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HEALTHY POWER-SHEARING; NEH CHIEF?



INCORPORATING "THE AFRICANIST"  
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BY WAY OF INTRODUCTION

In the past several months we have tried to reiterate our basic positions on all aspects of the liberation struggle inside our country but we have been persistently asked what we are actually doing now. No doubt this is a genuine question and we have been trying to answer it honestly and seriously. The real question, however, is not what the PAC as such is doing or not doing but what the oppressed people are doing.

We have consistently stated that the National Liberation Movement has no separate or special interests of its own but represents the fundamental interests of the people and leads them in the struggle to project and promote those interests. Consequently in the political situation in racist South Africa the National Liberation Movement is charged with the task of seeing to it that adequate forms of political and military organisation are correctly and skilfully combined to strive to achieve certain intended results.

In our elaboration of the programme of action in which we are involved we stated that those forms constitute (1) the political forces of the popular masses which are already highly aroused as a result of determined political mobilization, (11) the para-military forces of the people who are being trained to protect the work that is being done by all sections of the aroused people, and (111) the armed forces of the liberation movements trained abroad in revolutionary activity whose work is clearly seen, not in the selected incidents released by the enemy to suit its own purposes, but in the serious re-organisation of the racist and ethnic armed forces to meet the real situation that is existing inside the country today, and in the silence that blankets all encounters, particularly in the white rural farmland which has been deserted by most white farmers.

The seething movement of the people's political, industrial and military struggle is not being waged for propaganda purposes and is not directed at a few dramatic targets in search of instant emotional dividends. This is a life-and-death struggle and neither we nor the struggling people will be lured into indulging in romantic heroism to please or appease anyone.

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EXTERNAL MISSION,

P. O. BOX 2412,

DAR ES SALAAM.

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA.



Racist South Africa is once again playing its little ethnic games, like an old patriarch portioning out pieces of clan estate to his sons and nephews, in the exercise of the colonial authority it inherited from British imperialism in respect of the "control and administration of native affairs" via the South Africa Act of 1909.

The pieces of clan estate involved are (1) NGWAVUMA on the north-east border with Swaziland, which is part of the ZULU ethnic territory, (11) NSIKAZI, NKOMAZI, MSWATI and other north-west areas all of which form the tiny Swazi ethnic territory and (111) MFOLOZI, HLUHLUWE and MKUZI game reserve and associated areas which it is proposed to re-incorporate into the ZULU ethnic territory in exchange for NGWAVUMA. The first two are to be ceded to Royal Swaziland by the Botha racist regime and according to geopolitical estimates about 250 million acres of land together with a population of just under one million people are involved in the deal. What has not been revealed is the benefit that racist South Africa correspondingly hopes to derive from the transaction.

The real issue involved in the proposed deal is the violation of the political unity of the people and of the territorial integrity of their ancestral land. The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, in accordance with the national mandate of our people for national independence and self-determination, denies the alien occupiers of our land any right whatsoever to balkanise that land, and cannot condone any policy, programme or scheme based on the sinister motives of the alien occupiers.

In the matter of the political unity of our people the PAC of Azania rightfully shares and is bound by the solemn declaration of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) with respect to the maintenance of existing colonial boundaries in the era of national independence to avoid any friction which might adversely affect the course of unification of the African continent. The people of Azania have refused to voluntarily accept the arbitrary ethnic changes in the political boundaries of their country and cannot reconcile themselves to the loss of their national right to the whole land territory and its human, material and national resources. It is their manifest determination that the political frontiers of that beloved land must remain unimpaired.

On the issue of territorial integrity the people of Azania hold that their natural and national right to the land of their forefathers derives from the inalienable right of immemorial possession per se and cannot be allowed to continue to be subjected to colonial legislation and foreign treaties. International law acknowledges that indigenous peoples everywhere "undoubtedly had true dominion in both private and public matters and neither their princes nor private persons could be despoiled of their property on the grounds of their not being the owners." The fact is thus accepted that ancestral lands remain, and must remain in common law, the inalienable domains of their indigenous inhabitants. The right to self-determination is the juridical base out of which to fully determine their political status and fully pursue their economic, social and cultural development as they wish. This is the essential content of the integrated liberation struggle in Southern Africa.

The right to self-determination has become an integral part of customary international law and confers upon peoples and nations the duty and obligation to determine the political status of their respective territories. In Azania we cannot continue to allow that the invasion of our land, at the time of conquest and colonization, should remain a justifiable phenomenon. The ethnic authorities, on the contrary, collude and collaborate with the colonial usurpers on this all-important issue of land even though neither the racist regime nor its ethnic henchmen has the moral or national right to violate the territorial integrity of our country. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi is probably forgetting that at a joint meeting of the ethnic chieftains with the racist premier in 1974, he told Vorster that "we certainly need a new map of South Africa with clearly defined boundaries," and proposed the setting up of joint boundary commissions to make such determinations so that there can be no misunderstanding later as to the meaning of independence." That notwithstanding, we fully support their present resistance to the handover.



The confusion and division of the black people in Southern Africa has always been, directly or indirectly, part of the programme of the colonialist and racist forces which have racist South Africa as their operational base. The South Africa Act of 1909 contained constitutional clauses which provided for the incorporation of surrounding territories into South Africa at an appropriate time.

In 1963 racist premier Verwoerd appealed to the chiefs in the British Protectorates of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, in the name of what he called native natural democracy, to incorporate their territories into South Africa which, he said, was in a better position to guide them to genuine independence sooner and smoother than Great Britain would if racist South Africa became their guardian in place of the United Kingdom. The carrot dangled before them was the return of the present ethnic territories adjoining the now independent states of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland in order to form Greater Basutoland, Greater Bechuanaland and Greater Swaziland. In other words the ultimate objective was to enlarge and consolidate the Bantustans and form what Piet Botha now calls the constellation of states under racist South Africa's guardianship in order to defuse black revolution and end the racist regime's international isolation in the interests of white supremacy.

The earlier "outward-looking" policy of dialogue and detente pursued by Johannes Vorster was intended to achieve this same purpose and the involvement of the Kingdom of Swaziland in the proposed deal is linked with this policy of the racist regime and no amount of quibbling will alter the case as the strategic area of NGWAVUMA is the decisive factor of the deal.

In its perennial territorial claims Swaziland has always included the whole land area covering Piet Retief, Ermelo, Carolina, White River, Nelspruit, Komatipoort, Barberton, Malelane and Standerton but none of it is involved in the present deal even though the overwhelming majority of Swazi-speaking South Africans live in this region. It is thus clear, to use the language of the imperialist global mercenary movement, that the racists want to constitute this area into "the first line of defence against the revolution" which is usually the lowest rank in the mercenary apparatus and is assigned to what the imperialists call "primitive tribesmen and minority peoples organised into commando groups under the supervision of elite troops."

In its present advanced plans for "The New Shape of the South African Army" the racist regime "envisages getting other population groups involved to a greater extent." In his appeal for more manpower to deal with the "Second Front" (which refers to the PAC) General Magnus Malan pointed out that each and every commando has a different operational task. His explanation was: "If you have, let us say, a group of black people living in an area, who is going to defend them? They should be voluntarily involved too because the attack is not only against whites, it is against all South Africans." It may be recalled that in 1978 three leading cadres of the PAC of Azania were arrested in NGWAVUMA and brought to court in the small rural town of CAMPDOWN and were subsequently put on trial in Pietermaritzburg and charged with setting up a revolutionary base within the LEBOMBO range of mountains and recruiting people from all over the country for military training there.

The racist regime is now convinced that the ZULU ethnic chiefdom, as at present constituted, can no longer provide the buffer service for which all such authorities were established and has ingeniously decided to hit two birds with one stone, namely, to declare a fundamental change of tenancy on the strategic land at NGWAVUMA and to depose the current foreman in Kiwazulu who has become a thorn in the tender flesh of the racist regime. The ethnic villages known as Kangwane are in the package merely to camouflage the real purpose of the deal.

The callous excision of these lands is being done in terms of the 1927 Native Administration Act which gave the Governor-General-in-Council the authority to alter, by proclamation, the borders of any native area under his jurisdiction at his discretion, and the National States Constitution Act which requires the State President to act similarly after "consultation" with the ethnic authorities concerned. The people of Azania, through their National Liberation Movements, have taken up arms in resistance to the status quo with land as the cardinal factor of the principal contradiction hampering the solution of the National Question.



The Kingdom of Swaziland, on the other hand, is not an ethnic state within the South African status quo and therefore the matter of transfer to it of South African land falls within the jurisdiction of the United Nations 1970 "Declaration of Principles of International law concerning Friendly Relations among States" for the reconciliation, where these are in conflict as in the peoples, on one side, and that of the territorial integrity of States and political unity of peoples on the other.

The Pan Africanist Congress, on behalf of the black people of Azania, urges the Organisation of African Unity, whose solemn declaration manifestly denies the racist regime the right to tamper with the boundaries of the territory of South Africa, and the United Nations, which has declared the peoples liberation struggle the special responsibility of the international community, to publicly declare the proposed land deal null and void and to accordingly advise the Kingdom of Swaziland, which is an constituent member of both organisations, to withdraw its involvement in "any action which would dismember or impair totally or in part, territorial integrity of a state or political unity of peoples" with respect to the proposed territorial handover.

The PAC equally calls upon the oppressed people of Azania in their entirety to rally around the national mandate of national independence and social emancipation which is, alone, capable of ending alien trusteeship over the black people and foreign occupation of their land and thus pave the way for the political unity that will enable them to be "possessed of a government representing the whole people of our country "without undue distinction as to culture, colour or creed.

According to the Times of Swaziland of April, 1, 1982, the Deputy Prime Minister was asked by a senator if his office kept a register of the names of all South African refugees who went through Swaziland en route to guerrilla training centres elsewhere and what was being done to stop them using the country as a transit area after training. The answer was that a full list was available and that trained guerrillas were not allowed to pass back into South Africa through Swaziland. The police chased them away if they spotted them and instances were cited when they had been arrested and disarmed.

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#### THE CASINO ARMIES

An apt slogan is circulating in various parts of racist South Africa today - They are wanted Men - One would immediately think of something called CRIMINALS but that would be a grave mistake. The phrase refers to BLACK YOUNG MEN in those parts of our country that are called ETHNIC HOMELANDS. In the past young and physically fit men were recruited as migrant labour for the mines and to some extent roads, quarries and farms but now the situation has changed. There has emerged something called the BUSH WAR in Azania and Namibia and this is where Young Men are Wanted.

