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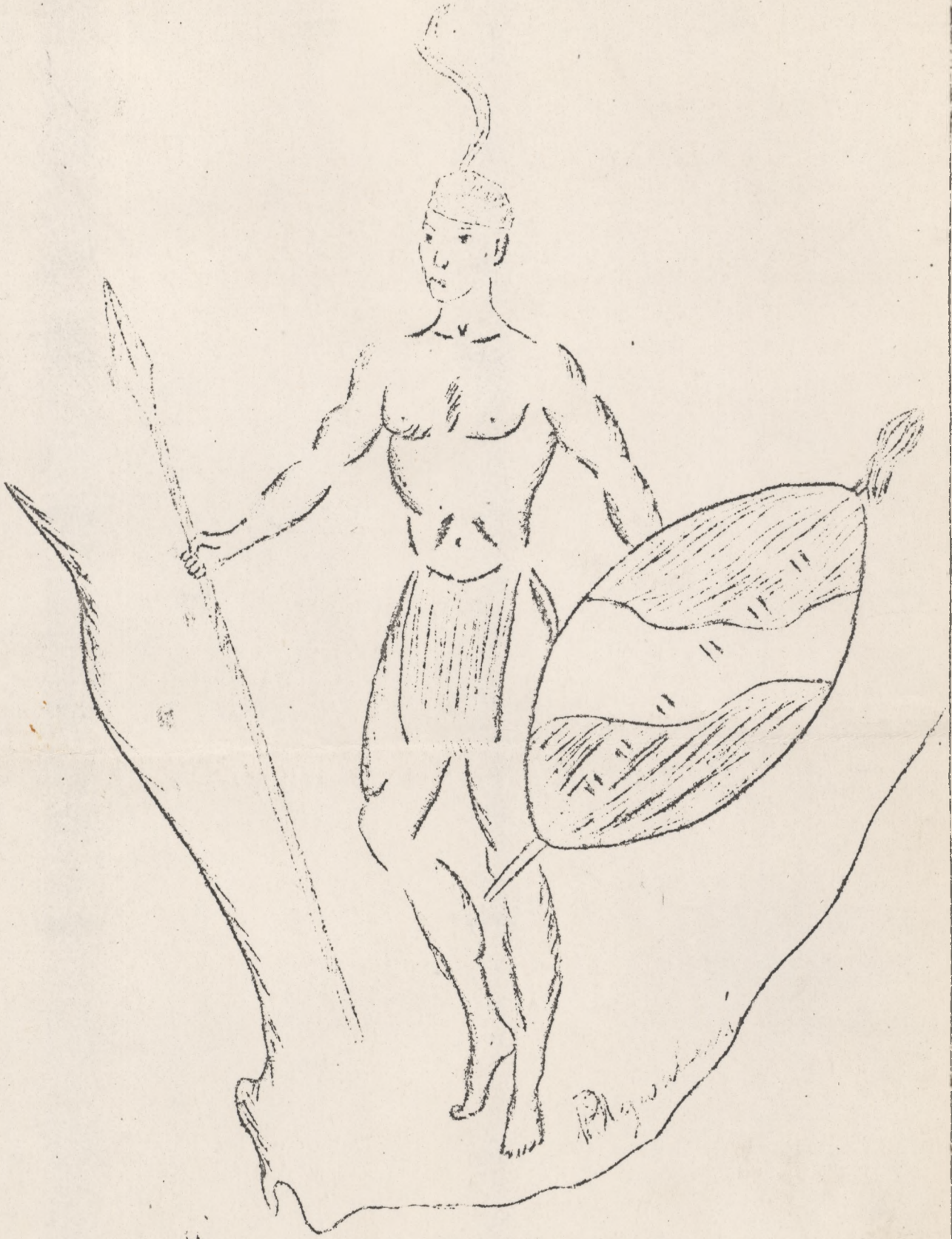
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"THE AFRICAN WARRIOR"

ISSUED BY ORLANDO A.N.C.Y.L.

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A F R I C A N I S T

EDITORIAL

FORWARD TO 1958 !

