the whole imperialist economy is mainly responsible for the close political, ideological and military links which has made imperialists cling to the White racists with a stubbornness unprecedented in Africa and the world. When the White regime was threatened by developing events in Africa and internal mass resistance, the imperialist powers – one and all – rallied to her support and protection by giving her all the assistance necessary to build one of the most formidable arsenals in Africa. This has made South Africa the bastion and bulwark of reaction in Africa, and a springboard for subversion in the continent.

The major Western powers such as Great Britain, the United States of America, Federal West Germany, France and others have vast economic interests in South Africa and it is clear therefore why they are persistently giving political, economic, military and diplomatic support to the South African racists. We are disgusted by the role of the Japanese Government whose citizens have been granted the humiliating status of honorary Whites in South Africa, because of the collaboration in matters of trade and finance of the Japanese Government with the South African apartheid regime.

CHAPTER IV

PREPARATION FOR ARMED STRUGGLE

The tactics in our struggle has always been determined by an analysis of the concrete objective conditions confronting us.

Following the banning of the African National Congress in 1960 and its decision in 1961 to embark on an armed struggle, the movement decided to operate on two levels – internally in South Africa and externally on the international arena.

On the External Front

The external mission of the African National Congress is headed by Oliver Tambo who presently is the Acting President-General of the A.N.C. The mandate of the external mission of the A.N.C. was to mobilize democratic and progressive opinion in Africa and the world to support our struggle. Our external mission forged strong links first of all with the All African People's Conference and during the second Congress of this Movement which was held in Tunis in 1960, the African National Congress was elected to its steering committee. Our organization played an important role in the work of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement and is a member of the permanent Secretariat of the Movement whose head-quarters are in Cairo.

In Europe and America, in the Socialist countries, in Asia and Latin America, the African National Congress resolutely raised the voice and demands of our people. The African National Congress was one of the founders of the Anti-Apartheid Movement which was established in the early sixties in Great Britain and has spread to other parts of the world and has today become one of the major forces which mobilizes world opinion against the iniquities of racial oppression and apartheid.

The African National Congress has also appeared on the platform of the United Nations Organization where we exposed the fact that the South African regime of white domination and racism continues to perpetrate monstrous crimes against the basic human rights of our people and showed

memberstates of U.N. that South Africa was a threat to international peace.

However the A.N.C. did not once suggest that we looked for deliverance and salvation from outside the borders of our own country.

Speaking at the Conference of the Pan African Freedom Movement for East and Central Africa held in Addis-Ababa in 1963, Nelson Mandela, leader of the underground organization of the A.N.C. declared:

"We believe it would be fatal to create the illusion that external pressures render it unnecessary for us to tackle the enemy from within. The centre and cornerstone of the struggle for freedom and democracy in South Africa lies inside South Africa itself."

The A.N.C. Underground

We have indicated that the A.N.C. had resolved to operate as a clandestine organization inside South Africa. Nelson Mandela was elected as the leader of our internal sector. The A.N.C. having fully satisfied itself that the patient political, peaceful and non-violent struggle which our people had waged for half a century, could advance the struggle no further, embarked on the path of armed revolution.

This was a historic moment when the A.N.C. decided to take an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth and to meet violence, long meted out unilaterally by successive White Governments, with revolutionary violence.

Nelson Mandela described our frame of mind when he addressed the Court during his trial, which is now known the world over as the Rivonia trial. He declared:

"How many more Sharpevilles would there be in the history of our country? And how many more Sharpevilles could the country stand without violence and terror becoming the order of the day? And what would happen to our people when that stage was reached? In the long run we felt certain we must succeed, but at what cost to ourselves and the rest of the country? And if this happened, how could Black and White ever live together again in peace and harmony? These were the problems that faced us, and these were our decisions.

"Experience convinced us that rebellion would offer the Government limitless opportunities for the indiscriminate slaughter of our people. But it was precisely because the soil of South Africa is already drenched with the blood of innocent Africans that we felt it our duty to make preparations as a long-term undertaking to use force in order to defend ourselves against force."

