

ISIZWE, January, 1956.

THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS.

True to form the press, who are the makers of Public opinion according to command, are blaming the present crisis on the Soviet Union. A change in Soviet Policy is supposed to be responsible for the sale of Arms by Czechoslovakia to Egypt. There are those who are shocked that the Soviet Union should be willing to pursue its ends by methods of power "Politics." A few minutes reflection should serve to understand that the crisis is not due to U.S.S.R. wickedness or aggressive diplomacy.

Since the end of World War II the Western countries have made no secret of the fact that they would run the affairs of the Middle East region. With the temporary exception of Israel during the War 1948, all the Middle eastern states have remained strictly within the orbit of the three big Western powers; and the Western imperialist powers, in turn, have taken for granted that they enjoy the unchallengable right to provide all those countries with arms and in the final analysis to settle any disputes among them. This was expressed in the declaration by the Governments of the United Kingdom, France and the U.S.A. (released to the press 25th May, 1956).

This well known tripartite declaration of 1950 not only made the Middle East forbidden territory to the U.S.S.R. but it was to be organised as an integral part of an anti-Soviet coalition.

Egypt, having had enough of imperialist rule, did not particularly like it, as they showed by refusing to join the abortive Middle East Command which was supposed to integrate the region militarily with NATO anti-Soviet block. The failure of the Middle East Command project should have been a warning to the imperialist powers that their hold on the region was shaky. A less crafty and more intelligent Mr. Dulles would have realised that historic developments of nations are facts which cannot be by passed. But he immediately proceeded, after the failure of the Middle East Command, with the formation of the so called "Northern level" system of Alliances, involving Pakistan, Iran, Iraq and Turkey. The purpose was twofold; to isolate and bring pressure on Egypt, and to provide military bases on the southern periphery of the Soviet Union.

The Egyptian reaction did not come at once. First, the British had to be pushed out of Suez, and the support of the major anti colonial and neutralist powers had to be assured, which took place at the Bandung Conference between the peoples of Africa and Asia last April - a conference which in addition, gave an enormous impetus to the colonial and oppressed peoples of the earth to become at long last the masters of their own fate.

When Colonel Nasser informed the Western states, as long ago as last June, that he was negotiating with the Czechs, they treated it as a piece of blackmail by Nasser. They apparently counted on the fear of Communism in Egyptian ruling circles. This was the background to the Arms agreement between Egypt and the Czechs. The deal was consummated not because of Soviet-Czech, willingness to sell- which always

existed.....

existed - but because the Egyptians finally felt politically strong enough to declare before the world their independence of Imperialist tutelage.

This arms deal was the most effective way of exploding all the anti-Soviet military alliances and pacts in the Middle East. Very important gains for the U.S.S.R. But they are not attributable to the cleverness or aggressiveness or wickedness about Soviet diplomacy; they are attributable to the corrosion and disintegration of the whole structure of Imperialist rule over the underdeveloped regions of the Earth.

### ISRAEL.

Israelis seek the protection of the Western Powers, chiefly the U.S.A., and thus to get themselves even more deeply committed to the imperialist camp. Sober reflection will show that it is not a promising way to advance the real interest of Israel. In power politics the imperialist powers will not further the interest and security of Israel; on the contrary they will regard Israel as expendable in their struggle for their position in the Middle East. Under the circumstances, for Israel to remain a satellite of the Imperialist powers is to invite disaster. And it follows from this that to the extent that the Israelis are committed to the U.S.A. side, it is in their interest to extricate themselves from this commitment as expeditiously as possible.

The whole problem is enormously complicated by Israel being influenced politically by wealthy individuals within the imperialist countries. If Israel is to survive it must really become independent of all outside forces. The country's only real hope for the future lies in a general relaxation of international tensions and the conclusion of an East-West agreement and guaranteeing the peace and security of the Middle East.

The Middle East crisis may foreshadow a new Epoch for peace and security in the Middle East if it should be recognised by everyone concerned of the Soviet Union right to participate in the affairs of the area on equal terms with the Western powers, where aggressive alliances could not be the aim.

Sooner or later, the Israelis and their backers abroad are going to have to face this fact; it is in their interest to do so now. As the Yugoslavs, Indians, Burmese and others in many countries are discovering, you are treated with more respect by both sides in the present struggle if you stand up for your own interest and refuse to become a tool for Imperialist domination. By following in the footsteps of those who have already taken this road, the Israelis can avoid isolation and can acquire strong support for their perfectly legitimate demand for a peace treaty with the Arab states - a demand which, in substance means the acknowledgment by Israel's neighbours of the right of the nation to exist.