Within a month's time we shall have passed another milestone on the long and tedious journey to freedom. Others, too, will have passed a milestone. But they will be travelling on the treacherous and slippery road to doom. In both cases there applies the law of inevitability. But the goals are different and so is the spirit of the travellers. The forces of "Tokoloho ka nako ea rona" are marching on, buoyant and confident, not looking at their hill, but climbing it: On the other hand, the forces of retrogression, stagnation and "man's inhumanity to man" are administering the last desperate kicks of a dying horse. Their doom is sealed; and they get it. The dawn of the glory of freedom is breaking, when man shall establish control over things and not over other men: And we know it. And thus we move into 1958.

The passing year has witnessed historic events, chief among which have been the women's militant struggle against "Passes for Women" and the militant disciplined struggle of our nurses against nursing apartheid. There have been the long-drawn-out Treason Trials and the magnificent June 26th "Stay at Home" observance. There has been the glorious Bus Boycott side by side with the abortive "Economic Boycott of Cigarettes and Tobacco". We have witnessed during 1957, a desire for unity and solidarity among the masses and a tendency towards crippling and contemptuous bureaucracy on the part of our leaders. It is a known fact that the Bus boycott was sabotaged by some unnamed individual "higher-up", acting under certain influences. It is equally well known that quite a number of branches in the Transvaal heard about the planned Economic Boycott after the police and the manufacturers had been informed about it by "New Age" and "The Star" and "Die Transvaler" etc. In fact, 1957 has been a year of "Directives" and "Counter-Directives" from a variety of sources. But the struggle continues.

It continues, because the African masses today owe loyalty to the movement for liberation, to the concept of a disciplined, principled struggle for freedom, rather than to a particular individual or to a particular organisation. The point we are making is that, if the people today follow the ANC, it is not because of a sentimental attachment to the name or the organisation, but because they believe it to be the embodiment of their aspirations. So long as it gives the correct lead, they will follow it. But the more it deviates, the more it concentrates on opportunistic, vaporous activity as distinct from planned, programmatic ACTION, the faster the disillusioned masses detach themselves from it and sink into the mire of despair and apathy until a new Moses appears with a gospel ringing the correct chord.

The struggle in South Africa hinges on the twin problems of land and status. And our immediate battle is for "STATUS", political, economic, social etc. And 1958 must be a STATUS YEAR. And having discovered that in liberatory struggles, it is the accumulation of small victories which builds up the confidence of the masses and imbues them with the sense of the inevitability of victory, we propose, for 1958, a campaign against the appellations by which the Herenvolk are pleased to know us. Next year, we are going to put a stop to the terms "Boys" and "Girls", which are so ungrammatically used by white South Africa. As from next year,

these/

these terms are going to be used in their strict and correct dictionary meaning. So say we. We will no longer have "Jack", "George", "Nancy", "Jane", etc. as handy labels to be attached to any black man or woman by any white man or white woman, white boy or white girl. And we will start where we pay our hard-earned money for service - be it in a private shop or in a government office.

The best would be to start with the shops. We shall here demand that we be treated as customers and **ADDRESSED AS SUCH!** If the white boys and girls behind the city counters feel that that is too great a demand, they will either leave the shop or we shall make it a shop "**FOR EUROPEANS ONLY**". In short, we **WILL DECLARE A TOTAL BOYCOTT** on that shop, and the **BOYCOTT** will not be lifted **UNTIL THAT SHOP CLOSES DOWN!** We will stand no nonsense next year. This treatment will be meted out to **ANY** and **EVERY** shopkeeper in whose shop or business our people are treated as a nuisance rather than as welcome and desired customers. Whether the shopkeeper be black or white, coloured or Indian or Chinese etc. is immaterial. We demand **OUR STATUS** as customers.

We shall elaborate on this campaign in subsequent issues of the "**AFRICANIST**". But right now, we send out to our readers, the Christmas and New Year wishes of "**STATUS AND LAND**".

There is a song they sing in the deserted villages of Africa. It goes:

Noma sikhona, noma sesifile
Bakusala besho, bethi sasikhona!

(While we live, and even after we are gone,
They will remain saying, **WE ONCE WERE!**)

That, **MA-AFRIKA**, is the meaning of our struggle!

MAYIBUYE!!

Editor

-----oooOooo-----

Asobukwe

WHAT OF THE FUTURE ?

In recent weeks quite a lot has appeared in the non-European press about the Africanists. Most of these papers are the "multi-racial struggle" type and, therefore, see in Africanism a set-back and a threat to their policies and designs.

