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ISIZWE : January, 1956.

IT IS NOT UPON THEE TO FINISH
THE WORK, NEITHER ART THOU
FREE TO DESIST FROM IT.



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DEDICATION.

THIS JOURNAL (ISIZWE)
IS DEDICATED TO THE MEN
AND WOMEN WHO ARE DAILY
PERSECUTED FOR THEIR
ACTIVE PARTICIPATION
IN THE STRUGGLE FOR
MANKIND'S FREEDOM.

RESISTANCE TO TYRANNY IS THE FIRST OBEDIENCE TO GOD.

"THERE WILL COME A TIME WHEN OUR SILENCE
WILL BE MORE POWERFUL THAN THE VOICES YOU STRANGLE
TODAY"

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* IIMANYANO ZAKASENGZI .

" THERE WILL COME A TIME WHEN OUR SILENCE
WILL BE MORE POWERFUL THAN THE VOICES YOU
STRANGLE TODAY

ISIZWE, March, 1956.

Editorial.

MURDER WILL OUT.

The last two weeks have seen a few more of those incidents that are becoming a commonplace in the jungle that is Nationalist South Africa. The pattern is regular and identical in every case — a challenge of peaceful and harmless Africans by well-armed and provocative police — the shooting of a few rounds from a sten gun resulting in several deaths and many more wounded. This is followed by the obviously slanted press and radio versions which prepare the country for the usual police statement white-washing the aggressors and placing the blame on the Africans, on agitators, or even on the African National Congress. Finally there is the arrest of Africans on some ridiculous charges.

BUT MURDER WILL OUT sooner or later. Today a bankrupt and decaying social structure supports and sustains this type of incident and the trigger-happy neurotics that wield the sten-gun & rifle. All this is but a symptom of the degeneration of the ruling class and is of a piece with the tragic drama of the gladiator shows at the Colosseum that announced more surely than anything else the inevitable downfall of the great Roman Empire.

In so far as our people are concerned these incidents emphasize the necessity for organisation, discipline and a complete victory for the Freedom Charter in our country. The creation of a People's Democracy will be a sure guarantee of the people's safety from any form of legalised murder. It is then too, after the establishment of People's Rule, that we can deal with those responsible for these crimes against the people. After all prescription does not run in the case of murder.

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The adoption of the FREEDOM CHARTER at the special conference of the A.N.C. held in Johannesburg recently represented a great victory for the forces of progress and democracy in this country. And it is at the very least symbolic of the times that the national Conference of the C.O.D. meeting at the same time endorsed the Charter. Thus whilst the gulf between the Nationalist government and the African people has become still greater, the unity between the Africans and the Europeans who love freedom has been indissolubly cemented by the adoption of an identical programme. The results of this are incalculable.

The Charter has now become a basic part of the A.N.C. policy and programme and as such binding on all members and supporters of the organisation. The task can now proceed unhampered of mobilising the millions of people in the towns and villages of South Africa behind the Charter. This work has got to be done tirelessly, patiently and thoroughly. The recent ban on meetings of more than ten Africans in the Port Elizabeth and Humansdorp districts is going to be extended to other urban districts in the Union. Already the ban covers large parts of the country including the so-called Reserves.

In practice these bans will render the work of organising and uniting the people more difficult. It becomes therefore more urgent to get the Freedom Charter to be part of the very soul of the people of South Africa.

Nothing is so difficult as planning for counter-offensive at a time when the enemy is attacking on all fronts. To fight a war of attrition which pins down the bulk of the enemies forces; to wear him

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down ; to husband and consolidate your own forces during that time and to plan for the counter-offensive and final victory , all this is very difficult and can only be done by the collective leadership of maturing organisations .

It is characteristic of the present time that the movements of the democratic camp are doing just that . They are proceeding with confidence to criticise and recognise their own organisational shortcomings ; they are consolidating and husbanding their forces not through talk but precisely by engaging in the numerous day to day struggles of the people whether local or national ; and more important at the height of the reaction they mobilise the creative energies of the people of our land and produce a programme that is a sure sign of victory - the Freedom Charter . That is not the work of a day. It is the accumulated experience of forty years of struggle that produces that kind of thing . Hence the shattering force of the Charter .

If the people of South Africa are organised around so dynamic a programme as the Charter ; If they learn the relevance of the different sections of the Charter to their lives by means of struggles local and national in which they themselves participate . Nothing will stop us when the time comes . Then , indeed , "The People Shall Govern" .

THE TOMLINSON REPORT .

One of these days we will probably have the time to go through the numerous volumes of unscientific bourgeois - Yes - bourgeois trash compiled by the Tomlinson Commission . At the moment however we are only concerned to refer to the one fault contained in every single scheme supposedly drawn up to "solve the Native Problem". They are all unilaterally conceived by members of the ruling minority . It is but fair to say that no such scheme will succeed or be accepted. It may be forced down people's throats temporarily , but in the long run such a scheme will collapse . No group whether it be African , European , Indian or Coloured has the right to arrogate to itself the power to draw up schemes , however well-intentioned , which purport to be for the good of the whole population . Only plans drawn up by ALL TOGETHER for the good of ALL TOGETHER will succeed .

In the Liberation Movement that lesson has just about sunk in . Hence the amazing force of the Freedom Charter . It remains now for the lesson to be drummed into the hard heads of the Tomlinson's , Verwoerd's and others of such ilk . It appears as if only the force of history will accomplish that .

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RACIALISM - ITS TOOLS AND TECHNIQUES IN HITLER'S EUROPE.

In a bleak hour of dawn in the spring of 1944 Hitler's tanks burst across the frontier . The dim political and moral twilight which had hovered over my country for many years , suddenly turned into complete , chaotic darkness .

Mine had never been a happy country . Beneath the glitter of its urbane cafeterias , fine theatres and concert halls there yawned an immense amount of poverty and semi-feudal oppression . While the sons of the titled land-owner , the doctor and the lawyer , the merchant and the high-ranking civil servant went to study - and to play - to Vienna and Paris , the peasantry (four fifths of the population) lived in hovels , in squalor , illiteracy and near starvation . The rate of deaths by tuberculosis was one of the scandals of Europe . The Church kept on preaching that obedient submission is the highest virtue , that , on condition they cast out all dreams of advancement in this world , the poor will in the end inherit the kingdom of heaven . As if to reinforce this spiritual message , a strong police force was organised - its members , with sad historical irony , recruited from among the poor themselves - in order to make sure that all notions of "sedition" will be speedily knocked out of the few thinking heads , by boots and rifle-butts if necessary .

