

I think, Lady Chair, I don't know quite where to start. He^fwould be a genius to know where^s to start after five years.

When I last stood on a platform here with you, in those days we were speaking about developments in the Far East. You will remember we were still telling the people and trying to drive it home to them, that the people of the Far East were gripped by the ideas of freedom. Those were the days after the war, and we said that those same ideas would come to Africa too. Then we spoke about Indo-China, Korea, and names we have already forgotten. In those days, when we read the paper we wanted to know ^{how} what it was with 'our people' in Indonesia. By virtue of their conquest by the Dutch many years ago, and their oppression so similar to ours, we spoke about them as 'our people'. Those were the old days.

But today it's not necessary to talk about such things because Africa itself is gripped by the same spirit. All that we can talk about today is a discussion of these things and why certain things are taking place; why Africa today has come to be such an important place when for centuries it had gone to sleep and was referred to as the 'Dark Continent' (just why exactly I have never been able to fathom).

Underneath itself, this 'Dark Continent' hides the greatest quantities of riches - gold, copper and other minerals. Which is why imperialism will not let it go. But there is something else there which they do not want to let go - the dark hands (it's not the heads they want), They take these hands to the yellow or pink continents to feed, not the masses of the people there like ourselves who are not fed, but to feed the upper crust. They have to keep Africa but they can no longer keep it in the same way as before. When they came,

they literally stalked in, trampled over the people with their guns and took what they wanted. But when imperialism came it brought with it a new outlook and you can't shoot an idea with a bullet. People begin to say to themselves: rather dead than live the life of a slave. Because the new ideas have gripped the people in Africa, bullets are no longer sufficient. The imperialist colonizers are using new methods. They use the head. It is the mind we have to watch out for. What do they do then?

They started in India many years ago. They said to the upper crust of the Indians, i.e. the merchants and the intellectuals (I am not talking of the masses of the people who were starving, e.g. the life-expectancy among the masses in 'the richest jewel of the British Empire' was 24 years); they said to the upper crust: you come over, gentlemen, you come over and be our partners. We'll hand over the government to you - as long as you'll look after our investments for us. But still they used one other factor to make quite sure before they pulled out. They set the Hindus and Moslems against each other, and we all know the holocaust that took place. British Imperialism had to make quite sure India would never become a unit. And who stood there to supervise the slaughter? It was the intellectuals - the leadership of the Indian Congress.

This (partition) is what British Imperialism taught the lesser imperialists. Many people say: America is a great country. Yes, it is a great country.....but Britain is still the greatest of the imperialists. She taught France, Holland, Belgium - how to pull out. Belgium is a small country. She did not know how to colonize.

But it so happened that in the carving up of Africa one of the biggest stretches of copper mines in C. Africa fell on the side of Belgium. These are the envy of the imperialists. They saw to it that before Belgium pulled out of the Congo the country was split up. It is a technique to keep the people backward and divided; to keep them in separate tribes; to only unify them under the imperialists' own administration, e.g. in the mines. When they pull out the country falls apart. There is no unifying force to keep them together. Then they (the imperialists) pick up their stooges - the Kasavubus, the Tshombes, their puppets (Tshombe performs like a ventriloquist's doll with the Belgians speaking through him). Why have they maintained these people? Precisely because they don't want to lose their riches. It is like the giving of independence to the Gold Coast (Ghana) after the last war, which gave a new lease of life to British Imperialism. That is what is happening in the Congo today, where American, British and Belgian capital are all interlocked. That is why U.N.O. is there today, and why they allowed Lumumba to be murdered.

We come further down to S.A. We are not going to talk about the smaller countries like Kenya and so on - the Mboyas and Nyerere. They have already made their plans (in all these countries). The top sections have been skipped off already (like the cream from the milk). They will be the junior partners to imperialism.

In S.A. we face exactly the same kind of thing. Some people say S.A. is different because the whites are here to stay. These are just details in the same picture). The capital of Britain is

invested here. Verwoerd and Co. are simply boss-boys looking after the interests of American and British capitalists. That is why MacMillan could come here and give them a little scolding for their stupid behaviour. I will remind you of one point in MacMillan's speech. He had just come from the North and he asked the Verwoerds why they objected because the Africans were being given their independence there. He said: were you not the first African nationalists we liberated here? Yes, the British liberated the Boers here. They conquered them, then dressed them up in new clothes and presented them as rulers to the people. Mind you, and we fought on the side of the British against the Boers. MacMillan said: please don't be foolish. What we did with you worked very well. Why shouldn't we do the same things with those boys up there? Now they have called Verwoerd over there (to London). Make no mistake - they won't throw him out! How can they exclude him from the Commonwealth? S.A. belongs to British Imperialism. All the gold it produces belongs to them. Of course they will use strong language with Verwoerd, but a formula will be found, framed in diplomatic language. Already we see signs of the new language in Africa. Of course here it will not be possible when they pull out, if they do pull out, for the different provinces to fall apart. S.A. is a highly developed state (in relation to the rest of Africa). It is a unit. That is why Verwoerd is trying to create Bantustans and Colouredstans, so that we should fall apart of ourselves. Remember there is a cream amongst us too. They will be told: come over to us. When we want to talk to the Bantustans and the Colouredstans, we'll talk through you. Who are these? These are the intellectuals. That is why we hear strange languages

today. We hear people talking about Coloured M.P.'s. The stage is set in S.A. ^{for} ~~in~~ exactly the same kind of treatment. You can bet your bottom dollar we also have our Tshombes, Kasavubus and Mobutus here. They are just waiting for Verwoerd to fork out!

