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EDITORIAL.

STATEMENT OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA ON VIOLATION OF ANGOLAN TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN RACIST REGIME.

A movement of the South African troops deep into the territory of Angola has been reported by the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), leader of the people of Angola whose victory against Portuguese colonialism will soon be celebrated in November of this year. This grave act of the South African fascist regime constitutes naked aggression not only against the people of Angola but equally against the entire independent African Continent.

The aggressive South African regime is obviously taking advantage of the temporary political difficulties inside Angola that have been engineered and supported by international imperialism aided and abetted by reactionary neo-colonial forces both inside and outside Angola. Thus the South African fascist regime hopes to salvage and re-coup the irreversible losses of the aggressive colonial system by seeking to reverse the decolonisation process in Angola. This is a pipe-dream which is as elusive as attempts to reverse the clock of progress on the African Continent and all over the world where people have finally triumphed over the evil forces of colonial oppression.

The aggressive actions of the South African Apartheid regime expose for all to see the true face of the Vorster regime which by its very nature is and will always remain the implacable enemy of independence and social progress. These actions also demonstrate that the hollow protestation of peaceful "detente" by the racist-fascist regime of South Africa are nothing but a cover for the evil designs of the regime against the vital interests of the African peoples.

The oppressed peoples of Namibia and South Africa have never been deceived by the "broad smiles" of the blood-thirsty Vorster regime. Whilst the apologists of the regime loudly acclaim the "new peaceful" face of fascism in South Africa, repression directed against the progressive national liberation movements both in Namibia and South Africa is intensified. Arrests of the opponents of the regime continue in both countries. All these are fruitless attempts to stem the rising tide of defiant resistance by the oppressed populations in both countries.

The African National Congress of South Africa, in its unequivocal support for MPLA and the people of Angola calls upon the Organisation of African Unity and all international progressive forces to condemn the latest act of wanton aggression directed against the people of Angola by the fascist regime of South Africa. WE demand the immediate withdrawal of the South African aggressor troops both from the Angolan and Namibian territories. International public opinion must in the wake of the new crimes of the fascist regime intensify the regime's international isolation.

We call upon the liberation forces both in Namibia and South Africa to intensify their revolutionary struggles as the only effective answer against the continuing crimes of the fascist Apartheid regime.

ALFRED NZO

Secretary General.

National Executive Committee,
African National Congress of South Africa,
P.O. Box 1791,
Lusaka,
ZAMBIA.

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REPORT FROM MOZAMBIQUE.

"I welcome my friend, comrade, my brother in Arms, Oliver Tambo, President of the African National Congress of South Africa".

With these words, Comrade President Samora Moises Machel of Mozambique introduced Comrade Tambo to the fifteen hundred foreign and local guests gathered at a State dinner to celebrate the establishment of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

Spontaneously the entire congregation broke into prolonged and enthusiastic applause. They were joined by scores of members of the Frelimo Armed Forces and Mozambique Militia who were on duty at the reception.

This enthusiasm for our President and our organisation - the African National Congress - was not confined to this one event. For instance, when Comrade Tambo arrived at Lourenco Marque airport from Lusaka to attend the independence celebrations, the thronging thousands outside the airport, who until his arrival had been quiet and disciplined, broke loose and mobbed the car in which he was proceeding to a villa in the outskirts of the city where he was to stay during his visit. They rocked the car and roared: Viva ANC! Viva Frelimo! over and over again to the consternation of the security men who were charged with accompanying Comrade Tambo.

A similar demonstration of solidarity was expressed by the thousands of Mozambicans gathered outside the Noble Saloon, formerly Lourenco Marque' City Hall, when, Comrade Joachim Chisano, interim Prime Minister and now Foreign Minister of the new Republic, introduced Comrade Oliver Tambo from the balcony of the the Hall after the investiture of Comrade Samora-Machel as President the People's Republic of Mocambique.

The strong and committed solidarity between Frelimo, the Government and peoples of Mocambique and the African National Congress and the struggling peoples of South Africa were expressed in many other ways too numerous to mention here.

