

**B18**



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Azarian People's Organization

**THE PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT**



**ON THE MARCH**  
facing the challenges

**4th CONGRESS 1984**



'REACHING THE PEOPLE'

P C JONES

A. INTRODUCTION

Since its inception the Black Consciousness movement had been at the receiving end of scepticism and criticism from within some quarters of the liberation movement. Labels such as 'racists', 'racist reactions', reactionary tendency, etc, were freely and enthusiastically attached to the movement. Some of these negative reactions were the result of some very sterile and passive ideological positions of intellectuals, some of whom still today occupy an ineffective national political position, and there were also reactions from those who suffered from 'professional jealousies'. But the most emotional response to Black Consciousness came from those who, because of their explicit exclusions, were directly affected i.e. white liberals and the white left.

The various tags attached to Black Consciousness are certainly not of major concern to us, because looking at the extent to which our philosophies and policies have been misrepresented over the years, the only conclusion we can come to is that the motives of these various onlookers are both dishonest and mischievous.

This Congress is historic in one sense that it is being observed by many, for political guidance. During this time of intense political debate and at times political actions and also whilst we observe once again, the epileptic rearing of the ugly head of white liberalism and white participation in popular struggles, the political options open to organisations of the oppressed people are limited to a choice between support for a workers united front and a popular front. I will in due course attempt to distinguish these two fronts. I suppose, in popular language, one could also refer to this as a choice between exclusivism and multi-racialism.



Because of what I have just said above, I think we may have to, on compassionate grounds, once again reiterate and explain, maybe for the last time, that the specific exclusions of whites is based on political strategy, not on colour, 'racial' grounds or any other factor.

Some people view and analyse Black Consciousness as if it just fell from the sky, a system of ideas that have just emerged from nowhere into the heads of Black students in the late 1960's and early 1970's, and that there were no material conditions which gave birth to this consciousness and that therefore it can now be simply shelved without regard to whether the historical-material conditions that spawned it still exist. This view is reactionary, because having identified a prevalent consciousness as a mere set of phrases or ideas it now places another set of phrases or ideas in opposition to it.

It is our view, to put it mildly, that Black Consciousness is the product of objective, accurate historical conditions in SA. Its form and content, ideologically and organisationally are, as it should be, determined by the historical social reality of oppression and exploitation in SA.

Black Consciousness definitely does not identify capitalism (class exploitation) as a separate dimension of our struggle distinct from Black oppression. Apartheid (racist oppression) and the many names and forms it had acquired over the years, had always been, from the time of conquest till today, and will always be, until liberation, an inseparable element of capitalist exploitation in SA. Racism is the soul force of capitalism. The one cannot survive without the other. The economic structures of SA cannot survive without the elaborate political administrative structures, to keep blacks in a subject position.



The struggle against capitalism and imperialism must simultaneously be a struggle against racism and discrimination of every other form. Black Consciousness is the only movement that has successfully fused the national and the social question.

The position of the movement on the dialectic between race and class is contained in the AZAPO Conference Papers of April 1981. In its hunt for superprofits imperialism dispossessed the aborigines as a people. The consequence, all over the third world, was to put black against white. Dispossession led to super-exploitation of black people, they became the underdogs, and for the colonial world 'race' determined class. In Azania British imperialism roped in the defeated White Afrikaner into the ruling class family and this partnership was sealed by the 1910 Act.

Settler-colonialism further extended the political consolidation to include Indians and what was hitherto a struggle between imperialism and the aborigines was formally extended to a struggle between settler-colonialism and black people. We therefore find that the settler-colonialists objectively behave as a bourgeoisie in relation to blacks who objectively behave as a revolutionary working class.

It is as a result hereof that it is difficult, if not just a futile intellectual debate, to attempt to classify blacks clinically into distinct economically defined groups or classes. The black students, women and petty-bourgeoisie in the town and rural areas, are inseparably connected with, and have the experiences of the black working class. The black student discovers, that because he emanates from a working class family and shares the experiences of working class conditions, he is 'black, before he is a student.'



This determines his social perspectives and values. Similarly even the richest and poised black cannot escape a system that regards him first as black before having regard to his privileged position.

B. LIBERALISM AND WHITE PARTICIPATION

When we refer to white participations, we are certainly not, because of its impossibility, referring to whites as group. We are referring to a handful of liberal and leftist elements. Seen politically, these are irreconcilable differences in the ideological positions of these elements and black consciousness.