In the meantime, it goes without saying that in order to secure the arms necessary for self defence, the Israelis should stop begging in Washington on bended knees and should buy arms where they can be had on a straight commercial basis with no questions asked and no strings attached. The Soviet

blocc sells on that basis because it is in it's interest to do so. Egypt has taken advantage of the fact to Israel's detriment. Israel should do likewise to redress the balance.

The Soviet bloc has made it clear that from their point of view arms are only an opening gambit. They have already offered to help the Egyptians to construct the Aswan Dam, and no doubt they will follow up with further offers of industrial products; in exchange they will not take crippling military facts and unequal economic treaties, such as the imperialist powers demand for their "assistance", but cotton and rice which are Egypt's urceable economic surplus.

The Middle East crisis may open up a new epoch in the history of the human race. If so, it will be an epoch full of hope and promise for the masses in the backward countries and for all who realise on whose side history is.

oooooooooOooooooooo

#### RANDOM THOUGHTS ON THE "BANTU WORLD" FURORE .

We are not prepared to join in the war of words now raging over the decision of the A.N.C. national conference to exclude the reporter of the "Bantu World" . Having read the "Bantu World" with almost religious zeal for over seven years we are satisfied that the decision was correct . The issues of the "Bantu World" subsequent to the National Conference made it even more correct and there the matter ends as far as we are concerned .

But there are one or two interesting points to which notice should be drawn . Firstly there is the use by the reactionary press of a fairly well known device of so-called liberal democracy . This is the device whereby democracy is split up into fragments of rights . This device enables the ruling class to oppress the African people in all spheres of life but still enables them to turn round periodically to accuse their victims of assailing "the right of free speech" or the "Right of freedom of the Press" or some other fragment of democracy . These abstract rights cannot be assailed by the Africans for the simple reason that they do not exist at all . What we are trying to do is to restore them and in doing so we must assail the ruling class and its agencies and remove their "freedom to oppress and crush us" .

Then there is the intriguing article by Cyril Dunn , the reporter of "The Observer" which was published in the "Golden City Post" . In this article he makes the admission that he walked out of the A.N.C. national conference in portest Only to find himself in the company of the Nationalist Party reporters , the police etc. That is the dilemma in which he found himself . This dilemma is international in scope for all the reactionaries . This dilemma haunts the policy-makers of the so-called "Free World" when they are compelled in the interests of the exploiters to support the Apartheid regimes of Strydom and erwoerd; the discredited regimes on Taiwan led by the Chiang-Kai-Shek gangster clique ; the tottering puppet regimes of Ngo Din Diem and Sygman Rhee. These governments are supported in the name of "democracy", "Freedom of the Press" etc. whilst all genuine liberation movements in Malaya, Korea, Kenya and elsewhere are characterised as "Agitators" , "Terrorists" , "bandits" and other such complimentary epithets .

For goodness sake ! let us not be diverted from our work by the ballyhoo over the "Bantu World" . The A.N.C. conferences are still the only place we Africans can really call "Home". We can offer our hospitality to whomsoever we please ! Or refuse it !

AFRICAN WOMEN - A NEW POLITICAL FORCE .

"And the People Shall Govern" roared Lilian Ngoyi at the recent mammoth meetings in Port Elizabeth called to register the protests of our women against the governments intention to saddle them with passes.

As I looked round at the faces of thousands of men and women who had gathered to hear this people's leader, with their entire being concentrated on the speaker it dawned on me that the African women had, within a short space of time emerged as a powerful force in our political life. The days of individual African women, who conquered all the handicaps that society imposes on them, had passed. The age of the African women as an independent collective power had arrived and with it had come a women's leadership drawn almost exclusively from the working-class. This is a happy augury for the future.

And the women had brought with them a freshness of outlook and a directness that contrasted sharply with the tradition-bound sophisticated politicking of the men. Both at their national conference in Bloemfontein and in Port Elizabeth I saw the women at work. On both occasions they completed their business with despatch, were direct and to the point and had both feet firmly on the ground, facing the problems at issue squarely without flinching. How I long for such an atmosphere at conferences in which men are in charge.!

At all events it is quite clear that whatever is the fate of the two issues for which the women appear to give the only concrete leadership - the Bantu Education Act and the Women's Passes - the African women will emerge once and for all as a force to be reckoned with. That is as it should be. It is the duty of the entire Congress Movement to speed up the process. With the African women on the march no force on earth can halt the dawn of African freedom.