There was also the obvious method of distracting attention from the real evils . Officialdom , the gentry and the clergy vied with one another in blaming the Slav neighbouring nations and the Jewish minority for all the ills of the country . The mass of the people , desperate because of its privations and illiterate by the design of the ruling social set , could easily be swayed to fall in with such irresponsible , side-tracking agitation . Occasional outbursts of violence against Jews and other minorities showed how the genuine grievances of a people could be mis-directed into false , racist channels .

Gradually , as the Second World War approached and wore on , the governing class became more and more an obedient tool in the powerful German monster . Without any visible signs of compulsion , the fascist Big Brother made my country adopt the German racist ideology and techniques . By a sham-respectable , pompous process of legislation , Jews were excluded from many occupations . All Jews previously in public service were summarily sacked . University lecturers were abruptly suspended . Business licences were withdrawn , shops closed , professional men excluded from their respective associations . The so-called " foreign Jews " were brutally uprooted from their places of domicile and surrendered to the military authorities for 'repatriation ' . The system of numerus clausus was introduced in the universities so as to whittle down the number of Jewish students to a negligible proportion . An Immorality Act was passed which made marriages between Jew and Gentile legally impossible , and any sexual connections between them a criminal offence . In a hundred lesser or greater annoying measures the doctrine of racial superiority was put into operation .

But the true face of Nazi racialism only became apparent in the months that followed that sad , rainy morning when my country was invaded . Within weeks it was made compulsory for all people of

Jewish extraction to carry special documents (Passes) and wear large yellow stars on their outer garments, for easy identification. Not only people who professed the Jewish faith, but anyone who had at least one Jewish grand-parent came under the provisions of this legislation. A curfew was imposed: any Jew who dared to venture into the streets after the stipulated hour soon found himself in the unsparing clutches of the Gestapo (secret police). The curtailments in occupational and educational opportunities which in previous years were only sporadic, now tightened into a stranglehold. The degree of genuine poverty among the dispossessed became ever more distressing. Starvation in many households became a grim reality.

The next move was compulsory residential segregation of the Jews from all other "races". In each town a small area - usually the worst slums - was declared as the ghetto or Group Area for Jews. At an absurdly short notice, all Jews were compelled to forsake their old family dwellings and most of their possessions and move into the ghetto. The overcrowding within the walls of the ghetto - artificially sealed away from the outside world by barbed-wire and a machine-gunned military guard - reached terrifying proportions. Epidemics broke out but there was no adequate medical aid to meet them; famine too began to take its victims. Old people and children, the sick and the ailing, died in their hundreds - cases which with proper help and under decent conditions could have been saved.

The young and still able-bodied both men and women were forced into labour-brigades. Every morning they were driven in close formation from the ghetto under the keen eyes of an escort quick on the trigger, to the place of whatever hard or degrading labour they were assigned to. There they worked to the limits of human endurance. After the point of utter exhaustion had long been reached they were herded back at night into the ghetto again. Any attempt at escape, or indeed any relaxation in the rigour of their efforts was punished by an unhesitant bullet. The Jew - so the official dogma ran - was an inferior creature, even in appearance not quite human, intellectually and morally degenerate. His only right to survival (for the time being only) lay in his capacity to do the work which all others refused as too heavy or too base.

Perhaps the most tragic aspect of all these events was the manner in which Nazi ingenuity used the Jews themselves to dig their own graves both as individuals and as a community, both figuratively and in a quite literal sense.

As soon as the Germans took over the government of any country and wanted to set about the 'settlement of the Jewish Problem' - by which they meant the ultimate extermination of the Jews - they formed a so-called JUDENRAT (Cf. Dantzig Authorities Councils). This was a council of Jews appointed by the Nazi authorities in order that it might act as an instrument of carrying out the Jewish policies of the government. It was a most diabolically clever gesture on the part of the fascists. The naive average Jew was lulled thereby into believing that he had a certain degree of autonomy or "self-government" why else would the Germans have appointed Jews to manage Jewish affairs? The members of the JUDENRAT were of a mixed composition. Some genuinely believed that by accepting the authority bestowed upon them by the fascists, they could help their people's interests. They thought that if only they carried out the orders of the Germans efficiently and speedily, they would make the Germans more sweet and reasonable towards the Jews if - they thought - the Jews give no trouble to the Germans, then the self-styled master race might show itself more charitable to a willingly servile Jewry. One need only think for a moment to understand

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how absurdly starry-eyed this supposition was . The creed which led to all these horrible techniques of persecution , regarded the very ideas of charity , mercy or humanity as fancies befitting inferior races only . The more obedient the Jew was in carrying out the Nazis orders the more they were convinced that the Jew deserved no better treatment . The few well-meaning but hopelessly naive members of the JUDENRAT learnt the abysmal folly of their attitude only when it was too late already to avert its dreadful consequences .

And there were others too on the Judenrat who could not be credited even with a faint suspicion of having had honourable motives . There were the careless and the cynical who hoped to gain favour for themselves in the eyes of their fascists by their over zealous subservience to racialist doctrines . For a mere pittance of personal exemption they were quite willing to sacrifice tens of thousands of their own flesh and blood to Hitlers butchers . No German could have surpassed in keenness these members of the Judenrat who thought to earn merit by complying with all the demands and executing all the decrees of the Gestapo . But even these could not buy their own community by treason . Though they betrayed their persecuted people they too were crushed in turn by Nazi bestiality . As long as they were of some use to the regime they were kept alive and even in relative comfort . No sooner did their usefulness cease and they shared the fate of their betrayed brothers . The tragic analogy of the extermination camps held true here too . In Auschwitz and Maidanek the dehumanized scum of the Jewish people volunteered to supervise their own peoples march to the Gas chambers and death . . . In the end they also were made to join the queue .

