

**B28**

BW B28

# FRANK TALK

VOLUME 1 NUMBER 2 & 3

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# AZAPO FIGHTS BACK

**Azapo raid was illegal, rules judge**  
**Magazines to be returned, judge orders**  
**Police to return Azapo magazines**  
**Judge orders Azapo magazines to be returned**

**Azapo ruling: No leave to appeal**

**Car 100**  
**Nation on Azapo's top men**  
 ... of Durban leaders

**Order on Frank talk challenge**

**Police to return Azapo magazines**

**Judge orders Azapo magazines to be returned**

**Magazines to be returned, judge orders**

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# Editorial

The nation-wide raid on leaders of the Black Consciousness Movement on 22 May 1984 underlines yet again the fascist nature of the South African regime. The crackdown on AZAPO is directly linked to the Accord of Nkomati.

This issue of Frank Talk focuses on the Nkomati Accord and some of its implications for the people of AZANIA.

As the National Internal Summit called at Edendale found, the Botha regime wishes to steamroll on all effective opposition. Nkomati allowed them to silence the exiled movements for some time to come.

After succeeding in this, the settler minority focused on the spectrum of black opposition inside the country. Their choice of first target is not insignificant: having studied all the movements inside the country, the settlers realized that enemy number one was Black consciousness. As the National Summit predicted, the system's strategy is first to extinguish the true revolutionaries and then woo the 'co-optables' to a National Convention.

Black Consciousness was born and nurtured in the crucible of fire. Decapitation of leadership has, however, always been costly for the movement. When AZAPO was born, it measured the crucial need for an overt liberation movement against the very predictable repression by the

state.

In fact, BC takes into account that the central problem in any struggle is to find an antidote to fear. Crushed by the realities of routine, we all hesitate to participate in the liberation struggle. We fear losing our family and our friends. We fear wasting energy.

AZAPO is a revolutionary movement precisely because it calls for a break with routine, because it demands sacrifice in the present for a better world in the future.

No doubt, the sacrifice seems real and immediate while the better world appears distant and very uncertain.

Steve Biko was absolutely correct when he wrote:

*"Powerlessness breeds a race of beggars who smile at the enemy and swear at him in the sanctity of their toilets; who shout 'Baas' willingly during the day and call the white man a dog in their buses as they go home. Once again the concept of fear is at the heart of this two-faced behaviour on the part of the conquered Blacks."*

It is to be noted that the Black Consciousness nine, who were convicted on the State v Cooper and Others were convicted for celebrating the accession to power of Frelimo in Mozambique and showing solidarity

with Frelimo.

Now that Frelimo, despite its gallant anti-colonial efforts, has been forced to compromise with the rapacious white settlers, it seems that the system once again hopes to erase BC.

We say that any attempt to eradicate BC is doomed to failure. BC is a revolutionary perspective that penetrates to the depths beneath the mask of blackness. As such, to eradicate BC one has to commit genocide against the entire Black population in this land.

Frank Talk emphasizes that a vital lesson of Nkomati is that the liberation struggle is a ceaseless struggle: it does not end with political 'independence'. If the oppressed and exploited are thought that milk and honey will flow when there is a takeover from a fascist regime, the costs for the liberation movement will be very, very dear. This is what Frelimo is learning.

We wish to warn that there is no "right moment" in revolutionary struggle: every moment is the right moment for something.

And this is the right moment for us to sit as one big unit under the leadership of the black working class, and to use the very concept of BC to unite ourselves. We must cling to each other with a tenacity that will shock the perpetrators of evil.

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# U N Breakthrough

The Azanian Peoples' Organisation made an impressive breakthrough for the Black consciousness movement when it recently won the right to address a special session of the United Nations during a conference held in New York in June.

Imrann Moosa, the Natal vice president of Azapo and editor of Azapo's magazine, Frank Talk, spoke before the United Nations North American regional conference for action against apartheid, a conference organized by the United Nations' Centre Against Apartheid, which also featured speakers from the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO).

It was the first time that a member of the umbrella Black Consciousness Movement addressed the United Nations. According to the chairman of the UN's Centre Against Apartheid, Major-General J.N. Garba of Nigeria, the move surprised the African National Congress which, he said, planned to write a letter to the organizing body protesting against the participation of Azapo.

The chairman of the United States

branch of the BCM, Twiss Xiphu, said the invitation by the United Nations to Azapo was the highest point in BCM's international diplomatic offensive launched last year when the national president Lybon Mabasa toured Europe and the United States to introduce Azapo and its programmes to the international community.

"The ground work has been laid for bigger things to come and we are forging ahead in the international community," he said.

Mr Mabasa spoke on the same day that former US Ambassador to the UN Mr Andrew Young and South African poet, Dennis Brutus, also addressed the conference. Moosa told the conference that the BCM emerged in South Africa to conquer fear and lead black people out of the grip of a frightened paralysis which had been internalized in the psyche of black people because of the onslaught after Sharpsville and Rivonia.

## International recognition

"The pre-1977 BCM also succeeded where the other historical liberation movements had failed, it brought together all black people wherever the system sought to label them 'Coloured', 'Indian', 'African' or even subdivided them into various ethnic groups," he said. "The BCM also injected a remarkable vitality into Azanian politics.

He also took a jab at the recent Nkomati Accord and the position of the United States in the Southern African scene. "The Accord showed that Pretoria is playing the game according to the dictates of Washington, actually toeing the yankee imperialist policy towards our region developed by Kissinger, Reagan and Chester Crocker.

## Aims and Objects of Azapo

### PREAMBLE

Whereas we, the Black People of Azania, conscious of the philosophy of Black Consciousness as a living force amongst the majority of our people, and recognising that Black Workers particularly are responsible for creating the wealth of our country;

And whereas workers are subjected to the most inhuman and ruthless laws;

And further realising that the oppressive system in its effort to render the worker powerless and perpetually subservient, creates and utilises tactics of divide and rule that gave birth to factionalism and tribalism;

And whereas the worker is more determined to see freedom and justice, and desirous of occupying his rightful place in the land of his birth; And also that it is an inalienable right of any community to organise

itself into a political movement to express and manifest its aspirations, ideals and goals;

And further believing that Black Consciousness be developed and maintained as a true philosophy for workers;

### THEREFORE RESOLVE

1. To found a political movement which will express and manifest the aspirations of the Black People in Azania.
2. To found a movement that will unite all and liberate all from the exploitative and oppressive shackles.

### AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To conscientise, politicise and mobilise Black workers through the philosophy of Black Consciousness in order to strive for

their legitimate rights.

2. To work towards the establishment of an educational system that will respond creatively towards the needs of Azanians.
3. To promote an interpretation of religion as a liberatory philosophy relevant to our struggle.
4. To promote and encourage research into various problems affecting our people.
5. To expose the oppressive and exploitative system in which our people are denied basic human rights.
6. To work towards the unity of the oppressed, for the just distribution of wealth and power to all people of Azania.

