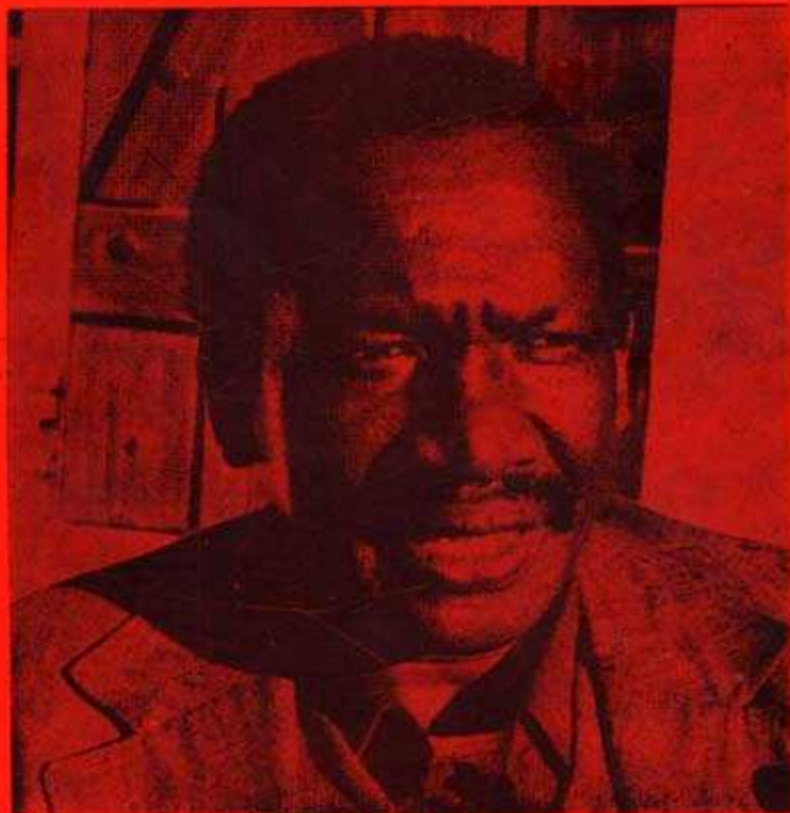


AZANIA NEWS

July — August 1988

Vol. 26, No. 2 SERVICE — SUFFERING — SACRIFICE



MANGALISO ROBERT SOBUKWE

AZANIANS REMEMBER SOBUKWE

By Correspondent

Thousands of militant Africans in Azania thronged the Regina Mundi, a Catholic Church associated with African revolt since the June 16 1976 student uprising against the racist settler regime, to commemorate Azania's and one of Africa's most spirited fighters and revolutionary, Cde Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe.

Inside the packed Regina Mundi and elsewhere at 11 centres in the country, Africans workers, peasants, writers, journalists, intellectuals, sang songs in praise of the man, PAC founder and first President Sobukwe who left them an invaluable heritage — a culture to fight the settler. They had come to pay tribute to the «heavyweight» of Azanian politics, as one racist Minister, John Vorster came to admit.

The services were preceded with a «Sobukwe Cultural Week» from February 20 to 27. Africans had also set up a Sobukwe memorial, 'Thinathi' with a lecture: 'The immortal contributions and the Revolutionary legacy of Mangaliso Sobukwe' delivered by PAC veteran historian Malcolm Dyanl during the cultural week.

Students at various schools held classes on Sobukwe and the history of the Pan Africanist Movement.

Preparations were made by workers, cultural, political, youth and community organisations.

Sobukwe died on 27 February 1978 after a long illness.

Known as «The Prof» by admirers for his sharp intellect, ability to articulate the aspirations of the African people and his eloquence in expressing these desires in speech, Sobukwe introduced radical and revolutionary opposition in African politics. He was the only leader the regime feared «this side of eternity», said then Justice Minister and later Prime Minister John Vorster.