Racist South Africa is feverishly engaged in establishing CASINO ARMIES for the insulation of its apartheid policies and practices for the purpose of maintaining a base for white supremacy on the African Continent.

The TRANSKEI was the first territory to be provided with an ethnic auxiliary force of the South African Defence Force ostensibly for the protection of its ethnic autonomy but, in effect, to serve a much broader purpose than that, Chief Kaizer Matanzima explained at the time that his army would be placed at the disposal of racist South Africa because "if the republic of South Africa falls the Transkei will also fall".

The next in line was BOPHUTHATSWANA whose Chief Lucal MANGOPE considered "countering communist insurgency" as a matter of the highest priority for his ethnic regime and when racist South Africa and its satellites talk about Communists they mean the National Liberation Movement of the black people of Azania.

....4/The funding of the



The funding of the activities of the Bophuthatswana Defence Force (BDF) primarily derives from the proceeds of what has come to be known in Azania as SIN CITY.

The VENDA NATIONAL FORCE (VNF) of Chief Patrick MPHEPHU performs the functions of border petrol, police force, army of occupation and prison service. When it was first established the VNF assisted to create No-mans-land zones 5 km wide along the border with Zimbabwe (then Southern Rhodesia) and between 30 and 50 km wide along the Mozambique border. Part of the VNF has been constituted into Battalion 112 which is directly under SADF command and has been specifically trained for what is called "border defence," like MATANZIMA'S elite force trained in the tradition of the SELOUS SCOUTS whose leader RON DALY is head of the Transkei armed forces.

In NAMIBIA we are told that about 40 percent of the "security forces" in the operational area are black and that they do most of the fighting. It is also revealed that about 80 percent of them are from OVAMBO and it is said that they are both "good soldiers and good trackers." The reason is not far to seek as the newspaper headline so eloquently shouted: "Blacks Bear the Brunt of the Bush War," both as soldiers and civilians. White soldiers are there to protect the puppet VIP's, most of them headmen and local committee members. To this end black soldiers are forced to build massive walls of sand around the kraals and these have bunkers made of sand bags to absorb bullets or the shock of grenade explosions. We are told that the sons of the people living in the kraals patrol the area to protect the whites who are protecting the headmen. This is called "area defence" and is to be imported into black rural areas in racist South Africa to encourage them to defend themselves.

We are told further that in accordance with racist morality the youngsters no longer grow up following in the footsteps of their fathers and grandfathers as cattlemen living in obscurity in the barren wastes of Ovamboland. They have been civilized and are now soldires, lawmen and protectors of the local populations. They have indeed arrived.

That also goes for those people the racists call BUSHMEN who have been taken off their "drab existence in the desert." They have been formed into a killer and tracker battalion and are called "the best bush fighters in the world." The racist military leaders have said that they will erect a monument to "South West Africa" for the military experiences they have gained from the Namibian encounter.

If racist South Africa finally determines the kind of independence that NAMIBIA will have, we can rest assured that, before long, the CASINO will reproduce itself in that country. The SEBE brothers Lenmox and Charles in CISCHEI, their counterparts in LEBOWA, GAZANKULU, KWANDEBELE and other such places have advanced plans for casinos and armies lined up for the process of civilization. The Catholic Bishops of Southern Africa have some complementary things to say about that civilization and its effects on black communities on Namibia's hinterland. William Howitt warned us in "Colonization and Christianity." He said that "the barbarities and desperate outrages of the so-called christian race, throughout every region of the world and upon every people they had been able to subdue, are not to be paralleled by those of any other race, however fierce, however untaught and however reckless of mercy and shame, in any age on earth," The leopard has not changed his spots.

In the light of the above it is necessary to spell out as clearly as possible what the social conflict in our country is and to outline the science of revolution to resolve it equitably. This is the second article in the series and will be followed by the third in our next issue. The CASINO armies cannot stop the process of historical development anymore than colonism has done so long as we persist in struggle and achieve the necessary unity.

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THE SOCIAL CONFLICT - II (THE DISCUSSION  
CONTINUES)

In the first article on this subject we ended up in the following words:-

The question that we must honestly answer: Who is qualified to bring about the required change, direct it and genuinely determine the forms that it must take?

The answer cannot come in one word and we may say, therefore, that the strategic aim of the revolution is the seizure of state power by replacing the moribund ruling class by another or we may say, therefore that the strategic aim of the revolution is the seizure of state power by replacing the moribund ruling class by another or a coalition of others. There must be a class machinery with the requisite political, economic and military strength to seize power and to retain it after its seizure.

The primary question in the class struggle, after that of state power, is what road to follow to consolidate the power that has been seized. There are two choices open to us (1) to continue on the political road of the class that has been overthrown or (2) to embark upon a new road which conforms to the fundamental interests of mankind.

In order to resolve the question of what road to follow when state power has been captured it is essential that we acquaint ourselves with the basic elements of a successful social revolution.

The Basic Principle

The basic principle of all revolutions is that of the struggle which must take place to seize political power in order to change the political status of our people from that of an oppressed subject nation into that of a free sovereign society capable of deciding its own destiny. In making revolution an oppressed people has to demolish the legal and physical power of the enemy which is used to oppress it. This means that an oppressed people must use greater moral and physical strength to overpower the coercive political as well as military machinery of the enemy in which lies his ability to oppress.

In order to carry out this task efficiently and effectively an oppressed nation must see far and wide. Seeing far means seeing the process of revolution in its entirety in order to be able to anticipate the difficult problems to be encountered and their probable solution at every stage and at every phase of the revolution. Seeing wide means that we should be able to distinguish true friends from real enemies in the revolution and identify its motive forces, the reserve forces of a given period and its global allies in a common struggle against a common enemy.

The Basic Task

This is a law of historical necessity which upholds our political status as soldiers of the people charged with the primary task of struggling to liberate our Motherland, the rescue of its peoples from the disgrace of national subjugation and the protection of the material wealth of the country and the fruits of the labour of its workers from national and international looters. In order to understand clearly the nature of this task we ask ourselves three strategic questions: Who will make revolution in our country? Against whom? For what reason? Correct answers to these questions provide us with the knowledge of ourselves and of the enemy and indicate the logic of our revolution and the solution of the national question of who wields power and in whose interest in our country in accordance with the universal laws of social development.



The Basic Law

The basic law of the revolution comprises the dialectical truth that the struggle for National Liberation and social emancipation must take place step by step, one step at a time, consciously and systematically. When a medical doctor has critically and scientifically scrutinised disease and has prescribed remedial treatment, such treatment, to be effective, must constitute a programme of action which must be followed scrupulously and methodically. The order must be observed. The first step precedes the second while the second follows the first. The national democratic revolution is the first and the second is the socialist revolution. The character of the revolution is determined by the nature of the society in an oppressed country. The national and land questions and social relations point out the conflict to be resolved.

The Basic Line

The basic line of the revolution derives from the social fact that the National Question has ceased to be the exclusive matter of cultural autonomy and has become the universal question of emancipating the worldwide mass slaves of imperialism. The people of all countries have the right to determine their own statchood, economy and culture. They should have an equal political status; their life should be anchored upon one social basis, and their material needs should be met on a measure that corresponds to the need itself. Equality of status means placing all citizens on an equal footing with regard to ownership of the means of production which must belong to the people as a whole. They must be able to elect and be elected to any office for which they are qualified. They must have an equal chance of enjoying the fruits of nationhood and fulfilling the obligations deriving therefrom.

The Basic Method

This involves raising our national awareness to the point of understanding the nature, source, development and ultimate fate of colonialism which began to exist at a certain stage in the development of class struggle of which it is a product. Colonialism takes many forms and uses various methods to subjugate weak peoples and loot the material wealth of their countries.

There are usually many contradictions to resolve in an oppressed society. But there is always one principal contradiction which points out the main targets as well as the leading forces of the revolution. The present ruling classes in our country and the political system they pursue are the main targets whose defeat must change the colonial nature of our society and usher in an independent sovereign society which is free to determine its own destiny according to its own lights.

There are three aspects of the revolution which we should understand clearly. The strength of the enemy lies in his ability to oppress. This is embodied in the machinery of state power which is in the hands of a small alien ruling class which holds the power of life and death over the black majority of the people. The alien minority must therefore be deprived of its right to rule. This is a historical necessity. That is the first aspect.

The second is that national oppression is intended to perpetuate colonial rule. Colonialism can only use brute force to maintain its reactionary rule. The colonial question cannot therefore be solved without guns or with guns alone. The task of liberation involves the organisation, mobilization and arming of the oppressed and disarmed people. To follow the law of armed struggle we have to build operational base areas from which to wage a long and ruthless struggle. Roving guerrillas and city rebel bands are incapable of achieving the cardinal aims of the revolution. On the contrary their bandit activities may be in the interests of the enemy. To be of nuisance value to the enemy is not to wage revolution, however sensational or satisfying this may be. We must be experts of both destruction and construction, and more the latter than former.

...../7 The third aspect



The third aspect is that once political power has been seized state machinery must be used to flush out the influences of colonialism and sweep away the remnants of feudalism from the life of the liberated people and set them along the road to socialism. This is how the basic method of the revolution should be applied.

We want to say in summary that it is not enough to set tasks for the revolution. We should know revolutionary methods of achieving them and know how to organise effective machinery for carrying out revolutionary action. These are the basic elements of a conscious and systematic revolution. Freedom from the heavy Yoke of National oppression and the painful scourge of economic exploitation is within our means. This is our principal task. The tasks of National liberation and social emancipation are arduous and urgent. The urgency of execution demands a united liberation movement consisting of all our oppressed and exploited people who want genuine liberation under the banner of a common nationhood. We cannot shirk the responsibility.

The existence of colonialist and feudal relations among our people constitutes a crime against their national sovereignty and territorial integrity and thus we reject, with the contempt it deserves, the cultural or ethnic autonomy that the fraud of apartheid and multi-racial liberalism continue to dangle before our people as the very essence of self-determination. The decks are now cleared and the battle must be joined in 1982.

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#### COMINTERN RESOLUTION ON SOUTH AFRICA

The general resolution of the LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM which assembled in Brussels, Belgium in February 1927, proclaimed: AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS and their full freedom and equality with other races and the right to govern Africa. Josiah GUMEDE of the ANC and James LA GUMA of the CPSA attended the conference and influenced the adoption of the resolution on the right to self-determination through the complete overthrow of imperialism.

