

July 1978.

Friends House

London.

Fellow workers, ladies and gentlemen. It is a great pleasure for me to meet some faces I knew and I have known a long time and I am glad also to meet some new faces here. I hope that the number of new faces will increase as the struggle gathers momentum, because I feel certain as the struggle gathers momentum in South Africa and Africa as a whole it must also have an effect on the metropolis, in England particularly and the United States as well as in Europe for the world to-day is of a piece. I am going to talk to-day about the plans of imperialism as we see them and we are going to call upon you to do something about these plans. Those of you who have followed closely the development in Rhodesia, where Zimbabwe is struggling to be born, must have drawn certain conclusions. It has become clearer to us that Rhodesia has become the dress rehearsal for the drama that is going to take place in South Africa. It is for these reasons that we think that we must talk to you about these matters, because we shall need your help, we, your participation in the struggle that is ahead of us, for our struggle is in fact your struggle. Now the first thing we want to establish, and I think it is generally known to people in England, is that South Africa is regarded by imperialism as the most important country in Africa. This is not only because South Africa is the most highly industrialised country, but it is a strategic country, it is of strategic importance in various ways. I am not merely using that term now in relation to the war, the strategy in war, but also politically. South Africa is the key to what might happen in the future; in fact, the battles of imperialism are going to be fought on the soil of South Africa. Once Namibia is over and once Zimbabwe is over the world is going to be hung up against South Africa and South Africa is important to imperialism. Imperialism understands ^{that} whichever way South Africa goes will determine the balance of power on the world scene. If the South African struggle should succeed and South Africa is wrenched out of the orbit of imperialism, then imperialism has not only lost South Africa but that will be the beginning of ^{the loss of} ~~losing~~ Africa as a whole.....

Africa as a whole. To put it another way, if the Revolutionary struggle should fail in South Africa, imperialism will continue to have another lease of life in the continent of Africa, ~~so that there is the importance of South Africa, and because South Africa is that important~~ *for this reason* imperialism is ~~taking no chances and it is not going to leave anything to chance. It is going to move, and is moving~~ *and* has already started to move to influence the development in that country. It has already *drawn up* its own plans, and I am going to attempt here to talk about these plans as we see them. Now I have said South Africa is important to them. ~~Therefore they must move.~~ First the one thing we must understand is that the economy of South Africa is the property of England, America and partly of the European countries. The boers ^{who rule} ~~in~~ the country ~~rule and are allowed to rule by imperialism.~~ They are the guardians of the property of imperialism in South Africa and for this reason *imperialism* they are not going to permit anybody to feel around with that property.

Devote has shown that the old chapter closed in South Africa and a new chapter is opening up. The British who are the old colonial power are expert in reading the writing ^{on} ~~in~~ the wall, they understand what is happening. They knew that Verwoerd - I am sorry you will excuse me if I say Verwoerde, that marks my age. I have fought against Verwoerd all my life and I forget about the little dog now that has *now* ~~come in and taken over, he has in fact introduced nothing new. He has simply taken over what Verwoerd planned. He is putting that into effect, however.~~ *putting into effect* The point I am making is, that they knew Verster has played all his cards. He has got nothing left. A government in order to govern must at least pretend that it governs by consent. It is art of government to hide its strength *somehow* ~~somehow~~. Everybody knows that the government is powerful. ~~It has powerful weapons against the population, but this is hidden somehow, and the extent of its strength~~ *But* ~~is unknown, so people are frightened. But South Africa has found itself in this position that it has~~ *exposed all its cards* ~~thrown everything out. Everything is stark, everyone can see everything that they have got.~~ *it has got* ~~Te-day this~~ *position* has been.....

pestien has been shown itself in Soweto. When the youngsters, the kids went out and bared their chests and said 'shoot if you will! We are not going to live as pariahs as slaves in our own land.' This means that there is nothing else left, they have no other weapons, ^{except the gun.} ~~there is nothing else left for them except the shooting.~~ *And this means the end of a period and it also means the beginning of a new stage in the struggle. The imperialists understand this very well and since they have allowed Verster to guard their property for all these years the way he chose to, now its time they began to move and they are not going to* ^{risk putting into jeopardy} ~~not only their property, but the whole of the balance of power internationally. That means that it now involves the very existence, the lifespan of imperialism in general; this is at stake, *Imperialism and how it proposes to solve its problems,* ^{therefore must move. What is it going to do?} ~~This is what we propose to talk about to-night. First we saw what they did in Rhodesia. Let me just put it in a few words. The freedom fighters in Rhodesia were winning the war, and it went on well, until Kissinger came on the scene. If to-day we are in a mess in Rhodesia these are the keys that were laid down by Kissinger when he came on to the scene, Kissinger went to Verster, we are told; and we believe it. We have no reason to disbelieve it. He went to Verster with three reports. One from the C.I.A., one from the F.B.I. and one from the military intelligence and put these before Verster, who read them, and quickly pulled out his own from B.O.S.S. and he put them on the table, and all the reports agreed on one thing that Smith hasn't a chance of winning the war. The only difference amongst them was the question of time, some said in eighteen months, some put it a little longer, but they were agreed that he must lose. Once that was clear Kissinger began to move. Imperialism began to move. They had to stop the calamity that they saw. For them there is one thing that is clear, that is important, independence yes. They are willing to let them have independence, but independence must not be grabbed by force of arms. It must be granted to a colony. Therefore, the colony still continues to~~