Vorster went on to detain Sobukwe without trial for another six years on Robben Island under the special 'Sobukwe Clause' after completion of a three-year jail term for plotting, executing and leading the March 21, 1960 anti-pass campaign. He told those who demanded Sobukwe's release that their demand was not in the interest of continued white rule in South Africa.

«Compared to Luthuli (then ANC president) Sobukwe was a heavy-weight», Vorster admitted after Sobukwe's death on February 27 1978.

At the time of his death Sobukwe had been banned and banished to Graaf-Reinet after serving nine years

on Robben Island, six of which he served under a special «Sobukwe Clause» specially passed by Parliament to detain him further after completing a three-year term for leading the March 21, 1960 Anti-Pass campaign. The regime refused him permission to travel to Johannesburg to receive specialised medical attention.



No wonder was Sobukwe feared. He rooted out of Africans the fear to go to jail and to die, thus fearlessly challenging the regime.

As founding president of the PAC, he charted the PAC course which changed the politics of South Africa in 11 months of the PAC's existence. On formation, the PAC resolved to execute the struggle for liberation in terms of the Programme of Action

drafted by Sobukwe, AP Mda and Anton Lembede while still Youth League members in the ANC. The main thrust of the Programme was to increase the fighting capacity of Africans to mature with the struggle and eventually overthrow white domination by wrenching power from the settler minority regime.

The Programme vested the leadership, control, direction and pace of the struggle on the dispossessed, and clearly defined dividing lines between the oppressor and oppressed, colonizer and colonized, master and slave. The PAC, under Sobukwe, current president and military inspirer Zephania Mothopeng and «others», launched campaign after campaign challenging the racist regime. Protest politics were thrown out of the window as the PAC launched the Status Campaign, the Positive Action Campaign and ultimately the Anti-Pass Campaign.

It was the Final Positive Campaign against the PASS LAWS of March 21 1960 which culminated in the murder of 69 Africans in Sharpeville. Hundreds more were injured in Langa and Gugulethu, with mass arrests country-wide as the PAC leadership was rounded up.

The ANC had rejected, through secretary general Duma Nokwe, an invitation by the PAC to participate in the campaign.

The Sharpeville murders and the imprisonment of the PAC leadership saw the rise of Poqo, harbinger to the Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army (APLA). Using home-made pangas and other unsophisticated weapons, Poqo attacked and killed policemen around the country, with most heads claimed in the Paarl area.

The struggle has reached the mortal combat level, as the late chairman and military strategist Cde

Nyathi Pokela put it at one international conference.

The 1960 campaign and the shootings saw value of shares on the stock exchange drop by 600 million sterling pounds. In one day alone on March 30, the total market collapsed by 70 million pounds. Had American banks not provided 100 million pounds financial aid to boost the shattered South Africa economy, a new government of Africans would have come earlier in South Africa, Africanists argue.

Investors were worried. The Chamber of Commerce and Industry handed a memorandum to the Government. It read:

«The immediate cost has been loss of life, general unrest and diversion of part of our manpower for military service. Far more serious is the loss of confidence among investors in South Africa abroad, resulting in the withdrawal of capital and cancellation of business projects that were under favourable consideration, the potential loss of people through emigration and reduced immigration, and the damage that the economy sustains as a result of mounting international disapproval of policies followed in South Africa, which are widely believed to have caused the present crisis».

Sobukwe and the PAC refused to recognise group rights in a liberated Azania, emphasised Africanist philosophy. Leadership by Africans

to decolonize the minds of the Africans was also emphasized. They asserted they were not against the white because they were white, but because they were the oppressors in South Africa. It was hypocrisy to say one hated the sjambok and not the one who wielded it, Sobukwe said.

Fighting for a Africanist Socialist Azania, the PAC envisages to establish a society proud of its African heritage and a socialist economic system to equitably distribute Azanian wealth.

The PAC advocated the creation of a non-racial society, recognising the African people as the only people capable of creating it, and refused to pander to white bigotry and arrogance.

At home concerted efforts have been made by the liberal Press to mention as little as, if not nothing, about the PAC. Thus the African people would in the end resign themselves to supporting any organisations in the absence of THEIR organisations.