Black Consciousness states unequivocally that the primary issue in Azania is the reconquest of the land and its restoration to its rightful owners, the Nguni,\* I have already shown how the Indian nationality had been placed in the same political category as those other groups. Thus, the driving force of the Azanian revolution is black nationalism, born of land dispossession. White liberals and others have never accepted, in fact they have rejected that the issue is self-determinative. The white liberal wishes for a multi-racial partnership whilst the white 'left' wishes for a colour-blind, class conscious black working class.

Over and above this, whites, with their natural European racist chauvionism observed by Lenin, cannot, even if they want to escape the racist structures of this society. They have to attend elitist schools that groom them for positions of dominance, who have at their disposal all the material resources, benefits and wealth that their privileged position in society bestows upon them.

An elementary understanding of the history of NUSAS, for example, shows that its political functions had always and consistently been, to provide a recruiting ground for capitalist business, social and political leaders, and its members work and oil the Apartheid War Machine (it is also very popular for training top-class security-policemen).

\*Sotho and so-called coloured nationalities.



It has only vacillated to the extent of its tactics viz. the growth of the liberation movement. It now attempts to merge the interests of ruling class students, with those of the oppressed and exploited. Its current flirting with black student organisations and others of the oppressed represents schizophrenia in political practice by facing both ways at the same time.

At this stage I think it is important for me to state that although AZAPO has clarified its own position on whites, and that it takes full responsibility for this position, for the purpose of co-operation with other organisations, it will co-operate with any organisation of the oppressed who have not as yet taken a clear policy stand on this question.

C. WORKERS UNITED FRONT/POPULAR FRONT

AZAPO states very clearly that black solidarity is an imperative element in its strategy and it is therefore committed to develop an even greater unity of the oppressed and exploited people than that which is represented by the National Forum in its present form.

During this time of offensive by the state and imperialism we must try to involve all the organisations claiming to be part of the workers movement, including the most moderate, and those with the most opportunistic and revisionist leadership. This unity must be effected at national, regional and local leadership level. The only condition is that we reject any alliances between the liberal bourgeoisie and the workers movement i.e. only organisations of the oppressed and exploited can be included.

The fundamental distinction of this united front is that, through its class against class logic, 'it unleashes a dynamic which develops and sharpens the struggle of the workers against the bourgeoisie'. This united front against the capitalist offensive contains no pre-conditions about the defence of bourgeois order and capitalistic property (no matter how much the reformist leaders are attached to this defence).



AZAPO will therefore be obliged to spell out a clear policy/ guidelines on the questions of unity/alliances in order to guide our units and affiliates and also in order to enable other organisations to be clarified.

On the other hand, the Popular Front, through its collaborationist logic, 'it unleashes a dynamic which holds back the workers struggles and even represses the most radicalised layers of the workers'. It is explicitly based on the respect of bourgeois order and property and its whole logic tends to deflect, contain or break mass struggles.

On principled grounds therefore we must fight any political pact with bourgeois groups, even 'left wing' ones, which would challenge the political class-independence of black workers.

D. COLLABORATION

If we look at the history of liberation and resistance of countries all over the world, we will see that the development of the resistance movements is rooted in the history of oppression and exploitation characteristic of a particular region or country. Lybon Mabasa at the First National Forum said 'We believe that any ideology which will be acceptable to the masses has to be an ideology which emerges from the people as a result of their aggregate experience in concrete economic, political, cultural, and socio-psychological terms. It should originate and find its inspiration from concrete contradictions within our country'.

An example in point is the question of land. Black workers do <sup>not</sup> only see themselves as an exploited class, as non-owners of capital (means of production). They also, quite rightly, see themselves as a people, as temporary dispossessed owners of land. In reality the the question of land is a burning issue in the hearts and souls of Africans,



Great songs and poetry are sung in praise of those who defended the land against settler conquest, and envisioning a future where the land will once again be reconquered. This means that any liberation organisation that does not clearly address itself to the question of land and that the primary issue in Azania is the reconquest of land, is guaranteed a place in political limbo.