The resolution was regarded as having left unanswered a number of questions raised by the slogan: Were the natives of South Africa a nation? What was to be done with the whites? These questions were to be answered through a subsequent resolution of the COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL which called for an independent South African Native Republic with equal rights for racial minorities, as a stage towards the final overthrow of capitalist imperialism and the return of the land to the Natives.

The comintern resolution began with the definition of South Africa as a British dominion of the colonial type whose colonial features included, (1) the exploitation of the country by British imperialism, with the participation of the British and Boer bourgeoisie in which British capital occupied the principal economic position, (II) the overwhelming majority of the population were Natives and Coloureds, (III) the almost complete landlessness of the Natives who held only 1/8 of the land, the great bulk of which had been expropriated by the white minority and, (IV) the corruption of white workers as characterised in the great difference in wages and material conditions of the white and black proletariat and the widespread corruption of the white workers by the racist imperialist ideology.

The political line adopted by the Sixth Congress of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, prepared with the participation of James La Guma stated that "Communists, black and white, should advance and fight for the political slogan of an independent Native republic in South Africa, as a stage towards a workers' and peasants' republic, with full equal rights for all races, black, coloured and white".

The draft went on to say that South Africa is a black country with a mainly peasant black population whose land had been expropriated by the white colonizers and thus the agrarian question was definitely at the foundation of the revolution. The final resolution said that Whites must accept the principle that South Africa belonged to the native population and that its restoration to them was of prior interest in the solution of the agrarian question.

The Communist Party of South Africa rejected this position and raised "the spectre of blacks driving the whites into the sea". The Africans, the whites in the CPSA felt, would do to whites what they had been doing to them for so long.

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THE VOCABULARY OF IMPERIALISM

Man's existence throughout recorded history has been characterised by a constant struggle against elements and forces that militate against his well-being and self-determination. Depending on the nature of the contending forces involved one opposing side has had to momentarily yield to the pressures exerted by the other side. Of note here is the undaunted determination with which the struggle against hostile elements has been presumed by successive generations in an effort to preserve and nurture life. It is from this undaunted courage of our forebears that we draw our inspiration to continue with the struggle as our existence today is no different from that briefly outlined above. We live through and are in the midst of harrassment, arrests, bannings, detentions, intimidation - the list is endless. It is from these existential conditions - in the crucible of fire - where the nature, form and content of our struggle is forged.

Having said this much, may you all be saluted in the name of the peoples' revolution to liberate Azania from all forms of racism, imperialism and neo-colonialism. Our presence here is a positive affirmation of the need to stand up and oppose all forces of evil that seek to turn us into foreigners in the land of our birth. We are gathered here at the second Annual Congress of the AZAPO to re-affirm our rejection of all oppressive measures designed to reduce us to the level of sub-humans by being denied what rightfully belongs to us. To thank people for their contribution in the struggle for their own liberation is a practice that is anathema to our aspirations, for we all know that for as long as there is exploitation of man by man, with its peculiar overtones - in our instance - of white racism in all its ramifications, the struggle goes on. As a result we find ourselves being heirs to an obnoxious legacy of neo-colonialism and imperialism wherein we are turned into mere labour serfs- in fact sophisticated slaves- because of the exploitative nature of the economic system we are compelled to live under. Sources of imperialism are poised at every level of our lives with the view to subjugate us and the onus rests upon us to oppose imperialism with all the might we can muster.

As already stated, in our particular instance, we find ourselves confronted by imperialism of a peculiar kind with its attendant racist overtones. Consequently, primary and fundamental contradictions have had to assume secondary significance due to the machinations and designs of the racist minions in this country and their imperialist overlords. The grand design has been to fool us into a position where we mistake the wood for the trees by resorting to copy-book analyses of our situation. This is not to advocate for a renewed analysis of our situation since the objective material conditions obtaining clearly show that either one is part of the problem or part of the solution. Besides, we can ill-afford to be bogged down by elementary analysis of the situation lest we find ourselves caught in the morass of paralysis by analysis in trying to fit the situation into some neatly defined theoretical expostulation. Imperialists have been hard at it peddling their wares (imperialism) as a sugar-coated pill in the form of 'foreign-aid', foreign investment, cultural exchanges and the like.

One historian, in analysing the expansion of the British Empire - that great aunt of imperialists - presents a picture that is pertinent to our situation. He notes: " In the final analysis racism - the process by which one people gained and maintained power over another, usually of a different race - was more a cluster of attitudes than an economic or political policy. The recipient of the good and ill that imperialism brought, whether Bantu, Apache, Maori or Malay became one of the wretched of the earth, a man who knows that life's fundamental decisions are being made for him somewhere else, by people who might or might not understand his needs, frustrations and desires by a government alien, self-imposed and predominantly white. Thus racism, itself a state of mind, became inextricably mixed with the imperial - experience".



Now coming back to our situation, we find that because of these racial overtones there has been a deliberate process of the polarisation of the people into haves and have-nots and the result has been the hardening of attitudes by one group towards the other. The existential experience of the people and the material conditions obtaining have determined that group attitudes be the dominant factor in any relationships that may be formed. Hence Black Consciousness - as a viable ideology that springs from the ethos of the people - always addresses itself to group attitudes and shows little regard for individual predilections or preferences. It is again the group attitude that has become the determining factor in all relationships between forces of production and the means of production. Returning to the vocabulary of imperialism, we find ourselves pitted against a formidable enemy who has a canny habit of engaging in euphemism and sophistry. The reign of this self-imposed settler regime over us has been characterised by a profound use of euphemism in sugar-coated pill form. In the eyes of the oppressor we have been suited to fit into all sorts of cranky labels from the time-worn "native", "bantu", "boy", "nanny", plurals etc. to the current 'joint responsibility'. Seemingly, the powers-that-be have forgotten that a nose by any other name will still catch smells equally well. All this profuse use - rather misuse - of euphemisms is hailed as signifying changes in attitude and changes generally. For change, read reform. We have heard of this much-vaunted change hailed by the supposedly liberal-minded English language press. That there are and there have changes we can readily concede but with the proviso that we take the matter further and ponder; What changes?

Yes, there have been changes in the manner and method of perpetuating our oppression. The enemy has become sophisticated and has assumed different complexions. Like its overchanging names and labels as applied to designate Black people, so does the complexion of the powers-that-be undergo change. This chameleon-like nature of the enemy's complexion raises the ever-present need to have an overt people's movement that will regulate and channel their aspirations as open resistance to oppression and exploitation.

The catalogue of pernicious events suffered at the hands of the powers-that-be is endless and we believe that the point has been made about the need to resist these inroads into our lives. Drawing from the catalogue of obnoxious events and incidents and the ploys of the enemy to further divide us, the need for a vibrant revolutionary vanguard that will unequivocally express and make the people's resistance felt by the enemy can never be over-emphasised. The enemy has devised all sorts of strategies and created dummy institutions like the SAIC, CRC, the Bantustans and the Presidents Council, to name but a few, so as to further subjugate us. This then makes it imperative to have an overt people's voice heard that will oppose the system's machinations at all levels. Obviously such an overt people's body must spring from the experiences (existential) of the oppressed people and map their destiny according to the tenets of an ideology that relates to their aspirations - which is Black Consciousness in this instance. It is only when we have grasped the fundamental and basic contradictions facing us that we can begin to carry the people's struggle forward.

ONE AZANIA ONE PEOPLE

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HART: THE NEW ZEALAND ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT

One Saturday 19 June, over 80 people, mostly women, attended a Seminar on Women and Apartheid, entitled "You have Touched the Women, You have Struck a Rock..."

Two resolutions were put to the meeting and were passed unanimously.

The first was;

THAT this meeting strongly condemns the racist apartheid system of South Africa, and fully supports the struggle of black women for freedom from exploitation and for an end to apartheid, to this end we all here shall take up the struggle of black women of South Africa in our work places, at trade unions and women's organisations with a view to getting the widest possible support for the liberation struggle of black South African women, which is the liberation struggle of all Southern Africa.

(Continued on page 23)



SLABBERT

The position of the Progressive Federal Party is that of a constitutional plan based on the principle of a federation composed of a number of self-governing states and a federal government linked through a constitution agreed upon at a national convention. This envisages ONE federal parliament with a lower and upper house, the lower elected on a proportional (but non-constituency) basis through a general adult franchise, while the upper will have an equal number of senators for each state plus one other representing a "cultural council" registered at a constitutional court. The cabinet will be appointed by the prime minister in proportion to the numerical strength of the political parties in the federal assembly. There will be a bill of rights and an ombudsman to watch over the rights of individuals. A national convention will decide the state boundaries.

VAUSE RAW

The New Republic Party believes in ethnic identity and envisages five such entities, (1) whites, (11) coloureds (111) Indians, (1V) urban blacks and (V) rural blacks constituted into either autonomous or self-governing ethnic homelands as they wish.

The first four ethnic communities will constitute a common area which will be run by a two-tier federal authority and each of the four will be allowed to appoint at least one cabinet Minister in a government that is appointed by the federal assembly and a federal council. Functions will be divided between the federal authority and the ethnic parliaments or jointly carried out.

The first four ethnic communities will constitute a common area which will be run by a two-tier federal authority consisting of a federal council elected from each of the four ethnic parliaments. The federal cabinet will be appointed by the joint sitting of the federal authority but each parliament will be allowed to appoint at least one cabinet minister.

The confederation will be formed between the federal authority of the common area and the ethnic homelands and will constitute a confederal council with its own council of ministers, secretariat and budget. The relationship will be based on agreements and treaties concluded from time to time. The confederal slogan is 'Unith through diversity'.

These are the basic positions of the four white parliamentary parties. They are virtually agreed and differ only in so far as ethnic details are concerned. There are three other white basic positions representing the HNP who may join up with the Conservative Party even though they prefer the 1966 Verwoerd plan of apartheid; the AWB which will not consider any constitutional concession whatsoever, and Orange-Unie which wants an exclusive white homeland along the banks of the Orange river around the dam named after Hendrik Verwoerd I. The HNP once considered two options, fighting to the last man or if the going got too tough, emigrating to Bolivia in Latin America.

The tabling of the proposals in the racist parliament is said to be the first step of the countdown. The second is their submission to the four provincial congresses of the National Party starting in July, which will be followed by a probable referendum in three parts, white, coloured and Indian sometime in 1983 and the last is the introduction of legislation to make them into law in the racist parliament.

It is possible that a fitting role will be found for the participation of what they call 'urban blacks'. It is not difficult to visualise a thunder-clap which will send cold shivers down our national spine. In the 1980 days of "War in the Shadows" the Johannesburg STAR advised Pieter Botha not to allow himself to be deterred by white rightists and black extremists.