Internationally the slave masters tried to impose certain organisations on the African people as «authentic» and sole representatives of the Azanian masses.

But these frivolous attempts have met very little success because the African people are the sole author of their own history and destiny. They will not be dictated to by ANYBODY.

SOBUKWE AND SHARPEVILLE

By Morwa Makwale

The 21st of March which is observed annually throughout the world and at the United Nations as the International Day for the Elimination of Racism, in commemoration of the brutal and cold-blooded massacre of 69 unarmed Africans (men, women and children) by the racist police of the Pretoria regime in 1960 at Sharpeville, an African Township, some 30 miles south of Johannesburg.

The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania had, under the leadership of its founder — President, the late Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe, decided at its Annual National Conference held at Orlando, Johannesburg in December 1959, to call upon the oppressed and exploited masses of Azania to challenge the obnoxious system of Pass Laws of the racist regime and to launch a final and decisive action campaign for their total abolition.

The notorious Pass Laws system which has been in force since 1809 had been the most effective instrument of the racist regime for the exploitation of cheap African labour and the degradation and humiliation of the oppressed African masses.

Until 1986, when the Pass Laws were nominally abolished every black man and woman above the age of 16

was required to carry, at all times, a 96 page booklet called the Reference Book or the 'dom pass' as our people contemptuously called it; and, it was an offence punishable by imprisonment for an African to fail to produce the pass book on demand by the police.

The administration of the Pass Laws was so brutal in their enforcement that in 1958 alone, 368,000 Africans were thrown into jail for the infringement of the numerous pieces of restrictions and prohibitions covered under the name of pass laws. In other words over 1000 Africans per day were, in that year convicted under the Pass Laws.

Horror stories of the brutal murder, disappearance and torture of thousands of African prisoners (some over-worked to death) on white commercial farms as convict labourers, became the order of the day.

Over the years the Azanian people had been so humiliated and psychologically damaged by the pass laws system that they were known to buy Pass Book with huge sums of money or even risk death in an attempt to salvage the 'dom pass' from a burning building.

It was therefore abundantly clear to the PAC leadership, in 1959 that

the tyranny of the pass laws system had reached such notorious heights that, there was no joy for every black man in occupied Azania whether inside or outside of jail. There was therefore no alternative but to challenge the pass laws with all the people's might.

The PAC, under the leadership of Mangaliso Sobukwe therefore moved onto the battle front on the 21 st March 1960 under the slogan «no bail, no defence, no fine».

On the 18 th March 1960, three days before Sharpeville, President Sobukwe had announced the launching of the positive-action campaign which was to be conducted throughout the country. The strategy was simple and clear. On the morning of the 21st March, all men over the age of 16 years were to leave their passbooks at home and surrender for arrest at the nearest police station under the local leadership of the party for defying the Pass Laws. In the event that there were no arrests, the defiers would immediately withdraw their labour from their work places and go on an indefinite strike until Sobukwe himself personally called off the campaign.

The entire conduct of the campaign was to be on the strict basis of absolute non-violence. In this connection, President Sobukwe had appealed to the racist Commissioner of the Police to ensure that his men desisted from the use of violence. But, as it is now known, this appeal was not heeded and our people were massacred in cold blood including ten children.

The world was shocked and disgusted by the extent of the wanton brutality of the racist police on unarmed civilians. Protests came from all corners of the world including the

State Department in Washington; but all to no avail.

As the world remembers the killings at Sharpeville and the 10th anniversary of the death in restriction of the Founder-President of the PAC, the Azanian masses have resolved to carry on the revolution a step higher. For, it is a fact of history that the method of non-violence for the liberation of Azania was buried with the heroic dead at Sharpeville. The principal form of struggle, as far as the PAC is concerned, is now the armed struggle. All other methods are secondary and can only be seen as complementary. White domination must be overthrown, for, apartheid cannot be reformed; it can only be eradicated.