## In Court

# Azapo fights back against State action

On 10 March 1984, members of the Editorial Collective of Frank Talk visited Art Printing Press and loaded 1 138 copies of Frank Talk Volume 1 Number 1 into a car. As the car left Fountain Lane, another car began chasing it. A high-speed chase ensued: finally, the car containing the copies of Frank Talk was boxed in and Warrant Officer De Wet, accompanied by a few non-white security policemen arrested members of the collective including comrade Thabo Ndabeni (national organizer of AZAPO). The security policemen confiscated every single copy of the first issue of Frank Talk as well as many items belonging to individual comrades.

On 17 March 1984, an Interdict was sought in the Durban Supreme Court before Judge Didcott for the immediate return of the copies of the magazine which were seized. It became obvious from arguments presented by the system that there were serious consequences to follow for the Black Consciousness Movement in general and AZAPO in particular. The citation of the case is **Thabo Ndabeni v the Minister of Law and Order and Warrant Officer De Wet**.

De Wet stated in an affidavit that he knew of the contents of Frank Talk before it was printed. Attached to his affidavit were the copies of the first two articles, "The Definition of Black Consciousness" and "White Racism and Black Consciousness". As Thabo Ndabeni stated in a replying affidavit: "The originals of the said (articles) must have been in the possession of Art Printers and used by that company to print Frank Talk": this became clear because the inscriptions and deletions on the articles were exactly the same as the one given to Art Printers. Since counsel for the State insisted that De Wet had seen these articles before Frank Talk was printed, it does not take much imagination to discover how De Wet obtained the articles.

The contention was that the two articles in question were written by the late Comrade Steve Biko and were printed in a collection of Biko's writings (most of which appeared under the pseudonym "Frank Talk") edited by Reverend Ian Stubbs and entitled "I write what I like". The



Thabo Ndabeni

State conceded that this collection was no longer banned.

The contention was that these speeches were delivered at symposia called by the South African Students Organisation (SASO) which is a banned organisation. Thus De Wet concluded that he was entitled to seize all the copies of Frank Talk in terms of Section 13(1)(a)(v) of the Internal Security Act, Act No 74 of 1982. This Section decrees that nobody may-

*"... advocate, advise, defend or encourage the achievement of any of the objects of the unlawful organization or objects similar to the objects of such organization, or perform any other act of whatever nature which is calculated to further the achievement of any such object."*

Section 56(1)(a) of the same Act makes it an offence to disobey this prohibition. The policeman purported to act under Section 20, of the Criminal Procedure Act, Act No 51 of 1977. Briefly, section 20 entitles the State to seize anything which:

(a) *is concerned in or is on reasonable grounds believed to be concerned in the commission or suspected commission of any offence;*



- (b) *may afford evidence of the commission or suspected commission of an offence; or*
- (c) *is intended to be used or is on reasonable grounds believed to be intended to be used in the commission of an offence.*

De Wet considered that the publication of Frank Talk contravened the quoted section of the Internal Security Act and that the distribution of the magazine would also be an offence.

The Minister also put up the minutes of the second General Students Council (GSC) of SASO held from the 4th to the 10th July 1971 at the University of Natal Black Section (UNB). The relevant portion is the SASO Policy Manifesto which reads:

1. SASO is a Black students organization working for the liberation of the Black man first from psychological oppression by themselves through inferiority complex and secondly from physical one occurring out of living in a White racist society.
2. We define Black people as those who are by law or tradition, politically, economically and socially discriminated against as a group in the South African society and identifying themselves as unit in the struggle towards the realization of their aspirations.
3. SASO believes that:
  - (a) South Africa is a country in which both Black and White live and shall continue to live together.
  - (b) The White man must be made aware that one is

## Azapo fights back

either part of the solution or part of the problem.

- (c) In this context, because of the privileges accorded to them by legislation and because of their continued maintenance of an oppressive regime, Whites have defined themselves as part of the problem.
- (d) Therefore, we believe that in all matters relating to the struggle towards realizing our aspirations, Whites must be excluded.

In *S v Nokwe and Others* 1962 (3) SA 71, it was held that the achievement had to be of the specific unlawful organization, not the achievement of the same object or objects by somebody else working independently of and lending no assistance to it. Thus in 1963 Section 2 was amended and the words "... or to objects similar to the objects of any such organization," were added.

Judge Didcott pointed out that whatever objects were similar to the objects of an unlawful organization cannot be determined unless the objects of the unlawful organization were themselves first identified and understood.

The Court said that it had no way of knowing why an unlawful organization has been declared unlawful. SASO was declared unlawful in terms of Proclamation R293 of 1977. No grounds were furnished. The court warned that even if reasons are given in a Proclamation, the real objects of the organization must be established. And the test postulated by Judge Didcott is whether an object is an object distinctive of the particular organization to an extent and to a degree sufficient to tie an object with the organization.

Examples given by the judge during the course of argument are illuminating. Say an object of SASO was that workers must get a fair wage and say XYZ Industries has the same object: should XYZ Industries be convicted for furthering the aims of SASO?

Judge Didcott went on to say that on the evidence before him i.e. the SASO Policy Manifesto, BC is a slogan, a label rather than an object. He took the example of two organizations both operating on the slogan "Workers Freedom": Organization A aimed at ensuring that the means of production was in the hands of the working class while Organization B

strove to outlaw trade unions because it felt unions impede workers freedom. Organization A and B are clearly at cross purposes despite their common slogan. It follows that the mere fact that both SASO and AZAPO espouse BC is neither here nor there.

Judge Didcott conceded that distinctiveness is by no means an exact criterion: "One can conceive of objects so mundane or innocuous in themselves that, although they are distinctive of some unlawful organisation, no Legislature, not even a Legislature bent on destroying the influence of every such organization, could have feared for a moment that they strengthened its pull.

Using the 'Didcott test', the Court had to decide whether BC was distinctive of SASO. The only definition of BC given was that in the SASO Policy Manifesto. Judge Didcott found that there was nothing in this Manifesto that distinguished SASO eg. opposing integration was common to SASO and, say, the Conservative Party and the idea that Blacks must be self-sufficient is also propounded by, say, Inkatha. What the court really needed, said Judge Didcott, was expert evidence as to what BC is and how BC distinguished SASO (if it did). That alarm bells go off in some people's minds with the mere mention of BC is hardly sufficient to say that BC *per se* is unlawful.

The judge made the telling point during argument that if this was a criminal trial, a discharge of the accused at the end of the State case would be quite inescapable. There is not even a *prima facie* case - there is no case at all!

The judge accepted that De Wet acted in good faith, but that he did not act as a 'reasonable man' would have acted.

Counsel for Ndabeni suggested that in order to contravene Section 13(1)(a)(v), a person must be acting in the interests of the unlawful organization as such.