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remain under a new name but ruled from elsewhere, in other words, neo-colonialism is established. Therefore, they can rule that country by manipulating the economy of that country, if they choose to, manipulate the army. This they can do and do easily, if independence is granted now. If independence is wrenched from them they lose, not only control of the country, but they lose the property because the people take back their country and all that is in it, their own property. This is what they are not going to permit to happen in South Africa. As we have seen in Rhodesia, what do they do. Kissinger decided, at least imperialism decided, that this coming calamity must be stopped at all costs. They decided they should have negotiations in Rhodesia; peaceful negotiations, but once this decision was taken it was a question of division of labour, apportioning jobs to different people. It became the duty of Verster to sit on Smith to bring him to the table and since the organisations that are fighting are in the territory of the African countries, African countries had to be won over to the idea of peaceful negotiation. Once they are won over they would be called upon to bring to the table for negotiation the movements that are in their territories, so it went on, and today we are in this mess, and as a result of that splits began, this way and that way, and the initiative shifted from the guerilla fighters to Smith who had lost the initiative up to that point, and then splits began to take place and all sorts of things began to happen. You knew all about them so I don't need to spend time over this, but what I am coming to is that when Verster got himself engaged in these negotiations, participated in all this, it wasn't for the love of seeing an independent black state on his border but he was establishing a precedent because he knew that after Zimbabwe it's bang up against South Africa and he had to prepare himself. He also knew that imperialism is not going to allow him to play about any more because in so far as imperialism is concerned Verster is leading the country into an abyss. He knew this was also coming. Plans were then made;

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and what are the plans? Verster knew that he is going to be called upon to come to a negotiating table a settlement. But before we go any further let us take this one thing, let's make no mistake, in South Africa we will not even be allowed the status of neo-colonialism as in other countries. In South Africa it is going to be a clear-cut thing. Either the revolution wins outright or it fails outright. There is no question there of a majority rule that would be allowed by imperialism. So even these negotiations are not to be negotiations on the basis of one man one vote, it is going to be negotiations on the basis of the policy of the Bantustans. These are the plans. Some of you will say how can that be, after all, imperialism has rejected the Bantustans, America does not recognise Matanzima and All Europe does not recognise Matanzima. We must understand this. The chief country that is the head of imperialism, the U.S.A., is in a bit of a quandary at this moment, it is not opposed to Bantustans on principle. America is forced by the events in America itself. The black man in America today has become a factor in the politics of the country. Hence you see today an Andrew Young holding the position that he does. A black man has become a factor, and the Bantustans are so blatant, and so ugly and so unacceptable that America dare not accept it as it is. What have they done? A decision we believe has already been taken that Verster has to cosmetise the Bantustan policy. They cannot get rid of it and they have no intention of getting rid of it, but it has to be cosmetised in order that it may be acceptable to the world. There are various things they can do to cosmetise these. One is broadly speaking, and I only mention one variant. Verster will continue to give the so-called independence to these Bantustans and then say they have to form a federation, a South African federation, with all the various Bantustans, the Coloured-stans and the Indianstans and of course the big White stan, that's South Africa itself, white South Africa. There will be a federation; and at the top they will create a cabinet or a council, whatever you call it, so that the steeges from the black stans will meet with heads of the

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white man, but this will be a cabinet or a council which dangles in the air. It is not a federation in the normal sense where the supreme power rests with the top, with the states below it. That cabinet will be something that dangles in the air and will have no right to interfere in the internal matters of the independent states and it has to be so, otherwise some black people would have to be interfering in the affairs of white South Africa, an intolerable situation, as this cannot happen. They will have a grand scheme, a glorified federation of states, and it might be called a South African federation, whatever you call it, and this will be presented to the world, who is going to say from afar that the people of South Africa have no right to form a federation of their own various countries together who can say this, this will be accepted, you have a grand structure called a federation of South Africa and then they will start to negotiate on this basis, negotiate the position of the black man on the basis of the Bantustan. Then they will say that everybody has all that they want - the blacks have independence. They are talking as independent states in this federation. You will still have your Bantustans, but let us say in advance, that to talk about what they call homelands as states, and to talk about what they give as independence, is the greatest hoax of the century, in fact it's a grotesque hoax. First let's call the Bantustans what they are - the reservoirs of cheap labour. The whole policy of the Bantustan is a rationalisation, a perfection, a streamlining of a system of forced labour, that's all that the Bantustans are and the Bantustan policy is. The figures alone will tell you a story. Thirteen percent of the land of South Africa is to be occupied by 86% of the population, and they chose the worst parts of South Africa because 75% of this 13% is either badly eroded, mountainous and hilly and only 25% is arable land, to make quite sure that no Bantustan can survive, no Bantustan can even have the semblance of independence. The truth of the matter is that 50%, if not more, of the black people will always be in white South Africa and they will always remain there for the simple reason that it is physically impossible for them to go and occupy these little