Sobukwe has left the Azanian masses a legacy with an indelible message: «Those who love freedom must be prepared to die for it». Ever since that nation-wide anti-pass campaign was launched by the PAC in 1960, Azania has never been the same again.

In 1976 the Soweto student uprising, largely inspired by the underground cadres of the PAC rocked the foundations of the racist regime.

The current President of the PAC Comrade Zephania Mothopeng is serving 30 years imprisonment for master-minding the Soweto uprising.

The emergence of the Azanian group of Organisations inside racist South Africa within the Black Consciousness Movement has placed the youth of the Country in the forefront of the struggle.

In 1985, as the Azanian masses observed the 25th Anniversary of the Sharpeville and Langa massacres,

the racist police murdered another 19 unarmed Africans in a grave yard in Langa near Port Elizabeth.

Since 1985, occupied Azania and the oppressed masses of the country have been living under a virtually permanent state of emergency.

On the eve of the 10th anniversary

of the death of Mangaliso Sobukwe, 17 black organisations have been restricted and virtually rendered in-effective in their opposition to white domination and the naked arrogance of the racist regime.

But the struggle continues; a luta continua!

The PAC is committed to non-violent political struggle. All other methods are secondary and only to be employed in circumstances where non-violence is not possible. With determination and discipline, the struggle will be carried out to the bitter end. It can only be successful.

Students are the backbone of the struggle. They are the future of the nation. They must be protected and nurtured. They must be trained to be able to carry out the struggle with discipline and determination. The PAC is committed to the education of the youth. It will ensure that they are well equipped for the struggle.

In 1985 the student movement was the backbone of the struggle. It was the only force that could challenge the apartheid system. The PAC is committed to the education of the youth. It will ensure that they are well equipped for the struggle.

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SPEECH DELIVERED BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE PAC CDE JOHNSON MLAMBO ON THE 10TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATH OF MANGALISO SO- BUKWE AT RUVU, TANZANIA

Sons and Daughters of Africa

Today we commemorate the 10th Anniversary of the death of PAC Founding President, Mangaliso Sobukwe. These memorials continue this year from 27th February, until his birthday on December 5th.

Shortly after his death in 1978, the then racist Minister of Justice, Jimmy Kruger, visited Robben Island. He seized that occasion to ask some of us if we had heard the good news, news of the death of our leader, Sobukwe. Jimmy Kruger and his racist regime were obviously relieved. Mangaliso Sobukwe was the most implacable enemy of racist domination, against national oppression and dispossession.

Some of Sobukwe's Significant Contributions

1. Following an objective historical analytical method Mangaliso Sobukwe showed the African masses how powerful, and how seemingly invincible the racist regime is.

2. But Sobukwe also revealed the other side of the racist minority regime — its weakness — because of its dependence on cheap African labour for all its strength.

3. Sobukwe identified those living forces in the Azanian society who are destined to play the central leading role — in the struggle to liquidate national oppression. He identified the African people, especially, the workers, the peasants and the youth — as such a force — because of their material position in present-day society.

4. He advocated non-collaboration by the oppressed majority as a strategy of weakening and defeating their national oppressor.

5. Sobukwe insisted that every serious liberation movement should launch those campaigns which would continuously increase the fighting capacity of the oppressed.

6. Sobukwe warned our people of the heavy price for Freedom which

he said we must pay and the price is «blood, toil and tears».

7. Sobukwe clearly told our people to fight and never to expect a change of heart on the part of our so-called «Christian oppressors since no ruling class in history has ever abdicated power voluntarily»...

But Sobukwe was not only a brilliant theorist, he was a revolutionary leader who based himself on the masses. He tested his revolutionary ideas to guide mass action in the field of social practice.

As a Youth leader and student he presented the Programme of Action to the Nation in Bloemfontein in 1949. Many of his colleagues subsequently deviated from the principles of this programme. Together with other dedicated Africanists he amplified and developed this programme.

As leader of the PAC he united the leaders and the masses in two campaigns. First was the Campaign for mental liberation or Status Campaign launched on January 1, 1960. Its aim was to exorcise slave mentality. To render white domination physically untenable by first and foremost making it mentally untenable.