The official guest list was dominated by representatives of African, Asian and Socialist States. Liberation Movements represented at the celebration included, SWAPO, the ANC of Zimbabwe, the Socialist Party of Puerto Rico and the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

Comrade Augustino Neto, President of the MPLA of Angola was an honoured guest.

Representatives of support movements such as the Anti-Apartheid Movement of Britain, the AAM of Ireland, the International Defence and Aid Fund and the Committee for Freedom for Mocambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau, were also present. So also were representatives of the World Peace Council, the Afro-Asian People' Solidarity Committee and the Organisation of African Unity, whose large delegation included its current President, H.E. Siad Barre, President of the Republic of Somalia and the Secretary General H.E. Eteki Mboumona.

Prominent among those not invited included the representatives of the United States, France, Malawi, West Germany, and of course, the Rhodesian and South African regimes. Black US Congressmen, Charles Diggs and Cardiss Collins were invited as individuals.

Only seven Western countries were invited - Portugal, Sweden, Britain, Norway, Denmark, Finland and Holland.

The Celebrations.

Each Province held its own celebrations - meetings, demonstrations, youth festivals, sporting events, athletic displays, cultural activities etc.

The highlight of the celebrations was a meeting held in Lourenco Marque, the capital, to proclaim independence and inaugurate the People's Republic of Mozambique.

Machaba, a suburb in Lourenco Marques, where the infamous Machaba Prison, in which hundreds of Frelimo Militants and other Mozambican democrats were tortured, murdered and imprisoned under the most barbarous conditions by the Portuguese colonialists is located, also has a stadium.

The Machaba stadium, which the colonialists used for bull fights, has seated accommodation for 80,000 people. Long before midnight on June 24, despite insistent rain, the stadium was packed to capacity. Only those with special invitation cards were allowed admittance. Thousands without such cards were turned away disappointed. Those invited, apart from the international guests, were representatives of workers from the different factories and plantations, miners and railwaymen, intellectuals and civil servants, Students and Women, the Mozambican army and militia... Representatives from every walk of Mozambican life.

It was not a celebration by the elite... it was a celebration by the people... all the people!

As the Presidential convoy, flanked by militia outriders, entered the stadium, the entire crowd rose in unison, burst into applause and yelled: Viva Samora! Viva Frelimo! La Luta Continua! (The Struggle Continues!) Unidade! Trabhaho! Vigilancia! (Unity! Work! Vigilance!)

Once Comrade Samora completed greeting his distinguished guests on the canopied platform, which incidentally included Comrades Neto and Tambo, three Frelimo soldiers marched to the flagmast in front of the platform where the Portuguese flag was flying. Simultaneous-

ly, two Portuguese marines and a Portuguese sailor marched to the mast from the right of the platform.

The moving and colourful ceremony began with the lowering of the Portuguese flag by one of the Portuguese marines. As the flag reached the ground the two marines folded it and placed it on a silver tray carried by the Portuguese sailor and all three of them marched away. The time was 0.22 hours, the date June 25, 1975. An era of Portuguese Colonialism had ended in Mozambique. Five hundred years of Colonial domination had come to a final, irrevocable end.

As the Black, Green, Gold, White and Red Frelimo Flag (the the colours the ~~land~~ the land, wealth, peace and the Blood of the martyrs respectively) was raised the emotion-packed audience - many openly-weeping - rose and sang the Republic's New National Anthem.

Throughout the ceremony President Samora Moises Machel stood at attention with his hand raised in Salute to the birth of the New State - the People's Republic of Mozambique.

In a short but historic speech punctuated with applause, the President then proclaimed the New Republic with the following words:

- * Mozambicans,
- * Workers, Peasants and fighters,
- * Mozambican People,
- * In the name of all of you, at 00 hours today, 25th June, 1975 the Central Committee of Frelimo solemnly proclaims the total and complete independence of Mozambique and the creation of the People's Republic of Mozambique!"

