

- Easter  
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SASM Conf, KWT

## STRATEGIES OF OPERATION.

This afternoon, brothers and sisters, I would have you consider with me the topic, "Strategies of operation." It is ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> near nigh impossible to do this without a prior analysis of the political alternatives open to the Black man in the South African socio-political scene which I shall endeavour to do presently. There are only two alternatives open to a Black political activist, namely, to work within the separate development policy and platforms which have been created by the self-imposed white director society without consultation or to work within the law but outside the system and thereby incur the displeasure of the director society despite the fact that your activities may be perfectly legal - a clear indication that the white society is hell-bent to maintain its privileged position until eternity. It is for this reason that Black consciousness movements have elected to operate outside the system - a much more difficult route to liberation than the former but the shorter and the surest. You therefore, obviously have to go out of your way to formulate strategies adaptable to different situations that will arise from time to time en-route to the realisation of your objectives.

You are primarily students and that is to say, those whose main occupation is the acquisition of knowledge. The kind of knowledge you are acquiring has been designed for you by the director society such that you may be useful tools in the fulfilment of their main aim - to stay directing. It therefore goes without saying that it is necessary that whilst you remain studying at the only schools available - those provided by them, you have to set yourselves a programme of self-education in order to acquire those skills which matter most en-route to freedom. Such skills as political knowledge, knowledge of economics, law, agriculture and other disciplines can be acquired easily by extensive reading of books, newspapers and independent research which can be carried out in libraries provided by the Institute of Race Relations and other bodies. The main purpose of all this is to develop knowledgeable, perceptive and analytical minds that are so invaluable to the realisation of our aims. I am sure you do not want to be engineers, doctors and builders for money and development of the homelands. The ideals you embrace point goals much loftier than that. The ideals of SASM imply selflessness, sacrifice and service and you have at all times to exude these attributes at school, at home, at work and at play.

You as students come into contact with three main classes of people, namely, parents, teachers and students. Most parents will be opposed to your activities and this has resulted in some members backing out of Black organisations. But if you are a good child, you study hard at school and you are honest, respectful and working hard around the home, no parent will forsake you. The same applies at school as well. In this way you will be creating good public relations for your movement and making your parents and teachers your best friends. But be always vigilant that you never sacrifice principle in the process. The purpose of this goodwill is only to further your aims and not to do the bidding of either the parent or teacher but of your movement. The question of fluid communication between student and teacher also arises here. Parents and teachers unlike you, have lived under conditions of spiritual oppression for a long time and their independence of mind and self-respect have been systematically crushed by a host of intimidatory laws and actions. Be patient with them but always take every opportunity to challenge any false notions on their part about what the director society's true intentions are. Challenge all false notions about our history, our liberation and our way of life.

But as far as possible, do it discreetly and respectfully to facilitate fluid communication.

In your relationship with students who are the people whose support you want to enlist most, lead them. Help those who come from indigent homes, challenge any unreasonable action against a student member, initiate student cultural bodies like debating societies where none exist, always bearing your goals in mind. Take heed to try and avoid inconsequential strikes that may result in unnecessary casualties but always exercise discretion in such situations and avoid acting against strong student opinion and thereby creating hostilities against SASM. Discretion is the key word in all successful political activities. Be calm, cool and composed in all situations and avoid emotionalism in your actions and speeches. Live a clean disciplined life so as to enhance the image of SASM.

Your ultimate goal is the emancipation of the Black man from the tutelage of white society and in your activities you will deal with people. For strategic convenience, Blacks can be divided into three classes, namely, those who have completely surrendered to the white man, those who although not surrendered are hesitant to stand up against oppression because of economic considerations and fear of reprisals, and those who are working for liberation but are unwilling to do so within the Black consciousness fold. Black Consciousness groups have evolved a formula called the "three C's" for dealing with all these classes. The C's stand for confrontation, conscientization and co-operation. The first group or class is to be found in homelands and other governments. They are leading simple Blacks and others and others who lack the intellectual resources to weigh objectively the glib allurements dangled before them, astray. They are to be confronted urgently as some of them are already looking forward to an empty independence. The second group are to be conscientised. Some of them are even found in homeland opposition parties, the labour party and mostly among the passive, inactive people who feel listless and unable to do anything to free themselves. The third group is found mainly in churches, newspapers and social welfare organisations. Their remedy is co-operation as well as conscientisation. These suggestions are to be reviewed from time to time according to circumstances. They are mere suggestions and not "MAO's thoughts" on how to run your organisation.

I wish SASM a successful inauguration and a fruitful future. I know that by the selflessness which you have already shown and your dedication, you will enlist the support of a million and more other boys and girls who are young, dedicated and Black.

**POWER AND SOLIDARITY.**