A thunderstorm is on circuit. Many will join its momentum. Some will try to stop it. And others will be left behind, shouting and gesticulating, alongside the wreckage in its trail. And that will not be an academic debate.



Compared to the seventies blacks are more assertive and aggressive and manifest a strong tendency to accepting violence as legitimate if reform is not forthcoming. It cannot be said loudly and often enough that there is a new spirit of revolution in the black community. Revolution is not, however, inevitable but it is in such a climate that revolutions occur ..... except if rising aspirations and expectations are met. What are the chances of that? The kinds of reforms that could prevent black discontent from erupting will not be forthcoming for the next two or three years.

(111) Internationally time is not on racist South Africa's side. The racists have to face up to the fact that though US President Reagan may be sympathetic to the political concerns of the whites in that African country that favourable position will probably not last longer than the official tenure of that administration.

The Ciskei SIN CITY is to be built at the mouth of the Fish river near the new GREAT PLACE at BISHO. The Ciskei ethnic leader, Lennox Sebe, said that the Casino would be set up far away from the local people to avoid any untoward influence gambling might have over them. No "loafers" will be allowed near the Casino, said Sebe, only those with means and a car will be able to get there, he concluded. (Most people in Ciskei do not own cars but they do get where they want to).

According to a report in the Rand Daily Mail of May 5, 1982 Lisa Jame Williamson died in a car crash early on May 2nd when the car in which she was travelling with Police Lieutenant Smit collided with a Cattle truck on the Krugersdorp/Pretoria road. Her full role as a police spy was revealed after her death. She studied journalism at Rhodes University and was recruited by her brother Craig and his friends to join the security police. According to a member of her family the work her brother did "suited her down to the ground and she decided to join the police", and we are told, in some senses she was more successful than her brother.

...13/On several occasions



On several occasions when she worked for the PSTF in 1977-79 she was sent to Lesotho and other territories to channel support funds for ANC members in these countries, and, at one stage she was taken on a tour through the operational area by members of SWAPO through to Botswana where she met and interviewed their local leader. In 1980 the ANC sent her overseas to report to members in London and other countries in Europe on PSTV activities.

Her undercover activities were codenamed Operation Daisy and she is said to have written a spy novel entitled The Daisy Chain.

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#### MWASA CELEBRATES THLOLOE HONOUR

The Media Workers Association of South Africa (MWASA) paid tribute to JOE THLOLOE'S AWARD for "conscience and integrity in journalism" by NIE MAN FELLOWS in the U.S.A.

According to press reports Thloloe is the first foreign journalist to receive the LOUIS M. LYON AWARD. Nieman Fellows are working journalists who have studied "to broaden their intellectual horizons" under the auspices of the Nieman Foundation at Harvard University. The Nieman Foundation was established in 1938, in memory of Lucius Nieman, founder of the Milwaukee Journal.

MWASA said in its tribute that Thloloe was indeed a journalist of international standing "whose contribution to journalism in general and the labour movement in particular stand as an example of his worth as a journalist".

A current Nieman Foundation student, Ameen Akhalwaya of the Rand Daily Mail, received the award on behalf of his colleague and, in his acceptance of the honour, pointed out that 'Joe Thloloe was a symbol of courageous and honest journalists who have refused to compromise their ideals and principles in the face of repressive governments in many parts of the world'.

\*In our February, 1982 issue we indicated that Joe Thloloe had been served with a banning order in racist South Africa and could not speak publicly or publish his views. Reports from the country state that he has now been arrested and detained. No reason characteristically has been advanced for the detention.

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#### WHITE RACISTS DEFILE CATHEDRAL

The policy of apartheid has been used to prevent Africans from defiling some religious places of worship simply by their black presence there. Now some of these places are not so sacred after all and this is being demonstrated by whites themselves.

A number of black families consisting of 54 men, women and children under police harassment which threatened the sanctity of their family relations decided to embark on a public protest in St George's Cathedral in Cape Town and fast to the death in support of their demands to live socially and naturally.

According to reports from the cathedral, (1) a white woman left a parcel of rotting raw fish heads behind the area where the fasting families sat; (11) a white woman, possibly the same one, urinated all around the altar, (111) a white man sprinkled a liquid with an offensive smell on the floor and a deodoriser had to be sprayed to clear the air; (IV) a white woman hid in the cathedral before the doors were closed for the night and came out of hiding around midnight to scream at the people to go back to their ethnic homelands, and (V) a white man made a nuisance of himself inside the cathedral and struck the verger who appealed to him to leave and had to be physically evicted while he struggled to remain inside.



The crime of those black people was to want to maintain their family life. Their personal suffering, national support and international solidarity did not evoke the sympathy of the regime of Christian Nationalism. Churchmen of all other religious denominations rallied to their support but a spokesman of NGK, one of the Dutch Reformed Churches, whom they had expressed a wish to meet, pointed out that their request would only be met if it formally came from members of the black church affiliated to the NGK.

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# BIKO POLICE INQUISITOR PROMOTED

During the inquest into the brutal death in detention of the Black Consciousness leader, STEVE BANTU BIKO, a police officer revealed in his evidence that Biko was kept chained and naked on the orders of Colonel GOOSEN who was in charge of the racist security police in Port Elizabeth at the time. According to the police Magazine SERVAMUS, Goosen's promotion to brigadier came into effect on December 1, 1981, when it was apparently considered safe to honour his contribution to the continued survival of white supremacy which the likes of Biko threatened. The liberal member of the racist parliament Helen Suzman, observed that since the man was retained in the police force (in the face of the crime against Biko) "it was inevitable that, by the natural efflusion of time, he would reach very senior status".

Steve Biko was not Goosen's only victim. Lungile Tabalaza also died in detention during Goosen's tenure of office in Port Elizabeth.

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# PARTNERSHIP OF THE PARIAHS

When racist South Africa made a law to give honorary white status to Japanese citizens the driving force was the desire to make Japan racist South Africa's number one trading partner. Conventions and statutes of the international community, in the relations with racist South Africa, discouraged the move and the relations somewhat degenerated went underground.

Under the proposed new constitutional dispensation members of the Chinese community in racist South Africa have been favourably considered for nomination to the status of honorary white status as a concession to win over non-white communities to the side of the Europeans and away from the Africans. The reason is not far to seek. Racist South Africa has discovered Taiwan.

First, South Africa and Taiwan "are not among the world's favoured Nations"; both are politically frequently in the pillories of international public opinion; both have to face diplomatic exclusion and denial from international agencies; both are familiar with the application of boycotts and threats of sanctions. Their relations have been variously described an alliance of the disenchanted, a partnership of pariahs and a league of the untouchables.

Secondly, in recent years, according to an advertisement in an American Magazine, South Africa's international marketing forays into the Far East have discovered that its raw materials are needed in Taiwan on a regular basis hence, Taiwan has become the prime export target, "not only as a market for raw materials and foodstuffs but also for the exchange of technological expertise and joint ventures in the industrial world". We are told that there are now 12 economic agreements between the two pariahs and that Taiwan's export of textiles to South Africa virtually matches in size and value South Africa's supply of base metals to Taiwan.

In spite of the white racism that dominates National relations in South Africa racist premier Piet Botha and his entourage of government, diplomatic, technical and trade representatives had no problem in visiting Taiwan to "cement diplomatic ties" nor of inviting Kuomintang premier Sun Yun-Suan with top political, economic, scientific and military advisers to visit racist South Africa. In their mutual congratulatory speeches the pariahs stated: Our two countries face a devious and violent enemy and share many things, among them, international adversity and have learned that to remain strong against our enemies, "we have to create moral, economic and military strength from within" (Botha) and are determined to demonstrate our conviction and determination in fighting communist aggression "with a clearly pronounced spirit of solidarity and unity of purpose" (SUN).

: 15/according to



\*According to the proposed constitutional dispensation people of Coloured, Indian and Chinese origin in South Africa are being given white honorary status and are to be allowed full local government rights in the communities where they live (RDM - May 13, 1982).

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#### MAGNUS MALAN'S PEOPLES ARMY

In our article The Armed Struggle in South Africa - AZANIA NEWS, APRIL, 1982 - we stated that according to the latest military doctrine of beleaguered states, racist South Africa will soon be forced "to bring the insurgency strategy within its own value system and use it as its own" so that it could win popular support at home and confidence abroad.

And now racist headman for war and aggression has spoken of the need for a people's army. In the meantime, however, a new military service will make demands for a larger fulltime army in which white women and men from coloureds and Indians will be involved. The objective, in the next five years, is to provide the SADF with the manpower it needs so that the service load can be spread more evenly through an effective system of area defence basing itself fundamentally on rural areas. The present deployment means that:-

- 1) All white men from 17 to 60 years are required to register for military service;
- 11) The initial two-year training period for national servicemen will remain unchanged;
- 111) The period of service will be lengthened from eight to twelve years in which at least 720 days will have to be served;
- 1V) Thereafter the servicemen will be transferred to a new active citizen force reserve for five years.
- V) After that they will be allocated to the Commando Service where they will serve 12 days a year until they are 60;
- V1) Those on the current national reserve who have not yet done military service will go into the commandos to serve a first period of 30 days training followed by 12 days a year.

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#### MANPOWER DILEMMA

Once they stop prattling about grand strategy they make a lot of sense. They must have more men! In Namibia they win every battle but the war goes on. It is worse this year than last year and next year it will get even worse. And the year after that! and the year after that: And the year after that! The army manpower projections show beyond doubt that the Namibia conflict has exhausted South Africa's reserves of draft-age white men!

As long as our politicians insist on holding colonies so long will the army need men on the border but while the citizen force men are engaged in the border but what happens at home, behind their backs? - Already the police are stretched; the army maintains border security in a large part of the northern TVL and the demands are growing daily - no chance of blanketing the country with national servicemen; no men, no money! The ideal solution is for the civilian population to act as the army's eyes and care but most farms lie abandoned and absentee farmers turn up once a year, to hunt! For the rest of the year the farms, rich in game, are available to anyone who cares to move in!



The time has arrived for whites to go into the field to defend their home districts and the commando voluntary system must become a compulsory call up! Farmers who run to the towns must now join the commandos; those in one district can plough while others are fighting - Every white man must now become part of the resources available to the SADF.