If these papers sincerely believed that a multi-racial struggle principled and honest, was, not only possible of achievement but also capable of bringing about a true democracy in South Africa, **WITHIN OUR LIFETIME**, we would not worry. We would know that we were engaged in the same struggle with, only, our methods differing. But we know that these papers, and the groups for whom they speak, do not want freedom. All they want is the ousting of the Nats. at the next election; the granting, by the U.P. of a few concessions and an indication that the non-European is being gradually prepared for absorption into the national economy. The non-European, on his side, is being asked to be reasonable and not to make impossible demands which will provide further ammunition to the Nats. and embarrass his (the non-European's) friends. It is for that reason that hatred of the Nats. is being equated with love for freedom and any stunt which apparently will "embarrass the Nats" or "show" the Nats. is given furious publicity while any real, profound analysis which rejects a doctrinaire /

doctrinaire theoretical approach unrelated to the material objective conditions in this country, is condemned as racialism,

The Africans are asked, through their spineless leaders, not to "embarass" their "friends" and "allies", to discard their "rigid" programmes of non-collaboration; to "water-down" their demands in order to accommodate all the Anti-Nat elements in the country; in short, we are asked to "grin and bear it" so that our "friends" can continue "to plead for us". And we told that in that way we shall achieve freedom. What rubbish!

It is not my intention, however, to expose the fraud of a multi-racial front, whose basis is hatred of the Nats and not of oppression and domination as such. I want to answer a question which has of late been hurled at us, viz. what is our racial policy?

I know, that many Africanists hold the view that we are not prepared to commit ourselves as to the nature of our post victory society. They hold that, the Society, being democratic, will decide for itself then what form of government it wants.

UNREALISTIC

Such a view, I believe, is unrealistic. It savours of mental cowardice to face the issues and to attempt to solve them. It is not intellectual and is contrary to the teachings of both Lembede and A.P. that we must build up a reservoir of theory, based on the daily practical problems. We, the leaders in the struggle, must have clear in our minds, the society we desire and envisage because, whatever bunk we might say about the "masses", Trotsky's view, that the illiterate and ignorant masses cannot be expected to formulate policy, still holds good today. The masses are wooed; they are not followed.

CUR ANSWER

We have said in the past and we repeat it now, that in a free Africa, there will be no racial groups, but individuals. We, therefore, see no reason why we should "guarantee the rights of minorities". There will be no minority groups! There will be individuals of a state; members of one nation. Because of the sordid history of this country, it might be necessary, perhaps, at the beginning, to make racial discrimination a crime. But the chief weapon will be education.

AFRICAN SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

It is not enough to say we desire a democracy. We must define that democracy. Will it be capitalist or socialist. Lembede spoke of an African Socialist democracy by which I understand him to have meant a Socialist democracy which took into account the history of the African people as well as the material conditions of the African continent.

He was but enunciating what Khrushchev later came to describe as the "various roads to socialism" outlook. His emphasis on African was dictated by the fact that in any South African democracy of the future, it is unavoidable, that the African, by virtue of his numbers, would influence the shape and content of that democracy unless, our leaders will again call on us to pander to European bigotry and arrogance.

CAPITALISM - NOT ACCEPTABLE

There are some Africanists who believe that a Capitalist economy can profitably be established in our new society provided it is "humanised" - the term now current in America. These people argue that we can permit a capitalist so much income per year and
whatever

whatever he makes beyond that is taken by the State in the form of heavy taxes. No capitalist will agree to that. They will send their money out of the country if they do not blackmail the State with threats of closing down and presenting it with an unemployment problem it is not ready to meet.

It is my opinion that we have to agree, now, that our starting point, in the new society is the establishment of equality of income which is the final and essential diagnostic of true socialism. And if we are to do that successfully, and avoid unemployment and national impoverishment, occasioned by even a momentary checking of productivity, it is essential that we start now to acquaint ourselves with business technique and know-how which capitalists excel at. That is why we attach so much importance to the Nation-Building Programme of 1949. To speak of equal opportunities without equal income is to be guilty of verbal fraud. What are the chances of a raw boy against a trained carpenter, even if they have the same material to work with and the same market to sell to? None. That is the position where inequality of income operates.

