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THE RHODES SCHOLARS

The chickens must come home to roost sometime. This can happen pleasantly from moral conviction and sometimes painfully as a matter of principle.

Oxford University is the academic haven of the Rhodes scholars who are scrupulously chosen for their literary and scholastic attainments, success in manly sports; manhood, truth, courage and devotion to imperial duty. These rugged young men are chosen from the United States of America, the Federal Republic of Germany and the British Commonwealth. About a dozen of the scholarships are annually awarded to qualifiers in racist South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

According to press reports, more than half the 145 scholars in Oxford petitioned for political reasons the Rhodes trustees to reform the selection process. In February, 1972, one of the select scholars, Grant Grandall of Yellow Springs, Ohio, U. S. A. resigned his scholarship because the changes approved by the trustees did not go far enough. He is said to be the first Rhodes Scholar to quit in 70 years. That is a courageous step indeed in the struggle against racism in the world. We hope the World Council of Churches and similarly orientated bodies will somehow recognise his valour.

We, for our part, are waiting to see what Grant Grandall's rebellious gesture means. We have a passing interest in the motive, rather than what has been called the stern mandate, of the patron's bequest. We believe that the Rhodes scholars, without exception, have adhered to the letter and spirit of that motive. It is a matter of history, which cannot be rubbed off, that the donor, Cecil Rhodes, was an arch imperialist of the first order. He is reported to have said once: "I was in the East end of London yesterday, and attended a meeting of the unemployed. I listened to the wild speeches which were just a cry for bread; and on my way home I pondered over the scene, and I became more than ever convinced of the importance of imperialism... My cherished idea of a solution to the social problem of the...inhabitants of the United Kingdom is to acquire new lands to settle the surplus population and provide new markets for the goods produced in our factories and mines... The British Empire, as I have always said, is a bread and butter question."

** The British Empire, as we all know, has been succeeded by the British Commonwealth from which some of the Rhodes scholars are selected annually, to continue the imperial tradition. Of course the African people of Azania (South Africa) and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) know only too well what that tradition means. Some beneficiaries of the Rhodes Trust feel that Rhodes administrators practice racism in the selection of scholars. We do not think that racism is the real issue. We think the trust should be expropriated in favour of the African victims of racism in Azania and Zimbabwe, as the first step in the restoration of the colonial wealth to those from whom it was appropriated by the exploiters.

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our party must have faith in the people;
our people must have faith in the party;
the party must be the party of the people.

THE EDITOR SPEAKS

IN SEARCH OF UNITY

THE CONCERTED EFFORTS of the liberation movement in South Africa in search of unity should be seen in their proper perspective. We want real and genuine unity. We do not just aim at making a public declaration of unity to the world. The kind of unity that is material to our struggle is such that we should all be able to work in accordance with a single plan of action against the common enemy. That, in our thinking, is a real and not an artificial unity, which deserves the respect and support of the peace-loving world, and can form the rallying point for our fighting people.

Our people, as we have indicated many times before, have not been idle in the past three centuries. They have taken every opportunity to engage the enemy in mortal struggle. But their militant activities have always been spontaneous and scattered. They have given every indication of wanting to act in unity, but the unity of the liberation movement in conducting those struggles of the people has always been more in name than in fact. And this has demonstrated to us that the foundation for unity exists and may be turned into reality, if we have wholesome minds which are sincerely dedicated to solving the social problems of our people effectively. The enemy, on the other hand, was not looking on idly while all this was taking place. It understood what was going on much more profoundly than the liberation movement and the people did. It saw the underlying dangers facing it and undertook a determined programme of re-organization of its machinery, manpower and the resources that merged the individual streams of its domination over our lives and its suppression of our emancipation efforts into a single torrential flood. It is now pursuing this programme with singular fanaticism. One of the main platforms of that programme is to divide our people, force them to exist as separate groups, each one living in isolation in its own small corner. And we have people in our country who call themselves the leaders of the people, who enthusiastically work for such division of the people as being in the interests of the nation.

The position of such persons, of course, though deplorable, is understandable. Though some of them are highly intelligent and highly educated persons, who speak high politics, their level of political consciousness is, on the scale of balances, very low indeed. Their respect for the people and their faith in their maturity is highly presumptuous. They look upon the people as hopeless and helpless. The oppressing white man has successfully taught them to look down upon the people, and therefore to regard themselves as the saviours of the people. But this is not surprising. They are following the ideology of feudalism whose main objective was to keep the people in a position where they could never be able to compete with their feudal lords. These "royal" persons in the life of our people, are centuries behind in their thinking and dedication. Because of material incentive they are unable or unwilling to grow up politically and are therefore persistent victims of the evil machinations of the capitalist system whose motto is to "let sleeping dogs lie." Our quarrel with them is that they treat the people as though they were a capricious young lady who must not be told the truth, but must always be paid compliments, so that she does not run away.

We cannot say the same, however, for leaders of the liberation movement. There can be no excuse for them to base their activities on the instinct or impulse of the spontaneous movement, or, as the saying goes, the hope of the miracle of loaves and fishes. However, the history of our search for genuine unity is a classic study in political integrity and ideological development that must be told to guide coming generations and the future development of our nation-building movement.

Politically-minded Africans first came together in a convention held in Bloemfontein in 1909 to discuss the impending union of the four provinces under exclusive white rule in South Africa. This directly led to the formation of the South African Native National Congress in 1912 on the proposal of P. ka I. Seme.

A group of African lawyers had just returned to South Africa individually after training abroad and were shocked by the conditions under which the Africans/...

Africans lived and worked, especially in the Northern provinces. In those days the African was treated worse than a beast of burden in order to domesticate him following the breaking of his military power. He was knocked and kicked about with impunity; and was stopped at street corners by white policemen and public alike to demand the production of his pass and tax receipt. In the courts his voice was hardly heard, and his evidence was not believed. He was not allowed to walk on the pavements and had to dodge motorcars in the streets.

Africans were not allowed to travel in the trains but were bundled with cattle and horses in open trucks that took many days to reach their destinations. Their education in the primary schools did not go beyond Standard III, and in the teacher-training schools, beyond Standard VI. There were few of the former and only two of the latter in the Transvaal. Teachers were not trained in the Orange Free State. Politically, Africans had no say. Economically, they were kept in a state of abject poverty. Socially, they did not count.

It was in these circumstances that Pixley Seme called together Alfred Mangena, G. D. Montsioa and R. W. Msimang to discuss the matter of uniting the African tribes into one strong nation. They decided to call a conference of all chiefs, prominent men and educated Africans to meet in Bloemfontein on January 8, 1912, two years after the establishment of the Union of South Africa. In his opening remarks, Seme explained that he and his colleagues had been shocked to find that in the land of his birth, the African was treated as a hewer of wood and a drawer of water. On the other hand, the white people had formed the Union of South Africa in which the indigenous people had no voice in the making of laws and no part in their administration. The gathering had been called together to devise ways and means of forming a national union for the purpose of creating national unity and defending the rights and privileges of the African people. Those who attended came from all four provinces in South Africa, as well as Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana. The plan was approved and the South African Native National Congress came into existence.