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enclaves, but what will have happened is, that every black man who is there is now in a foreign land and he lives there by permission, as he does now, and the government of South Africa will then be under no obligation to supply civic facilities for the black population living there, because these are foreigners. They are under no obligation to provide educational facilities, medical facilities, and the rest of the facilities that every citizen is entitled to. Because, as they will say, these amenities they can find in their various countries, but South Africa will continue to have the labour that it has always had from the people living there and the people in the reserves, what they call Bantustans. Once we have settled what the Bantustans are, ^c ₁ we have already given a picture of the plan, the federation, then you will see that everybody will be satisfied, because the blacks have their right in their own territory and the labour system still continues as before, that the labour recruiting channels continue to work faster and faster. You will have your grand structure but the land question, the land hunger, has not been solved. At the same time the profits that accrue from forced labour continue for imperialism for they are the great investors in South Africa. They will be satisfied too, We cannot think of any other way that imperialism will approach this question. All they have to do is to make this plan acceptable. Once this is done the first thing they will do is to internationalise the struggle inside South Africa. They will take it to the United Nations and they will say 'We cannot allow the present evil system of South Africa to continue, we must give the black man his rights in the land of his birth. We must therefore save bloodshed and in order to save bloodshed we must settle this matter amicably through discussion'. This will be taken to the United Nations. Who in the U.N. is going to oppose this vague and general phraseology, this vague term. Nobody wants bloodshed, so they all say 'Ja, ja'. Then from there it will be taken to the O.A.U. and the O.A.U. will also have to say yes. I say here 'have to' for 2 reasons. The O.A.U. in the first place is bound by its own Lusaka manifesto, which decrees that Africa must

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first explore all means of a peaceful settlement, and only failing this shall they allow the black people to go and fight for their rights. So they are bound by this manifesto, but they are bound by something else. Besides, first we must be quite clear on one thing, and let's not be sentimental about these matters, we have to admit that free Africa is far from being free and that when it comes to questions that are fundamental to imperialism Africa will not be given a voice. You already have an example, and a clear example of the situation. Take the U.N. itself. There you have all the countries of the world meeting on an equal footing, so-called, the smallest country, any banana republic has the same vote as the United States or Russia. Every country has an equal right to speak there and they all speak and they all vote. They are permitted to vote on all secondary questions, but on the basic questions that affect imperialism five states only have a say; that is, the Security Council. They decide the issues, all the basic issues that affect the lives of the people, are decided by these. The rest can talk and vote as much as they like but when it comes to decisions they have no right to speak. Since South Africa is part and parcel of the basic questions and is not a secondary question to imperialism, South Africa therefore falls on the side of basic questions, and to be treated as such. In other words, even if they talk, the decisions will be taken by the big powers. Some will say 'Yes, you can say that but what about Russia? Will Russia allow this? After all you have seen evidence of this question that Russia does come into it. Did not Russia help the freedom fighters in all other countries in Africa? Didn't Russia help in Angola? Didn't Russia help in Mozambique?' Yes it did, but then this was not South Africa, this was just Africa in General. ? South Africa is specific and has a specific weight in international affairs and has a specific weight in the relation of forces, world relation of forces, and for that reason nothing will be allowed to interfere there. There is also another reason why you do not have to consider Russia in this sphere, because these decisions have been