LONG LIVE THE CONGRESS OF MOTHERS !

.....

OoNkI nooPI BEMFUNDO YOBUKHOBOKA .

Sazingca ukubona amakhwenkwe efumana i Andrew Smith Bursaries .  
Kanti iBhai eli linabantwana abaninzi kangaka abanengqondo . Iza  
kubuya iAfrika watsho umntu ! Hai aba baya kufumana ezinye  
iScholarship zeDepartment kuba baya kuphumelela emagqabini kwimviwo zika  
Std. VI . Uyazi nje ukuba nzima kwemviwo zeAndrew Smith Bursary , Ka  
umntana epasa ezo emagqabini , uya kuchebeleza nje kwimviwo zika Std. VI !

Wena ! kwathi kanti abavunisaga . Akutshiwo kuVelefutha !

Qolokotho ahamba aya kusithela amaphepha . Azi kobanathi mnina  
okubuyeni kwengxelo zemviwo zika Std. VI ? Kwazi ophezulu nntan' omntu .  
Wumbi watsho . Akanakunga pasi ubani , yho ! uthi engazele nto  
iAndrew Smith ..... beziqale zayintoni iirviwo zika Std. VI ?

Abuya amaphepha . Aphala amehlo abafundisi ntsapho koloo xwebu  
lubonakalisa uluhlu lwenqubo yabantwana .

"Thyini madoda , injani na le Schedule yalo nyaka ? " watsho  
utitshala omkhulu . Beza abafundisi ntsapho , kwaqukwana ngeentloko .

"Ehe ! yonye into le " watsho utitshalakazi .

"Aba nxi(X) bathetha ukuthinina " wabusa utitshala omncinci .

THE FREEDOM CHARTER AND THE 1949 PROGRAMME OF ACTION.

The ruling class is not alone in its desire to destroy the Freedom Charter and the message it embodies . . . Various reactionary elements among the Africans some of whom even attended the last National Conference of the A.N.C. have joined in an unholy alliance with the government to attempt this devils work .

What is of interest to all freedom fighters is the line of attack employed by these reactionaries . The Xuma-Leballo-Tsele-Ngubane combine is united in its hostility to the present policy pursued by the A.N.C.

They allege , inter alia :-

- (i) That the A.N.C. is co-operating too closely (!) with other Democratic National Organisations .
- (ii) That active mass struggles such as the Defiance Campaign are futile .
- (iii) That the present policy of the movement as reflected in the Freedom Charter is contradictory to the principles of "African Nationalism" and to the interests of the Africans as contained in the 1949 Programme of Action .

We are not concerned here to deal in any detail with the first two allegations which are being employed by the enemies of the people night and day in an effort to sow dissension and halt the march to freedom of the people . We do, however, wish to make a few observations . For instance we notice that these bogus " African Nationalists " who find something wrong with the fighting democratic alliance between the A.N.C., S.A.I.C., S.A.C.O.D., and S.A.C.P.O. do not scruple to co-operate with decidedly reactionary groups such as the M.R.A. , Liberal Party , Institute of Race Relations and others of similar ilk . Furthermore none of these people can put forward a realistic alternative to the policy of co-operation with all national groups on a basis of democracy , equality and mutual respect. They are content to moan , howl, slander and gossip about the disadvantages of the A.N.C. policy of maintaining close alliance between all lovers of freedom no matter to what race or nation they belong . In the final analysis the campaign against the co-operation of the different national groups reveals itself as a method of disruption that plays into the hands of the Apartheid gang and assists them to oppress the African people still further .

As regards the antipathy of these reactionary critics to mass struggle all we can say is that after every campaign in which the A.N.C. has engaged its political strength and experience have grown ; it has attracted more freedom workers to the movement and has won increased prestige for the struggles in this country among the peoples of the world . Anyone who has not realised this in the last six <sup>years</sup> will never emerge from the political nursery school .

We now come to the third allegation which makes some pretence at ideological discussion . The reactionaries supported by the whole combine of European-owned newspapers and magazines which supposedly cater for the Africans , base their stand against the Charter on the 1949 Programme of Action and so-called "African Nationalism" .

It is quite obvious that in considering whether or not the Freedom Charter and the 1949 Programme of Action are contradictory , the first thing to do is to place the two side by side and analyse their contents . This has not been done by the reactionaries who in common with their kind the world over merely go on repeating an unexamined allegation over and over again.