In the limited space at our disposal, we cannot recount the militant activities of that body in full. The Congress has, at different stages in its history, been superseded by other organisations, and what is material to this analysis is the root cause of its ineffectiveness. In 1919 the I. C. U. Movement came into existence, as a trade union of African dock workers, under the title ultimately of the "Industrial and Commercial Workers Union of Africa." In course of time it outgrew its purely trade union character and became a mass political organisation clearly eclipsing the Congress.

In 1935, the government introduced in parliament what has been called "Hertzog's Native Bills" by which Africans would no longer be allowed to register as voters on a common electoral roll in the Cape Province, and would have to be content to live in about 12% of the land of that country for all time. Political and other organisations throughout the country prepared to fight the new measures. An All-African Convention was called to assemble in Bloemfontein on December 16, 1935, and duly rejected the measures. The arguments were good and suitably phrased, but they were not enough to stop the bills becoming law. The delegates were divided. Some called for militant action, others urged negotiation and moderation, and finally compromised themselves. Some of the leading personalities were to accept "prestigious" positions of token value in the machinery created under the discriminatory laws. The presidential address of the All-African Convention pointed out that "the time is ripe for us, leaders, to rehabilitate and reconstruct all our mass organisations to fight starvation, poverty and debt." The spirit of its convention - to fight - was lost in the oratory.

Our great concern today is in relation to the change of mood from militant action to polished oratory. Already in 1930 the 19th annual convention of the Congress had been described as a momentous gathering which had taken place at a time when South Africa was called upon to determine the black man's place in the national life of the country. "South Africa was at the cross-roads," claimed the statement of the Secretary General, T. D. Mveli Skota, "and the people of the country, both black and white, are asked to decide which road should be taken."

The road/...

The road to be taken was discussed by Dr. Walter Carey, white Bishop of Bloemfontein who opened the convention. He believed, he said, that the whole world was looking to South Africa for a number of things, among them, to find a settlement and solution of the so-called native problem on the basis of equal justice and freedom, and how to build up a state founded on mutual goodwill. What was needed, in the main, was statesmanship on the part of the white man, who should recognise that when a nation begins to move, no one can stop it. A feeling of nationhood is a divine instinct and cannot be suppressed. The black man needed principles of statesmanship that would be clearly carried out, to put the case before the public in such a manner that it will recognise the justice of it, and that way the black man was bound to win.

The incumbent president of the Congress, J. T. Gumede, clinched the argument by pointing out that there was still an illusion in the highest quarters that the African people would obtain justice from the British government, but the plain truth was that they had again and again failed in their petitions to that British government, and that their supplications to the local Governor-General had been futile. "We have now to rely on our own strength, on the strength of the revolutionary masses of white workers the world over, with whom we should join forces, to demand our equal political, economic and social rights free from all foreign and local domination. In looking round the world," said Mr. Gumede, "one found uprisings of oppressed peoples everywhere against their exploiters under the inspiration of the ideal of emancipation which found expression in the Russian revolution against Czarism, the Chinese revolution against feudalism and imperialism, the Javanese revolt against Dutch imperialism, and now the impending Indian revolution."

What the president of the Congress was saying in 1930 was nothing new to the African people. In 1921, the president of the amalgamated I. C. U., Selby Msimang, had already indicated the direction. He had admitted the mistakes of the past which he described as "having illuminated the truth and taught us to know ourselves...indeed they made us realise our main weakness...a need for organisation...at such times when we might have concentrated upon organisation and mobilisation of those forces that were already at our disposal, for the purpose of insisting upon our rights, circumstances had compelled issues which had lacked success by reason of disorganisation...our first duty is to organise all African workers, wherever they may be, and to educate them to understand and appreciate the obligations falling upon them to safeguard their inalienable rights and interests... We must drive home the point that it is no fault of the employers to exploit them, but that it is their own fault, and that they may correct this fault by some distinct bond of comradeship and a solidarity of effort without which no strike or lock-out might succeed. If awakened, the workers should be compelled to unite by the knowledge that every variation from unity is but a progression towards nullity.

"The guideline for victory," explained Msimang, "was renewed determination to bring all workers into closer union. There were two desperate forces to contend with, first, the exasperating white trade union menace which looked upon Africans as a monster threatening to filch their patrimony, and secondly, the white government, evidently a club of incorrigible magnates whose miserly hearts created a greed which Shakespeare had envisaged in the Merchant of Venice. It now remained to decide whether to accept the challenge or ignore it, to extend a hand of fellowship or to reciprocate the insolence. Before the Africans could do either, they must get organised... We are tired of things as they exist today, and desire a change...that is our cause, and a good cause sustains more injury from a weak defence than from frivolous accusations."

The South African Native National Congress had been renamed the African National Congress in 1923, and was re-organised on modern lines in 1942. It had remained under the leadership of Dr. J. L. Dube. Its annual conferences were almost always formally opened by either a white liberal or a racist Cabinet Minister, more often than not, a Minister of Native Affairs. The presidential mantle fell upon Dr. A. B. Xuma, who established a national organisational machinery. It was in this period that the African National Congress Youth League was formed, in 1943, with a programme based on African Nationalism and Africanism whose exponent was its brilliant president, Anton M. Lembede. There were bitter struggles over the years between the Youth League and the mother body over policy and programme.

In 1949,/...

In 1949, the National Working Committee of the Youth League set out its programme for the year and instructed its various branches to make it the basis of an all-out campaign to arouse and galvanise its membership to action. It considered the programme as elementary in nature and intended as the first step in a nation-wide movement to rally the African youth to give point and direction to the nation in its political, economic, social and cultural advance to full nationhood and complete national freedom. The National Working Committee asked the Youth League to prepare itself to shoulder heavy responsibilities and to perform herculian tasks in the campaign to drill some sense and militancy into the senior Congress which had so far failed to give the nation any clear guidance on major national issues.

It was under the auspices of the Youth League that the 1949 Programme of Action was proposed for the third time at the A. N. C. National Conference. A national conference of the Youth League had elected A. P. Mda, Mangaliso Sobukwe and Ntsu Mokhehle to pilot the debate. The programme was approved by a slender majority in the face of stiff opposition from the old leadership, some of whom threatened to resign if it were adopted. It was in these circumstances that Dr. Moroka was elected to the presidency, having been expelled from the All-African Convention the previous day. Apparently what the conference wanted was the man's prestigious personality, not his commitment to the struggle - in much the same way that Dr. Hastings Banda of Malawi was recruited to leadership.

Once again problems arose over the implementation of the programme of action and directly led to the emergence of the Africanist Movement within the A.N.C. to shoulder the responsibilities and herculian tasks which the Youth League had designated in 1949. The Africanists formed the nucleus of those who subsequently withdrew from the A. N. C. in November, 1958, in order to become the custodians of the 1949 Programme of Action. On April 6, 1959, the Pan Africanist Congress was formed. In its first annual conference on December 19/20, 1959, the P. A. C. decided to organise and launch a campaign of positive action for the abolition of the Pass Laws. The date was subsequently set for March 7, 1960, but actually launched on March 21, 1960.