During the course of the same speech, he went on to say:

"I started to make a study of the art of war and revolution and whilst abroad, underwent a course in military training. If there was to be guerilla warfare, I wanted to be able to stand and fight with my people and to share the hazards of war with them".

When the A.N.C. decided to start the armed struggle, we found ourselves confronted with many problems. Whereas all Whites undergo compulsory military training, no such training is given to Africans.

We decided to make our starting point by launching a campaign of sabotage. This campaign was launched on the night of 16 December 1961 when the whole of South Africa reverberated under the heavy blows of Umkhonto We Sizwe (The Spear of the Nation) which is the military wing of the A.N.C. Government buildings were blasted with explosives in Johannesburg in Port Elizabeth and in Durban. And so emerged a political demonstration of a new kind. Planned acts of sabotage had begun in the country.

The sabotage campaign continued for several months in the course of which Government installations were attacked and this included the offices of the Minister of Agriculture.

Police Reaction

The reaction of the regime of apartheid to direct action against itself was true to form. These fascists could think of nothing else than to impose on the country more vicious and repressive legislation to suppress the sabotage campaign. The so-called 90-day detention Law was passed. This law enabled the South African Secret Police to conduct massive raids and arrests of any A.N.C. militant they could get their hands on. In terms of this act, those arrested were held incommunicado in solitary confinement, and denied any legal representation. The regime let loose a reign of terror. Detainees were tortured by sadists of the lowest kind whose task was to squeeze out information from them using all the forms of torture which they could rake up from the museums of horror and barbarism.

During the sabotage campaign we lost some of our best comrades. During a bomb attack on a Government building on 16 December, 1961, an accident occurred and comrade Molefe died in the explosion. We lost one of our Indian Comrades Babla Solooje who was thrown from the seventh floor offices of the Head-Quarters of the South African Security Police in Johannesburg.

Lookamart Solwandle, Alpheus Madiba and several other Congressmen allegedly committed suicide while in detention. Vuyisile Mini, Kayingo and Mkaba were sentenced to death and went to the gallows singing A.N.C. freedom songs. Thousands of our comrades are serving long terms of imprisonment with hard labour for their role in the sabotage campaign.

Torture and deaths failed to break the spirit of resistance among our people, but the A.N.C. decided that the time had arrived for our movement to re-examine the effectiveness of sabotage in an atmosphere of unbridled facism. We had not as yet decided to inflict casualties on the lives of the enemy, but the enemy wontonly destroyed the lives of our militants. Our underground leadership decided that the struggle should move on to the higher phase of guerilla warfare, and consequently placed high on its agenda a programme of training guerilla cadres who would be the torch-bearers and organizers of guerilla action in the country. For very many reasons and particularly because of the developments in the country during the sabotage campaign, it became necessary to train these cadres outside South Africa.

The Rivonia arrests

It was at the beginning of the period of active preparation for the launching of guerilla warfare that our movement suffered a severe set-back. Several top underground leaders of the A.N.C., including Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Elias Motsoaledi, Raymond Mhlaba, Ahmed Kathrada and others were arrested at our secret underground headquarters.

Nelson Mandela had been arrested earlier on charges of leaving the country illegally.

These arrests, needless to say, revealed serious weaknesses in our style of work. We needed urgently to learn the lessons of conspiracy. At the same time we could not afford to waste precious time licking our wounds; we had to act resolutely to restore our organisational machinery and repair the damage created by these arrests.

A few trained cadres moved into the country to help strengthen the rump of our leading underground organisational machinery. Our comrades who worked underground at this period operated under very difficult conditions with scores of government spies and informers literally breathing down their necks. Further assessment of the internal situation based on the experiences of our personnel operating underground indicated that their very survival would depend on a change of tactics. Their summing up of the situation indicated that the stage for the introduction of armed guerilla units had arrived. What was needed were organisers of a new kind – men who would be well equipped to firmly brush aside any interference by the enemy and his hired agents.

Guerilla warfare

The problems of launching guerilla warfare are known clearly by those who have made a thorough study of the subject or who have actually participated in its conduct and we need not deal with these problems here.