Comrade Samora made three important speeches during the celebrations. The first referred to above, the second at his investiture as President of the Republic and the third at a State dinner which was held at the culmination . . . 3/

culmination of the celebrations. Hereunder are an abridged selection of some of his statements on the policy of the People's Republic of Mozambique!

ON THE NEW STATE

"The sovereign and independent People's Republic of Mozambique is a People's Democratic State, in which all patriotic strata under the leadership of the alliance of peasants and workers are engaging themselves in the struggle to destroy the vestiges of colonialism and imperialist dependence, to eliminate the system of exploitation of man by man, and build the new material, ideological, political, cultural, social and administrative base of the new society...

"In the process of the material building of the new society, with agriculture as its base and industry as the propelling factor, relying upon its own forces and supported by its natural allies, the People's Republic of Mozambique will build a prosperous and independent advance economy, ensuring the control over its natural resources for the benefit of the masses and progressively applying the just principle of each one according to his work and from everyone according to his ability".

ON SOUTH AFRICA

"The Mozambican People under the leadership of Frelimo will always assume their duty of solidarity with the interests of the South African masses and of the entire mankind whatever difficulties they may face".

ON LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

"The Mozambican People did not struggle alone. Throughout the tough armed fight for national liberation FRELIMO established relations of friendship, solidarity and mutual help with people and countries sharing the same aspirations of freedom, independence and social progress.

"This assertion does not stem from just feelings of gratitude although on this day of happiness, we cannot fail to say how much the Mozambican people appreciate and esteem the fraternal and disinterested help they received from peoples, countries, organisations and individuals who made their efforts and sacrifices effective and victorious.

"In the first lines of this combat front we find the national liberation movements, fighters in the same fight and the same trench, comrades-in-arms who struggled alongside us and with whom we have established fraternal and indestructible relations of solidarity. To them we wish to affirm, above all, in this liberated African Land, that the People's Republic of Mozambique fully assumes the internationalist dimension of the fight for the liberation of Africa and mankind and that our common struggle continues".

ON WORLD PEACE

"The People's Republic of Mozambique has as its natural allies the social countries, which constitute a liberated area of mankind, the young States, in particular African countries committed with the national liberation movements in one of the main fronts of anti-imperialist struggles, the democratic and progressive forces, the working masses of all mankind.

"The People's Republic of Mozambique born of a long, hard and difficult struggle, learned and appreciates the value of peace. It will therefore undertake with no hesitations a policy aimed at establishing a genuine peace based on justice, and here and now declares itself to be in favour of general and complete world disarmament. Because of the particular responsibility due to its geographic position, the People's Republic of Mozambique affirms its concern that the Indian Ocean should be made into a zone of peace".

"Colonialism, capitalism, the different systems of exploitation of man in our society, have always been associated with religious institutions. The colonial state transformed the faith of believers into a-tool for neutralising the people's legitimate rebellion.

"It is the duty of the State to guarantee freedom of conscience for its citizens which implies especially the protection of children against indoctrination within State institutions, as happened in the colonial schools which subjected children of differing religious origins to the evangelising of the Catholic church.

"In order to respect freedom of conscience, the State cannot be connected with any religion or appear to have links with any of them.

"It is up to the State to ensure the freely exercised right of every citizen to believe or not believe. The mobilisation of the masses is a right and a duty won solely by FRELIMO through arduous struggle against colonialism and imperialism.

"The close association of religious institutions with the machinery of aggression and domination over our people certainly does not give them any right today to demand something against which they have always fought".

ON EDUCATION

"The objective of the People's Republic of Mozambique is the cultural well-being of all citizens, to achieve which it will promote the spread of education at all levels through democratization guided by the State, the wiping out of elitism and discrimination in education based on wealth, and the formation of a new popular and revolutionary mentality in the new generation".

ON YOUTH

"The youth, the lifeblood of the Nation, will be protected and priority will be given to their education, which will be always closely linked with the life and the interests of the masses.