Second, and based upon successes of the preceding campaign, Sobukwe and the PAC launched the Positive Action Campaign Against the Pass Laws. It was so successful that the regime temporarily suspended these Pass Laws within the week. But the campaign revealed also the unprecedented brutality of the racist oppressor who massacred our people in Sharpeville and Langa on 21 March 1960. March 21 — universally observed as International Day For the Elimination of Racial Discrimination — has therefore raised Sobukwe into a world historic figure.

When he appeared in court charged for leading the Campaign aga-

inst the Pass Laws Sobukwe became the first national leader to challenge the illegitimacy of the courts — founded on laws unilaterally and exclusively made by whites. He therefore refused to plead. Upon being sentenced by the same court Sobukwe calmly restated the PAC's non-racialism: «We believe in one race only the human race to which we all belong. The history of that race is one of long struggle against all restrictions, physical, mental and spiritual. «We would have betrayed the human race if we had not done our share. We are glad to have made our contribution. ... We are not afraid of the consequences of our action and it is not our intention to plead for mercy».

The racist regime tried to crush the PAC and its leaders especially Mangaliso Sobukwe. No national organisation except the PAC has been banned after only eleven months of its birth. No leader, except Sobukwe, had a law specifically passed for him by the racist parliament. The Sobukwe Act — was passed in 1963 — it has only been used against Sobukwe — and no national leader, except Sobukwe, has ever been kept in prison after completing his sentence.

Totally isolated from all other political prisoners on Robben Island, President Sobukwe was asked by the racist oppressor ministers and members of Parliament if he had changed his ideas. He replied that he would not, «Not until the day of resurrection». Up to his very death, therefore, he kept the pledge: «We will not equivocate, we will not look back, come what may. We will go on until the day dawn in Africa when every person who lives in Africa will be an African and man's colour will be irrelevant as is the shape of his ears...»

But during his imprisonment and subsequent internal exile and house-arrest, Sobukwe's thought, his vision and total commitment endeared him to broad sections of our people, especially the youth, workers and peasants, who fondly called him the «Prof», the «Defier of the Undefiable».

1. Poqo, a people's striking force and predecessor of APLA, the PAC's armed wing, was inspired by Sobukwe. It is history that Poqo was the most successful, internally based insurrectionary force in our country.

2. Sobukwe's thought and example instilled the youth of our country with a new self-confidence, courage and an unbending will to achieve national freedom which flowered into the 1976 National Uprising which erupted in Soweto.

The mass actions of 1960, Poqo insurrections of 1961 — 1969, and Soweto 1976 were inspired by Sobukwe's thought and also gave maximum unity to our people.

The Contemporary Significance of Sobukwe.

Comrades, we are living in the 1980's which is marked by unheard of racist violence against the oppressed majority internally, violence against Africa in general, violence against the Frontline and neighbouring states in particular.

These racist adventures are not a sign of the racist minority's strength, they are a sign of its weakness. The situation demands of us to consolidate all the gains and breakthroughs that we have made since the historic Sharpeville and Langa in 1960, since the emergence of Poqo in the early 1960's since Soweto in 1976 and since Sharpeville and Sebokeng in 1984. These impor-

tant gains were made by a high degree of unity that Sobukwe always demanded of us.

The PAC therefore, seizes this opportunity once again to restate our preparedness to forge principle unity with all those who have a contradiction with the racist regime based on:

- (a) The oppressed majority and not the racist regime are the main vehicle of change, and consequently;
- (b) We must continuously increase the fighting capacity of the oppressed and not collaborate with the regime.
- (c) We must use all forms of struggle, with armed struggle as the principal form.
- (d) Whilst advocating comprehensive and mandatory economic sanctions internationally we regard these as complementary to the internal factor, which is decisive.
- (e) We urge keeping out the East-West conflict in the resolution of national liberation struggle in occupied Azania.

We therefore, urge the OAU and the Frontline States to continue to strengthen the internal forces through the National Liberation Movements; we urge Africa to promote African against non-African initiatives.