Individuals, not racial groups: Socialism, with emphasis on EQUALITY of INCOME - not Capitalism: That is my vision of a FREE AFRIKA.

Nzana

(Comments are urgently invited: Be frank and honest - Editor)

NEWS: (In brief)

We regret to announce the death of the father of Mr. D.D. Siwisa of 34 Sangotsha Street, New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, on Sunday 17th November. To Mr. & Mrs. Siwisa and family we say:

He is not dead; he doth no sleep
He hath awakened from the dream of life".
Akuhlanga lungehlanga, Dlangamandla! The Struggle Continues.

The treason suspects - Molefi, Make, Abie Ngcobo, Tshunungwa and Mfana - are on leave, seeing their families. They are expected to be back at the Drill Hall University, very soon. In the meantime, we wish them a Merry Christmas and hope they will enjoy their well-deserved rest. Forward, to a New Africa!

There is a rumour in Africanist circles, that Mr. Abie Ngcobo has finally agreed to be looked after by a certain African beauty from Ixopo, Miss Gwina. May the forces of Africanism be multiplied and foreign domination cleared from the motherland.

The latest information is that although Mr. Lengisi has been allowed to go back to Engcobo, his home, he is still being hounded and persecuted by the forces of oppression. Meanwhile, Mr. A. Gwentshe, the great Africanist, is still in exile at Frenchdale. We hope he too will soon be allowed to join his family.

THE NATURE OF THE STRUGGLE TODAY

There is as yet no common agreement between the Africanists and the present leadership of Congress together with its allies on the nature of the struggle. To the Africanists the struggle is both nationalist and democratic, in that it involves the restoration of the land to its rightful owners - the Africans - which fact immediately divides the combatants into the conquered and the conqueror, the invaded and the invader the dispossessed and the dispossessor. That is a national struggle. It has nothing to do with numbers and laws. It is a fact of history. And both sides are each held together by a common history and are, in the struggle, carrying out the task imposed by history. That task is, for the whites, the maintenance and retention of the spoils passed on to them by their forefathers and, for the African, the overthrow of the foreign yoke and the reclamation of "the land of our fathers". At the same time, our struggle is for democracy, if we understand democracy to mean the implementation of the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants of a country, as expressed in the laws of the country. A democratic struggle is, essentially then, a question of NUMBERS. (A struggle for a democracy is a struggle for the recognition of NUMBERS - a National struggle is a struggle for the recognition of heritage.) The Africans are in the fortunate position of being, not only the rightful owners of the land but also the majority of the population. Our struggle, therefore, is democratic, involving as it does, the dispossessed manority against the privileged minority.

The ANC leadership and its allies are preoccupied with the latter aspect of the struggle - the democratic, to the total exclusion, nay even the open renunciation and denunciation of the Nationalistic. And from that difference in our conception of the struggle, stem the differences in tactics and interpretation of events.

The forces involved in the Struggle:

Because we differ from the leadership in our conception of the nature of the struggle, we differ in our assessment of the forces for and against us. The Congress leadership, because it interprets the struggle as one for democracy and therefore a political struggle, designed to remove legal restrictions, recognises the foe as the present Nationalist government and accepts and treats everybody opposed to the Nationalist government whatever his motives and beliefs, as an ally. The congress leadership, therefore, if we are to judge by its actions and utterances, recognises the Nationalist government as the rightful government of the country whose policies, however, it is not in agreement with. The leadership, therefore, conceives of Congress as an opposition party, with an alternative policy to which the people of South Africa are to be persuaded to subscribe. The difference between the United Party and Congress (as conceived by the leadership) lies in the policies they advocate and in their composition. The United Party is an All-White party, standing for white leadership and supremacy while Congress, in so far as its policies, under the present leadership, are determined by all the Congress, is multi-racial and stands for a democratic franchise. But both the United Party and the Congress leadership accept the Nats as the rightful government of the country whose policies, however, are disastrous to the country. And both believe that the essential thing to do is to oust the Nats. Both believe that the way to do so is by appealing to the people of South Africa for support for their policies. That is why a certain "African leader" is an issue of "Liberation" could state that "we (i.e. Congress) should water down our demands in order that we should muster the broadest support against the Nats.