"The State will promote knowledge and revitalization of Mozambican culture and will spread it nationally and internationally, as a part of the consolidation of national unity and as an essential part of the Mozambican personality".

ON HEALTH

"The wiping out of disease, one of the features of colonialism and underdevelopment, will be a major concern. The People's Republic of Mozambique will extend the network of health services throughout all the country, particularly into the rural areas, with the aim of benefitting the working masses.

"The People's Republic of Mozambique, will protect the family, encouraging its development through the protection of mothers and children".

ON WOMEN

"The People's Republic of Mozambique, by following FRELIMO'S political line, will be engaged in the struggle for the emancipation of women, for the total liberation from the several forms of traditional and capitalist oppression, so that they may recover their role as citizens enjoying full rights in our society, and so giving all their political, civic and social contribution".

ON WAR VICTIMS

"The People's Republic of Mozambique regards special protection of war widows and orphans, as well as people deprived by war, as an absolute duty of all Mozambicans. They are symbols of the sacrifices offered by millions of Mozambicans during . . . 5/

during the period of colonial domination and of the struggle for National Liberation".

CONCLUSION

That the revolutionary Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique has many complex problems, especially in the economic field, was emphasised by the President more than once.

However, on each such occasion he expressed confidence that the people guided by Frelimo whose policy is, and will continue to be, anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-capitalist, will triumph over all obstacles.

We, in the African National Congress and all the oppressed Black Masses and other democrats in South Africa, are as confident as Comrade Samora is in the future of this newest African People Republic.

In expressing this confidence, we say with the entire peoples of Mozambique:

VIVA FRELIMO!
VIVA COMRADE SAMORA!
LA LUTA CONTINUA!
(THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!)
MAATLA! AMANDLA!

LIFE ON WHITE FARMS.

From the earliest days of their arrival in South Africa the white colonialists began systematically to grab the land as from the different Black tribes. Various methods were used to squeeze the tribes off their ancestral lands - soldiers used war and conquest, diplomats used deceit and chicanery, missionaries used hallowed words and pie in the sky.

Roots Of Apartheid

Our forefathers had neither the weapons nor the deceitful guile of the colonialist - in a short time they became virtually landless being confined to small reserves set aside for them by the imperialist conqueror. The net result was that the whites grabbed and kept aside for themselves 87% of the land. But even before this process was completed the seeds of apartheid were sown. Long before the discovery of Gold and Diamonds and the consequent industrialisation of the economy there was established a relationship between whites and Blacks of master and servant. The myth, derived from the Bible, that blacks are children of Ham forever to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water" became the subsequent ideology of segregation and apartheid.

The rural areas, the farms and plantations, the land stolen from the African people, provide the source of the systematic exploitation and oppression of the Black majority which is now codified as the heinous system of apartheid. To this day some of the worst cruelties of apartheid are perpetrated on the large white farms of South Africa and, to this day, the most reactionary supporters of apartheid come from the rural areas. It is this area, stolen from us, which now most extensively steals the toil and sweat, the dignity and the manhood of our people. In these areas now designated and owned by whites, 3½ million Africans live and work facing worst inhumanities of apartheid. Little of the conditions of life of Blacks on white farms is known for the racist regime is not interested in and does not bother to keep detailed records.

Conditions of Black Workers

South Africa is renowned in Europe for its "outspan" Oranges, its grapes and wine, apricots, apples, peaches, pears, and other fruit; South Africa produces sugar, maize and wheat; South Africa produces vegetables in great abundance and infinite variety. But the consumers know little of the conditions of these who sweat to produce this rich harvest. It is a story of devastating inhumanity and gross exploitation. Even the slave was capital and had to be looked after by the master; cattle, pigs and poultry are cared for and fed on the basis of extensive scientific research.

The rural black worker is merely a 'unit of labour' to be worked until he is incapable and then sent back to the reserves. There are very few laws which protect the rights of urban black workers - in the rural areas even these are dispensed with and do not exist. There is no minimum wage legislation, no wage agreement, no machinery for determining wages; farm labourers are not covered by Industrial Conciliation legislation nor by the Workmen's Compensation Act. They are totally at the mercy of the White farmer.