Comrades, Sons and Daughters of the soil, Mangaliso Sobukwe was a dedicated African Nationalist, a Pan Africanist and Socialist. When the racist parliament debated the law to keep him in jail after he had completed his sentence, the law known as Sobukwe Act, a distinguished liberal Senator, ex-Justice Fagan, was at pains to explain why he and his libe-

ral colleagues were supporting the Bill. His protestations clearly revealed the power of Sobukwe. It revealed that white domination was doomed: »Poqo is the product of the Pan Africanist idea. Pan Africanism cannot be killed by one blow. Neither by a series of blows. If we put all the leaders behind bars, others would take their places... If we should rely entirely on force in fighting Pan Africanism, it would be a fight without end. We might win the first round, but there will be a second round. We might win the tenth, but there will be an eleventh...» And concluded the liberal senator: »We are in a morass and we must support ourselves that we do not sink away...»

Comrades and fellow Pan Africanists the unspeakable racist atrocities of the racist minority are evo-

king a heroic upsurge, a stubborn resistance — not only in Angola — and the sub-continent — but especially in Azania.

Memorial lectures and Services in honour of Sobukwe are being held country-wide inside Azania. Last December, the Centre for Enrichment in African Political Affairs, at one such memorial, decided to erect a bust in his honour. Ahmadu Bello University in 1985 honoured Sobukwe posthumously with a Doctor of Laws Award. Are we prepared to consolidate all this to realise our revolutionary prediction that the 1980's are the Decade of the Azanian Revolution!

Sobukwe died in chains but his rich heritage of vision courage and revolutionary devotion will never die!

IZWE LETHU!!!

LABOR MOVEMENT PUSHING AGAINST S. AFRICAN APARTHEID

by Les Payne

Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe is in his grave, a victim a few years back of what South African doctors said was lung cancer.

Like his lungs, Sobukwe's very spirit wore down under the extraordinary pressure apartheid exerts on the soul. He was a gentle man, Sobukwe. A reticent and brilliant man, burning with a quiet, controlled fire that did not roar as it cleansed.

Like his colleague and later prison mate, Nelson Mandela, Sobukwe was born to rebel against the apartheid system. Unaccepting of the oppressive environment he was born into, the first word out of his mouth, no doubt, was «no». Throughout his days of protest and prison, he blossomed as a rose growing up out of the dung heap that is South Africa.

Sobukwe played on my mind during the current strike of South African miners.

A quarter-million black workers, ostensibly seeking a 30 percent pay increase, have abandoned the hellholes in which they mined apartheid's coal and gold. Those shafts of shame are responsible for more than 60 percent of South Africa's foreign earnings. Yet, as everywhere else in that republic, Africans, who make it all possible, are the least rewarded.

White mine supervisors, whose rank and privileges are guaranteed, are compensated many times more for less critical work. Even if management met the miners' pay demand, the black-wage gap would remain as wide as an ocean.

The Boers have chosen to meet the workers' meager demands by clamping down with truncheon and jackboot. At least 86 key union leaders, arrested last week, were charged with subversion and conspiracy to murder nonstriking miners. Such state tactics are designed to promote not labor peace but union submission. Since its inception, a few years ago the 260,000-member National Union of Mineworkers has posed a threat not so much to the government as to the continued exploitation of black workers.

Before the union was formed, conditions were so wretched that even mining tycoons like Harry Oppenheimer were embarrassed abroad. In 1972, while Oppenheimer's Anglo-American firm hummed as the world's most profitable mining operation, he paid black miners 57 cents a day. The minimum for white mine workers was more than 20 times greater.

Mine strikes have occurred in South Africa throughout this century, with few lasting gains. However, the current strikes enjoy support from a broader African community locked in a three-year campaign against the many-headed apartheid system. They also come at a time when overseas pressure from government sanctions and the recalling of short-term bank loans have turned up the economic heat.