Again we should stress that our organisation had to take into account the concrete situation which had developed on the side of the enemy as well as the situation on our side.

South Africa had emerged as an imperialist state in its own right. Behind the sugar-coated assurances from the Pretoria regime about its desire to develop 'good neighbourly' relations with the newly independent African states, lay the conspiracy to impose her economic and ultimately her military domination of these territories, especially those in Southern Africa.

The South African regime blatantly annexed the United Nations mandated territory of South West Africa in the teeth of world-wide opposition. It strengthened its military presence there and built a huge military and air base on the Caprivi Strip which borders on Zambia. South African helicopters began provocative violations of Zambian air space from this base.

Shortly before the Unilateral Declaration of Independence by Ian Smith news reached us of deployment of South African police and military personnel in Rhodesia.

From our comrades in Mozambique and Angola we received stories of the appearance of Afrikaans speaking South African troops on the battle front in these areas. A clear picture emerged of South Africa's new role as a power bent on military intervention in the whole of Southern Africa. At the time of writing South African helicopters had already been used in supporting Portuguese anti-guerilla action in Angola.

In the newly independent former British Protectorates of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, South African pressure was such that Liberation Movements could not even be invited to participate in their independence celebrations, let alone be given the right to function from these areas.

Talking about South Africa's policy towards these neighbouring African States, the Minister of Agriculture, D.C.H. Uys said in May 1968:

"This is not to play Boetie-Boetie with them, but to create good relations; to stop terrorists making friends of these people and so coming nearer to our own borders."

CHAPTER V

ARMED STRUGGLE BEGINS

With the White regimes in Southern Africa united in opposition against the national liberation movements of the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau, and of Rhodesia, South West Africa and South Africa, it is not surprising that the freedom movements of these countries too began soon considering a united front of their own.

For over a period of years there has been firm political co-operation between the movements of these countries and this political co-operation has now developed into a military alliance between the A.N.C. and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (Z.A.P.U.).

The ZAPU-ANC Alliance

The alliance of the Zimbabwe African People's Union and the African National Congress did not spring up out of the blue. It is founded on a belief of a united struggle; belief shared by all the people of African and expressed by decades of close co-operation between both leaders and rank and file of the political movements in South Africa and Zimbabwe. In fact when the A.N.C. was formed in 1912, it was founded as the national movement for South Africa, the then British Protectorates and Rhodesia (Rhodesia at that time was ruled by the South Africa based British-South Africa Company). It was only in 1924 that a separate A.N.C. of Rhodesia (now ZAPU) was formed.

The Zapu-A.N.C. alliance is therefore a unique form of alliance between two liberation movements for the purpose of fighting imperialism, racism and oppression. The A.N.C. also sees the need of urgently establishing a properly organised alliance with other movements in Southern Africa such as the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (Frelimo), the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and The South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO).

Into Battle!

The calm African winter of 1967, was interrupted suddenly, by the crack of rifle fire and the clash of steel in an area just outside the mining town of Wankie in Rhodesia. Newspaper headlines announced stiff battles between the forces of White racism on the one hand and military forces of African liberation on the other hand. Then, in a dramatic announcement from Lusaka, Zambia, Comrades, James Chikerema, Vice-President of Zapu and Oliver Tambo, Acting President of the A.N.C. declared that the combined guerilla units of Zapu and the A.N.C. were locked in battle against the combined forces of Rhodesia and South Africa. A joint communique issued by the two organisations declared:

"From the thirteenth of this month, the area of Wankie has been the scene of the most daring battles ever fought between Freedom Fighters and the White oppressors' Army in Rhodesia. Only last night the Rhodesian regime admitted having been engaged in a six hour battle. In fact the fighting in this area has been going on continuously for a full six Days . . .

". . . We wish to declare that the fighting that is going on in the Wankie area is indeed being carried out by a combined force of Z.A.P.U. and A.N.C. which marched into the country as comrades-in-arms on a common route, each bound to its destination. It is the determination of these combined forces to fight the common settler enemy to the finish, at any point of encounter as they make their way to their respective fighting zones . . . After all, as comrades-in-arms, we are facing a common enemy, fighting for a common purpose, facing a common fate . . ."