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### MULTI-RACIALISM VERSUS NON-RACIALISM

War in the Shadows\* has come up in its true colours. The Johannesburg Sunday Times of April 4, 1982 reported a terse exchange of letters within the black resistance movement inside racist South Africa. The issues raised in the correspondence are as old as the hills and the course matters are bound to take are equally old, multi-racialism versus non-racialism. On the naked surface the dispute seems to border around two predominantly WHITE Organisations, the DIAKONIA and the Natal Student's Representative Council, and their probable role in the national liberation struggle.

War in the shadows was very aptly named. Its physical features were defined to us equally aptly:

"You take this man's talk and make it my talk;  
You take my talk and make it this man's talk."

The warriors of this war operate in dark shadows because of this orientation, and, as No. 1 Boss Hatchetman has explained, they do not necessarily have to tell lies but just "pervert the truth by concentrating on the negative and diminishing the positive", or, "choose the cloth and tailor it to fit" and thus the multi-racialists now call themselves non-racialists. Who is being deceived? This is what Strinivas Moodley (in The Philosophy of Black Consciousness) has called "ranting and raving", in other words, they raise the banner of non-racialism in order to serve a multi-racial purpose. The PAC has aptly defined multi-racialism as a "pandering to white bigotry" as can be seen in this specific case where a solemn ceremony for blacks cannot be held unless sympathetic whites are sitting on the rostrum.

It must be obvious even to the most naive person that most whites in Africa will never stop dividing blacks (Said Alexis de Tocqueville a long time ago - ---- It can happen that a man will rise above prejudices but it is not possible for a whole people to rise, as it were, above itself) in their own interests. Recently we saw a report that a MALUTI Conference to undermine black consciousness just failed to assemble. A similar report stated that leading African and Afrikaner students formed themselves into a Youth Leadership Forum whose primary objective would be "to establish a clear-cut goal for South Africa in the next 5 to 10 years". Their first act, in that direction, was to call upon the present white rulers to listen to moderate black leaders and act according to what they say immediately. Their top priority is "the planned phasing out of statutory discrimination".

### WOMEN AND APARTHEID

In its statement to the International Conference on Women and Apartheid, the delegation of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) said that the pre-requisite to fundamental social change in racist South Africa was the equitable re-distribution of the land which would restore its bulk to the rightful owners, the indigenous people of Africa. The struggle for that change, after all other methods had been tried and had failed, has reached the stage of seizure of political power by armed struggle. The black people in Azania, by virtue of their material situation in the country, are determined to overhaul the present structure of society in order to bring about a democratic and socialist Azania.

The delegation pointed out that the white settler colonialists, as the champions of oppression, had entrenched themselves in their domination of the affairs of the country and, in consequence, enjoyed a monopoly of political, economic, cultural and military power which is sustained by their capitalist backers headed by U.S. imperialism. It was against this historical background that the situation of black women and children in racist South Africa had to be seen.



Women have occupied a significant place in African society and played a leading role in National development. Their participation in the national liberation struggle is designed to restore, among other things, that important role which was grossly eroded by colonial policies and practices. In pre-colonial society the building of a nation, its development and its security, rested upon the work of mothers of the nation upon whom depended the strength and character of the children who were the future leaders of their people. Within the society itself women remained a stabilizing force and took part, alongside the men, in taking crucial decisions that affected the well-being of the Nation in all its manifestations and ramifications, taking into account the division of labour both in the family and in the society. It is well-known that, for example, Mbakayi Jama, King Shaka's paternal aunt occupied a highly respectable position as military adviser in the king's household. This is simply one of a large number of examples from the roll of honour of Africa's militant womanhood. When the PAC was launched as a ship of freedom in 1959 women took their place in the ranks of its membership on equal terms with the men and contributed their fair share in the activities of the movement as activists, heroines and martyrs.

#### CONDITIONS INSIDE AZANIA

In its statement the delegation outlined the situation and conditions under which women and children lived in racist South Africa. It pointed out that the cheap labour reserves (also known as Bantustans or Homelands) existed both in the remote rural areas as well as in those surrounding the towns such as Soweto, Guguletu Kwamashu etc) where they are called townships and are often zoned ethnically in accordance with the colonial principle of divide-and rule.

The resistance of the people to the separation of families where men live alone in the industrial areas leaving their wives and families behind has given birth to what the racist authorities call the squatter movement. The squatter camp at Crossroads in Cape Town is the best known example in recent years. Here the heroic women, with babies strapped to their backs, fought back using whatever article was available as the police with their vicious dogs, batons and bull-dozers invaded their temporary homes and demolished them.

In that struggle for survival the women lost most of their property and possessions and continued to put up makeshift dwellings following each demolition. The press recently reported that 54 men, women and children started a sit-in-fast at the St. George's Cathedral in Cape Town to highlight their plight. The camp committee in Nyanga issued a press statement explaining that the fasting families took that drastic action to assert their right to live together as families in the Cape Peninsula where they were employed.

In 1975 the racist regime in South Africa had offered Africans living and working in the urban areas 30-year leaseholds on the condition that they were citizens of some ethnic homeland, even though they might not have any connections with it or knew anybody there. Threats of removal to such homelands face families whose members have been involved in political resistance. As students involved in the 1976 National uprising are released from prison at the end of their sentences, their families are threatened with eviction from their urban homes and deported to the ethnic reserves. The family of Mrs. Elizabeth Gwede, aged 57, for example, has been threatened with eviction as a result of her five years' imprisonment for so-called terrorist resistance. These activities have an adverse effect in the life, particularly of women and children, who are forced to fend for themselves while the bread-winners are incarcerated for extended periods and are responsible for the disintegration of family life among the black people.

The rest of the statement covers the effects of white racism in health, education, labour and residence which have become something of a way of life in racist South Africa.

It is in this area of activity that WOMAN in AZANIA is struggling to bring an end to the conditions that oppress and exploit her.

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THE RACE FACTOR IN RSA

The race factor in our society is a question of colonial relations. The history of colonialism is one of the invasion of foreign lands and aggression against indigenous peoples. The greedy temptation to loot the wealth of other nations is too strong for colonialists to resist. Colonialism can only satisfy its lust for wealth by plunder and war. The basic root of colonialism, which is an instrument of capitalism, was the private ownership of the means of production and the private accumulation of capital which came out of the evil trade in slave-labour. If it was feasible to buy slaves for exploitation in foreign lands why could'nt this be done more successfully at home? How this was done in our case is outlined in the next column.

Colonialists use the brutal methods of enslavement, imprisonment, torture and murder to suppress weaker peoples and defenceless Nations. They use reactionary violence to subjugate indigenous peoples and turn them into subject tools which can be manipulated at will. This is what determines the essence of their reaction. In the history of British imperialism the colonial office was originally part of the War Office.

A number of events contributed to the race factor in our country. The first was the decision of the Dutch East India Company to set up a provision station at the southern tip of our country and continent which finally became the nucleus of a settler colony. Our people lived by hunting game and herding large herds of cattle and sheep with which they moved from pasture to pasture as the seasons demanded. When they discovered that the sailors were settling down they refused both to continue the trade in livestock with them and to cede land which was theirs by national and natural right to the invaders as grazing pasture for their newly bought stock.

This led to the first physical clash over labour, land, liberty, livestock and love. When the Africans refused to trade the invaders organised armed raids into the surrounding neighbourhood, on the pretext of recovering stolen cattle, to seize cattle, sheep, women and children by force. Raids were not considered successful if there were no human apprentices for love and labour.

The second was the importation of slaves into the country. The white settlement was short of labour and could not cope with the work of building, farming, herding and other jobs. On the one side the settlers despised manual labour which they considered to be below their dignity and on the other the Africans refused to enter their service. The settlers appealed to slave traders for help. They also looked upon themselves as superior and the indigenous people as socially inferior and introduced practises of racial prejudice and discrimination.

The third was the importation of both the French Huguenots in 1689 and the 1820 British settlers to swell the settler community and confiscate more and more of our land.

The fourth was the movement of aggression and dispossession known in history as the Great Trek. In their rebellion against the British colonial administration the Dutch farmers moved further into the interior of the country to occupy land by force beyond the jurisdiction of the settler colony.

In their manifesto of aggesssion they stated quite categorically their determination to maintain such practices "as would suppress crime and preserve proper relations between master and servant" in the course of their journey "and in the country where they would permanently reside". The most blatant of those practices denied "equality, in church or state, between white and black".

The fifth was the creation, by Theophilus Shepstone in Natal and Cecil Rhodes in the Cape, of reserves of cheap labour through which Africans were forcibly moved out of their homes and from their ancestral lands and setting aside dispersed tracts of desolate land for their separate settlement, to make farm labour more easily and readily available to white farmers and to avert unified resistance from large concentrations of dispossessed Africans.

....19 /The sixth was



The sixth was the importation of indentured Indian and Chinese cheap labour for the sugar-cane industry in Natal and the gold mines in the Transvaal, to do what Africans refused to do in their resistance.

The seventh was the discovery of gold in 1886 and diamonds in 1867 in the country which ultimately led to the annexation of the remaining territories under black occupation and the unification of the settler colonies under white minority rule in 1910. There are two distinct contributors to the race factors in South Africa, the British and the Boers. Today we narrate the British Contribution.

### BRITISH FOUNDATION OF APARTHEID

The British contribution to the race factor in our country is the cumulation of various bastions of colonial rule operated through the administrative mechanism known as Native Policy, which is essentially the apologia for white racism embodied in clause 147 of the South Africa Act of 1909 which authorised the Governor-General-In-Council to adopt and pursue appropriate measures for the control and administration of native affairs.

It will be recalled that the Dutch Cape Settlement was annexed by the British in 1815 and their contribution to the race factor can be traced to the foundations of labour relations under its stewardship from the days of slavery, which, we have been told, exists "when the services of the labourer can be used long in excess of the labour time necessary for the labourer to earn his keep".

Under British colonialism the black people lived under the provisions of (1) The Slaves and Apprentices Law, (11) the Cape Masters, Servants and Apprentices Ordinance of 1841, (111) the Master and Servants Act of 1856, 1V) the Natal Master and Servant Law of 1850, (V) The Transvaal Master and Servant Law of 1880, and the 1904 Master and Servant Law in the Orange Free State.

### Bastions of Native Policy

(1) The Cape Native Laws Commission of 1883 stressed the unwisdom of pressing Africans into an European mould. The policy thus avowedly aimed at peaceful change towards a common society but the growing black numerical ascendancy produced a backlash in white public opinion and this led to restriction of black political rights and the movement away from the motion of equal rights towards white alien trusteeship over blacks. This was to be historically known as Cape Liberalism.

