mayibuye





bulletin of the A.N.C., South Africa

因则是不

Editorial	e	•	• 0	•	۰	0	۰	۰	•	•	•	•	•	0	0	•	1
The Kharto	oum	Co	nfe	rei	106	3	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	.2
Race and I	Raci	si	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	5
"Poqo"	Orie	gin	and	1 8	Się	zn:	Ĺf	LO	M)	:9	•	•	•	•	•	•	8
Tohonnog 1	Ikos																10



RACIST SPORTS FESTIVAL

The expulsion of White South Africa from the Mexico Olympios of 1968 was brought about by the powerful and massive opposition of the vast majority of mankind. Certain racist and imperialist elements who tried to bring South Africa in through the backdoor were compelled to give way in the face of such world-wide condemnation.

But these elements have not given up. They feel such strong solidarity with the racist-fascists that, in collusion with White South Africa, they have planned a kind of Mini-Olympics to be held in Bloemfontein in April 1969 and confined to White athletes. In addition, only White spectators will be permitted to witness the events.

That racist South Africa has been compelled to organise such an all-White sports gathering completely exposes their pretentions that sports in South Africa is gradually becoming integrated. As we have always pointed out the so-called "mixed" teams that have on rare occassion been allowed out of the country have merely been showpieces intended to dupe the world. The D'Oliviera affair was one example; this is another example to prove that talk of keeping politics out of sports is a racist invention to defend their racism.

White racism in South Africa, now in its fascist stage, is beyond appeals to reason or humanity. Are we to believe that this is true also of other White Nations? We are informed that White athletes from Great Britain, U.S.A., France, Australia, Switzerland, Belgium, West Germany, Rhodesia, Italy, New Zealand, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Uruguay, Ireland and a few others will participate in the Racist Sports Festival. Surely they are aware that the great majority of mankind rejects apartheid as an abomination and as a crime against humanity. Surely they are aware that White South Africa has organised aparthoid Games mainly as a propaganda gambit and the participants place themslves in the position of stooges of the apartheid regime. Surely they are aware that by taking part in the Games they give comfort to and support fasoist-racism in South Africa. They can't be ignorant of the psychological importance of these games for White South Africa. They must know that the games were inaugurated by Prime Minister Vorster himself.

We call upon all athletes who have the cause of humanity at heart and who are not prepared to sell their souls for a free trip to South Africa to boyoott these racist Games. John Boulter, the British 1,500 metres runner has shown the way. His honourable words are worthy of note:

"I will not accept if I am invited. I have strong personal viewson apartheid and would not run at

a meeting/

a meeting where this distinction was made. By accepting I feel I would be condoning apartheid."

It could not be put more succinctly. We appeal also to the various Sports Associations concerned to forbid their members from going to South Africa. They have the powers to do so and have a duty to international sports and to mankind to use these powers. By refusing to take action the Sports Associations will not only be supporting racism but morally infringing the Olympic spirit and charter.

Above all we call upon the Governments of the countries involved to state their position firmly and clearly, and where possible, to take action. In another article in this issue we deal with the question of "Race and Racism". It is clear that racism poses a great danger to mankind and we have already accused certain imperialist (and White) governments of supporting fascist South Africa. If they refuse to take action they will further confirm our accusations and bring the world nearer to a race war.

Readers will be interested to know that Shell Oil Company have made this Racist Sports Festival possible by their generous donation of £75,000. We have always criticised international companies for their trading . with and investing in South Africa. Their reply is usually that business is applitical and not concerned with the policies of the country. We wonder what explanation Shell has to offer, for by their donation, they are in fact aiding and abetting and fostering racism.

Finally, we appeal to all progressive and especially non-White sportsmen and nations to apply strong pressure. The holding of the Racist Sports Festival is an insult to black people throughout the world. Black people everywhere must state loudly that those who take part in the all-White Games, those who support these Games, those who finance these Games are our enemies and must be ostracised and isolated. Let all people singly and in groups through their associations, make every effort to see to it that there Racist Festival is a gigantic flop.