The African National Congress had previously been invited to participate in the campaign under the joint leadership of Mangaliso Sobukwe and Chief Luthuli. On the eve of the campaign, the A. N. C. announced its rejection of the invitation on the ground that it would be treacherous on their part to embark on a campaign which had not been properly prepared and which had no reasonable prospects of success. This was on a Saturday evening. On Monday afternoon, less than 72 hours afterwards, it issued another statement saying that, because of the Sharpeville brutal massacre, the campaign deserved the support of every right-thinking person, and subsequently organised a national mourning day on March 28, 1960, and an orgy of pass-burning that certainly would destroy some pass-books, but leave the pass laws intact.

In this period the P. A. C. and A. N. C. opened external missions to present the South African case abroad. Independent African states suggested the formation of a united presentation and this gave birth to the South African United Front, which became more and more disunited with the passage of time until its dissolution in early 1962. In 1960, Dr. Verwoerd had withdrawn ignominiously from the British Commonwealth and racist South Africa decided to declare a republic during 1961. A number of organisations including the P. A. C. and A. N. C. got together to organise resistance. The P. A. C. withdrew from the All-in Conference when it found that all that was intended was to ask the African people, for three days on the eve of the celebrations, "...to demonstrate against the Boer Republic...in demand for a multi-racial convention."

The P. A. C. made its position very clear on that issue. It pointed out that too often the African people had been used as catelystic agents in clashes between white politicians, and should henceforth refuse to be used in the interests of disgruntled whites. They could only win their freedom through hard fight and militant action instead of phoney demonstrations. It urged the people to prepare themselves for the pursuit of a positive programme of action leading to total emancipation. This would only happen when the people had organised themselves into a massive revolutionary force capable of bringing about/...

about the final collapse of white minority. The wheel of revolution has now turned full circle, and the liberation movement is ready for an historic decision - to unite on the basis of revolutionary commitment.

The point of the earlier decline from revolutionary action to polished oratory is that the latter had been designed to evade the task of solving what Bishop Carey had called the "Native problem" and to justify national capitulation on the part of the leadership of the time.

What was this "Native problem"? It has been defined as the failure, on the part of the Boers and Britons in South Africa, to take just account of the economic needs and human interests of the indigenous African population, a problem of administration and economics.

From the point of view of political administration, the South African parliament was not only completely unrepresentative, but was, through contrived fear, definitely antagonistic to the interests of the larger part of the community. British colonialism set out to reduce the African people to national impotence by systematic invasion and confiscation of their land, livestock and labour, while the Boers set out to exercise what they called the supremacy requisite for native control to establish and preserve "proper relations" between white master and black servant.

Economically capitalism was forced to draw the African worker into the system and at the same time to shut him out of its society. From the outset the needs of an expanding capitalism compelled the white ruling classes to break down tribalism to pave the way for the unhampered and unrestricted exploitation of the labour of the people, but were at the same time afraid of the consequences of an industrial development on the life of the African people. The primary task of the liberation movement of our country is, and will forever be, to resolve the political, economic and cultural consequences of outrageous peace by colonial conquest. This is the essence of the "Native problem". We need much more than polished oratory or demagogic national sentiment to resolve the black man's burden and the white man's predicament in Africa. We need to take charge of our own destiny.

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PRINCIPLES OF A NO ONE, unless he be a traitor or agent provocateur, will
UNITED FRONT means to make revolution in our country realises that,
IN PEOPLE'S WAR once begun, armed struggle must be pursued with the greatest determination by our entire people in accordance with the laws governing it. The primary task facing the liberation movement of our country is the unification of the

people and their organisation and mobilisation into armed combat. As the Vietnamese say, we should organise individual men and women into guerillas, militarise all families, with each village and each valley turned into a fortress, each street a battlefield, and everyone a valiant fighter. The liberation movement requires a united approach in the pursuit of that task in line with the demands dictated by the factors of war in that situation.

We see nothing wrong in the fact that the liberation movement of our country was obliged to wander in the political wilderness for a long time in search of a distinctive identity. This has happened in all serious revolutions. No one can deny the necessity for vigorous discussion of the theoretical aspects of all fundamental problems of the revolution, particularly on issues of programme and tactics. All determined revolutionaries can sense the approach of great storms in the life of our people. No patriot can deny the imperative need to muster requisite political and ideological weapons for the coming struggles. Only those who will not be personally involved in the life-and-death tug of war can afford to sneer at these preparations and our exhortations. More often than not, they have a vested interest to conceal, protect or defend, but perhaps they misread the factors of revolution by their great expectations/...

expectations for waging, smoothly and magnificently, a class struggle without a class struggle.

Every serious revolution repeatedly goes through years of preparation, years of revolution, years of reaction, and years of revival. Each phase has useful lessons in the practice of class struggle, in the understanding of political struggle and in the art and science of waging armed struggle. The period of preparation for the revolution is one of open clash collisions with the enemy at every step; of organization and mobilization of the real forces of revolution; of revolutionary alliance between workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals; the period when the people's fighting forces are being mustered for the overthrow of imperialism and the seizure of political power from the forces of reactionary domination.

In this period, the liberation movement is faced with new and advanced tasks. It must re-organize its work on revolutionary lines. It must organize the people in the country in the spirit of revolutionary struggle for state power. It must prepare and mobilize all classes which are interested in this aspect of the struggle. It must seek the support of the people, especially the working people, in the neighbouring territories, and must seek to establish firm ties with the liberation movements in other parts of the continent and the world.

What is required, therefore, is a militant movement which is armed with the knowledge of the laws of revolution and the use of the weapons of combat. Its members must be at the head of the movement and must be bold enough to lead the combat.

The years of revolution put to test all programmatical and tactical theories by the action of the masses of the people as happened at Sharpeville, Cape Town, Bophelong and Evaton in 1960, and spasmodically throughout the country in succeeding years. The years of reaction usher in depression, demoralisation, discord, defection, intellectual wavering, clowning and phrase-mongering. It is in these years that temporarily defeated patriots should learn their lessons well and complete their revolutionary education. They should learn how to attack and how to retreat in good order; how to resume work on the broadest scale and in the most correct and energetic manner.

The years of revival mark the period in which the search for maturity in leadership and effectiveness in struggle should be pursued with the utmost determination. In this process, the phrase-mongers and intellectual waverers who oppose systematic order and principled discipline should be patiently educated or exposed to the light of day if they resist stubbornly. In these circumstances, the main enemy of revival is social chauvinism, the ideology of the phrase-mongers and opportunists who have assimilated the methods and manners, the arguments and sophistries of the liberals, and in their ideological bankruptcy, wish to liberalise the revolutionary nation-building movement, and shape its militancy to suit a pseudo-diplomacy which seeks to make the movement everything to everybody.