But not only on the top, on the Judenrat level did Jewry witness and suffer from betrayals . As the process of the deliberate degradation of human dignity continued , more and more little men and women were found who sold their souls to the devil . Jewish policemen , Block supervisors (cf. Headmen) labour overseers came forward to earn a miserable lease of life or loaf of bread by becoming agents of the oppressor . Human failures who had never earned public respect by decent endeavour found an occasion now to fulfil their ugly ambitions by terrorising and exploiting their kin , in these days of dire calamity . The Nazi monster was only too glad to have these allies . It did not have to dirty its own hands too much - there were traitors to do it instead . In due time these too were swept out of the way .

It was the victorious armies of the Allies which crushed this bestial system of oppression , degradation and calculated massacre . Nazi fury was drowned in its own blood in Europe . At last - so it seemed then - human freedom , right and dignity were restored all over the world . The survivors of the calamity could begin to build a new life over the ruins and the graves .

Did that era teach mankind anything at all ? The lessons of that period though bitter as gall , are basically simple .

Racial oppression is a child of stupidity and vileness , of unbridled selfishness running amok in a narrow prejudiced mind . It - instead of solving the real problems of society - adds a tremendous new item to their saddeningly long list . Its time-table is always the same... degrading marks of identification , curtailment of personal liberty , limitation of economic and educational opportunities , residential segregation , forced labour camps and (when the antagonism thus engendered as to make even the racialists realise the explosiveness of the situation) organised mass murder . The most potent and perilous weapon in the hands of the oppressor is either naively misguided or consciously treacherous behaviour of certain members of the victimised group . The goal towards which all racialist doctrines and practices thrust society blindly yet inevitably is utter catastrophe .

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[RESISTANCE TO TYRANNY IS THE FIRST OBEDIENCE TO GOD.]

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ORGANISATIONAL PROBLEMS OF THE A.N.C. by Mlungisi

There is a very important development in our political struggle that of examining our organisational problems and weaknesses. The tendency of raising these problems for discussion in writings and in discussion circles will ensure the correction of our mistakes and the raising of our political understanding.

It cannot be disputed that the Congress organisational machinery is cumbersome, but it would be a mistake to assume that this is the only cause of the organisational problems which the A.N.C. is now facing. The low political understanding of both members and leaders is a vital contributory cause and aggravates the organisational problems. The inefficiency of committees, the laxity in carrying out directives are due more to lack of political consciousness and understanding than to a cumbersome organisational machinery. Too many officials tend to think that they can attend to A.N.C. affairs only when they have nothing else to do.

The organisational machinery of the ANC is rendered cumbersome, firstly, by the lack of proper centralisation. The autonomy of the provinces is an undesirable feature of our organisational structure and it is completely out of date. The reliance only on Provincial Secretaries to submit reports and forward directives to the branches has hampered the development and progress of the branches. This should be rectified by creating a direct link between the regional branches or local branches and the National Executive. This of course, does not mean doing away with the provincial system completely. It implies a modification of the functions of the provinces.

Secondly, the present provincial areas are unrealistic. Vast areas which have no real relationship to one another fall under the same province. The effect is that even an efficient provincial executive can only carry out its functions superficially and usually fails to keep contact with the large portions under its supervision. The Cape Province, for instance, could for organisational purposes be divided into a number of provinces. This would enable provincial organs to intensify the organisation within their areas and also deal with the specific common problems of their areas.

Within each province, it is also essential to build up small, closely knit regional organs, which would co-ordinate the work of a few branches within a small area.

What has been said about the clumsy size of certain provinces can also be said in relation to many of our branches today. The system of establishing branches on the basis of huge townships should be avoided, as in many cases these townships are too large for effective organisation under a single executive committee. Smaller branch units would be more effective and active. The branches too should be further sub-divided into blocs according to the "W" plan; each bloc should be a living nucleus of the organisation providing the membership with political education by discussing the material produced by the organisation and also welding the membership together through social and cultural activities.

The financial condition of the organisation is one of the most disgraceful aspects of its work. The confidence the people have in the ANC should have been used to eliminate our financial troubles. The main reason why the organisation continues to lack funds is the fact that up to now the whole machinery of the ANC has been inefficient. With an efficient organisational machinery we will at the same time have an efficient financial machinery. The two aspects of our organisation are inseparably bound together. The ANC membership is only financially valuable once a year when subscriptions are paid. It is essential that branches through their bloc leaders should implement the decision of the Kimberley conference which required every member to pay a monthly levy of one shilling in the urban areas and 6 pence in the rural areas. This

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will not only be a source of funds but will assist in activating members.

Efficient organisational machinery or structure will not of itself eliminate our organisational problems. It is essential that the people who will operate the machinery must raise their political consciousness and understanding. It is therefore imperative that the organisation should provide members with systematic political education. Finally the gigantic tasks which face the ANC to-day have created a condition in which it is impossible to rely on part-time workers only. It is necessary to introduce full-time paid functionaries at all levels of our organisation. There is no doubt that once these defects have been remedied the decisions of the organisations will be efficiently, effectively and uniformly executed.

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WHAT ON EARTH HAVE RUSSIA OR CHINA GOT TO DO WITH IT ?

The April issue of "Fighting Talk" contains an article by Mr. Patrick Duncan which sets out to reply to criticisms of the Liberal Party by various members of the Congress of Democrats. The article has surprised us a great deal. No attempt was made to be objective and we cannot get over the feeling that mischief was intended by the author.

There is first of all the arrogant claim that the Liberal Party is the only organisation which "has in fact made no concession to the colour-bar". Presumably this refers to the fact that the Liberal Party, besides Europeans contains Non-Whites. Others may be impressed by this, but any African would meet such a claim from the Liberal Party with loud raucous laughter. After People's organisations in South Africa have fought and suffered for decades in the fight against apartheid- against the Colour-bar and the political and economic set-up that give rise to it we are now told by a newcomer that they in fact make no concession to the Colour-bar! This is on a par with the proud boast of the Tomlinson report that by reason of the Citizenship Act the Africans are full citizens of the South African state sharing with the Europeans equality before the Law!