* * * * *

THE KHARTOUM CONFERENCE

by "Participant"

The International Conference in support of the peoples of the Portugese territories and Southern Africa met in Khartoum from January 18 to 20. This conference proved to be different from the conferences we we have been holding in the last few years to discuss the problems of liberating the unliberated parts of Africa. Why was it different?

For the first...../

For the first time the leaders of the liberation movements in the Portugese colonies and Southern Africa ran the show. It was unlike the numerous occassions when they paced up and down the corridors outside conference halls whilst discussions of their situations and their vital interests took place inside. They were spared the humiliation of wearing on their jacket lapels, tags reading "Petitioner".

The conference was sponsored jointly by the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organisation and the World Peace Council in conjunction with the six Liberation movements from Portugese Guinea (Bissau), Angola, Mozambique, South West Africa (Namibia), Zimbabwe and South Africa which participated in the preparatory work for the conference. And on the third week of January, Khartoum which has always been a vital junction between East and West Africa, between North Africa and the South, opened its doors to scores of delegates from Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Socialist countries, Western Europe and North America.

The issues discussed could be listed as follows:

- * The regimes of South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal are at war with the indigenous people of Southern Africa and Guinea Bissau.
- * These have active support of the NATO military bloc as well as major imperialist powers such as the United States of America, Great Britain, West Germany, France and Japan.
- * The indigenous people of this area 1.0. Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, Angola, South West Africa, Zimbabwe and South Africa after years of peaceful political struggle have now taken up arms and are heroically fighting for their freedom.
- * The clash between the African peoples of Southern Africa and Guinea Bissau on the one hand and the White racist regimes which oppress and exploit them cannot be regarded as a purely local conflict. It is one of fundamental international interest and concern affecting directly and indirectly, all peoples everywhere.
- It was clear therefore that the first task of a conference having before it the above agenda, was to obtain an up-to-date picture of the actual situation in the areas under discussion.
- Would be taken up by reports delivered by the authentic liberation Movements from this region. These were: The Party of African Independence, (P.A.I.G.C.) of Guinea Bissau, the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (M.P.L.A.), the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO), the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) and the African National Congress (A.N.C.) of South Africa.

The reports of our comrades from the Portuguese colonies indicated that they have made giant strides in their struggle. In Guinea Bissau, the guerrillas of the P.A.I.G.C., have now liberated two-thirds of the country. Large tracts of territory has also been liberated in Mozambique and Angola by the FRELIMO and MPLA militants respectively.

Two problems emerge from this situation. Firstly, there is the problem of building a new life of freedom and happiness in the liberated areas. In practice this means schools for the children and and adult education. It means the re-organisation of agriculture and the establishment of a viable economy etc. etc. On the other hand on the military level there is the problem of defending and consolidating the liberated areas which are under constant bombing and harrassment by the enemy. But above all there is the all-embracing task of bringing total liberation by armed struggle.

The report of the Namibia (South West Africa) delegation, revealed that the South African racist occupation authorities have gone beserk. They have arrested dozens of militants and flung them in South African dungeons. They are terrorising peaceful villagers, forcing thousands to flee to neighbouring States such as Zambia. All this mad activity is aimed at suppressing the growing guerrilla action by SWAPO militants.

In Zimbabwe, it is now generally known that the South African regime has developed very close links with the Rhodesian rebel regime to save its economy from international sanctions. But more sinister is the entry of South African military troops who have rescued a regime that was exposed to be militarily bankrupt by the ZAPU-ANC freedom-fighters.

The report by the South African delegation showed that the racist regime had annexed the territory of Namibia in brazen defiance of the U.N. It is extending its attempts at economic, political and military domination of neighbouring Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland. And cunningly spreads its tentacles Northwards, first holding under its sway and charm Malawi, but with the grand design of penetrating all independent African States.