Since an examination of the two articles revealed that care had been taken to remove every reference to SASO the articles could not advise, encourage or defend the achievement of any of the objects of SASO as such.

The point was strongly made that the articles by Biko (in fact, the article "White Racism and Black Consciousness" was a joint effort by



Biko and Barney Pitso were included in the first issue of Frank Talk because of their historical interest and that BC had developed since the days of SASO and BPC.

The judge had the following to say about the SASO Policy Manifesto in relation to his test:

*"Paragraphs (i) and (v) did not really belong there. Paragraph (i) was descriptive rather than definitive, while paragraph (v) dealt not so much with the concept as with its popularisation. That left paragraphs (ii), (iii) and (iv). These were the paragraphs which defined the philosophy, according to SASO.*

*"I could not conclude from the information at my disposal that the propagation of Black Consciousness, as thus defined, was an object in the least distinctive of SASO. The definition was broad and general. So were the various ideas it expressed and marshalled. I would not have been surprised to learn that these were taken for granted nowadays by most thoughtful groups and individuals within the Black community, including a large number whose political convictions were far from radical, whose sympathies have never lain with SASO, yet who felt that some such frame of mind was required if Blacks were to overcome the demoralizing effects of subservience and rebuild their self-confidence, their pride. ..."*

An order was made by the Durban Supreme Court restoring all but 25 copies of Frank Talk to AZAPO.

The State is seeking leave to appeal against Didcott's decision on the following bases:

1. The Court should not have decided on the lawfulness of the retention but only of the seizure.
2. A reasonable man would have

## Battle in the Courtroom

*concluded that one of the reasons for SASO's banning was that it promoted BC, thus any person promoting BC is contravening Section 13(1)(a)(v) of the Internal Security Act.*

If these grounds of appeal are treated seriously, it means that the system wishes to ban a philosophy.

On Tuesday 22 May 1984 there was a nationwide raid on the homes of leading AZAPO office-bearers and members. Every search warrant stated that the police were busy investigating a contravention of Section 13(1)(a)(v) of the Internal Security Act. The criminal trial promised at the Ndabeni hearing seemed imminent.

The raids were particularly vicious in that they denuded the AZAPO head office: police took away everything including filing cabinets and pencils.

On 29 May 1984, an action was brought by AZAPO against the Control Magistrate of Durban to have the search warrants used by the policemen declared invalid. The warrants used were in terms of Section 25 of the Criminal Procedure Act.

The Durban Supreme Court held that the test to be used is whether there are reasonable grounds for believing in a certain state of affairs i.e. a danger to the security of the state. The magistrate is not a rubber-stamp, he must make up his own mind independently.

The magistrate refused to reveal the grounds upon which he came to the conclusion that AZAPO was furthering the object of a banned organisation. All the state put up were two affidavits by "experts" who claimed that they had reached the conclusion that AZAPO furthered the objects of banned organisations.

Part of Judge Didcott's lucid and hard-hitting judgment are paraphrased below:

*"... I find it incredible to be told that there might be grounds which (the state) do not want to tell the court. (The magistrate seemed to) rely on no informant beyond the bare belief of the police ...*

*This case has a background which supports this contention ... (In Thabo Ndaveni v the Minister of Law & Order & Another) the state gave*

*grounds viz that both SASO and AZAPO believed in BC. The court held that assuming that this common belief exists, and that the understanding of BC is precisely the same, the mere sharing of the belief is quite insufficient to say that the one organization is coming out of the objects of the other.*

*"I ruled then that the ground in question did not and could not without anything more amount to reasonable grounds for the belief in question. As long as that decision stands it is the law - in this province at any event. The same section of the police force features in the present case, some of the same officers, the same organisation and the same banned organisation. If the state relied on something other than common affiliation to BC, it would be in the affidavits in these proceedings ...*

*The opinions of experts are entitled to some respect. There is no case at all where the opinion of the expert, however eminent, however experienced, however well-versed can bind the court. The expert has to assist the court ... (His mere word) is worth nothing at all if it is supported by no evidence whatsoever.*

*The personnel of (AZAPO) are being harassed. The police say that (AZAPO) is breaking the law or is preparing to do so in a way that is dangerous. The police exist to enforce the law, the court exists to uphold the law. The court will never hamper the police in the proper performance of its duties. If there is indeed a case against (AZAPO) or if there are true grounds against (AZAPO) it is in the interests of justice to bring (AZAPO) to court ...*

*If the police are on (AZAPO's) back for no other reason than harassment, it is time they got off its back. (Harassment) is not a proper police function. The police must disclose their hand. They are required to be candid about the facts and grounds on which they rely so that these can be examined in the light of day. If they persist in playing poker (with AZAPO) while not divulging their hand they have only themselves to*



*blame if the court finds there is nothing in their hands at all.*

AZAPO will now proceed to recover articles seized in Cape Town, Paarl, Port Elizabeth, Nelspruit and Pietersburg. The scene is set for interesting new developments.

### Latest

The state's application for leave to appeal against the judgment setting aside the search warrants has been turned down.

In the meantime the security police returned the bulk of goods seized during their searches.

At the time of going to press, AZAPO officials were still busy sorting through boxes of papers in an attempt to ensure that the police had not forgotten to return some documents.

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# Economic Blackmail

The so-called "non-aggression" pacts in vogue in Southern Africa cannot wipe off the legacy of the colonial domination and exploitation in the region.

Such pacts are definitely a setback to the cause of the oppressed of the world as the unfolding drama of Lebanon is amply demonstrating.

The victor in the contest of Southern Africa is the white racist and unrepresentative minority Pretoria regime and the cause of both Imperialism and neo-Imperialism.

The Komatiport pact signing is not for the comfort and progress of our people in Southern Africa and Africa as a whole.

This regime has perfected its ignoble art of blood-suing. In the wake of its de-mobilising strategy, it has left political observers confused.

This country has not introduced a new element in its pursuit of war in Southern Africa and thus to talk of South Africa's "peace initiative" is a gross distortion of the forces locked in a death struggle in the region.

This country's warlords have long perceived that economic blackmail and direct military invasion and aggression constitute their twin weapons.

Diplomatic political stunts only serve as a smokescreen to hide the real nature and development of the conflict.

The primary conflict in South Africa is that of land and all attempts to reduce the struggle to one for civil rights or anti-apartheid, can only buy time for those who wield power!