The Colour - bar is there to be fought . It does not disappear merely because a few Europeans are willing to accept selected Africans into homes and share cups of tea with them . It is not an indication of a fighter against the colour-bar that he is prepared to sit next to one of another race in carefully arranged circumstances . To fight the colour-bar - to make no concessions to it means to wage an uncompromising struggle against the whole colour-bar society and the economic structure that sustains through organising the mass of the people into a force capable of accomplishing the task . Does Mr. Patrick Duncan understand the meaning of National Oppression ? Does He know the difference between a party and a national organisation ? Neither in the A.N.C. or C.O.D. is there any interest in formal gestures against the Colour-Bar . Ours is a fighting comradeship pitting itself against the realities of national and class oppression in South Africa . That the Liberal Party will never understand because it bases its activities too much on Mr. So-and-so rather than on policy and programme .

And then Mr. Duncan takes the C.O.D. and A.N.C. to task for what he calls alignment with Russia and China in the Cold War.

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It is precisely the failure of the Liberal party to take account of the struggle of the African people against Colonialism and Imperialism that places them in close alignment with the Western Powers in the so-called Cold War .

In so far as we Africans are concerned we see Africa ruled over by a number of Western Powers including Belgium , Britain , Portugal, France , U.S.A. and Spain . Millions of Africans were transported for centuries across the seas to the Americas as slaves and they are still fighting for freedom in the U.S.A. At U.N.O. all these powers vote against the interests of the oppressed colonial peoples - against us Africans particularly , regularly and without fail . Our own notorious apartheid clique receives the tacit support of these powers in the interests of " fighting against Communism" .

If the A.N.C. is against imperialism and colonialism it will obviously be against the foreign policy of the U.S.A., Britain and France which is based on support of colonialism . As for the Russians and Chinese , what on earth have they got to do with it ? They have no colonies and are against colonialism and imperialism . Therefore they find themselves on the same side as we are and vice versa. That is neither their fault nor ours . It is the fault of the Imperialists who are determined to carry on their exploitation and oppression of other nations .

The rest of Mr. Duncan's article consists of slanders and innuendo's against the Communist Party of South Africa , the C.O.D. and the A.N.C. Needless to say no evidence is proffered at all and the whole thing is typical of the idea the liberals have of the Africans that they do not understand anything at all and are just unsophisticated , simple savages who are just pulled by the nose by non-Africans who are more experienced .

We are getting just heartily sick and tired of those people who spend so much time trying to "save" the Africans from the imaginary control of " Moscow" , "New Delhi" , "Cairo" , etc. Let them get on with the real and hard job of getting us all out of the control of Pretoria and they will find us better friends .

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"All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride ;

The preaching and practice of national , race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime ;

- FREEDOM CHARTER -

baxoxa imithetho eyakudala inako esipakungantsela umntu omnyama ukuba atisele ngokwakhe ukuba kusebenza emigodini . Wena wakha wabona utsetsi esithi " sipokotho bawo ukuse ungathi ndikupokothile" . Kwafakwa irafu kuntu omnyama esingafuni ngxowa yabona koko zifuna inali . Kwathiwa indoda mayirafele intloko yayo , irafele naniya yayo , Kwafakwa umthetho wokuba umntu omnyama angabinakuthenga umhlaba . Ngalandlela uMafrika wanyanzeleka ukuba ayekungena emigodini ayekubila ematunjini omhlaba , ebilela oongxowa-nkulu abase Britani nase Marika , yena agoduke nesikotile esisakuphela engagqibanga nevekhi ekhaya , kufuneka ukuba aphindale . Um-Afrika naye wapheliswa kukuzimela , impilo yakhe yaxomekaka ekubeni athengise amandla akhe . Waba ngumsebenzi .

Umsebenzi wase Britani owayesebenza emigodini wayesele esinisele imanyano zabasebenzi . Loo nto yadala umzabalaso omkhulu kweliliwe phakathi kwabasebenzi abamhlophe noo-ngxowa-nkulu . Zathi iinkokeli sabo zabanjwa zayakuhlala eBritani kungakhange kuxoxe tyala . Abasebenzi bahlala phantsi . Oongxowa-nkulu bedibene nabasengumyeni bakupha amajoni , yakhona iruluwa emntwini . Kodwa abasebenzi boyisa kuba kumhla urulumente we lizwe waxoxa umthetho gwankela imanyano zabasebenzi nobeka umgaqo emakuhanjwe ngawo , xa kunyuswa imivuzo indlela yokusebenza . Kulapho ke abasebenzi abamhlophe balahla isiseko somanyano lwabasebenzi , esokuba intlungu yomsebenzi omnye yintlungu yabo bonke abasebenzi . Wakhethwa umsebenzi ontsundu ukuba angabinalungelo lokusebenzisa lomthetho . Bathi Oongxowa-nkulu kubasebenzi abamhlophe " Nina ningabasebenzi abaphucukileyo , abasebenzi abantsundu baseKwada , nina noba zinkosi sabo " . Kunanamhlanje umsebenzi omhlophe akafuni ukumakela umsebenzi omnyama njenge qabane lakhe . Koko umthetha njengenkwenkwana yakhe azakuyiqhita ankele ngayo . Iinkokeli zabasebenzi abamhlophe ezimbalwa ezino Bill Andrews zayikhalimela lento kodwa zoyiswa .

Ngelishwa umsebenzi omnyama naye akathatha mameleko yokuba naye afunde kulamava alamadoda . Wayengeqondi ukuba ezimeko zimnyanzela ukuba aqhangele zizakukhula endaweni yokuba ziphele . Kunanamhlanje kusekho uninzi labasebenzi abantsundu abangekayinkeli inyaniso yokuba bayakufa bengabasebenzi . Lonyaniso kufuneka yamkelwe ngabo bonke abasebenzi abantsundu bathabathe isiquweqo sabo bonke abasebenzi , umanyano labasebenzi , bale ukuba isiqhamo sokubila kwabo sithatyathwe sonke ngoo-ngxowa-nkulu .

(Isaqhutywa)

BEHIND WITH A BIG SJAMDOK !

Making closing remarks at the conclusion of the Special Session of the Transkei Bunga where the Councillors had decided to operate the nationalist machinery of oppression (the Bantu Authorities Act) , the Chairman who is the Chief Native Commissioner in the Transkei said :

"My proposal is that each Magistrate should hold a special meeting of all the chiefs and headmen of his district together with members of the district Council , and try to thrash out details of tribal authorities in their districts

WE ARE NOW GIVING YOU THE HORSE TO RIDE (when I say "we" I mean the government) BUT DO NOT FORGET WHILE YOU ARE RIDING IT , THE GOVERNMENT WILL BE BEHIND IT WITH A BIG SJAMDOK TO SEE THAT IT GOES AND YOU MUST NOT THINK OF

LET THE PEOPLE THINK THEY CAN JUST GET ON THAT HORSE AND GO TO SLEEP " .