(11) The Natal Native Code of 1891 gave the colonial government unlimited powers over blacks and proclaimed the Governor as Supreme Chief over all the native chiefs, which virtually deprived them of the loyalty of their followers. The official policy was that the town was the white abode while the rural reserve was the black abode. The black should be assisted to develop along his lines and allowed to participate in the town economy as a migrant labourer and should be housed in a bachelor compound. The preservation of his rural home meant that he continued to engage in household peasant production which subsidised his wages in such a way that he remained unable to avoid wage labour nor to compete favourably on the open market with white capitalist farmers or with white workers in skilled jobs in the mining industry.

The mining industry insisted that it wanted black peasant farmers as labour because the wages it could afford to pay were not enough to pay for the needs of a man and his family unless this was augmented by earnings from a plot of land in the man's distant homeland.

The Glen Grey Act of 1894 introduced the scattered, spotty nature of the native reserves of cheap labour. It was decided that native separate locations be established with sufficient space between them to allow the spread of European settlements so that each European would be able to draw supplies of labour from the location in his immediate neighbourhood.



The policy was both to create pools of cheap labour and to achieve security by breaking up tribal cohesion and introduce elementary European ideas and institutions to them. Before they were militarily defeated Africans with enough land had no intention of separating themselves from their families and friends for the adventure of working for arrogant white men. A white farmer told a labour commission that when he went to the nearest location to ask the "kaffirs" to enter his service they asked how he had been made to believe that they would go and work for him for five shillings a month when they were able to obtain all they wanted by their own labour.

The purpose of the legislation was two-fold, (1) to dissolve the traditional black social structure by limited individual land tenure and (11) to undermine the power of the chief and make him an agent of the colonial power through a simple system of toy local councils to keep his mind consistently occupied with trifles. The result was "to afford white colonists the facility to obtain possession of the land heretofore occupied by the native tribes and thus enable the kaffir population to supply as large and as cheap a supply of labour as possible."

Cecil Rhodes was opposed to large amounts of land available to Africans as this allowed them to follow idle, pastoral lives instead of settling down to fixed industrial pursuits. Rhodes told his audience: if you really like the natives, you should make them worthy of the country they live in - you cannot make them that worthy if you allow them to sit in idleness and if you do not train them in the arts of civilization.

H. F. Flynn - Assistant resident magistrate - had quite a different, may be innocent, view. His experience was that "Natives generally raised double the quantity of grain required for each year's consumption and were usually in a generous position to dispose of their surplus quantities to those who might be in want". More than half the grain consumed in his district, he said, was raised by the natives and since the market had been opened and was operated by Europeans, the Natives cultivated the land more extensively than before. Yes, General Louis Botha was to explain later, that is just the trouble; they cultivate for themselves. They should have a white master for whom to cultivate.

IV) The 1902 Treaty of Vereeniging Materially contributed to the political situation in racist South Africa. It was during the Alfred Milner tenure of office as British High Commissioner to South Africa that Africans experienced a series of deadly attacks on their position in society which effectively cut them off permanently from access to full citizenship. The reason was that they had failed to discover an effective style of resistance to white domination and are still ideologically undecided how to go about it to this day after the formation of Union in 1910 left them no better off. This was in accordance with article VIII of the Treaty of Vereeniging.

At the end of the 1899-1902 war the defeated Boers entreated the victorious British to make a solemn undertaking "not to give the vote to the kaffirs" before granting representative government to the Boers, but even then, "with securities for the just preponderance of the white race". The British agreed "Not even to consider native enfranchisement until self-government had been introduced" thus leaving the matter completely and exclusively in the hands of the Boers..

In 1903, Sir Godfrey Lagden, Commissioner for Native Affairs in the office of the British High Commissioner, was appointed Chairman of the South African Native Affairs Commission to work out "an acceptable native policy for all Southern Africa". In his report in 1905, Lagden made proposals for (1) separation of black and white politically and territorially, (11) leaving the substance of political power in the exclusive custody of white legislators and (111) having the land demarcated, "with a view to finality", into small black pockets dispersed around extensive white areas.



The rationale behind this development can be traced to Alfred Milner, best described as a pillar of British imperialism, who was British High Commissioner in South Africa from 1897 to 1905. After his departure from South Africa he retired from politics temporarily and devoted himself to financial matters through which he was said to be closely associated with South African interests.

Milner was the individual most responsible for the war. His objective had been to give, what Jack Hobson called "a small confederacy of international financiers," a fair share of political power and a full, cheap, regular and submissive supply of labour. Put in a concise form, concluded Hobson, it may be said that this war is being waged "in order to secure for the mines a cheap and adequate supply of labour".

V) Shadow and Substance 1902-1909 when laws were enacted, in one British colony after another, to enable local authorities or central governments to establish black locations for black townsmen. (See *raison d'être* under II - Natal on fear of black/white amalgamation). The white man, said Dr. D. F. Malan, found himself defenceless in the open plains of economic competition, without protective laager or a fast river between him and his black enemy. The government was alarmed by evidence of amalgamation and solidarity between Africans coming to the towns from all societies and with poor whites who were in the same economic position with the Africans.

VI) Selbourne's Memorandum of January 1, 1977 explained to whites in South Africa that it was their bounden duty to solve the LABOUR problem - the place of native policy in the national scheme of things - which could only be solved by them with any degree of finality in a parliament in which all interests and all sections of white society were represented. In settling that labour question parliament would have to take into account that it was not enough for an investor to feel that labour was available in large quantities. He must also have a measure of assurance that the labour will continue to be available until his money had been repaid him with profit. That assurance had to be defended with military power.

The crucial thing to understand, however, was that NATIVE POLICY was the mechanism government used to disallow labour instability and uncertainty and to guarantee its abundant availability in as wide a territory as possible at every given moment in history. The mechanism had to be embodied in the law of the country to defend and enforce the relations of each individual in society to all others and to prescribe the rules for carrying out business and commerce, both of which in the main, depended upon the knowledge and application and manipulation of those rules. The making of those laws and their interpretation and enforcement had to be in the custody of those whose business interests were paramount and at whose instigation they were made. The rest had simply to obey or suffer pain and grief.

VIII) The South Africa Act of 1909 became the constitution of the Union of South Africa and embodied all the above bastions of native policy and colonial authority as well as the foundation for their continuation and perpetuation through legislation and proclamation with the following results:-

- a) initial communal representation in the racist parliament through the denial of direct electoral representation for black peoples as decided at the white national convention where the racist constitution was drafted in accordance with article VII of the Treaty of Vereeniging;
- b) rural territorial segregation through the 1913 Natives Land Act and the 1936 Native Trust and Land Act;
- c) Urban locations segregation coupled with influx control through the 1923 Urban Areas Act, the 1937 Native Laws Amendment Act and consolidated in 1946, as inherited from the locations Acts of 1902-1909.
- d) Authoritarian rule deriving from clause 147 of the South Africa Act, the 1920 Native Affairs Act and the 1927 Native Administration Act embodying all the principles and provisions of the 1884 Glen/Statement Grey Act of the Cape colony and the 1891 Native Code, and



- d) Authoritarian rule deriving from clause 147 of the South Africa Act, the 1920 Native Affairs Act and the 1927 Native Administration Act embodying all the principles and provisions of the 1894 Glen Grey Act of the Cape Colony and the 1891 Natal Native Code, and
- e) The various riotous assemblies acts which serve as punitive deterrents from which all present security legislation derives.

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STATEMENT DELIVERED TO THE 39TH  
ORDINARY SESSION OF THE LIBERATION  
COMMITTEE

BY

J. R. MKWANAZI, PAC ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY

On behalf of the three Liberation Movements of Southern Africa, we extend revolutionary greetings to you all, and wish your deliberations significant progress and success.

The Organisation of African Unity was created 19 years ago, primarily to act as an instrument for forging African Unity, and as a vehicle for facilitating the struggle for national and social liberation on the African Continent. After these 19 years, Africa, despite difficulties encountered, can look back proudly and scan the distance covered as the frontiers of colonialism and white domination are rolled back. It is fitting, therefore, at this juncture for us to appeal for greater understanding and unity in the ranks of the OAU and the Liberation Movements. Disunity is certainly detrimental to the progress of our struggle and to the African Revolution.

Mobilization in Southern Africa, in the only two countries that are still under Pretoria's hold, is gaining momentum, and the masses of our people have fully identified the enemy.

Workers' strikes and stoppages of work increase from time to time and black trade unions continue to identify themselves with the liberation struggle - this has tended to broaden and widen areas of activity. Fort Hare students recently put up magnificent resistance and stoned the puppet president Lennox Sebe of the Ciskei Bantustan. The peasants in the rural areas are constantly being reinforced and consistently orientated to struggle by streams of workers who move between urban and rural areas.

We are meeting at a time when the supposedly monolithic Afrikaner Nationalist Movement has cracked from top to bottom and seriously affecting every institution of the Afrikaners in racist South Africa. The split was sparked off by the anticipation the Treurnicht wing had that Botha's reforms would give "Coloureds and Indians" direct representation in an all-white parliament. This split, as one writer puts it, comes about when "The debate is still about Coloureds and Indian minorities which are hardly a problem."

A reference to the crux of South Africa's problem raises again and again the significance of the national question. The reference reinforces the view of the liberation movements that have persistently maintained that South Africa is a colony and that the status of White South Africa remains questionable.

We further remind this meeting that the 25th Ordinary Session of the OAU Council of Ministers in Kampala, Uganda, in 1975 acknowledged the fact that the Liberation Movements of South Africa have always maintained that the present and all preceding white minority regimes are a perpetuation of colonialism. Further that the 29th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations expelled a delegation of the South African settler regime.

Let us reflect here more views on the split in the Botha party. A correspondent of the Economist asserts that this is the first time since the National Party came to power 34 years ago that it has had a parliamentary opposition party on its right. Further, that the split is significant in the long term in that the supposedly monolithic Afrikaner nationalist movement has now cracked. He backs up all this by adding that the split will now be repeated in the Dutch Reformed Church, the Broederbond secret society, the Afrikaner students Union, Cultural Bodies, business organisations, and school boards, right down to the Afrikaners' scouting and first-aid organisations.



Van Zyl Slabbert, Progressive Federal Party leader representing white liberal political views believes that split will lead to a realignment, with "integrationists on the one side and separationists on the other". Blacks, he believes, cannot muster enough strength to overthrow white South Africa, but whites cannot continue to dominate the blacks. There will be a state of "violent equilibrium" in which the pressures for a negotiated settlement will mount." he concludes.