In the past, the Boers' government has crushed legitimate mining labor leaders under the catch-all Suppression of Communism Act. The courageous black labor leaders, enduring enormous government pressure, can expect similar draconian measures. So effective has been the government crackdown on the media, foreign and domestic, that the world stands only a faint chance of learning accurate details of labor conflict.

Clearly, though, the growing organized labor movement in South Africa is a force pushing against apartheid.

Perhaps this gathering of labour trouble made me think of Sobukwe. I met him a decade ago in the wake of the Soweto uprising, when, in my reporter's mind South Africa's turmoil was a mass of confusion.

The government had placed Sobukwe off limits to the media. His very words are contraband. As a banned person, he lived in the diamond-mining town of Kimberly, some 275 miles southwest of Johannesburg.

He was forbidden to leave his home between dusk and dawn, meet with more than one person at a time, speak to the media, or criticize the government in any way.

By clandestine means, I met with Sobukwe for hours one Sunday morning and, for the first time, began to understand the craggy road leading to majority rule. The process inevitably would involve armed struggle, but, along the way, he allowed for organized labour maneuvers like the one the miners are staging.

«You have a white minority dominating the country with exclusive power, politically, militarily and economically, he said. «And there is a black majority that provides labour and subsidizes the whites. It is almost classically that of a privileged minority oppressing a majority which also happens to be of another color.

«The power of the white man in South Africa appears to be unchallengeable. You look at this fortress and it appears impregnable, really, until and unless you realize that this political power, this military power, this economic power is all based on the indispensable pillar of cheap black labor. Therein lies the power. On the labor front alone, the Africans could bring the whole structure collapsing».

In the present mining-strike crisis, the Boers are negotiating in the only language they speak to Africans: brute force. The spilled blood might buy time, but it will not buy peace.

MARCH 21, 1960

Participant Recalls

— The large-scale presence of police in townships and the banning of organisations was the history of March 21 1960 repeating itself, Joe Thloloe, who took part in the anti-pass campaign of 1960, said yesterday. «History has a painful way of repeating itself. Thloloe told a joint commemoration by the Azanian Co-ordination Committee, the Azanian National Youth Unity and the National Council of Trade Unions at Regina Mundi. «In Sharpeville in 1960, 69 people were shot dead. In Uitenhage on the same date, people were shot dead during a funeral procession (1985). We still do not know the count. Some put the figure at 43, others at 21. In 1960 the PAC and the ANC were banned. Today on the eve of the commemoration of March 21, we have 17 organisations banned and a trade union federation restricted. The commemoration service was interrupted for about 10 minutes when police warned the organisers. The March 21 Co-ordinating Committee, that if the people did not «behave», the service would be stopped. While the organisers negotiated with the police, about 2000 people sang freedom songs in praise of BCMA chairman Mosebundi Mangena and PAC chairman Johnson Mlambo. Police also filmed people entering and leaving the church. Lybon Mabasa of the Steve Biko Foundation said the now-banned SASO declared March 21 «Heroes' Day» to commemorate all the heroes who have died in more than 300 years of the struggle against oppression in Azania. «Whether we call the unity we are striving for black unity or African unity, it is the same thing. When Steve Biko saw Robert Sobukwe of the PAC in 1976 to discuss black unity, Sobukwe endorsed the proposal that the oppressed and exploited come together under one banner. Through our unity we will strive to remove exploitation of man by man and usher in a socialist order. We will see to it that the struggle for socialism will not end in Azania or Africa, but will spread throughout the world where there are oppressed people», he said, amid wild cheering. The meeting resolved to call for the unbanning of all organizations, capital punishment to be scrapped particularly in politically — associated trials and the release of Azapo leader Nkosi Molala and PAC president Zeph Mothopeng, and the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners. (Sapa 21 3/88).

PUBLISHER:

Publisher:- Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand

Location:- Johannesburg

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DOCUMENT DETAILS:

DOCUMENT DETAILS:

Document ID:- A2618-Cd14

Document Title:- Azania News: Vol 26 No2 Service - Suffering - Sacrifice (original)

Author:- Bennie Bunsee

Document Date:- July 1988