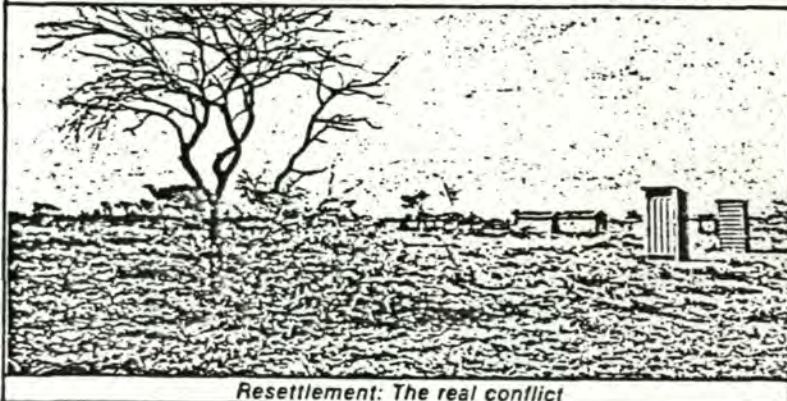
One black Azanian aptly stated this as follows: "The black man's struggle can never be won or lost outside the borders of the country."

The inevitable resolution of Southern Africa's dilemma shall come only on terms set by the black man.

The problem is internal and is that of the oppression and exploitation of millions of black people.

Whichever way one looks at it, this

## The victims of Pretoria



*Resettlement: The real conflict*

great mass of people is a deciding factor for the solution of this country's problems.

This country's offensive coupled with its racist internal political machinations can be summed up as a time-buying device.

The work of the military security police and intelligence networks, has not blunted or numbed black people's quest for the true humanity in the country.

This has never, and shall never, be cause for despair and apathy.

The clock seems to have turned full circle among the Frontline States.

Dr Hastings Banda, Malawi's President and strongman, and a few unstable African leaders fell victims of South Africa's abortive detente exercise in the 70s.

Time, however, will tell how many this time will follow Banda to "dine with the devil as long as it will bring prosperity and gain to my people and country".

Maybe for Banda it was an opportunistic voluntary action.

The situation today is different, most Southern African states have been battered to submission through what is perceived to be the ultimate realisation of economic priorities and internal stability — and all the time Pretoria is calling the tune.

The recent happenings are indeed a setback to the liberation movement in general, but it must be pointed out that this will only help to accelerate

the liberating efforts of those movements operating within the country.

It is indeed foolhardy of this country's present rulers to regard their problems as externally motivated and therefore needing an external solution.

We must, however, realise that the reasons which made South Africa anathema remain true as those we hold against Nazi Germany and its gas chambers.

We cannot, however, expect Africa to submit to South Africa's military, technological and economic advantage.

We must at all times be aware that the present regime cannot in the same breath be surrogates for efforts of change.

They are only capable of bringing about reform, which by and large, is aimed at perpetrating their class ideology and control.

Reform is not aimed at making the oppressed totally free but to make them unwilling partners of their own oppressors.

At best it teaches them to adapt to their situation of oppression, in keeping with the philosophy of making good out of a bad situation.

This is what this year's ethnic elections are all about.

It is with this in mind that black people are wary of all efforts by the unrepresentative government and the elite white capitalist class at reform.



# National Question

## Struggle for unity

The National Question involves the solution of national contradictions, the resolution of the problems of oppression of one nation by another, and the form that the future nation should take.

The Social Question is the resolution of social contradictions which have as their base the prevailing mode of production and production relationships which mould and condition social relations.

Briefly put, the National Question investigates oppression and the Social Question investigates exploitation — oppression and exploitation were married in the temple of imperialism.

The designations "tribe" "nationality" and "nation" are transient historical social group forms. At the root of their definition lies the community of economic life that binds together members of each transient social form. Language, territory, mores, national consciousness are simply ethnic features of a nationality/nation.

For example, in a capitalist society the community of economic life for the bourgeoisie consists in the fact that they own the means of production and the wealth so produced at the expense of the producers i.e. the working class.

The community of economic life for the working class consists in the fact that it does not own the means to produce wealth but has to make do with a wage. It should be pointed out that there are points in the development of society where tribes develop into nationalities and nationalities develop into nations but these points are never easy to specify: suffice it to say that the old (nationality) is the new (nation) in embryo.



Stalin offers the following definition of a nation:

*A nation is a historically evolved stable community of people based on community of language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture.*

History contains numerous examples of long-established boundaries of countries being changed and of inhabitants of countries refusing morally to accept the nationality imposed by a country. Stalin's definition is dogmatic, restrictive and rigid. The nation is not simply a collection of abstract, external criteria. In fact, political philosophers have sought in vain to find an objective definition of a nation. The subjective element i.e. the consciousness of a national identity, a national political movement, is no less important. It is not a doctrinaire expert armed with a list of "objective criteria" who will determine whether a community constitutes a nation or not, but the community itself.

The popular expression of bourgeois ideology today is "human liberty, human rights . . . regardless of race, colour or creed . . . under a free modern democracy" etc. Only the bourgeoisie enjoy these "universal" freedoms but it is cautious enough to be discreet, hence one is constantly reminded of the "universality" to the point of indoctrination. So it is that bourgeois ideology has developed the slogans of democracy and the right of self-determination. Even in South Africa with outrageous comedy, the caretakers of colonialism speak of national self-determination in the bantustans. Things have certainly changed since Treitschke wrote (nineteenth century)

that "A negro tribe must be chastised by setting its villages on fire, because that is the only remedy which is effective."<sup>1</sup>

There is nothing wrong in using the terminology of "democracy" and "national self-determination" if one understands them in their revolutionary senses. A struggle for full democratic rights must be linked to a socialist revolution. Victorious socialism must practise the fullest democracy.

In its hunt for superprofits imperialism dispossessed the aborigines (Indigenous owners of the land) as a people. The consequence, whether in Australia, Japan or Palestine was to pit Black against white. Dispossession led to the super-exploitation of Black people. For the colonial world, race determined class: whites were the privileged group and blacks the underdogs. Exploitation is here directed against a phenotypically distinct and identifiable people, leading to elaborate political-administrative structures to keep them subject. This coupled with European chauvinism leads to the relentless oppression of the subject-people.

To speak of Azania before the advent of settler-colonialism is somewhat misleading because the present borders are of recent historical origin and were drawn up by settler-colonialism. We do not have reliable sources of information and have to make do with rather rudimentary information. We may say that pre-colonial Azania was inhabited by people whose mode of production had not gone beyond the primitive communal stage. All in all these economies had only achieved private property in the ownership of stock

but not of land. Social relations were not at all as antagonistic as we know them to have been in Europe. At the advent of settler-colonialism in Azania, tribes were just moving towards the formation of nationalities.

The Dutch were the first to send a garrison of men to the Cape in 1652. The White settlers launched many wars of aggression in order to gain land, livestock, grain and slave labour from the black people.

British capitalism subsequently began entrenching itself in South Africa and it was evidently incompatible with the backward feudalism of the Dutch. The white settlers allied themselves against blacks, but continued to wage wars against each other simultaneously.