But what do the Liberation Movements say about this and the situation on our country? The Liberation Movements took a resolve two decades ago that the resolution to the problem facing the black majority can only effectively be solved through armed struggle. It does not lie in the splits and debates amongst the white racist oppressors.

With reference to the struggle of the Namibian people led by SWAPO we underline the fact that in 1966 the International Court of Justice declared South Africa's presence in Namibia illegal. Further we express our suspicions of the presence and activities of the so-called Western Contact Group in that area. The so-called Contact Group is not interested in the speedy independence of Namibia, rather it is interested in protecting Western monopoly of strategic minerals in that country.

Let us add that the intransigence of the settler minority regime makes Southern Africa a focal point of sharp and protracted conflict, indeed apartheid policies continue to augur a war more ruthless, more intensive and destructive than any ever fought on the Continent. Now and further, since the Liberation Movements in Southern Africa are not only fighting to gain independence, they are fighting to end imperialism, and exploitation of the African majority, we take this opportunity to hail the glorious resistance put up by the peoples of Palestine. We strongly condemn the present massacre of innocent civilians in South Lebanon by the Zionist fanatic. We also support the struggles of the peoples of the Canary Islands and Le-Reunion.

Finally, it is appropriate for us to re-emphasise the point that the settler regime is intransigent, that it is backed up to the hilt by Western imperialism. That being so, we accept the reality that ours shall be a costly and protracted struggle. It is imperative therefore that the struggle be intensified. Cognisant of all this, we here appeal for more and greater moral and material support from the member states of the Organisation of African Unity. The struggle of Southern Africa is an integral part of the struggle of the peoples on the Continent, therefore it cannot be fought in isolation.

We condemn in the strongest terms the aggression by racist South Africa against Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana. It is for this very reason that we appeal for more material support in order to engage the racist forces directly, not withstanding the Dar es Salaam Strategy.

LONG LIVE AFRICAN UNITY!

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!

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THE NEW ZEALAND ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT (Continued from page 9)

The second motion was:

THAT this meeting calls upon the New Zealand Government to implement the 1981 United Nations General Assembly Resolution, which it voted in favour of, calling upon all governments and non-governmental organisations to educate their people on the plight of black women and children in South Africa.



LAW AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

by Edwin Makoti

(A short paper prepared for, and delivered at, the African Seminar on Law and Human Rights in Development (23-29 May 1982) at the University College of Botswana, GABORONE)

There are two conceptual aspects of this important theme over which we want to express ourselves within the limits of the time at our disposal, first, the concepts of law and human rights in development and second, the three major human concerns of our day defined in the seminar background document as (i) development, (ii) protection of human rights and (iii) preservation of peace.

Our immediate reaction, in terms of the first, is (a) what is law, (b) what are human rights and (c) what is development? In relation to the concepts relating to the protection of human rights and the preservation of peace there appear to be two questions this seminar needs to answer, for whom and against whom? The definitions in (a), (b) and (c) are those of the United Nations System.

The PAC is one of two organisations recognised at home and abroad as representing the fundamental interests of the people of Azania who are politically oppressed, economically exploited, socially degraded and militarily suppressed. This is the social conflict in our country and in the lives of our people. And it is within the context of this social conflict that we should attempt to deal with the two areas raised in our opening remarks in this short paper.

Law and Society

Society develops on the basis of certain objective laws. There are two kinds of laws with which man has to reckon, the laws of science which reflect objective processes in nature and society, and the laws which are enacted by governments. The former are scientific and therefore independent of man's will while the latter are made by the will of man and have only juridical validity which can be manipulated to project or promote or protect vested material interests.

Man regards the laws of science as objective and universal as well as permanent. Man cannot, for example, change or shift seasons to suit his desires or purposes. The laws of political development, on the other hand, are not permanent in that they operate within a given historical period and, in time, yield place to new laws or new variations of those laws.

Even these, however, cannot be manipulated at will in unsuitable historical or economic conditions. The scientific law of society cannot merely be a rational or logical movement, down the corridors of time, but must be the inevitable outcome of the forces at work in historical as well as economic development. It would appear to us, therefore, that national development must proceed in accordance with these laws.

Human Rights

The internationally recognised covenant on human rights is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which has been fortified with others relating to specific aspects of those rights such as, among others, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The United Nations Human Rights Commission, by its resolution 5 (XXXVI) of March 2, 1979, resolved that the right of development is a human right and expressed the view that equality of opportunity for development is as much a prerogative of nations as of individuals within nations.



Development

It would appear to us that, in terms of all international covenants on human rights, development involves the full realisation of economic, social and cultural rights and particularly the right to enjoy adequate standards of living as proclaimed in Article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

In respect of the right to development the United Nations system has made three studies, (1) on its regional and national dimensions (11) on the nature and extent to which the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms is affected by a whole range of international conditions, and (111) on the necessary measures required to promote the right to development as a human right and to take measures for its realisation.

The Social Conflict in RSA

We have already diagnosed a social conflict in our country. The problems of our people are universally known. They are living under alien domination and foreign occupation in which they are excluded from the universal exercise of political power and are thus denied basic human rights and fundamental freedoms; they continue to live on their protein-starved slave-food; they still wear the tattered clothes that the rich discard from time to time; they still live in their slave hovels, even though some twig-and-mud structures are occasionally replaced with concrete walls and their grass roofs are adorned with varieties of galvanised tin-plate; they are still largely unlearned and little learned, even though their children have better prospects than either their parents or grand parents in respect of reading, writing and arithmetic; they are still chronically sick with available medical and nursing services few and far between. In short they are poor and are forced, by the conditions and circumstances of their lives, to remain poor.

Our basic position is that in order to fight poverty successfully they need (1) an end to National oppression and economic exploitation, (11) an ideology on human affairs that is capable of guiding them towards the effective fulfilment of their National aspirations, and (111) a liberating programme in which they shall take full part in determining its strategies and tactics, and which recognises them as the starting-point of its organisational activities in which they shall, on merit, be assigned responsible activities which will enable them to shape and mould their own destiny in accordance with their own vital material interests and strategic aims by all feasible means which are within their own competence and experience.

Right of Development

We have already made reference to the three major human concerns of our time, of which, the right to national development is the first and we have already shown how the United Nations system proposes to deal with it as a human right.

In this year's annual meeting of the UN Commission on Human Rights the delegation of the International Commission of Jurists defined the legal status of the right to development. They said that the law establishing legal rights is of two kinds, lex ferenda and lex lata. The first consists of statements of principle which do not give rise to immediately enforceable rights but lay down goals which the people concerned have set themselves. The second consists of special legal provisions which establish clearly defined rights and identifies both those entitled to benefit from them and those responsible for assuring that these things will come about. The ICJ expressed the imperative necessity that lex lata laws should in addition provide an effective legal remedy to ensure their enforcement.



The right to National development is both an individual and a collective right. It is first and foremost a right of peoples. As a collective right it should be enjoyed at all levels. At the national level the right to development is a state duty even though the beneficiaries are individuals. The individual enjoys the right through groups and collectives to which he belongs. It is based on participation and solidarity. Here the key link is participation and this means that individuals participate in the formulation, application and monitoring of programmes of National development. Those responsible for policies of development are therefore accountable to the beneficiaries. The individual is the subject as well as the object of National development.

At the international level the key link is co-operation and solidarity among Nations. This means that obstacles to self-determination and self-reliance must be removed by international co-operation and solidarity to ensure that the interests of peoples everywhere are taken into account in all aspects of international intercourse. In the study on the regional and national dimensions of the right of development as a human right, the UN Secretary-General has said that "the right of peoples to self-determination is an essential element and a prior condition for realisation of the right to development".

### Right to Life

The second major human concern of our time is the protection of human rights. In our view the right to life is the most fundamental of all human rights and the key to their enjoyment. By the right to life we do not merely understand the matter to be protection against loss of life. Needless to state that once life is lost there can be no application for a second lease, so that we have to act before we reach that stage.

Let us talk about life. Man must really be alive, not a walking corpse, to live and to enjoy life. And life primarily involves eating and drinking, clothing and housing, working and resting and so on and so forth. Man can only continue to be there by living socially through the division of labour to meet his economic needs and naturally through the production and reproduction of both life and labour. Man's first act was to produce the means to satisfy his social needs. This was and remains a historical act and to sustain human life is a fundamental condition of all history, and in the final analysis history is a matter of civil society, of industry and of commerce. It is incumbent upon us to determine the historical process of our national development. When we demand, and stand up with arms in hand, to assert, our right of self-determination, we are upholding our right to life. When we talk of protecting our human rights, in our view, we are really considering our capacity to determine that life. It has been said, correctly we believe, that unless a people is able to provide itself with food and drink, housing and clothing and contact and communication with each other in adequate quantity and quality, it cannot consider its capacity to determine its destiny as effective.

In seriously considering this matter in the process of tackling our present problems we should look back in history. As we all know, history is a continuous record of concrete human deeds. The historical process is guided by the laws of continuity as handed down from one generation to another and develops independently of the wills and whims of man, so that man, on his part, should strive to master the laws of national development, which are a strong determinant of his future progress and prosperity. In the examination of those laws it is historically necessary to take into account the specific principles that guide popular conduct, constitute the basis of the personality of a people and determine that peoples' role in conquering nature and mustering human affairs. It is the pursuit of these principled factors that identifies the degree of social responsibility of a given people and when we talk of a people we are referring to its unity or, at most, unanimity in the integration of these principles into its body politic. That is the best protection for our human rights, and in that position man, the whole of man, is the unit of development, whether it be in the regional, National or international spheres of human activity.



A recent analysis of the present international situation has pointed out that at the beginning of this decade, 800 million human beings were living below the threshold of absolute poverty while 2500 million existed on an annual income of 370 US dollars or (£185) 185 pounds sterling. The study points out that these are average incomes which conceal wide variations of income, but the stark meaning is that for vast masses of men, women and children living in lands which are either rich or potentially rich, life consists of hunger, illiteracy, sub-human living conditions and premature death.

That is one side of the picture. The other is that 25 percent of the world's population, concentrated mainly in the industrialised nations of the economic north, receive 80 percent of the world's income, consume 70 percent of all the available resources, control 90 percent of all industrial production, and hold a virtual monopoly of all scientific and technological research. The overall position, concludes the study, is a dramatic widening of the gap between the north and the south, with the result that, compared with ten years ago, (i) food and energy resources have decreased, (ii) National debts have increased, and (iii) inflation has produced devastating results in the consumer south.