Farm labourers often work 14 or more hours a day, seven days a week. They have no holidays, no paid leave, no sick leave, and no right to medical services. Flagging is legal and disobedience may be punished by a fine or beating. The white owner may cancel a contract but the black labourers has no such right; desertion is a criminal offence. The wages on the white farms average R12 to R16 per month and this INCLUDES wages in kind (such as a ration of mealie-meal, the use of land for growing crops etc). This is about a tenth of what is required for basic existence i.e., 10% of the Poverty Datum live.

The workers live in mud hovels, often sleep on sacks on floors, they have no water or toilet facilities. Men and women are often housed in the same large room with on a sack separating the sexes.

EDUCATION

Even going to school is a rare privilege entirely dependent on the whims of the white employer. Certainly when there is work to do children are expected to slave alongside their parents and not permitted to go schools. Even so the nearest school may be many miles away and the white farmer is under no obligation to build a farm school. And, since he has to pay the cost of the buildings, there is little incentive for him to build schools. In fact, the racist regime does not permit the building of schools on farms of less than 200 morgen.

PRISON LABOUR.

The racists discourage the building of schools but encourage the building of PRISONS on farms. In this way black prisoners are hustled off to these farm prisons to work there for 6 to 12 months without any understanding of why they are taken there nor any possibility of escape once there. Many of these are brought to court for minor infringements of the Pass Laws but are press-ganged to the farms. Often relatives have no idea where they are and it is often impossible to trace them via the police or law courts because of the hurried way in which their cases are processed. On the farms their condition of life is appalling, and they work under the eyes of "boss boys" armed with Sjamboks (whips) or guard-dogs. The use of prison labour has increased over the years. Each farmer has to apply and, if approved, is allocated a number of prisoners. This right to employ prison labour is extremely valuable and adds to the assets of the farm - it is estimated to add about R1500 per convict to the value of the farm!! Such is the ugliness and vulgarity of Apartheid.

We quote below from a prisoner who was taken to one such farm:-

"Taken to a brick building with only one entrance, consisting of a door constructed iron bars, and all the windows were barred with iron. That first evening all my clothes except my trousers were taken by one of the bossboys, who gave me a sack and told me to wear it. I soon found that living conditions were of the most primitive kind and worse than anything I have ever heard of. We were only allowed water to drink on our return from the fields in the evening and before we started work in the morning... During the whole time that I was on the farm I was not able to wash or shower, and I never saw any other worker wash or bath himself... The building in which we slept was in a filthy condition. There were two half drums provided as a lavatory, and those two half drums remained inside the building where we slept. This was the only sanitary arrangement for approximately 60 workers employed on this farm. During the whole period I was there, the dilapidated blankets and sacks given to us were never washed or aired. There were bloodstains and they were infested with insects, and . . . 8/

and they were never cleaned when I was there . . . During the day, whilst we worked in the field, we were continuously guarded by bossboys who carried knobkerries (clubs). They were nine in number to guard 60 workers. The bossboys continuously assaulted the workers, more especially when they wanted the workers to work more hurriedly. On some occasions there appeared to be no reason whatsoever for the assaults other than to initiate newly arrive workers into a general pattern.

There are 3½ million blacks who suffer and toil in these conditions. They have no protection against their employers cruelly. Many have been murdered by white farmers who usually get away with it. Even if the farmer is charged the courts normally pass light sentences (usually suspended and small fine of R100 or R150. To a white farmer the right to employ a black prisoner is worth R1500, to the courts of racist South Africa the life of a black farm worker is worth R100 or R150. Such are the values of apartheid.

There can be no reform of such cruelly distorted values - they must be destroyed and replaced by just, humane and democratic values.

LETTER FROM A READER.

Dear Comrades,

Re: "The National Question In South Africa".