Now what does the 1949 Programme of Action actually say ? The preamble to the Programme of Action makes two important points. It explains that the Programme of Action of the A.N.C. is inspired by the

desire to achieve National Independence . "Like all other peoples" says the Preamble "the African people claim the right of self-determination".

Further down the Programme of Action goes on to state the claims of the Africans as contained in the 'Bill of Rights' on page 8 of "Africans' Claims" ( a booklet published by the A.N.C. in 1945) . It is further stated that all discriminatory institutions are opposed by the A.N.C. The formation of co-operatives , the establishment of a national press and a cultural society are suggested ; the weapons to be employed by the A.N.C. in order to secure its demands are stated to be strikes, civil disobedience , boycott . A National stoppage of work for one day is suggested for immediate implementation . The Programme also made provision for an Action Council to be established to recommend the timing of the different targets mentioned in it . Finally it is stated that the aims of the Programme will be achieved by inspired leadership under the banner of African Nationalism .

On reading the Programme of Action of 1949 one will immediately be struck not so much by what it contains but what is left out .

It will be noticed that it takes for granted the meaning of expressions such as 'National Independence' , 'Self-Determination' and 'African Nationalism' ; Nothing is said about the role of other national groups in the struggle or in the new South Africa ; no mention is made of the A.N.C. policy in relation to world trends ; and most important of all no lead is given regarding the actual economic and social set-up in which African freedom will genuinely exist .

These were grave defects in the 1949 Programme of Action which continued to agitate the minds of thinkers in the A.N.C. in the years following its adoption .

During those years the African National Congress through its published statements , Presidential addresses and executive reports clarified and defined the concepts contained in the Programme of Action and also made the policy crystal clear on those matters which the Programme of Action had left unsaid . Today all these find concrete expression in a single document of tremendous power - the Freedom Charter .

The elaboration of the ideas which were badly or vaguely formulated in the 1949 Programme of Action can be summarised as follows:-

(i) The African Nationalism to which the A.N.C. adheres is a progressive , broad anti-imperialist Nationalism that has for its ideal the unity of the African people and the achievement of African freedom through the creation of conditions that will enable the African nation to play its rightful role in the political , social, economic and cultural spheres.

(ii) By National Independence and Self-Determination the A.N.C. is not referring to the classical demand for a separate territory and secession from the oppressor nation characteristic of the progressive movement in Europe and other parts of the world . Within the concrete conditions of the South African state the A.N.C. has interpreted the right of self-determination to mean the consistent application of equality and democracy to all spheres of life , political , social , economic and cultural.

(iii) That (ii) above implies the creation of a democratic alliance now and in the future a democratic state in which all national groups shall enjoy equal rights and opportunities .

(iv) That genuine equality will be impossible unless the present economic system based as it is on exploitation of the many by a few is completely smashed and new one put in its place in which exploitation of man by man will be entirely eliminated .

(v) That in the world struggle now raging between imperialism and progress the African people as represented by the A.N.C. are firmly on the

10  
-12-

ISIZWE , January, 1956.

side of the oppressed colonial people and therefore fall in the anti-imperialist camp of democracy and peace .

The amazing thing is that the Freedom Charter which is a synthesis of demands presented by the ordinary man and woman in South Africa gave expression to all the above progressive ideas . Here in the Charter , which is not a programme unilaterally conceived by the Africans but is an expression of best feelings and aims of the entire South African population we find all the aspirations of the Africans simultaneously with those of all national groups in the country . In the Charter we are at once loyal to the African people , loyal to other nationalities and loyal, therefore, to humanity .

In the light of the above it is clear that the Freedom Charter is not contradictory to the Programme of Action of 1949 but is a maturer development considerably in advance of the Programme of Action .

It is for that reason and because "Nationalism" has been used by reactionaries and crooks all over the world to provoke hostility, discrimination , wars and exploitation , that we prefer to call supporters of the Charter Not "Nationalists" but Patriots .

Congressmen everywhere must make a careful study of the literature and documents of the Movement and they will have no difficulty in exposing the criminal dishonesty and opportunism of the Leballo's and others . Let us defeat these reactionaries and make the year 1956 the year of the Charters' Triumph .

LONG LIVE THE FREEDOM CHARTER !

QUOTATIONS :

1. Fleece your fellows ! that is "business" and you are a captain of industry . Having "relieved" your victims of their pelts , dance and make merry to relieve their agony . This is "charity" and you are a philanthropist.
2. Full opportunity for full development is the inalienable right for all . He who denies it is a tyrant ; he who does not demand it is a coward ; he who is indifferent to it is a slave ; he who does not desire it is dead.
3. Economic slavery is at the foundation of every other slavery of body, mind and soul .

ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS !

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state , in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races .

ALL PEOPLE SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHT TO USE THEIR OWN LANGUAGES, AND TO DEVELOP THEIR OWN FOLK CULTURE AND CUSTOMS ;

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

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

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside .

- FREEDOM CHARTER -

Abasilibali belumkile abaqwebi bale ngcinezelo .  
Ulawulo lwenkqubo yemfundo yobukhoboka buthiwe tyu kula maqumru  
asa kunyulwa zizibonda zila Velefutha . Ngako oko bathabatha  
ebantwini nalo nkwalambesi yamandla abebenzwo okonyula okanye  
ukwala ukonyula amaqumru emfundo yobukhoboka .

KUTHIWENI ? uVelefutha akanelanga kukungqubalisa ngeentloko  
inkosi ; koko udale intiyano phakathi kwabantu neenkosi ; Kunamhla  
nje abantu abafuni nokuva kuba zinkosi ezibenza ixhoba kuVelefutha .  
Iinkosi ngelaso icala zifuna abantu bavume onke amabibi engcinezelo  
khona ukuse babe abantu bayajiva . Kuthiwani na ke ?

Ukusindisa isizwe akukubakho ndlela ngaphandle kokuba  
umzi ungayinaki into ethethwa zinkosi . Utshaba lwabantu  
yingcinezelo ka Velefutha ; ekulweni leyo ngcinezelo kufuneka  
uyifunde inyaniso yokuba nakuba kubuhlungu ungethisi amandla awo  
ngo gxakana neenkosi .

Kuyinfanelo ukuba umbutho weSizwe uzifune ukuba  
uzenzile na infanelo zawo , xa izigidi esibini nesiqingatha  
zinokuwexulwa lutshaba ngomsinga wobuxoki njengoko kwenzekile Pshesha  
kweNciba .

oooooooooooooooooooooooooooo

ORGANISATION OF THE PEOPLE'S LITERATURE .

One of the problems that faces the Congress Movement is the proper  
organisation and distribution of the democratic newspapers and journals.

We are not here referring to the objective difficulties that  
arise out of the very nature of South African society today . We are  
concerned with the production , circulation and financing of the  
literature of the movement and other related problems .

With respect to circulation for instance it is to our eternal  
disgrace that there should be any English weekly that has a circulation  
greater than that of "New Age" , unless that is due to lack of news-  
print . Furthermore it is to our eternal shame that a small band of  
courageous freedom fighters , who have an invincible faith in the people  
should be condemned to worry continually over funds for running "New Age"  
when crooks and exploiters in South Africa prosper with our money . Why  
should it be difficult to find reliable agents for our newspapers and  
magazines who remit the monies due to our production offices regularly  
and in full ?

It appears that this problem is caused by the lack of co-ordination  
that is a marked feature of many activities of the Freedom Movement .

Our own suggestion is that wherever there is a branch of the  
Congress Movement there should be an organised group that meets regularly  
every week to plan the proper organisation of the circulation ,  
financing etc. of all the newspapers and magazines published by the  
Freedom Movement . It should be the task of these groups to organise  
the systematic sale of the progressive periodicals ; to find and  
supervise the agents who sell the literature ; to keep proper books and  
records and thus eliminate the chaotic practices that are now current  
in many areas ; and finally to create among our people a real  
consciousness about the role of the periodicals and the need to render them  
continuous and substantial financial support. This is particularly so in  
the case of "New Age" .

We are positive that the formation of People's Information Bureaux



such as we suggest here will do much to eliminate some of the problems that beset the editorial boards of our newspapers and magazines and will, incidentally provide one more area of fruitful coordinated work for all sections of the Freedom Movement .

\*\*\*\*\*

MA SITHENWE ESI SIZWE ?

Kunganina ukuba ma ube umButho weSizwe usathe chu kwinto yokwayo lwesikolo ? Ziphi izikolo zombutho zokufundisa abantwana ? Ngokukwaya izikolo esenzi le nto soloko uRulumente efuna yona yokuba umntu angafundi ? Ezi tithala zingaka ziphile kukufundisa kuthiwa ma zithini xa zipheliselwa umsebenzi ngokwayo nje ngoku ?