We must pause here and look at the *modus operandi* of imperialism's most far-sighted ideologist, the Christian missionary. The missionary first approaches the chief humbly, Bible in hand, and asks for a small piece of land to set up his mission station. At his heels hastens the trader, the purveyor of small goods. The Bible and the bale of Lancashire cotton become the invidious seeds of devastation of the black way of life. An "agreement" follows between the chief and the Governor whereby the British become the "friend and protector" of the chief. There follows war and looting by the British leading to a "treaty" in which the chief agrees (sic) to a large piece of land belonging to his tribe. In return he receives a magistrate and a now-arrogant missionary. Other mission stations are set up and in their train come more traders. The invaded tribes are split asunder: "divide and rule" under the capable hands of the missionaries is fatally disruptive. In the "confiscated territory" the land

is shared between Boer and British. When the hungry black people try to retrieve their plundered cattle, the settler-thieves accuse them of cattle-theft and send out troops to destroy sleeping villages. Gunpowder, fire and famine are the order of the day. The farmers who have stolen the land cry out for labour: they obtain it from the plundered. When the Dutch grab the land, the British "find themselves compelled" to protect the "Natives"! Hypocrisy is a wonderful Western trait!

Dr Phillip, the Superintendent of the London Missionary Society, clearly states in *Researches in South Africa*:

*While our missionaries are everywhere scattering the seeds of civilization ... they are extending British interests, British influences and the British Empire ... Wherever the missionary places his standard among a savage tribe, their prejudices against the colonial government give way, their dependence upon the colony is increased by the creation of artificial wants ... Industry, trade and agriculture spring up.*

Dr Phillip did this work amongst the Xhosa, Revs Kitchener and Edwards amongst the Abathwa, Revs Read and van Kemp amongst the Kholkhol, Moffat amongst the Twanas and Rev Owen amongst the Zulus. Liberalism served the British empire well and its first apostles in Azania were the missionaries. Phillip *supra* clearly states that the transition from tribalism to capitalism must be engendered by the missionary. The Christian convert will want to dress, eat and otherwise act like his teacher.

And note this classic piece of advice from Phillip in the face of Maqoma's complaint about the governor's treat-

ment of his people:

*If they (the soldiers) drive away your people at the point of the bayonet, advise them to go over the Kieskamma peaceably. If they come and take away your cattle, suffer them to do it without resistance. If they burn your huts, allow them to do so ... and I am convinced you will have no occasion to repent of having followed my advice.*

The christianization and "emancipation" of the colonial slave had nothing to do with liberating him but on the contrary had everything to do with subjugating him. There was no milk of human kindness animating the heart of the missionary: the glory of God meant the profit of England.

The Zulu nationality under Shaka saw a need for black unity. Shaka set out to forge unity by force. Thus left in its wake a destruction that boggles the imagination. Society was in a state of agonizing flux.

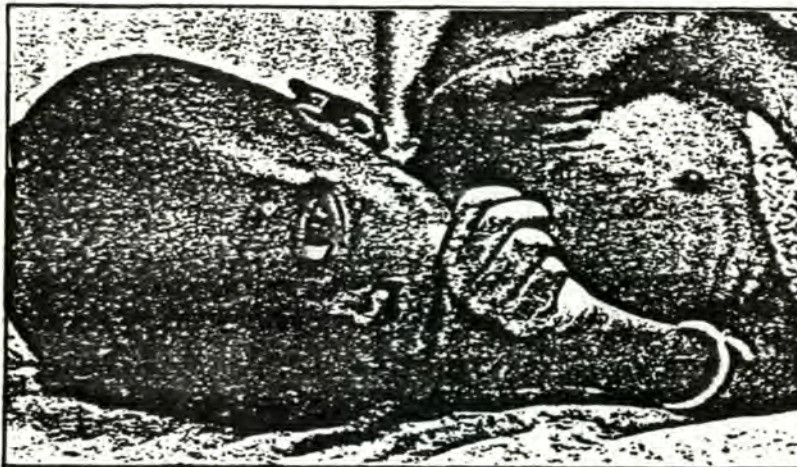
The missionary's station comprised a church, a trading store and fields for cultivation. Blacks began producing for personal consumption: the black peasant's way of life revolved around producing for the market. His sense of spatial belonging transcended the limited tribal world as he worried about the disruptive effects of war to his trade with distant Cape Town, say. His whole frame of reference geared him towards paying allegiance to an as yet ill-defined territorial entity. The tribe had grown into the nationality.

We see that imperialism manifested itself in Azania in its worst form viz settler-colonialism. Not content with the appropriation of raw materials, their processing in its own industries and its eventual sale to the subject nation at exorbitant prices, imperialism took over occupancy, possession and ownership of the land.

In fact, this was absolutely necessary for imperialism to survive. Plainly the colonizers were white and the colonized were black: the blacks naturally seek to redress their historical grievances and thus a primary goal of struggle in Azania is repossession of the land.

Control of the Azanian masses was achieved by military invasion, by the imposition of taxes, by the institution of fixed tenure, by laws providing for the disarming of black people, by pass laws. Only the white settlers are regarded as citizens of South Africa.

We come to a crucial point: the gran-



Poverty: A way of life

ting of independence to the colony meant no actual change to the social order. Britain simply relieved herself of the administrative duties of the colony, allowing the settlers to be their own administrators. Britain would no longer send administrators to SA: Instead, she would send capital for investment. Many other British colonies eg Nigeria were granted "independence" but remained neo-colonies. There was only a change of face where the darker hued became caretakers of colonialism. After 1910 white settlers still maintained their privilege as colonial masters. The "Republic of SA" declared in 1961 further froze this position: blacks were and are still excluded as citizens.

One must here note that the settler regime deliberately attempts to distort history by saying that the arrival of blacks in SA coincided with the arrival of the Dutch (in fact blacks arrived at least eight centuries before!) and by calling the people all sorts of derogatory names eg Bantu (people), "Bushmen" and/or "Hottentots" while referring to themselves as the "afrikaners" i.e. Africans (this deliberate terminology is meant to suggest that the settlers own the land and that the black people are immigrants).

The "legalized" UDI that was the Act of Union was inspired by the Bambata Rebellion. The last war of resistance (1906) spurred the imperialists into uniting the settlers. Bambata said "the African people lost the land on the battlefield and can only regain it on the battlefield."

The 1910 Act, then, served to seal the partnership of Boer and Briton and is a vestige of colonialism. It consolidated the dispossession of the black people politically (and formally extended the dispossessed to include the so-called Indian). Note that even by English common law principles (*nemo dat quod non habet*) this "transfer of land" to the Anglo-Boers was invalid: armed robbers cannot have a valid title to other robbers.

Colonialism also further balkanized Azania by creating the "protectorates" of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. Note well that these people actually asked the British to protect them from the boers! The colonial consolidation programme was completed by "benevolent" Britain without the need to fire a single bullet.