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taken within the framework of international detente between the super powers, and what does this detente mean, concretely. Detente simply means an agreement as to the division of the spheres of influence in the world and between the super powers, and what was this decision? Concretely it means that Russia has been permitted by imperialism to do whatever it chooses with the countries in Eastern Europe. An example of this will illustrate this. Russia, as you know, at one time invaded Hungary. There was a lot of noise but nothing happened, and then it invaded Czechoslovakia. During that period Russia amassed a tremendous amount of its army on the soil of Europe because Czechoslovakia is Europe. No such thing was possible without the agreement and connivance of America, England and Europe. It's inconceivable that Russia on its own could simply come and amass such a big force, military force, on the soil of Europe and be allowed to get away with it. It's inconceivable but because it took place, under the framework of the detente, Russia knew she would be allowed to do so. For a long time we wondered, since in these matters there is the question of the quid pro quo. What is Russia going to give? At one time I used to think, is it Cuba, and we thought, no, it's not possible, it has now become clear, it's not Cuba. Russia had to give on the one question which is basic to imperialism and that is South Africa. Russia has to acknowledge that South Africa is part of Europe on the Continent of Africa and therefore, this is a sphere of Europe and Russia must not interfere and for this reason there is going to be no question of Russia doing what it did in Angola and Mozambique. There is an agreement on both sides on this question. In the first place, Russia would not risk breaking the detente over South Africa, it's too far from it to be worthwhile, so the detente in general, the world detente is far more important to Russia than South Africa. South Africa is vital to imperialism, therefore, between them there is an understanding and once there is this agreement you must also understand, there is agreement at the top and it goes right down. All these countries that are the client states of the super powers must take their various positions and all of them have to agree with this so there we are faced with a situation. Once the agreement is taken it

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goes right down not only through Europe, but down to the soil of Africa because Africa must participate in this. They need it, after all. The freedom fighters are on the soil of Africa and this can only be done with the assistance or with their connivance if they won't assist. Once we come to this we have to ask the question whether Africa is in a position to say no, also the various organisations are on the soil of Africa under the governments of these territories. Are the movements in a position to say no, when they are being pushed by these countries to go and negotiate, are they? No they are not! Equally, are the African countries not in any position to say no to imperialism when imperialism presses them to agree to this plan for negotiation? Our struggle is faced with the gravest of dangers. What do we propose to do? This we want to put before you. We want to put this before the populations of the world; before the people of England, before the people of Europe, America, everybody, the population, that is, these organisations that are not connected with the establishment, these organisations that are independent of the establishment. It is only they and they alone that we can turn to. What we ask for is the formation of support committees everywhere, support committees to the movements in South Africa that are fighting for liberation. We are asking for this reason, we are asking you to give us an opportunity to have an independent position so that we can think independently, fight independently, and fight our battles independent of states, independent of super powers, and therefore independent of the satellites of the super powers. This is what we are asking of the populations of England, since I am in England I should say of the people of England form your support committees and give us the opportunity so that we are free from being dependent upon states, because no state is independent of the super powers. The states in Africa are not independent of super powers. Whatever decision is taken up there has to be carried out, therefore we have to be freed from dependence on super powers or these powers depending on super powers. This is what we ask you for and first thing if you form your
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committees and these committees must themselves be independent of the establishment. If you do form these committees, one of the planks or the platform is first, Britain out of South Africa, multi-nationals out of South Africa, banks out of South Africa, and when the chips are down not a single soldier, Britisher, should have the shores of Britain to go and fight on the other side and this can be done if the people of England unite themselves in committees and by committees. I don't mean when I say support committees I don't mean a single organisation turning itself into an organisation raising funds to give to the people inside South Africa. I mean the organisations in England as organisations must form these committees together and give the support that they give to the fighting people inside South Africa. Here again for us this idea is more potent than appears on the surface. First we say give us independence so free ⁴⁵ from dependence. When you form your committees you are attached to the people in South Africa who are fighting for independence. The first thing the committees are going to ask is what sort of independence? Independence for whom? Once you examine the question then you begin to realise who the enemy is. You know in any struggle the most difficult thing for the oppressed people is to identify the enemy, the real enemy. If they could nobody would be oppressed today and nobody would be exploited today. The reason why we are still oppressed and still exploited is because the population finds it difficult to identify the enemy. Now through the eyes of the people inside South Africa when you are supporting that struggle you will soon find out it is not the boers, it is not Verster. The boers by themselves could not manage to keep that vast population under their heels to now. It couldn't. Therefore somebody else must be propping up that regime. Who is it who is doing so and why and from here then the thing begins to spread, and as people begin to identify themselves with us they also identify who the enemy is; and once that takes root then you will find that organisations which are committed to the struggle there, will want to pull away from the establishment here because the enemy has been identified. This is a two-way stream. On the one hand

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you give us the possibility of independence at the same time that has a comeback on the question of understanding of who the real enemy is and because you are committed to that struggle, you begin to realize it is the same struggle basically as the exploited people here in Britain. Therefore, we begin to understand that the struggle is common our struggle and your struggle cannot be separated, and this way once you have your committees you lay the basis for a development, for a political development in Britain itself. Through these committees you can get the ear of the population, through these committees you have the possibility of different organisations coming together because they are brought together by the same need, and you have the opportunity then. These organisations that have ideas, have a platform, quite apart from the support, the importance of the support here in Britain too. The same committees create a climate for a struggle, a platform is created for these organisations that have something to say to the population. Here then I think I must stop at this point.