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THE STRUGGLE AGAINST BANTU EDUCATION.

It is now exactly a year since the parents on the Reef began an active mass struggle against the notorious Bantu Education Act under the leadership of the African National Congress . On April, 12th 1955 , African parents in Benoni withdrew their children from Bantu Schools and pointed the way towards the complete destruction of the Bantu Education System . This is therefore as good a time as any to discover the progress , if any , of the campaign against the Bantu Education Act .

The first question that naturally springs to the mind is whether or not the lead given by the Durban Conference of the A.N.C. and amplified in numerous statements and articles contained in the literature of the Congress Movement has been justified by events . The A.N.C. attitude was that the Bantu Education system was a far-reaching attack on educational standards and was intended to make of the Africans a docile nation of labourers . The organisation felt that Bantu Education was poison for African children ; that the teachers would be attacked by the N.A.D. on all sides ; that they would be dismissed and that their salaries and security would disappear ; that therefore the Act could not be fought from within . The A.N.C. pointed out the fallacy of the idea that the Africans would control education through Bantu School Boards and Committees established in terms of the Act and predicted that these would in time turn out to be mere adjuncts of the Native Affairs Department.

On the basis of this analysis the A.N.C. felt that the ONLY way to defeat the Bantu Education Act was to persuade the parents to take the hard and perhaps painful decision of withdrawing their children from Bantu Schools . If this were done the A.N.C. was positive that the whole Bantu Education structure would come crashing to the ground .

Needless to say the attitude of the Congress met with vehement opposition from all sides and in particular from the teaching profession itself throughout the country . The Congress was looked upon as completely wrong in its policy . Some said Bantu Education was not as bad as all that and others maintained the Act could be fought from within the system . All organisations outside the Congress movement (with the possible exception of the Anglican Church on the Reef) opposed the Congress line . We recall a particularly virulent Unity Movement leaflet issued about this time last year which utterly condemned the A.N.C. attitude .

It is but fair to say now that after a year of Bantu Education in action the A.N.C. and its allies are the only ones who in matters of basic policy and method will not have to do any heart-searching . The attitude of the Congress has been completely vindicated .

THE ATTACK CONTINUES .

The attack on our educational standards , achieved after a hundred years of educational struggle , proceeds apace . Whether it is primary or higher education the problems grow more profound as the Nationalists intensify their attack . As time passes by more fantastic and unbelievable become the works of the N.A.D. The list of dismissed teachers grows daily. Our children continue to be fed on trash and still more trash . The schemes of the Nationalists are revealing themselves as even worse than anticipated as they unfold .

The reaction of the people to these attacks has been mixed . The bold and correct policy of the A.N.C. has resulted in thousands of

ISIZWE , March, 1956.

children being withdrawn from Bantu Schools in the Eastern Cape and the Reef . These have been organised in cultural clubs which are carrying on the task of providing our children with a modern and progressive cultural outlook amid prodigious odds . On the other hand the weaknesses in propaganda and organisation of our movements has prevented the Campaign against Bantu Education assuming a mass form as soon as was expected . This may be due to the fact that many people within the movement looked upon the campaign as a mere protest whereas it is and must be a long and sustained struggle for Real Education . These mistakes need to be corrected and with the experience and confidence gained from events of the past year the Congress Movement must carry on the campaign against Bantu education until the evil system is defeated .

THE ROLE OF THE TEACHERS .

Consideration of the role the people are expected to play in fighting Bantu Education is not complete without referring to the teachers who have placed themselves in a particularly invidious position wherein they are wide open to attack by the Nationalists . If anything is clear from the events of the past year it is that the teaching profession as we know it is doomed . This applies not only to the African teachers but to those of other groups as well . The teachers have lost the status and security that they enjoyed relative to other sections of the African population . They are harrassed , intimidated , divided and in fear . Their organisations can give them no assistance . They are isolated from the people through their opposition to the A.N.C. policy . The question then is what is the teacher expected to do in the circumstances . Is he to wait Micawber-like for something to turn up whilst the government dismisses all teachers whom it thinks cannot conform ? Or is he going to support the People's Organisations in their policy of total withdrawal of children from Verwoerd Schools ? The choice rests with the teachers both individually and as a collective unit . If reason does not , events will show the teacher that the only way of restoring security and standards to the profession is to defeat the Bantu Education system . The road mapped by the Congress Movement is a harsh and rough one , But there is no alternative to it .

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AMAGQARANTSHINTSHI ENTILALO E RHAI

Ngu Mkhuzeli .

Utikoloshe uphuzile ezingcongolweni ! Zenke iintethwane sokuba ilunga le dolophu yase Rhai linovelwano nabantu serugulwa sisirulu-rulu sikagania-ganda mhla kwadilizwa izindlu zabantu enekhuleni eKorston . Wa'untlusa uganda-ganda imini yonke esasasa enekhaya abantu . Yathi iqina ibini aye olele waca enaphempe ekhuleni kweso .

Laphona elodolophi ilizwi lisithi bekunge hlali untu apho . Wathi obusayo abusa ngakhona , kanti babasakhela nina abantu ? Wathi wahlamba isandla wancane , wathi mkananywe ulungu abantuntu . Sisiphina esinye isiswe esingakhuphe isidumbu endlini kuthiwa uina nekasithwale aphume nase .

Kusenzeka ozi zinanga nje sekusikwe isisena eNew Brighton apho betyalalwa ukuba bayo kwakha amanye enaphempe khona . Kulaliswa isisena

IT IS NOT UPON THEE TO
FINISH THE WORK, NEITHER
ART THOU FREE TO DESIST
FROM IT.

TALMUD

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ISIZWE: OCTOBER 1955.



SUPPORT THESE JOURNALS:

NEW AGE.

FIGHTING TALK:

LIBERATION:

MOHLABANI:

THE CALL:

WORKERS' UNITY.

DEDICATION.