The reports indicated that the oppressed peoples of South Africa and Zimbabwe, led by the A.N.C. and ZAPU have rallied in a military alliance and are waging guerrilla war against the combined forces of Vorster and Smith. That the war of liberation will spread to South Africa itself was without doubt on the cards.

These problems were canvassed in all detail in the political commission set up by the Conference.

As for the big question of what was to be done, a Mobilisation Commission was set up which, as its name implied, was to spell out what concrete action had to be taken by the forces participating in the conference to meet the critical situation.

The clarion/....

The clarion call therefore emerged at Khartoum ordering a mobilisation of anti-colonialist and democratic forces the world over to support the war of liberation now raging in Southern Africa and Guinea Bissau. National Mobilisation Committees are to be set up in all countries and if we want to speculate on their effectiveness, we have only to look at the successes scored by the National Committees in Solidarity with Vietnam. The work of these Mobilisation Committees will be co-ordinated by a Continuation Committee to be set up in Cairo under the chairmanship of the six liberation movements who will take the chair in rotation.

The Khartoum conference proved to be a baptismal ceremony for the birth of dynamic solidarity among the liberation movements of Southern Africa and Guinea Bissau. It has cemented together these forces with the powerful Socialist camp and with the progressive forces in Western Europe and North America. We confidently await the dawn of the manhood of this all-conquering force.

RACE AND RACISM

by Anti-pass

The Herrenvolk/....

The sixties have brought about such radical changes in the international situation that many of the former proponents and supporters of theories of race appear to have been silenced. Nevertheless, race and racism are as much a part of today's world as they ever were. Overt and blatant racism, outside of Southern Africa, is confined to the lunatic fringe of the Right represented for example in the United States by George Wallace and the John Birch Society and in Britain by Enoch Powell. But racism is not confined to these groups.

It is pertinent, therefore, to re-examine the meaning of race, the basis for racism and the dangers these concepts and ideas continue to pose. For us in Southern Africa, involved as we are in a Revolutionary People's War the problem is of immediate relevance. We have been the victims of racial persecution for many decades and unless we understand clearly the foundations of racism we could ourselves be led into the same blind alley.

The ANC has always stressed the non-racial character of the struggle for liberation in South Africa and has thereby recognised (and overcome) the dangers inherent in the situation.

THE ABUSE OF RACE

While biological, ethnic and other scientific studies have shattered spurious theories of race there are those who regard their own versions of great importance. The whole Nazi theory of politics was based on the idea of a master-race, superior to all others. Millions of Jews were tragically driven into concentration camps and mass death chambers in the name of race

The Herrenvolk ideology of the ruling Nationalist Party in South Africa is founded also on the master-race idea. In fact, many prominent members of the present government were enthusiastic supporters of Hitler and drew inspiration from his putrid ideology. Afro-Americans are confined to ghettoes and generally oppressed in the so-called "democratic" United States - again in the name of race. Everywhere in the world men are scarred, segregated and persecuted in the name of race. Everyday new abominations are spreading in the name of race. The master-race ideology insists that there are backward races which must be kept in their place. Thus Britain is pre-occupied with immigration laws designed to keep out Blacks and Powellism runs rampant. A Mini-Olympics is being organised in South Africa composed of Whites only to compensate that country because it was excluded from the Mexico Olympics.

WHAT IS RACE?

The term "Race" has pre-occupied, confused and taken up a lot of time of scientists and pseudo-scientists. We will not here go into elements like the Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa who find argument for racism in the Bible. Scientifically the word race is really quite meaningless. All humans belong to a single species, Homo Sapiens (what an ill-named term), which means that all men have a common ancestry, are essentially similar in form and function and breed only among themselves. However anthropologists, looking at superficial physical differences such as stature, colour of skin, kind of hair, shape of head, nose. eyes, etc, have attempted to sub-divide Homo-sapiens into race or sub-species. At first they confined themselves to separation based on skin colour and produced Negroids (Blacks), Mongoloids (Yellow) and Caucasoids (Whites). But they then went further and began producing sub-sub-species, further dividing into "newer" races.