Some quarters believe that the solution lies either in increased financial and other aid from north to south or the establishment of a new international economic order. These are the quarters who fail to understand that the problem lies in the exploitation of available resources, be they human or natural, material or mineral and so on and so forth. Our own view is that the backwardness of the undeveloped areas is the result of exploitation at the point of production and not that of exchange.

An African economist has stated that the root of the problem lies in the exchange of unequal values in the dealings between the economic north and consumer south. He points out that the value of any product is determined by the amount of time and energy expended in its production. Using cotton to illustrate his point he says that the value of cotton can be arrived at by calculating the amount of time that went into its production.

But if that cotton is part and parcel of metropolitan wealth, in the absence of any measure for local costing, our calculation must be based on metropolitan costs, in much the same way that southern Italy bases its production costs on those of Northern Italy. In other words, he concludes, for trade to be fair, in accordance with the liberal traditions of fairplay, more or less equal values must be exchanged rather than the old colonial ones of a few strips of copper in exchange for several heads of cattle or sheep. And since there is no accurate measures of calculating the time and energy spent in producing cotton by subsistence methods of farming, our calculations must be based on the earnings, per hour, of a metropolitan worker as the product is destined entirely for metropolitan consumption. This cannot be arrived at by some rational argument or arrangement in the North/South economic/consumer dialogue. We must impose it upon the north.

#### Preservation of Peace

The South African historical experience has affirmed the historical necessity to resolve the fundamental problem that has faced man from time immemorial, the social question of how man will live in peace and harmony with his fellow-men. We believe that there can be no peace, be it at the regional, national or international levels, as long as the social conflict we have discussed above persists.

The preservation of peace, conceptually, is a historical matter and it is inconceivable that the enjoyment of historically-conceived human rights can be against national development. It is only unhistorical and unnational, that is; sectarian, interests that impose or seek to impose limitations in the exercise of such human rights as freedom of assembly, freedom of expression and freedom to form unfettered trade unions.



This can clearly be seen in the political situation in racist South Africa. Let us take the TOMLINSON REPORT to illustrate this point. In July, 1956, an all-white conference was convened by SABRA, FAK and the DRC to discuss the report. The conference was convinced that apartheid contained "a positive hope of peacefully keeping the races apart and decided to hold a conference with black leaders for the purpose of persuading them to accept that position."

In October, 1956, the Inter-Denominational African Ministers' Federation (IDAMF) held an all-black conference to consider the Tomlinson report. The conference concluded that the policy of apartheid constituted a serious threat to race relations in the country.

In December, 1957, a multi-racial conference was held to discuss and explore steps capable of bringing about friendly and effective co-operation among the different racial groups in the country. The conference found that South Africa was faced with the danger of a head-on collision between the forces of white domination and of counter-domination. It recognised the interdependence of white and non-white and said that it wished ONLY to guarantee the basic human rights of all people.

The situation thus remained in uneasy deadlock and they all went their different ways but what is quite clear is that they all said NOTHING about National Development. And these are the respectable people in the country who expect the whole world to listen to them. They say they are not terrorists, a national epithet they reserve for those who talk about national development.

We know the different ways they went, and what they did in that time, but how they are regrouping again. They have declared a TOTAL STRATEGY against TOTAL ONSLAUGHT. They are not quite agreed about what this means. Pieter Botha says it is co-responsibility and defines it as a means of giving other population groups their human dignity and legitimate rights without putting the self-determination of whites in jeopardy. The editor of DIE TRANSVALER, Wimpie de Klerk, calls it "association", which implies that "all the people in the country have a great deal in common and that political structures must include consultation and joint decision-making without sacrificing white self-determination". Andries Treurnicht says that he would rather be on a hunger strike than sit down to the mixed grill of power-sharing. Gatsha Buthelezi says that power-sharing to avoid violence is the only alternative left to South Africa. Fredrik Slabbert says he is not sure Pieter Botha knows what private enterprise is all about but he is convinced that blacks cannot muster enough strength to overthrow white South Africa. However this is how they expect to preserve peace in that country. And we all realise that in spite of the fierce social conflict at home and severe censure from abroad racist South Africa portrays itself as the most stable society on earth. This derives from the fact that it is of strategic importance to the imperialist world by virtue of the country's mineral resources and as a gateway for Western oil shipping.

The fact of the matter is that there is no peace in that country and there will not be until and unless the social conflict inherent in the political system that is being pursued there is equitably resolved. It would appear to us that there are two stumbling-blocks to the prospect of peace in South Africa.

The imperialist dilemma is whether to treat the national liberation movement as a threat to international corporate expansion or as potential partners in capitalist enterprise. Some minority corporate opinion in the United States is said to be considering whether it is not wiser to have an agreeable black government in South Africa than an intractable white one. The spurious investigation in the United States Senate on the extent of Communist influence in the liberation struggle in Southern Africa is part of that futile exercise. However we are all aware of the faction fight within the Atlantic Alliance which is isolating the U.S. internationally.



The other stumbling-block is that racist South Africa, in its own right is the most obdurate enemy of our people in terms of Dr. D. F. Malan's African Charter which advocated (1) Africa's protection from Asian swamping, (11) its preservation for black and white (the white referring to the Boers who call themselves Afrikaners), (111) its ideological development along Western Christian lines, (IV) the sectarian demilitarization of Southern Africa to preserve its own monopoly of organised violence, and (V) the dogmatic exclusion of Communism from the African Continent in terms of its own Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 which in 1976 was renamed Internal Security Act.

We do not think that the racist regime and its international backers are capable of resolving the situation brought about by this alienation. Our position is that only the removal of the historical conditions that oppress and exploit man can bring about peace in that country or in any other country for that matter. The social alienation has become a force against which we feel obliged to make revolution because it has become a force against which we feel obliged to make revolution because it has made the great mass of our people voiceless and propertyless; it has made poverty general and therefore the struggle for the necessities of life reproduces itself everyday in every way, and, where the mass of workers is deprived of meaningful work as a secure source of life, every worker is forced to embrace and finally resort to historical activity, and that means war.

In this respect the genuine leaders of the people of Azania have expressed themselves very clearly and unambiguously. The Chairman of the PAC, Comrade John Nyati Pokela, has identified the means, measures and methods of struggle at the disposal of the people and has told them that self-reliance and clarity on the National question provide our answer to the challenge of the enemy in our quest to wrest control of our ancestral land from our dispossessors.

KEHLA MTHEMBU, President of AZAPO, has said that there is no price that is too high to pay by a dominated and oppressed people in the struggle for an eventual just and equal distribution of wealth and power to all the people of Azania.

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#### UNDP DISCUSSES LIBERATION AID

The Governing Council of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) met in Geneva Switzerland recently (June 1 - 21, 1982) to finalise the review of the implementation of decisions concerning, among others, the funding of projects of the National Liberation Movements in Southern Africa. The General Council had before it, a report of its Administrator describing the nature of the assistance required by the National Liberation Movements, the programming of that assistance, the financial situation of the UNDP and recommended a drastic cut on the ceiling of funding of the 1982/1984 projects.

The delegations of the PAC of Azania and SWAPO of Namibia addressed the General Council and expressed their appreciation for the financial assistance given by the UNDP and the co-operation from other executing agencies of the United Nations, the value of the projects in the development of the infrastructure of the 7/8 liberation struggle and the effect that fund reduction would have in the training programmes of the National Liberation Movements, which had no independent sources of funds of their own. The leader of the PAC delegation, Director of Education and Manpower Development, Elliot N. MPAXA, told the delegates the importance of maintaining projects when training has started such fields as health, vocational training, mechanical and electrical engineering, primary, secondary, university and technical education for young people. More and above all, he said, the present training programme is a decisive factor of National development and forms the basis for the achievement of self-reliance during and after revolution has achieved victory. The reduction of the financial assistance to meet the expenditure involved will adversely affect our various projects and it is our strong request to find funds for the on-going projects.

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# ADDRESSES - OFFICES

## BOTSWANA

P.O. BOX 935  
GABORONE  
BOTSWANA

## BRITAIN

1st Floor  
212 Church Road  
Willesden  
LONDON NW10 9PN

## CANADA

P.O. BOX 303  
Station "L"  
TORONTO ONT.  
M6E 2VE  
CANADA

## EGYPT

5 Ahmet Heshmat St.  
Zamalek  
Cairo  
EGYPT

## GAMBIA

P.O. BOX 430  
Banjul  
SENEGAMBIA

## GERMANY

Butz Strasse 17  
46 Durtmund 15  
FRG

## GUINEA

Le Representant Resident  
Congres Panafricain de L' Azanie  
Representation de Conakry RPR de Guinea  
S/E Ministere de Affaires Extereur  
CONAKRY

## IRAQ

P.O. BOX 28119  
DAWOOD  
BAGHDAD  
IRAQ

## LESOTHO

P.O. BOX 8792  
Maseru 100  
LESOTHO

## NIGERIA

75 Transit Village  
Victoria Island  
LAGOS

## NORDIC COUNTRIES

Snogebaeksvey 102  
8210 Aarhus  
DENMARK

## SYRIA

Pan Africanist Congress of Azania  
c/o Foreign Relations Bureau  
Baath Arab Socialist Party National Leadership  
Damascus  
SYRIA

## US..A

211 East 43rd Street  
Suite 703  
NEW YORK NY 10017

## ZIMBABWE

P.O. BOX 4082  
HARARE  
ZIMBABWE

## SWEDEN

Professors Sluigan 25/103  
10405 Stockholm  
SWEDEN

## AUSTRALIA

SALC  
P.O. BOX A672  
Sydney 5th 2000  
AUSTRALIA



From the Blak Experience  
(A COLUMN OF LIGHT ENTERTAINMENT AFTER  
ALL YOU HAVE GONE THROUGH )

Heirs to the land

Yes, we fold up our knees  
It is impossible to stretch out  
Because our land has been hedged in.

IT WALKS

The child itself feels it must  
It stumbles and fall  
Takes one step at a time  
But the end result is that  
It walks.

And it is clear to me  
That even the Black man  
Must stand on his feet  
Like people in other countries  
And not expect always and forever  
To be carried by the white man  
On his back.



SONG OF YOUTH

So join the tune, Ye Black folk  
Some day 'twill remove the yoke  
Chant it loud, Ye dusky braves  
Sing of the day your spirit craves  
Go forth, uniting every heart  
In links no foe can part.

Go everywhere beneath the sun  
Join all Black ones into one  
Go across the desert and the sea  
And sing, Black man shall be free.