Mhla umButho wafikelela kwisigqibo sokukwaya izikolo zobukhoboka awuzange umise suku lokuyeka ukwayo . Enyanisweni ukwayo kwakuyeka mhla zavalwa zonke izikolo zika Velefutha zobukhoboka . Kaloku intsusa yaba kukuba ubuRulumente boVelefutha buzama ukudobalisa iSizwe sonke . Lidabi elikhulu kukuthwa-kruthwana ngeemvelo zeAfrika . Athi ama-Afrika usapho lweAfrika luya kukhuliselwa ukwakha ikamva le Afrika entsha , iAfrika yeNkululeko ; uthi uVelefutha namabandla akhe engcinezelo inye indlela yokutshabalalisa esiSizwe sinnyama ukuse leAfrika ibe yeyabo kukusenza sife sihleli . "Masibadutule" atsho amanye amaDlagusha . "Hai" zitsho incuba buchopho zawo , ovelerutha , " Ma singadyohi izandla zethu ngegazi labp . Ka sibandubula sakusetyenzelwa ngubani ? Hai ma sidobalise ingqondo zesi Sizwe sisonke , ma sisithene esi Sizwe sisenze iinkabi zokuthwala imithwalo yethu enzima kodwa singabi namandla akuzenzela nto sona , singabi nakucinga macebo kuvuselela ubuzwe baso . Ma sisithene ingqondo . Interwa , inkomo ethenwe incinci ayibi likhwange . Ma sithene ingqondo zabantwana khona ukuze sihlale simbuna sonke esi Sizwe . "

Kuya kruthwa - kruthwana . "Unotshethe ngenzala yeAfrika " zitsho izigidi asilishumi zamaAfrika . "sakubathena kakade oku" itsho imbinana ka Velefutha namabandla engcinezelo . Namhla nobuNefi buya ngxengwa kwenziswa ooJane beNurse

ZIPHI IZIKOLO ?

Ngubani owakhe wathembisa izikolo ? Kuphela ngumntu ongqondo iphuzuzayo ongaziyo okanye okhusela ilungelo lakhe siqu lokuchola -chola lingqweqe kwisithebe sabacinezeli , ongabuza lombuzo . Umbutho usahesha utshaba uphuthuma eku m-iwe nabo . Umbutho awukwayi kuba unazikolo , ukwaya kuba usindisa imveku zeAfrika zingaseli kumaqula kaVelefutha . umbutho usalwela umphefumlo weSizwe nobuntu beSizwe obunukuswa ngeVelefutha . Akuthengwa Aa- ebe- nci ngomphefumlo weSizwe .

Ngendlela yokuncedisana nabazali umButho uqale Iimbutho ZoBuntu , esi zihlangana emabaleni .

ASIFEZI UMNQWENO kaRULUMENTE NA ?

Uninzi lwabantu lumenkolo yokuba u-Rulumente wamaDlagusha ufuna um-Afrika angafundi . Kwineko zandla imitshini egaya iingubo nezinye izinto isetyenzwa ngabantu ababonayo ; ivenkile zifuna abantu abafundileyo abakwasiyo ukubona amanani ezitalato xa bethanywe . Ngowuphi lomqeshi oya kuthi xa ethuma uPhakamile kufuneka akhutshwe noJacobus aye kumbonisa umnyango wendlu nganye athurywe kuyo !

Ukuba zingavalwa ngokukwaya izikolo zobukhoboka angaba uVelefutha woyisiwe kukuthena amaAfrika esemancinci . Abaqashi ekungabo abangcine elaula ngokumnika imali yokwenza yonke lentshusiso bangantsikisa.

Endaweni yokuba abaqashi bangafumani umsebenzi ofundileyo bakolele nekwango elo nakuba lisoloko libalekusa.

BAKUTYA NTONI ABAFUNDISI-NTSAPHO ?

Kukho abafundisi-ntsapho abanengqondo yokuba ukwayo lwezikolo zobukhoboka lujongisene nokubakwipha intlaka esoloyeni . Ukuba ngaba bakuthi ukuze bafikelele kule ntlaka kuwangowiswe izidumbu seentsane nethemba leAfrika , kusenzelwa bona ileli yokufikelela kwintlaka eli nyiki lokugu-bungisa iSizwe sonke , umbutho uthabatha uryathelo lokusindisa abafundisi-ntsapho kwishwangusha lokubulala iSizwe siphela.

Eyona nto imandla emayikhanyele wonke umntu yeyokuba umbutho weSizwe udala imeko esiya kwenza ukuba ubufundisi-ntsapho bube yinto ehloniphekileyo , nenesidima , nengqinisekiso yokuba umfundisi-ntsapho akayi kugrothelwa into yokuba engothuzelanga uNobala umqwazi xa abulisayo .