The attainment of independence by Mozambique, right at the doorsteps of fascist South Africa, is of great significance for the struggle for national independence of the overwhelming black majority in our country. We have to keep pace with events. This becomes obvious when one consider that the events in Portugal and the repercussions on her former colonies have affected not only the course of development of events in the Southern tip of the African Continent, but also our strategies and theories. This emphasises the assertion that the fluid situation in Southern Africa needs swift and prompt reaction. Theory is as vital to our movement as the daily bread we eat. In fact, the role of theory is increasing in our movement.

It is in this spirit that I want to make some few remarks in connection with some ideas expressed in the popular series 'Our Struggle' in Mayibuye. In this context, I am not so much worried by the rather descriptive style and the fact that the articles tend to be suggestive rather than exhaustive. I am ~~more~~ concerned with the contents, especially the author's remarks concerning the 'national question' and the concept of 'self-determination'.

National Liberation And South Africa's "Independence"

In the very first article of this series, its author expressed himself as follows:

The Boers - who left no stone unturned to weld themselves into a nation... (Vol. 1, No. 2)

This idea is repeated in a slightly different context in the second article of the 'popular series'. Two questions immediately came to my mind: What makes the author think the Boers are a 'nation'? How many 'nations' do we have in South Africa?

Before I could even attempt to answer these questions, I had a rude shock when I read in No.6 of Mayibuye:

We do not ask for 'self-determination'. That slogan, however progressive it may sound, is counter-revolutionary in the specific historical and social conditions of South Africa.

The author then goes on to justify his stand on the grounds that South Africa is an 'independent, self-governing state, and not a colony of a far-away imperialism'.

It is very difficult for me to accept the ideas expressed in this article. The formation of the ANC in 1912 was an incident of historic significance. The Africans were united so as to continue on a higher level the struggles for national liberation which they wages since 1652. In 1910, colonialism in South Africa was reduced to an 'internal affair of an independent state', but this did not alter its essence. As far as the content of our struggle is concerned, nothing has changed. This is due to the fact that the situation of the black masses in our country today does not differ at all from their situation in, let us say, the 18th century. That is why, to the Africans, such dates as 1910, 1931 and 1961 are absolutely meaningless.

I agree with the author that 'our policy is the same as that of independent African states'. I will go further, and add that the Africanness of our revolution consists in the fact that our struggle, like the rest of the struggles on the continent, is for an independent African state. To me, the Vorster regime is far from being an 'independent African state': It is imperialistic in form and content, and is anything else but not 'African'. During this period of 'detente' a la Vorster or 'Lusaka Manifesto', it is important more than ever before that we clarify our stand on this question of the status of the South African fascist regime. This is also emphasised by the Declaration of the ANC adopted at Morogoro in March 1975, which states that the Pretoria regime is 'a product of colonial conquest, whose independence, sovereignty and United Nations membership constitutes a violation of the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations'. The document goes on to call on all OAU and UN member states to intensify their efforts towards its immediate expulsion from the United Nations.

The question of South Africa's 'independence' and 'sovereignty' . . . 10/

'sovereignty' is crucial in the present confrontation between the forces of progress and reaction in Africa, because the exponents of 'detente' a la Vorster use this sort of reasoning as an excuse for 'contacts' with Vorster. One of them is - not surprisingly - Angola's Jonas Savimbi. In an interview with the South African Financial Mail (May 9, 1975,) he bellowed:

I hope the future leaders of Angola will cooperate with South Africa...

South Africa is an independent country. All the African States agree on that. I have never heard anyone talk in terms of liberating South Africa - not even at the OAU. We are condemning Apartheid - that is a different thing.

Stalin's Definition Inadequate

First of all, let me explain my position. I fully agree with Lenin, who, in his report of the commission on the national and colonial question to the Second Congress of the Comintern (1920) defined the 'cardinal idea underlying our theses' as follow:

It is the distinction between oppressed and oppressor nations. Unlike the Second International and bourgeois democracy, we emphasise this distinction.

He then goes on to say:

This idea of distinction, of dividing the nations into oppressor and oppressed, runs through the theses, not only the first theses published over my signature, but also those submitted by Comrade Roy.