Congress, according to the present leadership, is a political party aspiring to Parliament though, as yet, having no representative in Parliament. (That is why it is so difficult to effect a boycott of the white Native representatives in Parliament, in spite of the unambiguous statement of the Nation-Building Programme of 1949.) (It is believed by our Leaders that the number of Whites subscribing to the Kliptown Charter will increase so that one day a White party committed to the Kliptown Charter will form the government and implement the hopes and wishes expressed in that document!)

But the AFRICANISTS who are committed to the overthrow of white domination, club together all who stand for the maintenance of the status quo and can find no common ground with the United & Labour Parties. The AFRICANISTS are aware, too, that when danger threatens the interests of the rules, they modify their policies in order to gain the support of the oppressed. That is what happened during the dark days of the last war. (But as soon as the danger is past, the rulers return to their old policies with more ruthlessness in order to crush any awakened hopes.) The Nationalist government has trodden on the corns of many groups and many people are prepared to go a very long way to get rid of this government. But that does not mean that they subscribe to a thoroughly democratic constitution. Many, in fact, hate the Nats because they are threatening the status quo. We are familiar with the diversionary role of the Liberals. And both Mrs. Bellinger's Liberal Party and Byleveld's C.O.D. fulfil that role.

Current Events

I do not intend to list the numerous oppressive laws manufactured by the Nats or revised by them. What is essential is to note their trend and the reaction of the people to them. The Bantu Education Act, the Native Laws Amendment Act, the Universities and Nurses Apartheid Bills, etc., have one thing in common. They are all part of a desperate attempt to delay the Nemesis of white domination. They all aim at creating a feeling of insecurity among the oppressed and thus making them a docile labour force which accepts resignedly its inferior status. In fact the aim is to work make the oppressed BELIEVE that they are incapable of equalling, let alone surpassing, the white man in any field. We must learn that we can't do without the white man. We must believe that modern 20th century technology, which is the distinctive feature of so-called western civilisation, is, like everything good in S.A., "For Europeans only - Slegs vir Blankes".

Take the Passes for women. As Bloom so ably illustrates in his book "Episode", when dealing with the "Permit", every African woman, in the eyes of the white conqueror, is a potential prostitute, an undesirable element - not a woman, mind your, or a mother. No. An element! That is why, therefore, there should be nothing wrong in subjecting her to indignity and humiliation. She is not a woman, just as her husband is not a man. If the dog, the man, carries a dog-collar in the form of a reference book, why not the bitch? Anthropologists all agree, that a culture progresses only through contact. Prof. Childe goes further and states that a culture cannot remain static. It either progresses or retrogresses. And lack of contact leads to retrogression. And Eiselen, the Anthropologist, produces Bantu Education and ethnic grouping and Tribal Colleges. -- TO STOP CONTACT on the side of the African, while maintaining it on the European side.

Reaction of the People.

But the people are not taking this lying down. The most important development in South Africa today, is the militant resistance of the women to the extension of Passes to them.

The opposition is sporadic but brave. It is a little disorganised but courageous. Women in the rural areas and in Nationalist strongholds have defied Verwoerd and his henchmen. We praise the women for their stand and Congress for organising that stand with her limited means. But there is a danger which we Africanists foresee. And it is that we come to regard our duty and role as opposing Verwoerd's laws. The Nets. are carrying out their programme and if we are going to do nothing but oppose, we will never get anywhere, for every year will bring forth, as every year has brought forth, new oppressive laws, on top of the ones we are opposing. Thus while we are fighting Bantu Education, Passes for Women come along. While we are organising against that Universities and Nurses Apartheid come along. Our sacred duty is to carry out OUR PROGRAMME, irrespective of what Verwoerd is doing. Let us take the offensive and pursue the Nation-Building Programme of 1949, relentlessly and honestly. And white domination will collapse. Whenever any item of that Programme has been implemented, no matter how emasculated, it has drawn overwhelming and enthusiastic support from the masses and has sent the conqueror shaking in his boots. I am thinking particularly of the Defiance Campaign, the One Day Stoppage of Work, the Economic and Bus Boycotts. If these had been honestly and relentlessly pursued in the spirit of true African Nationalism, we would be discussing PRODUCTION today and not oppression.