Scientifically such divisions of humanity into races is so much balderdash. Firstly, because in the course of history there have been so many migrations of people, so much intermingling of people from different geographical areas that no group can claim to be "unmixed" and "pure". Secondly, genetic studies have demonstrated that there are no essential differences between man and man, no matter what superficial differences there might be. Thirdly, every kind of objective study has not only failed to demonstrate any racial differences but on the contrary has demonstrated the essential unity and oneness of mankind. Differences in intelligence, capacity for work, efficiency, etc., are based not on race but on the fact that some are better endowed than others irrespective of their outward physical appearance.

ORIGINS OF RACE

Why is it that the term race (and racism) has got such a deep hold? So much so that "slant-eyed" came to be synonymous with deceitful, "Asiatic" with dirty, "flat-nosed" with stupid and so on.

I think one can categorically state that the concept of race is essentially a product of capitalism. It seeks to justify inequalities of present-day society,

to rationalise privilege and oppression on the one hand and to instil feelings of inferiority on the other. Without doubt the so-called scientists who sought to divide mankind into races were inspired by selfish political motives. It is no accident that their division has always been blacks or backward on the one hand and whites or progressives on the other and this was done so that capitalism, fascism, herrenvolkism and imperiablesm could have some justification. Cecil Rhodes believed that the Anglo-Saxon "race" had been given by God the duty of governing as much of the world as they could annex and thus became an empire-builder.

The Nordics believed that they possessed qualities of creativeness and capacity for leadership, that they were chiefly responsible for the development of civilization and that progress was dependent upon the maintenance of their purity of supremacy. Hitler was inspired by those motives and fascist-racists of Southern Africa are today the arch-leaders of such nonsensical beliefs.

Racial differentiation has been used to separate ruler from ruled, to justify the exploitation of the latter by the former. The Whites, having seized the land, and the resources of the colonies found that skin colour was a useful instrument to divide society into masters and slaves. Having conquered and captured power they sought to hold on to it for their aggrandisement. Every sector of society was organised on racial lines. Residential segregation with blacks naturally occupying the slums and ghettoes, wage differentiation with blacks being the poorest paid; Job Reservation with the best jobs reserved for Whites and the most manual for Blacks; education so designed as to prepare the White child for a dominant place in society and the Black child for a subordinate one. Illiteracy and ignorance among Blacks was fostered in order to make their obedient subjection easier. But all this was ostensibly guided by various theories of race. The real reasons which we have already outlined, were hidden.

Civilised men allowed themselves to become duped and confused by divisions into races of Homo Sapiens for it was in their interest to become confused. It was profitable to become confused so they developed a blind spot and did not seriously question the nonsensical theories that were foisted on them.

IS RACE ANTIQUATED?

With the defeat of Nazism after the Second World War racism became unfashionable. Further onslaughts were made by the successful culmination of liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Added impetus was given by the rising tide of socialism throughout the world. But let there be no mistake - race and racism are by no means in their death throes.

In fact, side by side with the world-wide struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism there is a developing struggle against racism and racialism. The Afro-Americans in the U.S. continue to be oppressed on the basis of race and are engaged in an increasingly more militant struggle against racism. In Britain, racism is raising its ugly head more openly than ever so that Powellism is now virtually the policy of the Conservative Party.

Is it/....

Is it an accident that the main backers in the Commonwealth outside of British perfidy are White nations? Is White South Africa merely stupid in thinking that other white nations will support its Mini-Olympics?

We who are engaged in a Revolutionary War of Liberation in Southern Africa are extremely conscious that racism is not outmoded. It is very real and a very ugly feature of our lives

The destruction of White racism is the very crux of our struggle. We are well aware of the dangerous situation developing in Southern Africa. White racism here has many friends in the imperialist camp, friends who have vast and profitable investments which they will do anything to safeguard and defend, to fight for. We have repeatedly pointed out that fascist—racism in Southern Africa endangers the peace of the world. We believe this to be true.