Similarly the principle of non-collaboration cannot just be regarded, in a sterile manner, as a healthy political strategy. Fanon says that 'the masses resist and fight in a thousand ways' which reflects the 'anonymous and innumerable ways in which the people seek to harass and liquidate the oppressor and refuse to collaborate with him'. From the earliest times of resistance in Azania, non-collaboration had been an ingrained instinct in black people. The chief who co-operated too much with the settlers was immediately regarded with hostility. In everyday life, if you are seen to be too friendly with the white foreman at the factory, people call you names. Or if the nice white priest visit your house too regularly, you are regarded in the same manner. On a political level we find that black people are instinctively hostile to any solution emanating from the rulers, and those who collaborate with the rulers, at any level, yet seen to be sell-outs, traitors, etc. It is because of this historical reality that people in Transkei, with the introduction of Native Education, and without a clear direction from the organisations then, decided to burn down community schools other than submit to the evil intent of the oppressor.

It is our function as progressives to further develop the policy of non-collaboration and in practical ways guide our people and ensure that our liberation movement remains independent.

I have also said in another part of this paper that it is intellectual futility to apply prue economic criteria to identify particular groups in the black community.



Who is the black middle class, where does one see them, what is meant when we use the term? Are we referring to a class of persons who has hostile potential or are we merely referring to a group of people who occupy a more privileged position. If we are seeking to identify hostile elements within the ranks of the oppressed, we have to move away from using terms which we have not examined thoroughly.

I believe that we should rather identify co-optable elements within black society and examine ways and means of neutralising these.

One of these co-optables is the collaborationist, whom we have already catered for. Another is the liberal in the black community who because of his economic position and political confusion, could become a potential co-optable. I do not wish at this stage to make any suggestions beyond saying that my concern emanates from an appreciation that our struggle has become internationalised and will become more so in future. In such a situation superpowers are looking for allies and looking only at the role of imperialism in Africa, their sympathy originates from a desire to serve their own national interests. We must at all costs ensure that our liberation movement is and remains independent and indigenous.

E.

#### DEMOCRATIZATION

This section I regard as one of the most important in this paper. One of the main aspects of mobilization of our people is the raising of their level of consciousness through the growth of their confidence in themselves. The question of strategy and tactics can only be liberatory if it liberates people - this may sound strange, but this simple truth is profound. We cannot have something against the wishes of the people, we can only have it if the people want it and bring it about. One writer states that 'Democratic assemblies and every similar mechanism in other forms of mass action, play a vital role in developing the self-organisation of the mass. In learning to conduct their own struggles, they learn to run the state and economy of tomorrow. This places the emphasis of struggle on people inside the country.'



We are not spectators, cheering on the team.

Our whole situation is undemocratic. The system encourages undemocratic behaviour all the time, this is the poison of our society - transfer that poison to our organisation and we stimulate undemocratic traditions.

We must not underestimate our people. No small group can bring about liberation on its own. Experiences must be shared and taken to the people. By encouraging democratisation we will prohibit opportunistic manipulation of our people. Through this affirmation of workers democracy, the democratic forms of organisations of workers struggles also proclaim a characteristic of tomorrow's state - the extension and not the restriction of democratic freedoms.

A M A N D L A   N G A W E T H U

O N E   P E O P L E   -   O N E   A Z A N I A



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## THE LAW AND THE STRUGGLE: NAKEDI MATHEWS PHOSA

I am gratified to take this opportunity to address you on the topic you have assigned me. I am conscious of the fact that you are true comrades whose principles and practices apro the struggle for the total liberation of the Black masses in this country have always been and are still unadulterated, uprostituted and uncontaminated by the romantic sentiments of the liberals in this country. Notwithstanding any other misguided noises from other quarters I humbly believe that and I have easily reconciled myself with the notion that AZAPO shall succeed in making a significant contribution towards delivering the goods of liberation to all the Black oppressed masses in this country. It is with this belief that I find myself addressing you today.

If I should sound harsh; it is because I am in the process of revolting against the system of the oppression of one man by another maintaining in this country, if I sound reckless, it is because I believe the oppressors must be fought pound for pound, if I happen to sound too optimistic; it is because I believe victory over the system of apartheid is within reach for the Black masses in this our country. I come to you in the simple belief that the struggle belongs to the oppressed and discriminated people in this country, I descend on you with the full conviction that this country belongs to us and that we therefore qualify to fight for it without having to invite mercenaries in our midst.