The petty proprietor under capitalism and the wavering intellectual easily go to extremes in pursuit of the demagogic appeal of national sentiment, and are incapable of perseverance, organization and discipline in struggle. We must not think that the theoretical recognition of this practical truth rids our ranks of this illusory and harmful tendency. On the contrary, we should employ resolute determination to strengthen political vigilance to the utmost and convert our liberation movement into an impregnable fortress into which no double-dealers will penetrate into positions of strategic importance.

externally

The more immediate problem now is to identify accurately our principal enemy and its source of strength so that we can gear our own to confront him. We must not be like the ant in the fable which wanted to stop the chariot, but had not taken proper stock of its own strength, or the toad which wished to grow to the size of a cow, but under-rated its own physiological limitations. It is with this background in mind that we should carefully examine our

mandate/...

mandate and set our priorities. This cannot take off smoothly without an efficient managerial apparatus that is capable of planning and directing the preparatory work. We must therefore first build ourselves into a revolutionary force capable of undertaking the requisite tasks and giving the requisite direction, without fear or favour. Secondly, it is necessary to make adequate plans for a united front of all those who are willing to fight the enemy together. Such a front must be built upon a strong principled basis of conscious struggle in which there is over-all desire to work according to one unified plan of action. The kind of united front that needs to be built in our struggle today is a fighting one, and must consequently be based on the objective factors of war inside the country. Our struggle has to reckon with the military might of the racist regime, the strong and booming character of its economy, the boundless array of its legal and physical machinery of repression, the seemingly granite unity of all sections of the white community, and the seemingly hopeless and helpless position of the oppressed and their division into manageable tribal partitions. These problems are real and must be overcome, and it is on this account that we have based the fundamental principle of our proposed united front on the degree of agreement on what constitutes People's War and how it should be waged.

The character of our revolution in racist South Africa is that of the overthrow of imperialism and white domination in order to achieve complete national liberation and social emancipation. Our immediate duty is to launch a struggle for democracy aimed at eliminating the power and influence of the present capitalist and racist set-up, introduce an agrarian revolution to abolish feudal relations in the countryside, and establish locally-based government embracing the political power of the revolutionary people of our country. The use of military action to develop insurrection is the principal means of seeking to attain this worthy end. The African people, as the least privileged and the most brutally exploited, are the pillars of that struggle. Their liberation must be the basis for a united approach which involves all, and the participation of minority groups, essential and imperative as it is, must be subject to whole-hearted support for the aspirations of the African people, whose liberation will pave the way for a genuine, meaningful and lasting democracy in our country and continent.

This revolution can only be carried forward by degrees in accordance with the laws of social development. It is impossible to clear over-night the accumulated filth of 320 years of oppression and exploitation without the great effort of all our people. It is only through determined struggle and hard work over a long period of time that we can eliminate the old evils, build up a new life, overcome setbacks and see the revolution through to its victory. The main movements of the African people, in particular the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress, and the Unity Movement, have each played a significant role in our struggle. Their disunity is definitely a limiting factor in our effectiveness in the struggle. The enemy stands by, watching and enjoying the in-fighting among the organizations, with satisfaction and relief. The divisions also confuse our people who wonder why we speak with so many divergent voices. On the other hand, the enemy does not discriminate in its treatment of those who are in opposition to it on the basis of the particular organization they represent. It regards them as being threats in equal measure to its security and dominance.

discipline of the battlefield

We have now reached a phase in our struggle when all movements embrace armed struggle as the main form of struggle in their respective programmes. Surely, the time has come for us to embrace the vital national interests of our people rather than to continue to chase after short-term political and individual gains. The differences and hostile rivalries arising therefrom are confusing the international friends of our struggle who are forced to take sides in what amounts to our domestic affairs, and hence, the material support our struggle receives is not as effective as it should be. In order to succeed in the pursuit of the tasks facing us, we must correctly analyse the mistakes and weaknesses of the past and be able to draw correct lessons therefrom. It is essential that we reach unanimity of mind in regard to those mistakes, and the new road of revolution that must be taken. In order to advance along the new road, /...

road, it is necessary to identify and abandon the old wrong road. In doing this, we should eliminate the tendency towards fault-finding or the temptation to spend precious time trying to settle old scores among ourselves. We should look forward to the future and not back to the past. The initial step is to create a comradely atmosphere in the relations between the organizations and enable those who feel strongly about unity of purpose to prepare for a favourable atmosphere conducive to the breaking down of rivalries and hostilities. We must, of course, accept that opponents of such a move exist in the different organizations. The present set-up benefits by the attitude and activities of such persons and would like to see their spirit prevail. But it is our task to educate and persuade our erring colleagues. This does not mean that we should stop speaking out and struggling actually against wrong ideas and wrong tactics and wrong actions.

It is idle to speak of fulfilling these tasks if the relations among us are not put on a principled basis. We must be guided by a common morality and a common discipline whose provisions must be inviolable. This, in a nut-shell, is the discipline of the battlefield. We have a common enemy which is well-trained, well-armed, well-provisioned and well determined to resist change to the bitter end. Our political duty is to unite all those who must be engaged in struggle against the enemy at every level of our society and in every section of our people. We have the task of imparting a political and moral character to our leading cadre, who must understand that they are soldiers of the people and must dedicate their lives to the carrying out of the political tasks of the people's revolution to change our society for the better. To be able to practice the principles of revolutionary struggle and apply them to the specific conditions of our country, we must be a disciplined force which believes in these principles and is willing and forever determined to carry them out or die in the process.

The discipline of the battlefield demands that the armed revolution be conducted within the scope of a nationally integrated plan, according to which guerilla units shall be set up in the countryside where they will arouse, organise and mobilize the population of poor peasants and farm labourers, build up the armed forces of the people, and set up organs of political power. The vast white farmlands are the battlefield and the targets of our agrarian revolution. We must find the most adaptable forms of warfare and resolutely lead the people in battle against the enemy. This revolutionary objective is the common unifying bond in our internal relations as well as in the relations with the people. Out of this mutual, conscious and voluntary cooperation, that must be the distinguishing feature of our revolutionary behaviour, will emerge the unity of purpose required to achieve the desirable goal of unified command and unified action, a principled unity that leaves no room for opportunism and adventurism. It is understandable that opportunists of all types should play shy of this unity.

Our primary task is to assure the revolution. We must make certain that it will take place seriously and resolutely, if haltingly at the beginning, and that it will continue to its logical victory. When mistakes are made and short-comings are exposed in practice, it must be possible to correct and to rectify them. We must make sure that we have a revolutionary force capable of serving this task. The formation of a united front will certainly set us on the right road to ensuring this.

basis of policy

Our policy on the united front is based on the concrete factors of war in South Africa as enunciated by our leader, Mangaliso Sobukwe, in his famous historic call:

"We are here to make appeal to African intellectuals, businessmen, African urban and rural proletariat, to join forces in a determined, ruthless and relentless total war against the demi-god of white supremacy. We say to fence-sitters and waverers: choose now for tomorrow may be too late; choose now because very soon we will be saying, with biblical simplicity 'he who is not with us is against us.'"

Of the/...

Of the campaign itself Sobukwe said:

"There are only TWO contenders in the South African political arena, the OPPRESSOR and the OPPRESSED. The decks are cleared, and the battle must be joined. This is an unfolding and expanding campaign involving the political, economic and social status of the Africans. It is all-embracing and multi-frontal, but it is itself part of our dynamic nation-building programme. We shall therefore call upon first, the members of the Pan Africanist Congress, who are the hard core, the advanced guard that must lead the struggle, and second, on the African people in general. All of them, without exception, must wait for the call, and when the call comes, we expect them to respond like a disciplined people. There is plenty of suffering ahead. The oppressor will not take this lying down. We are aware of the nature and size of our task, and we will not shirk it. We are ready. We will not look back, we will not go back, we will not deviate, come what may.