Kweli dabi amacala mabini kuphela . Ukuba awukho ngasebantwini ungakuVelefutha . Ukuba awusindisi iintsana zeAfrika njengoko umbutho usenza uyatshabalalisa njengo Velefutha . Thamelani abantwana emabaleni baye kufunda ukundileka komntu . Nqandani kuselithuba iSizwe singenziwa iinterwa .

((((((((((((((((((( ))) ))))))))))))

WAGING IRRECONCILABLE IDEOLOGICAL WARFARE .

It is interesting that just at the time when the policy of the African National Congress has emerged with comprehensive clarity and nobility in the Freedom Charter there should be a nation-wide campaign by the so-called Bantu Press designed to prove that the Movement's policy is confused - that the movement itself is divided and does not know where it is going . Whilst the government is attempting the job of physically destroying the Congress and its leadership certain quarters strongly supported by the "Bantu Press" have joined issue with the Congress what appear to be ideological questions . The device of describing the policy of a political organisation as vague , confused or ambiguous and then proceeding to criticise its very clear policy is an old one frequently employed by reactionary journalists . It is now being used against the A.N.C.

The Congress Movement as a whole cannot have its energy diverted from the tasks of leading the people in the fight against Nationalist tyranny . Nevertheless the dishonesty of certain politicians who are allowing themselves to be catspaws in the campaign against the A.N.C. must be exposed . A recent issue of the "Bantu World" for instance contains a long letter which was apparently written by Dr. Xuma to the last National Conference . The letter is a tendentious document written by one who is obviously completely out of touch with the liberation movement of the African people not only in South Africa but throughout Africa . After maintaining a discreet silence for the last seven years whilst the A.N.C. and its allies were fighting a tremendous battle amid great difficulties against Nationalist tyranny Dr. Xuma now offers to lead the Congress back to the old discredited paths of hesitation , vacillation and "Hamba Kahle" . To encourage people like Dr. Xuma , Jordan Ngubane , Tsele etc. by not exposing their game would be to spit in the faces of thousands of Congress Volunteers ; thousands of ordinary men and women who through thick and thin , undaunted by the police , have sacrificed themselves , their jobs and families in order that the flame of freedom should continue to burn strongly and truly in the fascist darkness that is South Africa today .

14.

ISIZWE , January , 1956.

The Congress movement as a whole must wage irreconcilable ideological warfare against these reactionaries . They must not be allowed to destroy the work of the last seven years which has brought into being the most powerful liberation movement this country has yet seen . Certainly the movement today is a hundred times more powerful than at any time when the Xuma leadership was in the saddle .

We are not , here, going to deal with the so-called Xuma letter in detail but we would like to touch upon the charge that the policy of the movement is not clear and the implied attack on the present A.N.C. policy of alliance with democrats of all races .

The fact is that the policy of the African National Congress is very clear . That policy today is enshrined in the Freedom Charter . That policy has today come into its own for it is not of interest alone to the African people but to the entire multi-national population of South Africa which even the maddest politician agrees will be the pattern of our country in the future - a multi-national democracy .

And an important fact will be clearly noticeable to all those who have followed the events of the past few years at all closely - that the more the policy of the African National Congress corresponded with the vital interests of all National groups the more the unity, influence and power of the African people themselves increased . The almost startling growth of African power to initiate action and to set the pace in South African politics coincides with the development of an all-embracing policy that catered for and found enthusiastic support among progressives of all national groups . The Freedom Charter set the seal on this development .

In the Charter we have a programme which more than any other in our history reflects the vital interests and demands of the African people and simultaneously those of other national groups . No programme drawn up unilaterally by the African people themselves has reflected the entire interests of the African people with the clarity, scope and profundity of the Freedom Charter . Therein lies the whole shattering force and power of the Freedom Charter . And this is as it should be . In our South Africa any programme that answers to the needs of the majority African group ONLY contains within it the seeds of decay and doom in the world of today . Similarly any programme that is intended to safeguard the interests of any minority ONLY is doomed to failure . The campaign for the Congress of the People revealed that this is not realised alone by political scientists and thinkers , but is a spontaneous innate conception shared by the ordinary workers and toilers who sent in the demands that formed the basis for the great Freedom Charter .

It is therefore laughable to see the efforts being made in certain reactionary circles in the country to discredit the African National Congress by saying that in adopting the Freedom Charter it is revealing a divided and confused mind ; still more ludicrous are those who allege that the Freedom Charter does not reflect the interests of the African people because it also reflects the interests of other national groups !