We may argue that the so-called Xhosas, Sothos, Coloureds, Indians, Tawanas etc., because of their

landlessness and structured propertylessness, constitute a single black nationality i.e. nation in embryo. The repossession of land and the consequent seizure of political power is an absolute necessity for the achievement of nationhood in the specific conditions of Azania. Note that the achievement of political power does not necessarily mean the achievement of nationhood. Zambia, Uganda etc have gained political independence long before the process of nation-building reached maturity. The acquisition of state power should speed up unity and identification with a clearly defined territorial entity.

BC has long emphasized the National Question. The records in *S v COOPER & OTHERS* at page 61 quotes a resolution proposed by Tiro in 1973 which says:

*That this GSC noting that SASO's policy with regard to ownership and political character of this country can be exploited by our enemies for their own ends.*

*Therefore wishes to explicitly state that: this country belongs to Black people and to them alone. Whites will live in or leave this country on terms laid down by Blacks and on condition that they respect the Black people.*

*This should not be construed as anti-whitism: It only means that in as much as Black people live in Europe on terms laid down by Europeans, whites shall be subjected to the same conditions.*

*We further wish to state that in our operation we shall always be pro-Black.*

The BC Movement has consistently opposed the balkanization of Azania into bantustans. In doing this the ruling class is attempting to impose its idea of who or what constitutes the NATION. To say that there are various "national groups" in South Africa (multi-nationalism, multi-racialism or non-racialism) is to propagate the same ruling class idea. BC, by contrast, has long employed the banner slogan **ONE AZANIA, ONE NATION**. The BC Movement asserts that Black nationalism is the driving force of the struggle.

BC asserts that blacks suffer from national oppression and class exploitation and that the black working class is the vanguard of the struggle. The black people constitute the core

of the emergent Azanian nation. The former settler-colonialists will have to re-orientate themselves to become Azanians. Their acceptability to Azania is conditional on their willingness to accept the reality of the new state. The BC Movement sees that it is necessary to wed the Social with the National Question in order to guarantee that the gains of the revolution will not be sabotaged by treacherous petit-bourgeois leadership.

When imperialism began exploiting Azania's mineral wealth, there was an influx of skilled white workers to the country. This group was in no time elevated to a labour aristocracy and protected from competition by the black workers. The Industrial Conciliation Act of 1913 legalized this division, formally drawing the white labour aristocrat into the ruling class. Thus the white labour aristocrat participated in legitimizing land robbery and arrogating to white settlerdom 87% of Azania.

We reject the notion of Internal colonialism because it is based on the false assumption that the whites are natives of Azania. The absence of a metropolitan power makes SA a semi-colony. Doctrines like Internal colonialism are unsubtle concessions to the heightened consciousness of the black people. European chauvinism simply refuses to recognize the right of national self-determination amongst blacks. In Azania, the multi-racialists or progressive-democrats (the modern day missionaries) try to propagate that Azania "belongs to all who live in it, black and white". We repeat that Azania is not a prostitute which belongs to all or everybody: Azania belongs to the black people. BC is of the view that invariably the most radical amongst the whites is imbued with racism and that no black person can wish away his practical experience at the hands of white society.

Whites who claim that they are committed to seeing a total transformation of this society must slough off the layers of ruling class racist indoctrination and self-induced racist prejudice and begin actively to denounce their heritage of land-robbery, and proclaim the legitimacy of national self-determination led by the black working class, submerge their instinctive herrenvolk and hegemonic desires. When such primary stages of re-socialization are totally experienced, such persons are on the road to becoming Azanians.

## National Forum

# Africa shall be free when Azania is liberated

## The road ahead

We, the oppressed and exploited people of Azania, are witnessing the intensification of the Imperialist to assault and hegemonic interests in the region which is aimed at stemming the tide of the total liberation of the people of South Africa.

We note with concern the role some statesmen in Southern Africa have played in that they have become tools of imperialism by promoting the general project of weakening the liberation movement and entrenching racism in South Africa.

For this reason the National Internal Summit called by the National Forum Committee has examined the following issues and passed the following resolutions:

### 1. Our resolve in regard to the Frontline states.

We acknowledge that the Frelimo Government despite its valiant struggle against Portuguese colonialism and its support for liberation struggles in South Africa was compelled to sign the Nkomati Accord under extreme pressure. Constrained by the heritage of their colonial past and by economic and military considerations beyond their control, they chose this dangerous path of placing their faith in the hands of South Africa's designs and American imperialism.

### 2. Warning to Frontline States.

Against this background we wish to strongly remind the Frontline states and other signatories to the Lusaka

Manifesto of 1969 that the destabilising efforts and accords in the region contradict even the moderate sentiments of that manifesto.

We also wish to impress upon the Frontline States that the political developments in this country have reached a point where it is necessary for them to reassess their position and to take heed and not dilute and distort the aspirations and ideas of the oppressed and exploited masses.

### 3. On the national convention and the civil rights struggle.

We reject the idea of encouraging a national convention as a strategy by the ruling class and their allies which will entrench power in the hands of the racist capitalist regime and their puppets, and thereby betray the struggle for total liberation.

It is in this context that the reduction of the struggle for national self-determination to a mere civil rights campaign is condemned as a gross misrepresentation of the revolutionary character of the struggle.

### 4. National self-determination.

We reiterate that our struggle is one for national self-determination which is characterised by:

- *The reconquest of the land;*
- *The building of an Azanian nation through an ongoing process of struggle;*

This position statement emerged as a result of the deliberations held at the National Internal Summit on the Nkomati Accord at Edendale on 21-22 April 1984. The NFC appreciated FRELIMO'S dilemma and emphasized that the Black people of Azania need to gather their vital resources - only the liberation of Azania can mean liberation for Africa.

- *The leadership of the black working class;*
- *A socialist character and content.*
- *Anti-Imperialism*

### 5. The forces of liberation

We view the struggle for liberation as a single struggle waged by various liberation forces and we see the Nkomati accord and related events in Swaziland, Lesotho and other countries as a temporary setback.

We, therefore, consider the weakening of any of these as a blow to the entire liberation movement.

### 6. The road ahead.

In the light of the Nkomati Accord the focus of our struggle will undoubtedly shift onto the internal arena. In this circumstance the liberation forces are presented with an historic opportunity to turn a weakness into a strength.

More than ever before it is incumbent on us to promote practical principled unity of all organisations of the oppressed and exploited people.

The Nkomati Accord indirectly extends the reservoir of cheap black labour on which the racist, capitalist regime thrives and this threat to the labour movement must be met by intensifying organisation and struggle in trade unions and other working class structures.

## Dead men tell no tales

"I understand that the people are hungry, Comrade, but I have a promise of six million tons of the choicest of Cape apples if only you will be prepared to be seen with your arch-enemy Boater in public. I have it here, in writing, that if you can sign some document or other we will all begin eating a little bit more," Joaquim said.

Samora knew it too, knew fully well that if he signed along the dotted line he would in a way be "opening sesame" for himself. But unlike Joaquim, he was also aware that such a seemingly innocent exercise like scrawling his initials on papers drafted in Pretoria had its own dangers.