"This campaign will be maintained, unfolded and expanded. We will go on, until in every shanty, in every bunk in the compounds, in every hut in the deserted villages, in every valley and on every hill-top, the cry of African independence is heard. We will continue until we walk the streets of our land heads held high, as free men and women. We will go on until the day dawns when every person who is in Africa will be an African, and a man's colour will be as irrelevant as is the shape of his ears. We will go on steadfastly, relentlessly and determinedly until the cry of Africa for the Africans, the Africans for humanity and humanity for God becomes a reality; until the government of the Africans, by the Africans for the Africans is a fait accompli... Sons and Daughters of Africa, we are standing on the threshold of an historic era. We are about to witness momentous events. We are blazing a new trail, and we invite you to be, with us, creators of history. Join us in the march to freedom. March with us to independence. To independence now, tomorrow the United States of Africa."

war of the masses

People's War, according to Chairman Mao, is a revolutionary war of the oppressed masses of the people, and takes the form of guerilla warfare, in which the whole nation, men and women, old and young, take part and their creative energies are brought into full play. Experience has shown that this can most effectively be done by waging the struggle from the countryside and turning the backward villages into bastions of political, economic, cultural and military power. White reactionary rule cannot satisfy the needs, demands and aspirations of our people, because it thrives upon their domination and exploitation. That is why it maintains a terrorist machinery of repression and a mercenary army and para-military police force to safeguard its interests and guarantee their protection. In order to realize their political tasks, the people must prepare themselves to seize political power. They can do this most effectively by gradually destroying the military strength of the enemy, and systematically building up their own revolutionary political power throughout the country.

The central task of the liberation movement is to conduct and command the struggles of the people in the political, economic, cultural and military spheres. As Sobukwe has said, the membership of the Pan Africanist Congress must make itself into the task force of those struggles. To fight for and win independence is a serious task which demands mobilisation of the whole people to fight resolutely against foreign imperialism, the domestic reactionaries and their lackeys and running dogs. This cannot be accomplished in one day, or by a small body of political fighters. Our war must be a long and protracted one. The enemy will not allow us to accumulate arms or import them into the country. The present situation therefore demands that we boldly form a broad national united front, and co-ordinate armed struggle with other forms of struggle on a mass national scale.

A significant/...

A significant feature of a united front is that at all times the proposed alliance must make a clear distinction between friends and enemies. It means that within the unified strategy of people's war, those who participate in the united front must retain their political independence and military initiative, to ensure that the revolution will not be disrupted or led astray by the vacillation or betrayal consequent upon political rivalry. It further means that within the united front itself there must be massive unanimity over the specific political objectives which the entire nation shall be rallied to pursue.

We have stated over the years how we hope to achieve these objectives. As a liberatory organization, the nature of our political tasks demands an active role from us. Our tasks are not primarily military. We lack the technical resources for waging conventional warfare. We fully understand that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun, and that whoever wishes to seize and retain political power must have a strong army with a disciplined and indomitable spirit. We can think of no greater army than the mobilization of a whole people. Our tasks require mass social action. We can only achieve mass action by mobilising and galvanising our people to take resolute, positive and decisive action in a people's war. On the contrary, we cannot achieve this by sending an invading army to South Africa. As a matter of fact, such action is the surest way of achieving the contrary effect at a high blood price, which our limited manpower resources of political fighters cannot afford, quite apart from the futility of such action, since it cannot maintain the continuity that is required to beat the enemy. Secondly, we are not gamblers, who stake their fate and fortune on the chance of a single throw of the dice. We are political fighters who must start from a position of relative weakness and gradually raise the level of mass struggle to the point where the balance of forces between us and the enemy will change in our favour. This is what Chairman Mao teaches.

The crux of the matter is that we have been stopped, at gun-point, from political communication with our people, who have in the process been subjected to the most atrocious physical persecution imaginable. We have voluntarily chosen to resist this political blackmail, no matter what may be the obstacles or the consequences to ourselves. We need our entire nation along this road of resistance and must, therefore, return to the country to carry out our tasks of organization, gun in hand, to deal with those who stand between us and our people, the dispossessed and enslaved workers, peasants and landless labourers, revolutionary intellectuals, teachers and students, professional groups, small traders and anti-government chiefs and headmen, who form the broad base of our patriotic forces.

It is not difficult to see that on our own we cannot overthrow the racist regime that has been lording it over us for more than 300 years against the overwhelming wishes of, and in the face of firm opposition from, our people. Only the massive action of our people acting in unison can do this. This was conclusively shown in Sharpeville, Langa and other places in 1960. This was shown in massive rejection of the British-Rhodesian independence sell-out proposals by the African people of Zimbabwe recently. It was also shown by the massive strike action of the African people of Namibia against Vorster's racist contract labour system. Our cardinal duty is therefore to enable our people to resist all foreign and domestic threats of blackmail and domination, and to ensure their freedom to organize, unrestricted and unmolested, a broad base of government to replace the present fascist minority one, restore their stolen land, and organize their national life as they wish. We realise that a nation without guns has no rights to assert and no land or liberty to defend. When we have our guns, our restored land and our own government, nobody will again take them away from us, because we will use our guns to protect ourselves and our loved ones, our national honour and our territorial integrity. Only by harnessing the energies of our entire people in a total people's war can our struggle succeed. Ours is a national struggle which demands national mass action!!! The enemy has no answer to such a struggle.

On this basis, all schools of thought which are neither willing to capitulate to, nor compromise with, imperialism in general and white domination in particular, can be accommodated within the unified strategy of a people's war, and can share/...

can share in the systematic building up of the revolutionary political power of the people. While there is no doubt in our own minds about the unity of our people in their opposition to white reactionary rule, we realize that the main differences are among those who aspire to acquire and to direct the loyalties of these people. To delay and/or divert the people's struggle for national liberation in the pursuit of self-interest is criminality of the highest order. It is our fervent hope that the parties concerned can critically examine themselves and devote their energies wholly and entirely to the service of the revolution and in the interest of our people. It is needless to state that the urgency of our task demands a unified liberatory movement comprising all oppressed people in our country who aspire to real freedom and genuine independence under the banner of a common nationhood. It must never be said that, in its self-interest, the liberation movement or a section of it, stood in the way of national unity. We hope that our leaders will ensure that this cannot be so.

people's political power

The question of the political power of a united front of all the people who are resisting the enemy and the suppression of all traitors and reactionaries are matters which must be solved by the people themselves on the battlefield within the country. The form in which armed struggle is planned and pursued clearly indicates the nature of that struggle. Its tempo, strategy and tactics are determined by the nature and amount of terrorist repression that the oppressed nation is faced with. We are already aware of the brutal nature of our christian oppressors. We know that the enemy is armed with the most deadly modern weapons of destruction, including Hitlerite poison gases and nuclear weapons, in addition to the threats of annihilation made by the arch-fascist Prime Minister, Balthazar Vorster. We are aware of the acts of torture, terrorism and genocide that the godless mercenaries are capable of unleashing. We have seen it happen in the Congo, Algeria, Malaya, Dominica, Ghana and Vietnam. It is happening right across the border in Zimbabwe, Angola and Mozambique. We are not awed by any or all of this.