Racism is not outmoded. On the contrary it may yet plunge the world into a third war.

* * * * * *

"POQO" - ORIGIN AND SIGNIFICANCE

by Tshonyane

Much has been writtenand spoken about "Poqo" in South Africa. The South African Press and Radio as well as sections of the international press have been full of reports about "Poqo" conspiracies, "Poqo plots and long drawn out trials of members of "Poqo". The propaganda of the racists has been to define "Poqo" as a national organisation, as the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress. Even the Snyman Commission appointed by the fascist regime in 1962 to invostigate the courses of the Paarl riots managed to come to the conclusion that the riots were the work of an "extremist organisation" called "Poqo".

The attempts to characterise "Poqo" as a national organisation and to link it directly with the PAC are difficult to understand if they are studied against the background of the early 1960's in South Africa. It is noteworthy also that PAC has not dissociated itself from "Poqo" and appears to be happy to foster the myth of an association.

In view if the fact that "Poqo" trials continue to take place in South Africa - most recently late in 1968 - and because they gain international publicity it is necessary to go into what "Poqo" really is and to explode the myths that surround this concept.

Broadly translated "Poqo" means "we (i.e. Africans) go it alone".

And, in fact, in full it is "Ama Afrika Poqo". The implications are
that Africans should struggle alone and was originally used over fifty

y5ars/

years ago. So the concept is historical and arose out of the oppression the African people suffered and continue to suffer. It was an expression of the need to get rid of the oppressor and was reflected in physical attacks on Whites.

At no stage then or now did "Poqo" ever become a national organisation. Indeed, "Poqo" is not at all an organisation. There has never been any co-ordination, no programme, none of the essential elements of an organisation. How, then, can it be the "military wing" of any political party, let alone the PAC. The only possible connection between "Poqo" and PAC is that, after the banning of the latter organisation at the same time as the ANC, some of the former members of the PAC in the Western Cape continued agitating alorg anti-white chauvinistic lines and from, through and around them sprang groups which called themselves "Poqo", probably borrowing the name from history. We use the term "former members" advisedly, for, after the banning, the PAC virtually ceased to be an organisation. Perhaps it is necessary to explain this.

The PAC was formed in 1958 as a break-away group from the ANC. By the time of its banning in 1960 it had not yet succeeded in setting up a well-knit national organisation; it did not have cadres well-drilled politically and with deep political convictions. It would have required superhuman effort in absolutely ideal conditions to do so within the short space of one year. The most glaring aspect of its policy (such as it was) was extreme chauvinism.

Aftter the 1960 State of Emergency the fascist regime arrested well-known political activists in the country. A changed situation arose and it became clear that much of political activity would henceforth have to be conducted along illegal conspiratorial lines. To work in gestapo-like conditions requires a political party with a well-organised political machinary and a clear political programme.

The PAC was caught napping and unable to provide these basic prerequisites and unprepared for the fascists' mounting police offensive.
The organisation crumbled and its destruction was hastened by some
leaders who grossly violated the slogan "no bail, no defence, no
fines", and others who began flirting with the virtually all-white
Liberal Party after having fed their followers on anti-white chauvinism. Certain, therefore, that there is no real connection between
the PAC and "Poqo" which only arose after 1960. In fact, Robert
Sotukwe, President of the PAC, himself denied any connection when
giving evidence for the defence at the trial of Regala and Ntuli at
Kimberley in 1960.

When one knows that the PAC started off as an anti-communist organisation at a time when there was co-operation between the ANC and the Communist Party one gets the clue as to why the racist press and the fascist regime has been at such pains to link PAC and "Poqo" in order to bolster the former. For the ANC, as now, was always the most militant, disciplined, organised and leading organisation of the oppressed people and the racists hoped, then, to build the PAC as a counter.