The laws of a country inevitably reflect and manifest the values, norms, customs, practices and policies of the Government of the day at a social, political, economic and industrial levels. The government of the day tend not to hesitate to make laws and make use of those laws to its advantage. The ruling party irrespect of whether or not it represents a minority

inevitable/....



inevitably ensures that its position of power is neither threatened nor eroded by the laws it makes. On the contrary the ruling party turns to the law to protect the power in its hand and to promote and foster the status quo as it will like to have it. Oliver Wandell Holmes puts it as follows:-

"The life of the law has not been logic: it has been experience. The felt necessities of the time, the prevalent moral and political theories, intuitions of the public policy avowed or unconscious, even the prejudices which judges share with their fellow-men, have had a good deal more to do than syllogism in determining the rules by which men should be governed".

In a situation such as exist in South Africa the law is therefore proving to be a very dangerous tool in the hands of the oppressive minority regime in Pretoria. Pretoria has made sure year in year out that the laws of this country are apartheid-orientated. Parliament is being used as a forum to express and legislate the most vicious pieces of legislation always seething with the rotten aura of apartheid. Racial prejudice, hatred for the Black man is smuggled into legislation every now and then. Laws are being used to suppress even the most basic human rights of the Black man. The law is being used to oppress us and to frustrate our political aspirations.

Comrades, permit me to set forth and point out the various legal cornerstones which will explain the points I intend to make.

#### 1. THE LAND QUESTION

We have been told that the first oppressor only set foot on our land during 1652. We have also been told that some of those first few whites to set foot on our land were suffering from scavy-an indication of the fact that those guys did not have fresh food and water for sometimes. None of the settlers brought land, trees or cattle with them. They found us here in our land and our folks allowed them to settle here. Having realised how beautiful our land



was, they started a process of dispossession and colonization. The next thing that happened is that they have passed a law, allocating to themselves, few as they are, almost 87% of our land. Think about it - 24 million people are now being squeezed into 13% of the land while only 4 million people are having and doing as they wish with our land. We have been dispossessed of our land and the struggle to remove our people from the so-called "Blackspots" is continueing unabated. Bulldozers are on the rampage - all in the name of the law. It has become lawful to move people from any point affected whether such people like the idea or not. There is little comfort which the people who are to be moved can get from the Courts of law. The only alternative is to resist to the finish and let hell be hell. The land belongs to us and we have every reason to encourage our people under threats of removal to resist and refuse to be treated like chattels. Our dedication for the fight for the return of our land is an honourable one and we must never engage reverse-gear, for the demand for the return of our land is non-negotiable.

## 2. SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT

Common sense and the basic dictates of Black unity demand that the policy of separate development be rejected and frustrated at every turn. This policy of separate development has been legislated as evidenced by the so-called Homeland Constitution Act and other allied statutes. It is law at its best in the process of dividing the nation along ethnic or tribal lines. Separate development thrives and survives on Black ethnicism, tribalism and engenders Black disunity. If we reject separate development we make a success in rejecting the Homeland Constitution Act and a success in the struggle to unite the nation and facilitate the prosecution of our struggle for liberation.

## 3. INFLUX CONTROL

In a naked attempt to immobilise the Black worker and in an attempt to instill in the Blackworker a feeling of temporariness within the

so-called/.....



so-called urban areas and further in an attempt to armtwist the Blackworker to accept that his home is in one of the so-called homelands, the Influx Control laws and regulations were legislated. The pervasive spirit of these labour laws is the total strategy to force the Black worker to accept the false notion that the cities and towns belong to "umlungu". A necessary implication of those laws is to promote the policy of separate development and counter the great struggle for the return of our land and for our total liberation.

What has been said about the Influx Control laws and regulations can also be said about the notorious Koornhof Bills. Much has been said and written about the said Koornhof Bills. Suffice it to make a call to the workers to unite behind the call for the opposition against all the Koornhof Bills. Those Bills should be seen as a strategy by the government to further entrench its policy of apartheid in labour laws. Koornhof's Bills should be consigned to oblivion for they only serve to add salt to the already injured Black worker. Let there be no mistake, no misunderstanding or miscalculation; anybody who does not oppose the Koornhof Bills supports the promotion of apartheid and is therefore reactionary and a puppet of the proponents of our oppressors. The Koornhof Bills are immoral pieces of legislation militated by a warped power of suggestion.