"I have always said it will definitely be a long spoon that I will need to sup with any devil. I have also always stressed the care to be taken when accepting bullets coated with sugar, for they are as lethal as those of lead. Have you not yet learnt that it is foolhardy to accept any gifts from the Greeks?" Inquired Samora.

"Be very careful, Comrade. Boater is not a Greek. He and his people have made it clear that they will die to preserve their national identity. He is Afrikaner," retorted Joaquim, classics never having been one of his passions.

Samora ignored him and thought of another obstacle.

"If we sign that thing, Joaquim, do you realise we will have nobody left to blame? Whom will we start calling the "forces of darkness" and "running dogs of the system?" Whom will we start labelling an "imperialist aggressor?" Whom will we accuse of colonialism, because having signed will have made us their colony? Think bright, man, and earn your escudos," said Samora.

But the lure of the apples had got hold of Joaquim, and he was not to be put off by any amount of chiding. Just as the Biblical Eve fell for the magical charms of the fruit, so did the gullible minister for other lands.

"The apples, Samora, the apples! Just think about it! Six million tons of those sweet little things! My soul! Six million tons, Samora! Six



Samora Machel

million," he cooed.

Samora's taste buds were already tingling to the imagined taste of the fruit, though he would not admit it outright.

Instead he said: "Alright. I will sign the imperialist-inspired papers. I will sign for the apartheid apples. It will be done in the name of peace, and we might just appease the peasants. But what if Lenin turns in his grave once he discovers that we are given apples by the capitalists and colonialists of this world?"

Joaquim did not bother about what Lenin might do. He was a firm believer in the theory that dead men tell no tales. All he wanted to hear had been said, and the apples would soon be rolling over the waves of the Indian Ocean in their millions.

Quick as a flash he bolted inside Samora's palace and made for the telephone. His hands were trembling and he could scarcely hold the instrument because of his excitement.

He dialled Pretoria and as soon as the connection was made he rasped into the mouthpiece, "Is that Baas Boater, please? I want to speak to Baas Boater!"

The man on the other end said, "It is Baas Botha. Praat, jong!"

Joaquim could no longer hold his excitement: "Oh, my baas! Oh, my great baas! When can I come to see you again? Today, perhaps? This afternoon? Please, baas!"

"In connection with what is it, man? You is not talking properly, and I am



P.W. Botha

In a big hurry because, you see, you people must answer that we must meet at the Nkomati place otherwise we come again and destroy yourrr places. You see?"

But Joaquim had seen too much destruction of his fatherland to care about any more bombings. He was not about to tell "Boater" over the phone what he had.

He wanted a good excuse to go to Pretoria for some more good food and wines and he would not throw away such a magnificent opportunity by saying anything over the telephone.

"Baas, I have good news. I want to" he started, but was cut short.

"Alright man. I am sending an impaia fighterr plant to pick you up now, see? I will be waiting for you and I want good news. The radio and television peoples here want news positively, see? There are also these newspaperrr peoples, see?"

Joaquim was by now beside himself. He said: "Baas, I am coming. please have the T-Bone steak, the rice, custard and jelly, ice-cream, milkshakes, strawberry jam, those yellow peaches in syrup, the koeksusters that the Missus bakes so nicely ..."

The other man was equally delighted, but for other reasons. He saw that the carrot and stick method was still an effective weapon, even though bombs every now and then settled most disputes even if the disputes were of an imaginary nature.

"Right, Joaquim, right. You will eat like a good boy tonight. Totsiens."

# The Conflict

## A clash of cultures

Understanding the nature of psychological oppression to discover precisely where one fits in the scheme of things in an unequal society requires that we briefly examine the history of the conflict that has developed between the oppressed and the oppressor.

In 1652 Jan van Riebeeck and his party landed at the Cape. That date signified for the peoples of this country the beginning of the battle between the indigenous people and the white colonisers from Europe.

From the outset there developed a conflict of interests in that the colonisers sought to exploit the wealth of the land at the expense of the indigenous people.

The indigenous people themselves saw the colonisers as a threat to their continued existence and their rightful ownership of the land. Therefore, the indigenous people began to resist the efforts of the colonisers to encroach upon what was rightfully theirs.

In the beginning the conflict took the form of a series of skirmishes between the Khoi and San people against the Dutch colonisers. The skirmishes followed upon disputes over land and cattle.

These military attacks were bound to end with the colonisers being more successful because of their superior military power. As the colonisers

realised that there was much to be reaped from the land they stepped up their campaigns against the Khoisan and eventually defeated them.

The Khoisan people were literally wiped off the face of the earth by the colonisers who used a variety of tactics to win their battles for supremacy, and lost little time in subjugating the indigenous people in whom they saw a ready labour force.

As it has been seen throughout the world where Europeans invaded other lands, the colonisers had a particular view of the original inhabitants of the land.

For Jan van Riebeeck and his party, the inhabitants of this land were 'savages', 'simple-minded', 'dirty', 'quarrelsome', and a 'nuisance'.

They also regarded them as 'pagans' (non-Christian) and thus looked down upon the people they came into contact with in this part of the world.

This superiority complex gave the colonisers the excuse that they required to be able to oppress the people and exploit the land. They believed that they had the authority from God to 'civilize' the indigenous people who had become the children of Satan.

What we witnessed in this part of our

history was the meeting of two different ways of living. The one more militarily and technically advanced; the other still emerging from its own feudal development.

Not only was this a clash of two different economic systems; but it was also a clash of two different cultures, two different value systems.

The powerful system was able to defeat the weaker one. After the defeat of the weaker system the conqueror set about a task of completely destroying the vestiges of that system. It did so to more easily control and manipulate the defeated people so that they could be oppressed and exploited to maintain the power and the privilege of the stronger system.

However, unlike in the other areas where there was a clash of systems, in South Africa the conquerors did not develop an assimilative strategy, i.e. they did not incorporate sections of the defeated people into their system. Rather they opted for a system of exclusion where the defeated people became the hewers of wood and the drawers of water.

A clear division was marked between the ruler and the ruled based upon the colour of the skin. Whites were the rulers and blacks were the ruled.



# Who needs the civilisation of the oppressor?

## THE CHURCH

We have seen that the rulers had a certain view of the ruled. They saw the ruled as non-Christian, and so they brought in the church to effect a campaign of 'missionising' the indigenous people.

The Christian Church was used as a tool to 'civilize' the indigenous people. In that it broke down the traditional value systems within the indigenous community and replaced them with the values and ideas of the Christian world.

This meant that the indigenous people were urged to reject themselves and their own way of looking at the world and see themselves as they were defined by their new teachers.

The church's role did not begin after the military campaign but in some instances went ahead of the militarists.

Missionaries such as David Livingstone are good examples of the forebearers of the 'Christian word'. They came to Africa in the belief that they were charged with a mission by God to 'civilize' the people of Darkest Africa.