POLITICAL FAITH FOR AFRICAN FREEDOM

The salvation of the African people as a nation lies in the ideal of Africanism, a dynamic and most powerful philosophy with tremendous force for the overthrow of foreign domination in Africa. The late Lembede emerged with his thesis on Africanism. He gave us the direction as probably no other man could have done, and in doing so, saved us a nation. We must have faith and devotion to duty with courage and a determination to defend our cherished ideals that Africa is for the Africans, that the Cause of Africa must triumph, that we must remember Africa first, that African nationhood must be achieved irrespective of whatever odds are facing us, and that our right to determine the destiny of our Fatherland is an inherent one. The dawn of the day is must come when fascist foreign rule shall have collapsed into a rubble.

The Freedom Charter is a political bluff. It promises a little wonderful heaven if not Utopia around the corner. The question is: How to get there? The answer is: There must be immediate implementation of the Programme of Action of 1949 and the principles laid down therein, item by item, for the achievement of the aims of the envisaged little heaven or the very proposed Utopia round the corner. It is utterly useless to go around shouting empty slogans such as "The people shall govern", "The people shall share", without practical steps towards that government. We are merely being made tools and stooges of interested parties that are anxious to maintain the status quo.

Africa wills to be a nation, both for her own sake and that of humanity. Our Programme of African Nationalism must be implemented fully to the free and full development of our faculties and powers of our intellect and our aspirations. African National Congress has made a catastrophic blunder by accepting foreign leadership by the whites. How can we have leaders who are also led? If this white leadership is denied, why was one Joe Slovo of the Congress of Democrats allowed to become Chairman of the A.N.C. Commission of Enquiry in 1954, into disputes involving A.N.C. policies? He presided over this A.N.C. Commission as Chairman and passed sentences of expulsion against certain members of the A.N.C. including a member of the A.N.C. National Executive, from Congress.

What

What Constitutional powers did Mr. Slovo have in the A.N.C? He being a white man and a non-member of the A.N.C. why was he given such powers by Mandela's regime at the time? These are powers vested only in the constitutional authority of the National Conference of the A.N.C. Why did Luthuli fail to intervene in the matter? Is this not leadership by whites?

Afrika desires the progressive improvement of her sons and daughters. She reveres genius and virtue, not hypocrisy and brute force. She desires instructors not masters; the worship of truth and not falsehood and in order that a self-confident African people must exist it is necessary that they should, through action and self-sacrifice attain political consciousness and consciousness of their destiny. This must be achieved by the Africans for the Africans. It is possible that the battles of Blood River, Keiskamahock and Thaba-Bosiu will be fought again, this time under the banner of African Nationalism; here, history must be repeated, if our African revolutionary struggle must be victorious. In this struggle for African Freedom, there can be no compromise or apology, nor collaboration, nor servitude. Here, we fight it out and to the finish. We either go under or exist as a nation. We are convinced that the struggle is between the conquerors and the vanquished and there can be no compromise nor surrender on our part, nor can we agree to go 50's with the oppressor in Afrika.

It is time that we do not cringe on our knees before the enemies of African national independence, lest we be crushed by the weight of our own cowardice. There is no bravery possible for fearful people. We either perish or survive as an African nation. Our task can never be accomplished through insincerities to our principles nor by false doctrines of expediency; but only through persistent efforts; and self-sacrifice; by ceaseless preaching of our dynamic ideas of a new Afrika. We must destroy the so-called foreign experts in African Affairs in Afrika; the foreign rule; foreign traffickers, the place-hunters and the empty slogan-mongers from the East and West. We reject inexorably and outright the petty intruders, the would-be diplomats, West and Eastern functionaries who infiltrate into our ranks to whisper "friendliness" for the sake of white domination as preached by Strydom-DeVilliers Graaf axis and other non-African organisations.

We are putting forward to the African people with forcefulness and courage the postulates on African Nationalism, for the deliverance of our Fatherland from white fascism and win our independence from foreign rule. Together, let us seek the most active and effective method of struggle against the menace of foreign domination in Afrika. This is our urgent immediate task.

Afrika is our Fatherland by decree of Providence and Divine right. We rise to give a pledge that Afrika must be freed. Therefore, let us turn to the graves of our African martyrs, Moshoeshe, Sekukuni, Makana, Tshaka and Dingani and pray for inspiration from them and from those who died for us in the Cause.