### EDUCATION

Education is being used from the lowest to the highest level as an instrument of intellectual depravation and oppression. It is being utilised to suppress and cripple our intellects and in that process the Black child's potential is being systematically stifled. It was not suprising that the year 1976 witnessed us in the frontlines of the battlefields when we took to the streets to demonstrate our historic dissatisfaction and rejection of the existing educational system. There is no doubt that the educational pill remains as bitter as ever. It is not so much the name-tag put on the education for the



Blacks which is objectionable but it is chiefly and fundamentally the contents and quality of that educational system . A country which legislates one system of education for the whites and a different one for the Blacks must surely have serious poisonous motives for separating in that fashion. There is no sign that the powers that be have learnt the lessons of 1976 and if things go on as they do, the events of 1976 might look like a kindergarten-prayer-meeting in the not too distant future.

The struggle to win the hearts and minds of the Black students shall not be won by those who enter university campuses armed with rifles, kirries and pangas to murder our brothers and sisters. On the contrary history shall judge very rudely those who embark on the dangerous strategy of trying to play cheap strongman at schools and universities. The murderers who relished to commit murder at the universities during the year 1983 shall one day have to face the People's Court where they shall stand accused of crimes against the people. Let us resolve never to forget those who paid the ultimate prize in the hands of murderers arraigned against the innocent comrades who were in the process of having a bath or picking up the crumbs of education from the master's tables of education. No amount of political posturing or self-justification will ever exculpate those responsible for the atrocities at schools and universities during 1983 and before. Students should never pander to those criminals but should resist any attempt intended to intimidate them into unacceptable submissions and political disorientations. Let us not lose sight of the fact that police are said to have folded their arms suppressing their glee when our comrades were being murdered at the university of Ngoye - where was the law? Where was order? The Law paved way to disorder and indeed the law applauded disorder characterised by gruesome assaults and murder. I repeat, where was the law? And I add, who has thus far been prosecuted?.

#### THE SO-CALLED NEW DISPENSATION

Our eardrums have during the past year and half or so been subjected to a continueing noise about what has been called " a new dispensation" for South Africa. There has been more than too much talk about change.



During the previous AZAPO Congress, Comrade Don Nkademeng quite rightly arrived at the conclusion that the so-called new constitution was irrelevant to us as the oppressed Black people, I concur with my said comrade's submission and conclusions, but today I wish to tackle this new dispensation even further for there are compelling national reasons for doing so.

The so-called new dispensation is two-pronged. On the one hand the white minority in our country set forth to draw a constitution for the entire nation in this country. Representatives of only 4 million white people decided to draw a constitution for close to 25 million people in this country without the latter 25 million people being party to that constitution to which they are expected to pay and maintain allegiance. On the other hand the very same white minority contrived what has become known as the Black Local Authorities Act to try and resuscitate the ill-fated and still-born community councils in the so-called Black urban areas.

A constitution is supposed to represent and clearly reflect the Will of the majority of the people. A constitution if it hopes to qualify as such should manifest the aspirations of the majority of a people in a given set up. The so-called new constitution is both mischievous fraudulent and dangerous for the following reasons:-

- (i) it was drafted by representatives of less than a quarter of the citizens of the country.
- (ii) it represents the Will and aspirations of less than a quarter of the citizens of this country .
- (iii) it represents the second step towards dividing the Black people by endeavouring to create the false impression that the so-called coloureds and the so-called Indians are willing to join the white laager and gang with the whites against the remaining part of the Black people.

(iv) /....



- (iv) it entrenches raw apartheid even further under the transparent-dress of change.
- (v) it entrenches white people's domination of power under the false pretence of sharing power.
- (vi) it creates a solid white laager to protect the white man's position of privilege there and thereby denying change of apartheid at all levels be they social, economic or political.
- (vii) it represents a ghastly instrument of oppression and a fountain of apartheid at its best.

There is therefore no reason whatsoever why the new constitution can just be ignored. The whites have under the new constitution started recruiting their gullible cohorts in the likes of the Hendrikse and Rajbansis to prosecute their struggle toward the division of the Black nation in this country. Those puppets have agreed to tango along with the apartheid-orientated new constitution. The purpose of this tactic of co-opting participants in the constitutional circus is to deal a blow to Black unity and to weaken the forces fighting for the total liberation of the nation from the policy and system of apartheid. Let us be mindful of the fact that the masters and theoreticians both political and military see apartheid as being in a besieged house. That is why they now talk of the "total strategy against a total onslaught". The new constitution should be seen and understood within the context of that "total strategy against a total onslaught". The total strategy is a strategy against our achievement of our political aspirations and the total onslaught is aimed at Black unity and therefore the new constitution is a dangerous weapon against us as the Black people. It is the second leg at dividing the Black nation and trying to confuse us. The first step came up with the Homeland Constitution and its allied statutes, the second step as I have indicated is the very so-called new constitution, the third step is the Black Local Authorities Act, which I will deal with just now hereunder.