THIS JOURNAL (ISIZWE) IS
DEDICATED TO THE MEN AND WOMEN
WHO ARE DAILY PERSECUTED FOR
THEIR ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN
THE STRUGGLE FOR MANKIND'S
FREEDOM.

RESISTANCE TO TYRANNY IS THE FIRST Obedience TO GOD.

"THERE WILL COME A TIME WHEN OUR SILENCE WILL BE
MORE POWERFUL THAN THE VOICES YOU STRANGLE TODAY."

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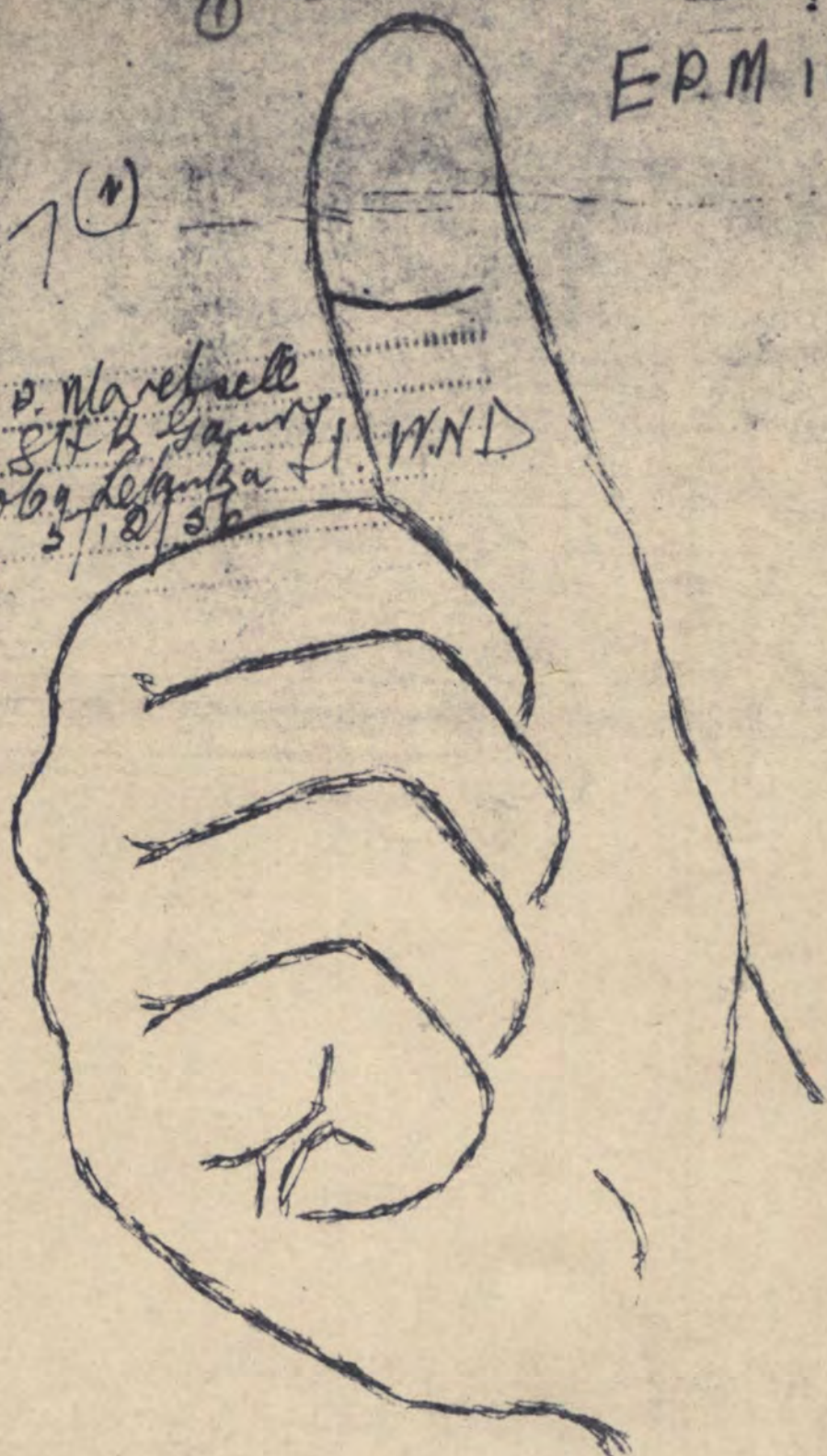
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by

E. P. Marefelle
G. H. G. Gaury
2069 Delantla H. W. N. D.
5/12/56



VOL: 1, No. 1

16. Winning millions of youth to our side.

1. EDITORIAL. ISIZWE: INDEPENDENT POLITICAL REVIEW.

2. UVELA PHINA GEHAZI. UTHI UMQAYI INYANGE.

3. SLAVE EDUCATION IN ACTION : NGU FEPHIWE.

5. NGXATSHO BOOVULINDLELA.

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ACTIONS OF THE MEN IN RULA STREET.

7. INTSHUTSHISO E NEW BRIGHTON: AMANQAKU OMBUTHO WESIZWE

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10. FREEDOM CHARTER.

12. ISIMEMEZELO SENKULULEKO.

EDITORIAL

The need for democratic journals and newspapers that reflect the aspirations of the people in the African languages has long been recognised as urgent and necessary. Recent events connected with the rapid advance in South Africa of the Malanazi juggernaut led by Strydom, Verwoerd and Swart have made this gap in our armoury even more apparent. But the mere contemplation of the diverse problems involved in the production and financing of such journals was often sufficient to curb and finally kill the idea of progressive African-language newspapers every time it arose.

The pressure from the masses of the people for literature that speaks the language of freedom in their languages grows louder and more insistent. As the Congress Movement gains more and more adherents so the attacks from the tyrannical Nationalist government become more vicious and unscrupulous. The absence of newspapers and journals in our languages makes it possible for the enemy to spread numerous lies and slanders about the Movement. Furthermore it renders it more difficult for the Movement to isolate agents-provocateur who have been discovered within our ranks.

ISIZWE is an independent political review published by an Editorial Board consisting of well known fighters for Freedom in our Lifetime. One of the aims of ISIZWE will be to campaign for the establishment by the Congress Movement in South Africa, of bulletins, journals and eventually newspapers in the different regions which would be written largely in the African language predominant in each region.