Their task lay in persuading the indigenous people to define themselves in terms laid down by the gospel of Christianity. They were call-

## Clash of cultures

ed upon to reject the traditional methods of worship, to hate their past, themselves and their own people.

Everything had to be redefined in terms of Christianity. However, the indigenous people found it difficult to come to terms with a religion that called upon them to relinquish 'material things' and live in the hope of a pleasant 'hereafter'.

They could not come to terms with the jealous God who took everything away from them and gave nothing concrete in return. And when the people rejected the Christian teachings the military might of the Europeans moved in.

Having been defeated the people were forced to reject themselves; and were forced to accept the dictates of the rulers. The way of life determined by the Christian found the defeated people always in a position of subservience because they could not do anything without being told by their masters.

The first step of the conqueror was to break down the beliefs of the conquered, and the church led the way in this. The next step was to break down the language, the dress, education process and the cultural traditions.

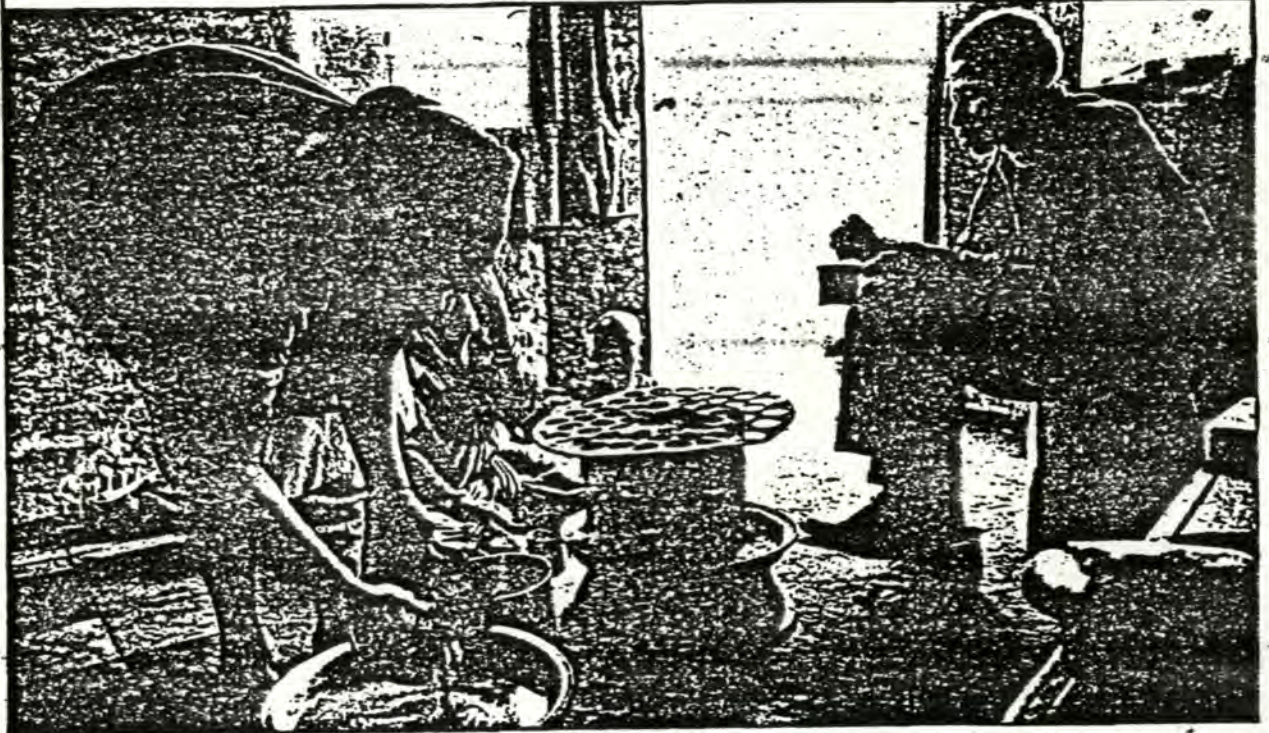
## MENTAL CRIPPLING

This process led to the mental crippling of the indigenous people. No longer were the people allowed to make decisions about their lives. Now they found that decisions were being made for them. And whenever the people resisted, the military might of the conqueror came down heavily upon them.

All the while the conquerors were taking away the land, and recruiting from the conquered for their labour. This caused, with the black people, the development of an illness - a type of culture shock - where they found that their history, their culture, their language and their wealth was slowly disappearing.

Thus, in their minds the people became lost. They did not know what to do. In most societies where the coloniser had defeated the will of the people there developed a number of syndromes which we shall discuss in the next issue.

*(To be continued)*



# The Manifesto

Our struggle for national liberation is directed against the historically evolved system of racism and capitalism which holds the people of Azania in bondage for the benefit of the small minority of the population, i.e. the capitalists and their allies, the white workers and the reactionary sections of the middle classes. The struggle against apartheid, therefore, is no more than the point of departure for our liberatory efforts.

The Black working class inspired by revolutionary consciousness is the driving force of our struggle for national self-determination in a unitary Azania. They alone can end the system as it stands today because they alone have nothing at all to lose. They have a world to gain in a democratic, anti-racist and socialist Azania, where the interests of the workers shall be paramount through worker control of the means of production, distribution and exchange. In the socialist republic of Azania the land and all that belongs to it shall be wholly owned and controlled by the Azanian people. The usage of the land and all that accrues to it shall be aimed at ending all exploitation.

It is the historic task of the Black working class and its organizations to mobilise the oppressed people in order to put an end to the system of

oppression and exploitation by the white ruling class.

## OUR PRINCIPLES

Successful conduct of the national liberation struggle depends on the firm basis of principle whereby we will ensure that the liberation struggle will not be turned against our people by treacherous and opportunistic "leaders" and liberal influences. The most important of these principles are:

- *Anti-racism, anti-imperialism and anti-sexism.*
- *Anti-collaboration with the ruling class and all its allies and political instruments.*
- *Independent working class organization, free from bourgeois influences.*

## OUR RIGHTS

In accordance with these principles the following rights shall be entrenched in Azania:

- *The right to work.*
- *State provision of free and compulsory education for all. Education shall be geared*

*towards liberating the Azanian people from all oppression, exploitation and ignorance.*

- *State provision of adequate and decent housing for all.*
- *State provision of free health, legal, recreational and other community services that will respond positively to the needs of the people.*

## OUR PLEDGES

In order to bring into effect these rights of the Azanian people, we pledge ourselves to struggle tirelessly for:

- *The abolition of all laws, institutions and attitudes that discriminate against our people on the basis of colour, sex, religion, language or class.*
- *The re-integration of the bantustan human dumping grounds into a unitary Azania.*
- *The formation of trade unions that will heighten revolutionary worker consciousness.*
- *The development of one national culture inspired by socialist values.*



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