A stage has therefore been set under the new constitution for the Hendrikse and the Rajbansis to implement the Group Areas Act, the Pass Laws, Influx Control laws and to ensure that the policy of forced removals of our people is implemented. A stage is set for those puppets to further sink and drown in the apartheid swimming-pools under the false pretence of change. We wish them well with a clear warning that they shall not too long reap what they have sown; for the Black people shall never ever accept let alone tolerate divisionists, opportunists and collaborators in our great march towards the bringing of apartheid to its knees. I do not for one moment wish to suggest that the Hendrikse have any grassroots support for their sellout postures but I urge you to be vigilant and to ensure that these people do not snatch an undeserved opportunity to mislead and confuse the Black masses on this so-called new dispensation. It is our task to make every effort to reach out to the Black masses and tell them the truth and campaign for the highest degree of isolating all the collaborators and political fifth columnists hobnobbing with the so-called new dispensation.

My dear comrades, I wish to be taken seriously when I say that the Black Local Authorities Act is wholly the same as the Community Councils Act which fizzled with time. The same reasons for rejecting the Community Councils exist for us now to reject the Black Local Authorities Act. The latter Act envisages the creation of what it calls the town councils, village councils and local committees. The powers of the town-councils and the village councils are basically the same as those of the disgraced and now-defunct Community Councils. The local committee is an advisory body and cannot co-exist with the village council. A carrot that is being dangled to the politically naive Tshabalalas is the clause that states that a town council can be graduated into a city council. Think about it -e.g. Johannesburg with two racially orientated city councils - one in Soweto the other in the city of gold. This is what makes Thebehali morose that he lost out and that is what makes Tshabalala excited that he went in. Further, these local authorities and committees, are directly "subject to the control and directions" of what is called the Director of Local Government who in his turn is responsible to the Director General of the Department of Koornhof. I therefore have no difficulties in telling you that the Black Local Authorities Act creates sufficient toy administrations for Koornhof to play around with.



The Black Local Authorities Act have the spirit and soul of the institutions created under the Homeland Act and the latter's allied statutes. The local authorities and committees are therefore irrelevant and constitute a far cry from what the Black struggle is all about. It is strange that Koornhof dares to think that these creatures of his Act are geared to satisfy our political aspirations. There could be no further insult to the Black man than what Koornhof wishes about his invention. The system of apartheid is alive and well in the Black Local Authorities Act. It is therefore right and correct for us to reject these toy administrations for their irrelevancy. Every effort should be made to discredit the already discredited Tshabalalas and their allies in betrayal and sellout gimmicks.

What should console us maybe is the fact that all the people participating in the so-called new dispensation in all its forms are the very people whose hallmark and history has been that of indulging in the petty politics of betrayal. Those people are not new on the galleries of playing to "his master's voice" and tune.

Let us resolve not to be detracted from what we are fighting for. The pattern of our struggle is weaved and knitted along different a direction than that suggested by the so-called new dispensation.

Whereas there is still a little flicker of belief in some of us in the strategy of non-violence I think that strategy is about to outlive its usefulness. Black people, as the oppressed and the discriminated against by law, our patience have actually run out and the white minority in this country should all pause to take notice of those fuses which are burning shorter and shorter by the day. If that is not done the whites should not in the future turn around and say that they have not been forewarned. There is absolutely no way in which the Black masses are just going to fold their arms and just let go. Never-never. A definite point of extremely serious conflict is fast approaching and if the white minority pursue their present oppressive system, then I am afraid a violent conflagration shall be inevitable. I want you to recognise the painful reality that the laws made by our oppressors can never serve our struggle for liberation, on the contrary those laws serve to frustrate and avert our final and total victory over the policy of apartheid.



Finally I wish to point out that there is no need for us as the oppressed people to indulge in the time-wasting liberal cry for our country, we should rather fight for our country, for, it is only if we fight for our country that victory shall be certain.

Victory is imminent. The enemy is committing one error after another. Victory is certain. Let us prosecute the struggle to finality.

Amandla!



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