Having exploded the myths it is necessary to understand why the "Poqo" concept has flourished in the sixties. It must be remembered that those who call themselves "Poqo" are people who have rejected white supremacy and oppression. They attack whites physically partly because the whites around them appear as the nearest expression of the oppressor and partly because of the anti-white chauvinism brought by some former members of the PAC. They are anarchists acting out of frustration in the conditions of illegality obtaining in racist South Africa. "Poqo" is a reflection of the deep-seated rotteness of South African society and the "Poqoists" are an expression of the wide-spread spirit of revolt but the "Poqo" concept must be rejected for it is anarchistic and self-defeating.

* * * * *

JOHANNES NKOSE

by E.R. Matajo

Johannes Nkosi - born in Natal - worked as a farm-labourer, kitchen servant and other low paid jobs. In 1919 at the age of 14 he came to Johannesburg and took part in the A.N.C.'s campaign against passes. He worked at all kinds of jobs. Attended the Communist Party's Night School at Johannesburg where he not only learnt to read and write but also a turning desire to free his people from slavery.

This great African patriot was brutally shot and murdered by the South African police on the 16th December, 1930 at Cartwrights Flats, Durban. 1930 was the year in which the then Nationalist Government amended the notorious 1912 Riotious Assemblies Act for the second time. It was first amended in 1914 in order to smash the fighting spirit of the white workers. In 1930 - the 1912 Riotious Assemblies Act was amended to deal with African "agitators" and "trouble makers".

1930 was also the year of stark starvation in the reserves, it was the year of the worst drought for over sixty years. African men and women faced with poor crops at home care to the towns to seek work and bread. The Western world and South Africa was in a crisis - the Groat Depression which began in 1929.

The African workers were the biggest sufferers - first to be fired and the last to be hired. Black and White workers demonstrated for bread and work. Workers struck against wage cuts. Oswald Pirow used the police to beat up demonstrators and strikers. His police thugs

raided the/

raided the townships, arrested those africans who could not produce tax receipts, lodger permits or passes. The African people hated the passes and the police. Anti-pass campaign was planned.

On 16th December, 1930 a crowd of many thousands of African men and women gathered at Cartwrights Flats at 8 a.m. Johannes Nkosi was chairman of the meeting. He and others like him addressed the huge crowd. By mid-day 3,000 passes were burnt. The meeting went on up to 4 p.m. The people were prepared to march in defiance of the police command. The police thugs turned on the people. Nkosi was shot at whilst on the platform. Our martyrs Johannes Nkosi, James Mhlongo and Ben Pani were hacked to death. The murderers were not prosecuted, but 26 African patriots were sentenced to six months hard labour. Seven African witnesses told the court that the Chief Constable shot Nkosi whilst he was addressing the meeting and that Nkosi and his two comrades were hacked to death after they were taken into custody. But the court ignored this evidence. Johannes Nkosi died as he lived — an "uncompromising fighter". These words were said by Albert Nzula in his tribute to Nkosi.

A letter from Nkosi found with his wife in Zulu urged the African workers to awake and throw off their shackles. In the UMSEBENZI of December 1930 and 1931 there are many inspiring letters and a poem paying tribute to this great African patriot and freedom's martyr.* The South African White racist, government will have a lot to account for when freedom comes! We must not forget these martyrs. Their names must be avenged.

* See Mayibuye Vol. 2, No. 40.

EMPLOYER KEEPS PASS BOOK

PO_ ELIZABETH: An African woman arrested for failing to produce her reference book told the Bantu Commissioner that her former employer had taken her book and refused to give it back to her.

The woman, Irene Mava, 20, said after she resigned save her employer her reference book to sign her off. The employer took the book and refused to sign it. He would not give it back to her.

Then she went to the Municipal Labour Bureau, New Brighton. She was advised to report the matter at the nearest police station.

She was arrested shortly afterwards.

EVENING POST (Port Elizabeth)
21 January, 1969.