The determination of the people to fight for independence is a process which cannot be stopped by nuclear weapons or the threat of death. Our people understand that people without guns have no rights to assert or to defend. They own only the right to be killed and tortured. In this war, our people will mould themselves into a solidly united nation in the face of death, and there will be nothing more that they can fear.

They will mould their political, economic, cultural and military institutions in the face of overwhelming odds, and when they have mastered this, there will be no difficulty that they cannot overcome. Our people will depend on their own efforts and resourcefulness to transform their instinctive and rational knowledge and skills into corresponding revolutionary democratic practice. They will learn in the hard school of daring and doing, that really free men are those who seek to be absolutely self-reliant.

Thus the unity of all the oppressed and exploited in our country, and the unification of all our national groups on the basis of a common nationhood, are the basic guarantees of the sure triumph of our cause. This is what our leader, Sobukwe, meant when he said at the foundation of the Pan Africanist Congress:

"Here is a tree rooted in African soil and nourished with waters from the rivers of Africa. Come and sit under its shade and become, with us, leaves of the same branch, and branches of the same tree."

minority groups

The question of the role of revolutionary forces from our minority groups has largely resolved itself and will continue to do so as the struggle intensifies. Making revolution is nobody's monopoly, no matter how powerful or well-intentioned he may be. No one may be denied the right to liberate himself or to link his efforts with others of like mind. One of the clearest lessons of black experience in the United States of America is that, in the quest for
black/...

black emancipation, white society cannot be ignored or cast aside. Political analysts have pointed out that the black liberation movement needs allies who are capable of promoting social change in white America. Black Americans are urged to assemble a powerful array of white Americans, or at least seek the neutrality of the white working class which has no real economic conflict with the black population. The problem is how to do this. We have admitted, says Sobukwe, that there are Europeans in South Africa who are intellectual converts to the cause of the African, but who, because of their material interest in the present situation, cannot fully associate themselves with that struggle.

Historical experience has largely confirmed that contention. But there has been a qualitative development in the situation much as Sobukwe predicted. Militants from minority groups in the country always regarded their duty in the liberation movement as comprising, in the first place, the vigilance required to prevent a racial blood bath in which their national groups would come out worst. They always referred to inter-racial riots that have sparked off periodically at the instigation or with the encouragement of government agents when incidents broke out spontaneously out of the race-striven conditions in the lives of the people of our country.

Those of Indian origin are reminded to refer to the 1949 riots in Natal where racial animosities between Indians and Africans were inflamed to bursting point, while the Europeans always remember various riots in which individual white persons were attacked by Africans. None of them ever made reference to the thousands of occasions when Africans were the victims of brutal mob action and conspiracy on the part of others. Even today, some of them still regard our part in the struggle as "racial hysterics," "anarchistic murders," a "menace to white society," and "the kind of terrorism which we have always fought to prevent." These militants sought to avoid the situations defined above by trying to squeeze out token concessions from the government of the day or by trying to scare the white electorate into voting a more reasonable and less fascistic government into power. Failing all this, they always found it easier to water down the political programme of the liberation movement, take the sting out of it, or lead it into avenues along which its effect would amount to no more than letting off steam.

It is in this context that the policy of selective sabotage was evolved to endanger only the lives of those who undertook the perilous missions. The Communist Party of South Africa excelled in this kind of thinking and planning. Those of the liberal faith were even prepared to go further than the C. P. S. A. ever contemplated. However, armed resistance in the present period is no longer a joking or laughing matter. No one, besides a traitor or agent provocateur, will play with insurrection in South Africa. We had foreseen all this. This is what Sobukwe meant in 1959 when he said that "as the heat of struggle mounts, we shall become purer and purer, leaving the dross of racialism and other evils behind, to emerge as a mentally and physically disciplined people, appreciative of the fact that there is only one man in all the world, and his name is allmen, that there is only one woman in all the world and her name is allwomen."

The time is coming certainly when the sectarianism in the ranks of our liberation movement will of necessity have to be smashed up mercilessly. Sects are only justified while we are not yet ripe for a united historic movement. As soon as we attain maturity, all sects become superfluous and reactionary. We sincerely hope that we are capable of laying the foundation for our liberation movement to advance sufficiently to be able to work according to one common plan of action so as to undertake a decisive campaign against the collective power of the present ruling classes in our country.

As soon as men become vigorously conscious of the mean position they hold in society, it is their duty to assemble the strength required to take their first effective step on the road of their long journey to freedom. As a tyranny-resisting nation, we have found no choice but to take our destiny into our own hands and to stand up and fight, following centuries of patient peaceful suffering. "Massa day's done," as the Carribean proverb says, and "tyranny is folding up" all over the world. Local men are rising everywhere to settle scores with their oppressors. In this revolutionary trend the masses/...

masses of the people no longer want to improve their position as slaves, either in the society or in the ranks of the liberation movement. It is for this reason that the movement for unity is surging up from below and there is panic in high places. But there need be no cause for alarm. Our idea of unity is based on active personal commitment. The affairs of the revolution are the affairs of those who are actively engaged and involved in revolution. There can be neither masters nor promoters. There are only participants.

concrete proposals

We take the opportunity to make concrete proposals to those who want to make revolution in Azania as a basis of discussion on the formation of a united fighting front. The over-riding idea of our proposals must be to get all our revolutionary people to fight in accordance with one plan of action which must be adequate to its purpose, subject to its flexible application in accordance with the objective factors of war in that political situation. Our proposals should tentatively be made in three parts, namely, (1) The Discipline of the Battlefield, (2) The Programme for National Reconstruction, and (3) The Organisational Form of the United Front.

Discipline of the Battlefield

1. The character of our revolution in racist South Africa is that of the overthrow of imperialism and white domination in order to achieve complete national and social liberation. Our duty is (a) to launch a struggle for democracy aimed at eliminating the power and influence of white minority rule, (b) introduce an agrarian revolution to abolish feudal relations in the countryside and (c) establish locally-based government embracing the people's political power. The use of military action to develop insurrection is the means of achieving this worthy end.

The Africans as the least privileged and the most brutalised and super-exploited are the pillars of our struggle. The liberation of the African people must be the basis for a united approach, and the participation of minority groups, essential as it is, must be subject to wholehearted support for the aspirations of the African people. It is the liberation of the African people which will pave the way for a genuine meaningful democracy in our country.

2. Our revolution can only be carried forward by degrees in accordance with the laws of social development. It is impossible to clear overnight, or by armed struggle alone, the accumulated filth of 320 years of oppression and exploitation without the great effort of our whole people. It is only through determined struggle and hard work over a long period of time that we can eliminate the old evils, build up a new life, overcome setbacks and see the revolution through to its logical end.

3. In order to succeed in this task, we must analyse the mistakes and weaknesses of the past, and build upon their historical foundations. It is essential that we reach unanimity of mind in regard to those mistakes and the new road of revolution that must be taken. In order to advance along the new road, it is necessary to identify and abandon the old wrong road. In doing this, we should eliminate the tendency towards fault-finding or the desire to settle old scores, in the face of all the work to be done.