To support their charges these renegades make constant references to the 1949 Programme of Action about which most of them know nothing . Cries of "African Nationalism" are bandied about by these critics whose political histories in the last ten years would not stand up to any close scrutiny .

We must make these people realise that the African people who are suffering a great deal from the vicious onslaughts of the Nationalists are daily becoming more and more impatient with people who try to divert the attention of the people from the task of fighting the Nationalist tyranny . The people in the last ten years have learnt to

know who their friends and allies in the struggle are . The people want to see the present progressive line of the African National Congress triumph in this country . Amid all the difficulties of the South African situation the entire population fought hard for the opportunity to get to Kliptown in June 1955 in order to register an unmistakable mandate to the present leadership to continue along the road that leads to a UNITED , DEMOCRATIC , MULTI-NATIONAL and PROSPEROUS SOUTH AFRICA as envisaged in the FREEDOM CHARTER . The reactionaries must be told in the clearest possible language that the people do not like them and prefer freedom instead . Lets tell them that !

oo

\*\*\*\*\*

IMPORTANT DATES TO REMEMBER IN THE WAR AGAINST WOMENS PASSES :

- \* ALL REGIONAL WOMEN'S CONFERENCES SHOULD TAKE PLACE ON FEBRUARY 25 or 26.
- \* BY MARCH 4 CONGRESS OFFICES MUST RECEIVE REPORTS FROM EVERY BRANCH ON THE PROGRESS OF THE HOUSE TO HOUSE CAMPAIGN AND LOCAL AREA MEETINGS.
- \* THE LOCAL AREA WORK AND THE REGIONAL CONFERENCES ARE TO WORK UP TO THE SPECIAL NATIONAL CONFERENCE FROM MARCH 31 to APRIL 1 , TO BE HELD AT BLOEMFONTEIN OR JOHANNESBURG .

THE PEOPLE WHO ARE AGAINST PASSES ARE FOR FREEDOM . THEY ARE THEREFORE POTENTIAL SUPPORTERS OF THE CHARTER . THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST PASSES AND AGAINST BANTU EDUCATION MUST THEREFORE BE LINKED WITH THE CAMPAIGN TO OBTAIN ONE MILLION SIGNATURES BY JUNE 26 1956 . THE CAMPAIGNS MUST BE CLOSELY LINKED AND REPORTS ON THE PROGRESS OF THE FIGHT AGAINST PASSES AND AGAINST BANTU EDUCATION MUST INCLUDE REPORTS ON THE FREEDOM CHARTER CAMPAIGN .

ISSUES FOR SPECIAL CONFERENCE ON MARCH 31 AND APRIL 1 , 1956 :

1. THE PLANS FOR THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST WOMEN'S PASSES .
2. THE FREEDOM CHARTER .
3. NEW A.N. C. CONSTITUTION .

Quotation : There are those who must be crushed by truth before they can understand it .

DO NOT STOP UPON THESE TO FINISH  
THE WORK, NEITHER ART THOU  
FREE TO DESIST FROM IT.

16.

ISIZWE : January, 1956.



SUPPORT THESE JOURNALS:

- NEW AGE.
- FIGHTING TALK:
- LIBERATION:
- MOHLALANI :
- THE CALL :
- WORKER'S UNITY :
- CONGRESS VOICE :

DEDICATION.

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

RESISTANCE TO TYRANNY IS THE FIRST OBEDIENCE TO GOD.

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

ISIZWE IS WRITTEN AND PUBLISHED BY THE ISIZWE EDITORIAL BOARD ,

2, MALAKANE STREET , NEW BRIGHTON .

PORT ELIZABETH .

**Collection Number: AD1812**

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

**TREASON TRIAL, 1956 1961**

***PUBLISHER:***

*Publisher:- Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand*

*Location:- Johannesburg*

*©2012*

***LEGAL NOTICES:***

**Copyright Notice:** All materials on the Historical Papers website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

**Disclaimer and Terms of Use:** Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

People using these records relating to the archives of Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, are reminded that such records sometimes contain material which is uncorroborated, inaccurate, distorted or untrue. While these digital records are true facsimiles of the collection records and the information contained herein is obtained from sources believed to be accurate and reliable, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand has not independently verified their content. Consequently, the University is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the website or any related information on third party websites accessible from this website.

This document is part of a private collection deposited with Historical Papers at The University of the Witwatersrand.