Whilst it is not an official organ of the Congress Movement ISIZWE is unswervingly committed to the policy which finds its clearest and most dynamic expression in the Freedom Charter.

We will therefore fight for and support all efforts of the South African people directed towards the achievement of the aims embodied in Freedom Charter and seek out and expose all those dark mediaeval forces which attempt to prevent or delay the dawn of its inevitable triumph.

NAASO KE ISIZWE !

Imfuneko yamaphepha-n'aba kwiminqweno yaBantu, abalwe ngeelwimi zabo, kukade izulisa iingqondo zemzi'okhuthalelo ukulwela intlalo-ntle yaBantu. Iziganeko ezinxibelone nobudlongo-dlongo obukhokholwe ngu Strydom, Verwoerd, no Swart zibonakalise ubuthathaka kwiintonga esihlanganisa ngazo. Kambo ke ingcamango nje yeenzima ezinxulumene nokufurana imali yokukhupha iphepha elinjalo yasoloko iyeyona ndoqo ekukhutyekwa kuyo xa kucingwa ngaphepha-ndaba elingaphunguziyo, elijonge nto kwinkalo yeNkululeko.

Ifuthe lomzi ofuna amaphepha athetha intetho yeNkululeko ngeelwimi zabo likhula mihla lo. Njengoko abantu bengena ngokungena kwintshukumo ye Khongolosi ubungqongqo boRulumente wamaDlagusha buya bukhula. Ukungabi nanobonisela kusibeka esichengeri sokuba iminqwini esebenzela utshaba intuntuze phakathi kwethu apha, ityaala ubuxoki, ingaziwa ngabantu.

Naaso ke ISIZWE, uNobonisela ongathengi ndolalaphi, sikhutshwa ngamagora awaziwayo kwidabi leNkululeko ngali lokuphila kwethu ixesha.

Nakuba ingesiso isigodlo esityunjwayo sentshukumo yeKhongolosi ISIZWE sisibakaxe ngomoya wonke ekumeleni iminqweno yomzi njengoko yanekwe kwiCandelo leNkululeko.

Ngako oko siya funga ukuba sakulwela yenke imigudu yaBantu

We have been reading through the draft Higher Primary School Course prescribed for Bantu Schools and have been greatly shocked (though not surprised) by the contents . We would strongly suggest that all those people who appear determined to make the Africans accept the dangerous Bantu Education system should make a careful study of the July issue of the Bantu Education Journal .

We do not propose in this issue of Isizwe to examine the entire syllabuses in detail nor indeed to describe the full implications of the adoption of this course for our children . We should like merely to draw attention to a few points which summarise the conception that obviously lies behind the men who drew up this Course .

- (i) The barely concealed aim of Indoctrinating the African children that runs right through the syllabuses. This is not rendered less obvious by the patronising tone and sweet reasonableness in the language used throughout .
- (ii) The ruthless determination with which the false Gods of tribalism are sought to be revived as part and parcel of the apartheid dominated South African society .
- (iii) The emphasis placed on the idea of the separate and different destiny of the African people in relation to other groups .
- (iv) The aim of cutting off the African people from world culture and progress by substituting vernacular for English as the medium of instruction . (Incidentally this pretence of loyalty to African languages and culture is a fine cheek from the Afrikaner Nationalists who have done almost nothing to develop them)
- (v) The blatant and disgusting propaganda to be encouraged in the schools for all manner of administrative organs and measures of control which Africans hate and are unalterably opposed to .

In order to assist the people we can do nothing better than to quote at random from the draft syllabuses themselves : -

Thus the Introduction to the Course blandly informs us that " the syllabus of the past almost without exception ignored the social life of the Bantu " . We are told that "If the pupil appreciates his own culture he will be better able to understand the other cultures included in this course " .

Later we are told in one of the Summaries for Memorising in Scripture that "even primitive people have a dim knowledge of God , though they do not know how to worship him , till messengers of God (!) shall teach them " . Then if we skip a number of pages we get to the section entitled "Social Studies " . The Introduction to these studies first of all warns the teacher "to guard constantly against the inculcation of unrelated facts to the detriment of a clear, ^{understanding} of the subject-matter of teaching" . Having made this clear the aims of this section are stated thus : -

- (a) The realisation by the Bantu child that he is a member of a particular community and that ^{he} is bound by various ties to particular groups of people as they are represented in his home, his school, his church, ^{his} village and his TRIBE "

In the Geography Section for Standard III we find under Section A (3) a subject "Population" . This includes the study of:-

- " (a) In broad outline only the general distribution of the different races -- Bantu ,European, Indian, Coloured and Malay .
- (b) Distribution of the major Bantu TRIBES .

Further on in the same Geography syllabuses we learn that in studying the "People of South Africa" - "more attention should be devoted to the study of a specific TRIBE than to the topics indicated above " .

In the Geography for Standard IV we find that Section C is devoted to "Citizenship and Good Conduct" . As part of this the children are to be taught "How the Bantu child is bound to the people of his home through birth (!) marriage , Izibongo , totem , language , ownership of property , age groups , etc " .

In the same section the children are to be taught "Why we need the services of : -

- (1)
 - (a) the headman :
 - (b) the chief :
 - (c) the policeman:
 - (d) the teacher and principal of a school."
- (2) How we can assist these official and professional men in their work .

For standard V Geography we get Section - "Citizenship and Good Conduct" . This section deals with the organisation of the Tribe and its government .

In this same section the pupil is supposed to obtain "Instruction and Guidance in connection with

- (a) The Personal Reference Book - why and how used .
- (b) The Labour Bureaux and how they work .
- (c) Control measures in urban areas - control of the movement into and out of urban areas : reasons for this ;
- (d) Curfew (!!!)

This is probably the only school syllabuses in the world in which pass laws and curfews are part of necessary "education" for children.

We could go on giving examples of this vicious plot by the Nationalist government to make the Africans accept oppression and domination as natural and proper.

But our people can take comfort from the fact that Tyrants are never given enough time by History to complete their schemes against the freedom of the people . somehow the people catch up with them before long . Furthermore the publication of this draft Higher Primary School Course is a clear warning to our people and all democrats generally that unless their resistance is conducted in a determined fashion and on a mass scale the Bantu Education will become an ever greater and greater danger . LET US GET OUR CHILDREN OUT OF VERWOERD'S SCHOOLS NOW !