To me, this makes more sense than Stalin's definition.

The author of the article in the series correctly points to the need to make up our minds about the relationship between African nationalism and the different language-cultural groups to which South Africans of all races belong. This relationship will be determined by the acceptance of the fact that:

history has given the Africans the mission of leading the South African revolution; that Africans should constitute the central theme of our analysis and consideration; that their national liberation (or their struggle for an independent African State) is a precondition the the social and later socialist revolution in South Africa; that after national liberation of the Blacks, the question of class and social emancipation of all South Africans, irrespective of race, will come to the forefront more sharply than now.

These questions should be viewed in connection with the question of 'tribes' and 'tribalism' in South Africa. The 'tribes' in South Africa exist because they are useful to apartheid; otherwise capitalism would have long done away

with them. In fact, the 'tribes' in South Africa are an integral element of the system. The principle of national 'self-determination' does not apply to them - after all, they are not a subject of international law. But this does not mean that we should 'ignore' or 'neglect' their existence. To me it seems on this, as on many other questions, we will have to follow Lenin's advice, who insisted on 'consistent democracy' as the only way to solve the national question. This is necessary to guard against 'big tribe chauvinism', which rears its ugly head in some sections of the non-proletarian elements from the 'big tribes', who are always eager to 'assimilate' the 'smaller tribes'. What about 'white chauvinism'? Even here, this problem will be solved through 'consistent democracy' with the emphasis on the development of South Africans. This is interconnected with the question of the democratic solution of the land question.

This brings me to the last point: can one honestly talk of a 'South African nation' today. The answer is no. The South African nation is in the process of being born, and we, in the ANC - in an embryon form - represent the unborn South African nation. The preparations for an actual execution of armed struggle are its birth pangs. That is why I do not understand what Stalin meant by 'stable community' in his definition of a nation.

It seems to me that Stalin's definition of a nation is inadequate, to explain the processes now taking place in the Afro-Asian world. Conceived in the pre-October Revolution Europe, Stalin's definition was correct in explaining how bourgeois nations emerged from feudalism in Europe, but needs concretisation in our young Afro-Asian world where nation-building is still in its infancy, taking place during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale; language and cultural heterogeneity is connected with poly-ethnic communities; boundaries are imposed on the people and can be reversed at any time. Stalin's definition seems to have meaning when applied to 'mature' nations in Europe and America, and not in Africa,, where the process of nation-building is still at its elementary stage. What is our attitude towards the relationship between nation-building and continental unity? Here again we endorse the policy of the African states.

The situation in our country is changing very fast, and if we are not careful we shall be caught napping. There is still time to remedy the situation, and that is through a critical appraisal of our work in propaganda and publicity. We need to have a disciplined discussion on the content, presentation, language, points of emphasis, priorities, etc., of our propaganda and publicity. Again, we will have to follow Lenin's advice of 1905, that is, during the revolutionary upheavals in his country.

Naturally, here in Geneva, so damnably far away, we find . . . 12/

find it exceedingly difficult to keep pace with events. But so long as we have to linger at such an accursed distance, we must try to keep pace with events, to sum them up, to draw conclusions, to draw from the experience of today's happenings lessons that will be useful tomorrow in another place, where today "the people are still mute", and where in the near future, in some form or other, a revolutionary conflagration will break out. We must make it the consistent job of publicists to write the history of the present day, and to try to write it in such a way that our chronicles will give the greatest possible help to the direct participants in the movement and to the heroic proletarians there, on the scene of action - to write it in such a way as to promote the spread of the movement, the conscious selection of the means, ways, and methods of struggle that, with the least expenditure of effort, will yield the most substantial and permanent results.

Yours Comradely,

MAATLA KE R RONA!!!

We apologise to our readers for discontinuing the printed version of MAYIBUYE. Regrettably this is because we are not able to meet the printers costs. We appeal to readers to send generous donations so that we can continue MAYIBUYE at least in its present form

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