4. It is idle to speak of fulfilling these tasks if the relations among us are not put on a strictly principled basis. We must be guided by a common morality and a common discipline whose provisions are inviolable. This, in a nutshell, is the discipline of the battlefield.

5. We have a common enemy which is well-trained, well-armed, well-provisioned and fully determined to resist change to the bitter end. Our political duty is to unite all those who must be engaged in the struggle against the common enemy at every level of our society and in every section of the people. We must impart a political and moral character to our tasks of liberation so that our soldiers and people shall at all times be willing to lay down their lives for the cause.

(6) We/...

6. We are soldiers of the people, armed bodies which are dedicated to carrying out the political tasks of the people's revolution, to change our society for the better. To practice the principles of revolutionary struggle and apply them to the specific conditions of our country, we must be a disciplined group of persons who believe in these principles, and are willing and determined to carry them out.
7. The discipline of the battlefield demands that the armed revolution must be conducted within the scope of a nationally integrated strategic plan. We must find the most adaptable forms of war, and resolutely lead the people against the enemy.
8. In order to do this effectively, it is essential that each fighting group retains its political independence and military initiative, to ensure that the revolution will not be betrayed or led astray through unforeseen circumstances consequent upon political rivalry and individual personal ambition on the part of the sectional leaders of the present parties.
9. We are brought together by a common desire. We should realise that within the ranks of the people we cannot do without freedom or discipline. The unity of freedom and discipline constitutes the principle of democratic centralism. This must be the common unifying bond in the armed forces and in the relations with the people.
10. Our democratic centralism can only emerge out of the mutual, conscious and voluntary cooperation that must be the hallmark of the discipline of the battlefield. It is only in genuine practical cooperation that our democratic centralism can achieve the desirable goal of unified command and unified action.
11. Our immediate task is to assure the revolution. We must make certain that it will take place; that it will continue to its logical conclusion; that it will survive the ebb and flow and the maze and haze of violent brutality; and that we have a revolutionary force capable of fulfilling this task.

It is necessary therefore that throughout the period of revolution, our plans for national reconstruction should be constantly and consistently made known to the people generally without fear or favour; so that the people themselves can air their views openly and shape their destiny as they wish.

It is upon these ideas and principles that our Programme for National Reconstruction is based.

1. General Principles:- The Party system shall form the basis of our political life. All political parties and national organizations in the country should unite closely to build a new society that is free, united and democratic. There shall be equality and legality of all political institutions and the democratisation and nationalisation of the power of the people. Political matters shall be settled by political means to ensure peace, stability and the development of national unity;
2. Rights of the People:- The individual freedoms of person, thought, religious belief, speech, press, assembly, association, residence, movement and correspondence shall be guaranteed to all the people regardless of colour or creed;
3. Legal Affairs:- The function of this department is to guarantee the legal observance of the individual rights of the people as defined in this programme. It consists in the main of the JUDICATURE which is entrusted with the functions of (a) interpreting and (b) administering the law of the country, (c) arbitrating in the case of disputes and (d) providing adequate and appropriate facilities for correction and education where these are warranted;
4. Political Affairs:- All levels of the government administration shall be overhauled, their powers and responsibilities unified and clearly defined, administrative procedures simplified and duplicated agencies abolished. Competent office-bearers shall be protected, appointment to Government posts based on competency, the practice of favouritism strictly forbidden, corruption/...

corruption severely punished, and facilities given to the people to freely lodge accusations against corrupt officials;

Local self-government shall be actively promoted and elections from the local level upwards carried out through universal suffrage. The powers of the local, regional and central levels shall be defined according to the principle of fair distribution of powers, allowing local governments to take measures that are suitable to local circumstances, provided that these do not conflict with regional or central measures or basic national principles;

5. Military Affairs:- Military organizations shall be adapted to the needs of national defence. The military system should be reformed in line with the democratic system of government and the conditions in the country. Military power should be used to protect the people's power. Military education should be improved, adequate equipment provided and the personnel and financial systems suited to the principle of building a modernised national army. All political parties and individuals must refrain from using the army as an instrument of political struggle, least so military personnel, in conflict with the interests of the people;

6. Economic and Financial Affairs:- We should curb the development of bureaucrat capital and strictly forbid government officials to make use of their official positions and influence to engage in business speculation, trade monopoly, tax evasion, smuggling, embezzlement of public funds and unlawful use of transport and other government facilities;

Rents and rates of interest shall be reduced, the rights of leasees protected, and usury strictly prohibited. We should institute agrarian reforms designed to better the life of the peasants and to ensure an equitable distribution of the land among those who work on it;

Labour laws shall be put into effect to improve working conditions and to meet the material and spiritual needs of the workers;

The administration of finance shall be made public and a system of budgeting and periodic financial reports established. Budget expenditures shall be drastically reduced, revenues and expenditure balanced, local and central finances defined and the monetary system stabilised;

The raising of domestic and foreign loans and the use to which such funds are put shall be made public, and subject to supervision by public bodies. The system of taxation shall be reformed and all exorbitant levies and illegal exactions completely abolished;

7. Education and Culture:- Academic freedom shall be guaranteed. There shall be no interference with school and college administration for reasons of religious belief or political thought. The proportion of the national budget allocated to culture and education shall be increased and distributed in accordance with national requirements;

Censorship of the press, publications, motion pictures, drama, posts and telegrams shall be abolished in peace time. In times of emergency the national interest shall take precedence;

8. Foreign Relations:- Friendly relations with foreign countries shall be based on the principle of the co-existence of nations, which recognises mutual respect for territorial integrity and national sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, the equality of nations, big and small, and mutual benefit on the basis of mutual interests. This is in conformity with our internationalist duty to humanity at large;

9. Relief and Rehabilitation:- Since our struggle is to be protracted, we should plan on a long-term basis, and use the period of struggle to mould our political, economic, social, cultural and military institutions. We should properly use the manpower and material resources of our people with the utmost economy and patriotism, and clean up the petty graft that is bound to appear in many/...

in many places. We should work hard in production in order to be completely self-sufficient in all our necessities, and meet the material and spiritual needs of our people, so that there will be continuing improvement in their livelihood and circumstances of life, with particular attention to the victims of the present social system, and the re-adjustment of the national relations which have grievously suffered as a direct result of the present system.

As we have indicated elsewhere, the third part of our proposal, the organizational form of the united front we envisage, is a matter for proper consultation with all concerned in the first place, and can best be handled at the right time and place without prejudice or prior conditions.

---oooOooo---

TIT-BITS FROM SOUTH AFRICA

return to scene of defeat

same barren and flinty plain where their ancestors were defeated by the British in 1879.

HONOURABLE members of the Zulu parliament assembled for their first, and therefore historic, session last May. The new capital is called Ulundi, some way from Nongoma, the old capital. The honourable members were housed in tents and used a school hall for their assembly on the

The site, according to reliable reports, was inspected by helicopter over a year ago by the racist minister of Bantu Affairs and Development. Not a stone has been turned; neither a building, a dam or tarred road constructed nor even a blueprint of the new capital has been produced for public scrutiny.