In conclusion, we must honour the memory of African revolutionary martyrs who have fallen beneath foreign tyranny; honour the tears of African mothers for their sons in prisons, in slavery, dead and in exile. We can no longer bear evil, injustice, usurpation and foreign arbitrary rule. If we ever betray the whole or part of our principles of African Nationalism, the Gods will destroy us.

1 - A F R I K A

by Potlako K. Leballo

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESSPROGRAMME OF ACTION

Adopted at the Annual National Conference held at Bloemfontein in December 1949.

The fundamental principles of the Programme of Action of the African National Congress are inspired by the desire to achieve National Freedom. By National Freedom we mean freedom from white domination, and the attainment of political independence. This implies the rejection of the conception of segregation, apartheid, trusteeship or white leadership which are all in one way or another motivated by the idea of white domination or domination of the Whites over the Blacks. Like all peoples, the African people claim the right of self-determination.

With this object in view, and in the light of these principles, we claim and shall continue to fight for the political rights tabulated on page 8 of our BILL OF RIGHTS, such as :-

1. The right of direct representation in all the governing bodies of the country - national, provincial, and local - and we resolve to work for the abolition of all differential institutions or bodies specially created for the Africans, viz. Local or District Councils, Advisory Boards, Native Representative Councils, present form of parliamentary representation.
2. To achieve these objectives, the following programme of action is suggested :-
 - (a) The creation of a National Fund to finance the struggle for National Liberation.
 - (b) The appointment of a committee to organise an appeal for funds, and to devise ways and means therefor.
 - (c) The regular issue of propaganda material through:
 - (i) The usual press, newsletter or other means of dissemination of ideas in order to raise the standard of political and national consciousness.
 - (ii) The establishment of a National Press.
3. The appointment of a National Council of Action whose functions should be to carry into effect, vigourously and with the utmost determination the Programme of Action. It shall be competent for the Council of Action to implement our resolves to work for :-
 1. The abolition of all differential political institutions, the boycotting of which we accept, and to undertake a campaign to educate our people on this issue, and in addition to employ the following weapons, immediate and active boycott, strike, civil disobedience, non-cooperation and such other means as may bring about the accomplishment and realisation of our aspirations.
 2. Preparations and making of plans for a national stoppage of work for one day as a mark of protest against the reactionary policy of the Government.
4. ECONOMIC.
 - (a) The establishment of commercial, industrial, transport and other enterprises in both urban and rural areas.
 - (b)

- (b) Consolidation of the industrial organisations of the workers for their improvement of their standards of living.
- (c) Pursuant to paragraph (a) herein, instructions be issued to Provincial Congresses to study the Economy and Social Conditions in the Reserves and other African settlements, and to devise ways and means for development and establishment of industries and such other enterprises as may give employment to a number of people.

5. EDUCATION

It be an instruction to the African National Congress to devise ways and means for:-

- (a) Raising the standard of the African in the Commercial Industrial and other enterprises, and workers in their workers' organisations by means of providing a common educational forum wherein intellectuals, peasants and workers participate for their common good.
- (b) Establishment of National Centres of Education for the purpose of training and educating African Youth and the provision of large scale scholarships tenable in various overseas universities.

6. CULTURAL

- (a) To unite the cultural with the education and National struggle.
- (b) The establishment of a National Academy of Arts.

7. Congress realises that ultimately the people will be brought together by inspired leadership, under the banner of African Nationalism with courage and determination.

(Signed) W.M. Sisulu
Secretary-General
African National Congress

Magasa Hall
Bloemfontein
December 17th 1949.

S T O P P R R E S S

To Mr. and Mrs. Potlako Leballo a son. Both mother and son doing well.

Staunch Africanists Make and Ngcobo were among those who seem to have beaten the treason rap. Their names appear among those against whom charges of treason have been dropped. To them we say: "THE STRUGGLE GOES ON" "

TO EACH AND ALL WE EXTEND BEST WISHES FOR THE NEW YEAR. MAY IT BE A YEAR OF VICTORY FOR THE UNDERDOG AND THE YEAR OF UNIVERSAL RECOGNITION OF THE INHERENT DIGNITY OF MAN.

HA E KHUTLE!!!

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