Elucidating further the role of the A.N.C. in Zimbabwe, O.R. Tambo declared at the press conference: **"Today we fight in Rhodesia tomorrow we fight in South Africa."** This indeed was a historic moment! Our people both in South Africa and in Zimbabwe had not confronted the enemy in armed confrontation for a period of about 50 years. The last armed clash took place in Zimbabwe between the people of Zimbabwe and the colonialists in the 1893-1896 rebellion in which both the Ndebele people and the Shona people of Zimbabwe joined hands and fought together against the common enemy. In South Africa the last armed rebellion by our people was the Bambata Rebellion of 1906.

Panic in the enemy Camp

The unit of the ZAPU-ANC group which gained the honour of firing the first shots in a new phase of our revolutionary struggle was named the **"Luthuli-Combat-Detachment"** in memory of Chief A. J. Luthuli, one of South Africa's greatest leaders, who had died a few weeks earlier. The choice of the name was significant. He was, at the time of his death, President-General of the A.N.C. and was born in Zimbabwe. The blows delivered by our men when they encountered the enemy reverberated throughout Southern Africa and the world. Panic seized the ranks of the enemy. The Salisbury correspondent of the Sunday Times, London (27/8/67) wrote:

"Officials in South Africa, Botswana and Rhodesia claim the guerillas are well trained and well-armed. One South African Cabinet Minister this week has even described the clashes as a battle for White survival in Southern Africa . . ."

J. T. A. Gerdener, Administrator of Natal said at the time:

"All indications were that the communist-led terrorist onslaught on Southern Africa was entering a second and more serious phase, and it was just as well that South Africans accept the fact . . . to fob terrorism off as a few thousand disorganised and ill-trained insurgents was dangerous and irresponsible . . ."

The Star (Johannesburg 26/8/67) reported a Rhodesian Government communique as saying:

" . . . the indications are that terrorists, who are believed to be using drugs, leave deliberate tracks in the bush designed to ambush pursuing security forces . . ."

Both Rhodesia and South Africa took steps to censor the news media hoping to conceal their heavy losses. The same edition of the Star reported:

"Government censors deleted references to the terrorists in this morning's 'Rhodesia Herald' and the Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation was silent on the subject this morning in its newscasts . . ."

And South African Premier B. J. Voster is reported by the Rand Daily Mail (26/8/67) to have **"appealed to the Press in regard to terrorism and not to publish any report which could embarrass South Africa . . ."**

Speaking on South Africa's involvement in Rhodesia, the same newspaper reports Voster as saying:

"We are good friends . . . Good friends know What their duty is when the neighbour's house is on fire."

The enemy reacted to our campaign in the following manner: More South African troops were despatched to Rhodesia. The Rhodesian Minister of Commerce and Industry, B.H. Mussett, said in a speech:

"The support which South Africa were giving so abundantly to Rhodesia was helping to ensure that the line of Communist penetration did not come farther south than the Zambesi . . ."

(Natal Daily News, South Africa 29/8/67).

The London Times (28/8/67) reported this eloquent news item:

"South African army officers and men who have been training with Rhodesian patrols in the bush country of the Zambesi valley are also reported to be in action . . ."

Yet in spite of all this evidence of South African involvement in Rhodesia even prior to our guerilla action, some misguided people and mischief makers want to suggest that South African troops only entered the scene after discovering the presence of A.N.C. guerillas in the area.

The South African Magazine "Scope" of 22. 9. 67, summed up the situation in the fighting zones in this manner:

". . . Skirmishes such as this take place almost every day in the Rhodesian bush, as Rhodesian and South Africa security forces tangle with terrorists . . . Day by day heroes are made, and among the death notices in Rhodesian

newspapers the words ... killed in action tell the story of fighting which has not been known for sixty years ..."

Both South Africa and Rhodesia issued threats against Zambia. South African defence Minister P. W. Botha, in April 1968, said that the South African Government regarded "facilitating terrorism" as an act of provocation. And he went on to say, "provocation can lead to hard retaliation in the interests of self-respect and peace."