If the Zulu state is any nearer realisation as a geographical entity, identifiable on a map, it is still secret. Consolidation details will be released sometime and a massive programme which will take 15 years to complete is under way.

** Since the land is already there, somewhere in South Africa, the MAP can only come afterwards, like all other blueprints. The ideal is theoretically possible in time and space, and that is all that matters. Some "ministries" are housed in Pietermaritzburg and others in Nongoma. The "ministers" need not worry or matter, where they lay their heads!

* * *

who is theo gerdener?

Some people are enthusiastic about the resignation of Voreter's racist Minister of the Interior, Theo Gerdener, to "foster better relations within the republic and between South Africa and other black African States." The honourable gentleman is reported to want to form a "Secretariat for Southern Africa" which is aimed at unifying anti-communist states. According to one report Mr. Gerdener declined to disclose details of who will join him in this venture, or to discuss the techniques he plans to use to achieve his aims. All he said was that there was still an enormous amount of work to do, and that it was obvious he could not go into it alone.

Theo Gerdener, in actual fact, is racism's most faithful handyman. The primary theme of his philosophy is that the solution to the white man's problems does not lie in the present party political structure. He wants to find common ground between the parties, and he is trying to isolate areas of agreement rather than differences as others have been doing for decades. He is said to sense a feeling outside parliament that people are sick and tired of strife and division and want to get on with the task of solving problems. He has even appealed for the narrowing of the wage gap between the two extremes of Europeans and Africans.

The Nationalist Party does not like his views but has used him to try to win over English-speaking support, especially in Natal. There the English newspapers became his strongest supporters. When there were difficulties in the cabinet, especially over political bannings and passport refusals, he was given/...

The "multi-freedoms" of the "multi-nations" cannot be allowed to clash, and someone must pay the price. The multi-circus is about to begin, and the crown princes of South African vaudeville are waiting in the wings. The title at stake is that of the king of clowns, because only clowns are capable of believing that the African people will go back to tribalism.

* * *

the child that died carrying no pass

The child is not dead
The child lifts his fist against his mother
Who shouts Africa! shout the breath
Of freedom and the veld
In the shanty-town of the cordoned heart.

The child lifts his fist against his father
In the march of the generations
Who are shouting Africa! shout the breath
Of righteousness and blood
In the streets of his embattled pride.

The child is not dead
Not at Langa nor at Nyanga
Nor at Orlando nor at Sharpeville
Nor at the police station in Phillipi
Where he lies with a bullet through his head.

The child is the shadow of the soldiers
On guard with their rifles, saracens and batons
The child is present at all assemblies and in all legislation
The child peers through the windows of houses and into the hearts of mothers, fathers, brothers, sisters
The child who just longed to play in the sun at Nyanga is everywhere.
The child grown into a man treks on through all Africa
The child grown into a giant of journeys over the whole world
Carrying no pass.

* * *

Well, Mr. Pillay?

Mr. George Pillay was on his way to St. Aiden's Hospital in Durban to visit a friend when fighting broke out a few metres in front of him. The other people scattered, but he stood, because he saw what he thought was an Indian being attacked by several Africans. He then heard gunshots.

The "Indian" broke free. He had a gun in his hand. An African ran towards him, and Mr. Pillay kicked out and tripped him. The African fell and remained on the ground. He was wounded. The armed "Indian" chased Africans around and returned with another African who had been shot.

Mr. Pillay looked closely at the "Indian", and realised he was a European. He said he was a policeman and had been stabbed on the chest. Blood was coming from his mouth. His name was Constable Naude. Another policeman, also disguised, as Naude, arrived and took charge of the wounded Africans. No attempt was made to tend their wounds.

Mr. Pillay helped Constable Naude to the fire station directly across the road. European ambulance men looked indifferently at them but did not come to their assistance, until Pillay wiped make-up off Naude's mouth, when they realised he was a European, and one of them said, "He is a European, get an ambulance quick!" Constable Naude was then hurried to the hospital. Mr. Pillay approached a group of white policemen to tell them that their colleague was badly hurt. One of the policemen swore at him: "You black bastard...this sort of thing happens all the time." Pillay tried to explain that he had helped

Constable/...

Constable Naude, but the man swore at him again: "Off, you bloody cockroach."

Mr. Pillay complained to the police station about the incident and said later that he had been disgusted with the white ambulance men who had shown little interest until they realised Naude was white. A police officer called at his office to apologise, and the ambulance department said it had no colour prejudice. Mr. Pillay hit the headlines and got his picture in the newspapers!

** The facts speak for themselves!!!

* * *

dialogue peddlers go beserk

The public advocacy of the "dialogue campaign" between racist South Africa on one side and independent African States on the other seems to have slowed down. Some of the "dialogue states" have even made public censure of racist attitudes and public disavowal of the relations with racist South Africa. But our fears for betrayal have not been allayed.

Earlier this year we pointed out the dangers of closer association with the Vorster regime in the form of the threat of fascism going on the rampage on Africa's hinterland as the "price" for the financial, technical and other "aid" that Vorster dangled before the ruling classes in these sister States. Part of the "price" was the hounding of South African political fighters and other local patriots out of these countries in the guise of anti-communism.

Africa and peace-loving mankind are watching closely to see how the ruling classes in independent States neighbouring racist South Africa behave in these two respects. The Rabat Summit of the Organisation of African Unity has confirmed Franz Fanon's concept of "inter-African solidarity (which) must be a solidarity of fact, of action, concrete in men, in equipment, in money and not merely verbal."

Our attention has just been drawn to an act of fascism on the part of the Swaziland Government, which has so far been a silent partner in the "dialogue campaign", but is drawing the full benefits of its cooperation with racism.

Thomas Bhekindlela Ngwenya of the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress contested his deportation from Swaziland to South Africa and contented that, in terms of the law, he could not be declared a prohibited immigrant since he belonged to Swaziland and was a citizen of Swaziland. The issue before the court was the question of the country of his birth.

According to the Chief Justice, it appeared that prior to the making of the declaration, the only relative evidence available to the Minister was an affidavit from a man whose testimony was hearsay and of no value since he was born within a few days of Ngwenya's birth. None of the supporting evidence subsequently tendered could be described as entirely consistent. The only witnesses in this matter who played an active role in connection with his birth were his mother, and another person who had been sent by his father to see Ngwenya shortly after his birth. Ngwenya, of course, could not give any useful evidence as to his own birth, other than what he had been told by others. The High Court accepted their testimony.

The circumstances of this matter showed that T. B. Ngwenya had been resident in Swaziland for some fifteen years or more and had been farming during that period after living and working for some time in South Africa as many others do. He had a farm at a government irrigation scheme since 1967, and had a cattle kraal at another place. His name has been on the voters roll for some years and he has more than once exercised his right to vote. He has been issued with travel documents on which he is described as a Swaziland citizen. He was nominated as a candidate for, and was elected a member of, parliament in the May, 1972, Swaziland General Election.

** The Swaziland High Court upheld his contention and nullified his government's coup d'etat. His crime seems to have been no more than his successful electoral candidature. He suffered a great deal for it before he was rescued from the monster's belly.