Everyday you read all sorts of thing in the paper. You have van der Ross, the scribe of the C.Times. Does he talk our language? No. He talks of Coloureds as different - different from the 'Natives' (he has learnt now to talk about 'Africans'). This is the beginning of Colouredatan. You suddenly see old, old skeletons coming out of the grave. In 1945 we buried the CAC-gen. Today, where are they? They are stalking the land once more. Where do they come from? Who dug them up? Go up to the Congo and see whose function it is to dig up political skeletons. Who benefits from it. They are the people who still have ideas of inferiority, who regard themselves as 2nd class whites. The skeletons are being dug up because of the new ideas in the land.

I don't know if any body has thought about the name of this org. yet: the African People's Democratic Union. Let us take the word, 'African'. To us, anybody who belongs to this country are Africans. All of them are Africans if they're born in this country and working in this country. By this 'African' in our name, make no mistake - we are not concerned about whether a man's nose is flat or sharp. That is an irrelevant question. Nobody asks what kind of ear a man has. We're concerned with the big things in this country and the big things are: how the people live and who governs them, etc. Secondly, in our name we put the stamp of democracy. We want a democratic government; not a government for groups. When we were young we were a little careful of people who were newly converted to Christianity. *They would burst*

praying at every opportunity. We find the same thing in politics. There are Coloured people, e.g., who say: the Africans are in the majority in this country; they should rule. Those are the ideas of the newly converted. We're not interested in groups or pedigrees (we leave that to Verwoerd, the farmer). Thirdly, the idea of 'Union'. We are not interested in the idea of the Union of S.A., which was never created for us. We're interested in a union of Southern Africa. Is it Rhodes or Verwoerd who will lay down the boundaries for us? No, it's the people of Southern Africa who will decide. A union of people also means a unity of ideas - a nation.

S.A. is part of Africa. The imperialists are following the same policy here as in the Congo, Kenya, etc. But they can't succeed in splitting S.A. for the simple reason that here we have a highly developed state with, e.g. a developed working class. So we see the people in the Transkei who work in the towns, have the same ideas as ours. They can't split us up (1) because the provinces can't be split up, (2) because they can no longer split us up on the lines of tribes; tribalism is dead, (3) because of the working class who have the same ideas and ~~the~~ have a consciousness of their own destiny. Already their plans are being foiled by the people. We read about Sekukuneland, Zeerust and now Pondoland, and the Transkei as a whole. There the people are rejecting Bantustans and Bantu Authorities because they can't be taken backwards. They are demanding full equality. They said: as long as we are not represented in Parliament there will be unrest in the land. These ideas were brought to them by the leadership of the NEDUM, of the All-African Convention. This leadership is today in gaol, or in exile.

The point we're coming to is this: those ~~men~~ are the people who rejected their schemes and put in its place full equality, the full franchise. They're saying it to us, they're putting out their hands to us. What are we doing? We spend our time doing other things. Is it because we've lost our humanity? It's because of the slave mentality, ideas we have not got rid of yet. I am reminded of the war in America between the North and the South during the liberation of the slaves. There were those slaves who could not believe that they were no longer slaves. Today there are those who don't know that freedom has come knocking at our doors. They scold their sons and daughters for being disobedient. Go out and tell them we must begin to think ~~afresh~~ fresh, to behave in a new way. It dawned on me during the time I was banned that the day I go back I would have to tell the people: we can't go on plugging away in the old way, we must get ready to take up the new burdens, the burden of freedom. How do we get ready for freedom? We take off our coats, and start digging to plant the ideas of freedom. Those in the country are stretching out their hands to us. We must not let them down. We have let them down too long already. Why? Those in the towns have no organisation. Whoever wants freedom must be in an organisation or not even talk about freedom. I have heard people say: we are 4 to 1, it's easy to get our freedom. Those are the things that are keeping us back. It's not easy. Freedom is one of the most complicated things in the world. People who say: it's easy, are idiots. Unfortunately, we still have too many of them. They say: if we only stay away from work for a week we will have freedom. I say, I only wish such people would grow up. If it was so easy, then why are billions

of people still suffering oppression all over the world? Do you think for one moment that 1 location of 1 town can bring a government down? And if you did succeed in bringing a government down you would only succeed in bringing a Verwoerd's government down to put a de Wet's government in. We understand that the most complicated thing is to get our freedom, that it is the populations that are going to get our freedom, and that if these peoples are not under one unified command and organisation, all our efforts would be useless. You can fill the Parade with 20,000 people but ~~at~~ 50 men under unified command could go and disperse them. When we form an organisation, then, it is not simply a matter of defence, but we are creating a nerve-centre to bring the people under one unified command, a command who will be elected by the people when once they are in that organisation.