The Guerilla successes

We have discussed briefly the reaction of the enemy to our guerilla campaign. But one has to listen to the accounts of the guerillas themselves to recognise the history-making significance of the 1967 guerilla offensive and subsequent engagements by our men. When the movement arrived, our dear comrades had the honour, the joy and pleasure of routing and throwing to flight the armed racist gangs who had for generations brutally shot and killed unarmed Africans whose only crime was their demand of freedom.

The wearing of the black clothes of mourning was now no longer a thing for African mothers alone. Those who had for years visited violence on Africans tasted the bitterness of the medicine they prescribed for others. Meanwhile, the battle of Wankie had the following results:

- The morale of our fighting men, who had witnessed the enemy turn his back and flee, was raised to new heights.

- The confidence of our people both in Zimbabwe and South Africa was aroused and they showed new determination to help the guerillas.

- The psychological barrier with which the racists forces surrounded themselves, depicting their armies as invincible, was smashed.

- The Smith regime was shown up as militarily bankrupt and that it could not stand on its own but relied entirely on South African support.

The Morogoro Conference

Following the commitment of our guerilla forces into battle, it became necessary for the African National Congress to review once more, the new situation which had arisen. A conference was therefore convened at Morogoro, Tanzania, in April 1969, whose main aim was to bring about qualitative changes in the organisational content of our movement in such a manner as to harmonise with the new situation which history had imposed on the South African Liberation Movement – namely a Revolutionary People's War. The conference which opened in the presence of representatives of the Organisation of African Unity, the All African Trade Union Federation and fraternal organisations such as Frelimo, ZAPU, M.P.L.A. and others also defined the new tasks facing the organisation:

- Conference defined the fundamental problem of the South African Revolution as the liberation of the African oppressed majority. At the same time the conference noted that the cruel oppression meted out to the Africans also applied to the Indian and Coloured Peoples.

■ Conference, therefore, advocated the re-organisation of the Congress Alliance in a manner that harmonised with the new situation and affirmed the necessity to integrate all oppressed national groups and revolutionary forces under the banner of the A.N.C.

■ Conference noted that we were on the threshold of a great advance in our struggle for freedom based on the mobilisation of the masses at home; that the movement had scored notable successes in the last few years; that since the Rivonia setbacks, we had made a steady recovery inside South Africa.

■ Conference rejected a militarist approach to the revolution and pointed out that the involvement of the masses is unlikely to be the result of a sudden, natural and automatic consequence of military clashes.

■ Conference pointed out that the struggle in South Africa would not follow the path by which many African countries obtained independence, and it rejected any superficial attempts at imposing methods of other revolutions into South Africa.

■ Conference laid the basis for a complete remoulding of our movement so as to enable full utilisation of all possibilities in mobilising the masses in South Africa.

■ Conference observed that a vital factor making for our inevitable victory was the support of progressive peoples the world over, and the possibilities of direct allies among the millions of fighting peoples in Southern Africa: in Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Namibia, Angola and Guinea Bissau.

■ Conference observed that like all oppressed peoples we would naturally like to get rid of the oppressors and exploiters in the shortest possible time. Should it turn out that the revolution developed faster than expected, we should be ready for that. But serious analysis suggested that the struggle would be a long one.

■ Conference confidently pointed out that victory was absolutely certain and that both historically and in practical terms the conditions which now existed were favourable for a successful revolutionary war in our country.

Freedom or Death

To sum-up in the words of our Acting President-General, Oliver Tambo:

"We in the African National Congress do not imagine that the defeat of imperialism in Southern Africa will be quick or easy. We realise it will be longdrawn 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 not by some, but by the whole African nation; by the oppressed minorities, the Indian and Coloured people; and by an increasing number of White democrats.

"Towards this victory we will fight to the bitter end.

"Our battle cry is and shall continue to be:

"VICTORY OR DEATH! WE SHALL WIN!

"Long live The Armed Struggle of The People For Freedom!

"Amandla Ngawethu! Maatla ke A Ronal

"Power to the People!"

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

FORWARD TO FREEDOM

The Strategy, Tactics and Programme of the A.N.C.
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