- (In our next issue we shall deal in detail with the implications of the draft syllabuses . Ed.)

NGXATSHO BOOVULINDLELA !

Ibiya kuba siSizwe kanjani na xa singenakuphosa izwi kooVulindlela - umthinjana nomlisela onqonqa iinyangane ulebela indlela yeNkululeko ?

Mhla wathi umzi " vuthulalani iinkukho bantwana nifuduke kumabotwe obukhoboka ka Velefutha ", kwaba manyukunyezi kwabanye . Sasikwa yinimba xa sibona uVelefutha esebenzela ukuba abantwana beAfrika , ithemba neqhayiya leSizwe , babulawe ingqondo , bafiswe imilenze ukuba barubuluze ngezisu ngokwenunu , babe sisicangca sokusulela uthuli lwenyawo zamaDlagusha .

Libalulekile unyawo eseniluthathile , ibanzi indima yokwayo eniyenzileyo . KwiAfrika entsha eniyisebenzela kumabala abetha impepho amagama enu ayakubalwa ngobu qhaqhawuli . Nanko umvuzo wegora negorakazi elilwele inkululeko yeSizwe .

Lihambiseni ilitha nefuthe le Nkululeko nilise kwabo basese - bunyamani bezikolo zobukhoboka buka Velefutha . U Vulindlela ngamnye na kabuye nomye eloko mhla ephuma naye kwizikolo zika Velefutha .

" Godukani ningalali niza kuthengiswa ngooyihlo .

Godukani ningalali eyona mfazwe mna ndithi ifikile "

(S.E.K. Mqayi)

ACTIONS OF THE MEN IN RULA STREET .

It is not our intention to play the part of fly-swatters , but when the flies acquire delusions of grandeur the best of us must stoop to examine , in the light of circumstances whether we should not do a little bit of extermination . If the antics of the flies did not go beyond the ludicrous there would be no harm , it might even be amusing ; if , on the other hand , the consequences of these antics become tragic , then , the fly-swatter must do its duty .

We have been watching , listening and reading Messrs. Mnyanda and Lamani for some time . We have heard their false imputations against the opponents of "Bantu Education" . We have for a long time remained patient and very tolerant since it is our sacred heritage to believe in freedom of speech and criticism . We considered it our duty to concern ourselves with duties more profitable to the cause of the people's freedom .

When , however , Messrs. Mnyanda and Lamani slavishly echo the peremptory utterances of the fascist , Verwoerd , they go beyond the pale of tolerance on our part and stand accused not only as opportunists as Mr. Christopher Gell sees them , but also as saboteurs - traitors .

These men would have us accept blindly the yoke of the hewer of wood and drawer of water . To betray people in such a manner is an unforgivable crime and yet we like to be just . Let us therefore examine a little more closely the actions of the men in Rula street .

Last year Mr. Lamani called a meeting of New Brighton residents to consider the effect of the changes that Bantu Education would have on African parents and their children .

- 6 - 5

This showed on the part of this gentleman a concern for his people ; the apparent motive was an excellent one indeed if you did not look for other motives .

The reaction of the people who attended the meeting was one of great resentment at the plan of the fascist Nationalists to deprive Africans of universal education and substituting a calculated ~~scheme~~ to impose upon our people an inferior status which would be the inevitable result of Bantu Education : in this atmosphere , the residents appointed an ad hoc committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Lamani to draw up plans and also a draft constitution of an organisation to be set up to oppose the implementation of Bantu Education in any form . Thus the ad hoc committee , in compliance with this mandate drew up the draft constitution in these terms . Mr. Lamani was then expected to call a meeting of the residents to place before them the results of the work of this committee.

We , who have some knowledge of Mr. Lamani awaited his next move based on the other motive that was not apparent . We know and knew then that he was a principled man who ensures that he will remain principled by having more than one principle , each to be used in accordance with the demands of specific occasions . The parents' meeting was not called . He had realised that his associates in the ad hoc committee were not men who could be influenced or even convinced that certain benefits accrue to those who would be prepared to betray their people into accepting the poison that would be fed to African children under Bantu Education . There was therefore no purpose for Mr. Lamani to be associated with the parents' organisation-to-be . We watched for his next move and were not disappointed : as was to be expected , Mr. Lamani formulated his next move . First he went on a deputation to the A.N.C. (Cape) President to inform him that the residents of New Brighton could not see their ^{way} clear to supporting the boycott of Verwoerdian Slave education schools ; Where Mr. Lamani had obtained the right to do this we do not enquire for God and Lamani alone know . Again his ~~scheme~~ was foiled . Following this he rushed to the White press to assist him in his machinations to defeat the parents and the children in their just fight against Verwoerd.

His utterances and insults on the People's Movement and its leadership was to us an admission of throwing in his lot without reservation into the camp of fascism and tyranny . From critic he became traitor and was rewarded with the SECRETARYSHIP OF THE BANTU BOARD OF P.E. It is true he did not hold this position for long , although that was his intention originally . We are informed that the absence of a junior certificate deprived him of what he considered the sinecure he had bravely striven for all, all along .

Lest we forget the other co-conspirator and super Bantu patriot let us move a little beyond Mr. Lamani's house in Rula street and meet Mr. B. J. Mnyanda .

once
Mr. Mnyanda who spent an interesting part of his public life in Rhodesia where he was not very popular with the Africans , is the bitter gentleman who from time to time pours his scorn on the humble efforts of the African people who seek to free themselves from fascism . He is one of the few men who enjoy the confidence of the Port Elizabeth City Council . In 1952 he bartered the freedom of movement of the Africans in Port Elizabeth for a five thousand pound technical college (the passes came with a vengeance , the illusion of a technical college was shattered) . In the estimation of Verwoerd he is a genuine Bantu leader the City Council refers to him as a moderate native leader ; thus he is their nominee on the native advisory board . Mr. Mnyanda was largely instrumental in the setting up of the Port Elizabeth Bantu Education Board of which he meritoriously is chairman .

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RECORDS RELATING TO THE 'TREASON TRIAL' (REGINA vs F. ADAMS AND OTHERS ON CHARGE OF HIGH TREASON, ETC.), 1956 1961

TREASON TRIAL, 1956 1961

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