

A CLARION CALL

A CALL TO UNITY

FOR A UNITED FREE SOUTH AFRICA

**NOTHING LESS THAN
THE 10-POINT PROGRAMME**



**UNITY MOVEMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA
(UMSA)**

FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY

A CLARION CALL - A CALL TO UNITY

This year, on the 17th December 1983, will be the fortieth birthday of the Unity Movement of South Africa. It was in 1943 that the All-African Convention, a federation of African organisations issued the first clarion call that led to the first conference of the Unity Movement held in Bloemfontein. This was the first conference in our history in which organisations of the different ethnic groups of the oppressed in South Africa met on an equal footing to discuss the problems that faced the oppressed people of our country as a whole. It was here that decisions were taken that were to affect the nature and the course of the development of the struggle in our country. If we accept the dictum that all politics in South Africa centre around what the oppressors variously call "The Native Problem" or "The Black Menace", then we must accept that the decisions in 1943 of what we called the Preliminary Conference of the Non-European Unity Movement (now called the Unity Movement of South Africa) altered the nature of the struggle of the oppressed as well as the approach of the ruling-class to the problem. A proper historian cannot fail to notice that after the different ethnic groups of the oppressed decided to sink their mutual prejudices and come together under a single federation followed by the launching of the liberation struggle on the basis of a principled struggle for full democratic rights for all, a struggle which toppled practically all the apartheid political institutions that had been created by the successive governments for each ethnic group - the Native Representative Council, the Coloured and Indian Councils, the Bungas, location advisory boards etc - the ruling class hardened its attitudes.

The rising tide of nationalism amongst the oppressed convinced the ruling-class that the sly-fox policy which went by the name of "segregation" was not sufficient to stem the tide. Thus the party of the English-speaking section of the oppressors was voted out of power in 1948 and replaced by the party of the Boers who, untrammelled by any need to pay lip-service to democracy, could introduce more fascistic methods of rule. The fundamental policies were not changed but brutality was let loose on the population in the name of "apartheid". In this sense the decisions of the first conference of the Unity Movement in 1943 and the launching of the struggle along the "New Road", laid the basis for a change of course in the political development of South Africa. From that moment on to this day it is the actions of the oppressed, their militancy, that determine the reactions of the oppressor. Every step forward taken by the oppressed produces a counter-motion, vicious reprisals from the oppressor. We deem it opportune and proper that this year of the fortieth anniversary of the birth of the Unity Movement of South Africa, a year that forebodes the biggest crisis in our history, we should publish excerpts from the minutes of that momentous conference as well as from other documents of the Movement published at that time. We quote from "The Awakening of a People" by I. B. Tabata, a book which is not available to our people because every re-issue is promptly banned in South Africa. Let us hear the voice of the oppressed when the new approach was being formulated.

"Preliminary Unity Conference, December 17th 1943"

This Conference was regarded as a preliminary one for the purpose of exploring the channels through which unity for all the Blacks could be established. All the decisions taken were to be of a provisional nature pending confirmation by the various groups at their respective conferences. Delegates visualised an all-in Unity Conference in the near future and to this end a provisional committee was formed which would take upon itself the task of preparing for and convening such a conference.

The main question for discussion was the basis on which such unity should be established. Delegates were of the opinion that simply to come together was not enough. They expressed themselves strongly on the need for placing the struggle on a principled basis because experience in the past had shown that without such a basis there is always the possibility of one or other section making use of others for its own benefit. It was emphasised that a loose unity or ad hoc combinations to be decided on from time to time were not acceptable since they would open the door wide for opportunism. It was felt that all sections should agree to bind themselves to certain principles of action. With this view Conference drew up a programme containing the minimum demands of a people seeking democratic rights - the 10-Point Programme:

Extract from Draft Declaration of Unity:

These organisations of the Non-Europeans, which in themselves are not political parties but federal bodies embracing various political, economic and social organisations and parties of all shades of opinion from every walk of life, have met together in Conference at Bloemfontein, 17th December 1943.

After frank and friendly deliberations on questions affecting all Non-Europeans in South Africa, the Conference has come to the following conclusions:

(8) The recognition that Segregation is an artificial device of the rulers, and an instrument for the domination of the Non-Europeans, is at the same time a recognition that the division, strife and suspicion amongst the Non-European groups themselves is also artificially fostered by the ruling class.

From this it follows: (a) That no effective fight against segregation is possible by people who tacitly accept segregation amongst themselves.

(b) That the acceptance of Segregation, in whatever form, serves only the interests of the oppressors.

(c) That our fight against Segregation must be directed against the segregationists within as well as without.

(d) That the unity of all the Non-Europeans is a necessary precondition for this total fight against Segregation.

(9) As representatives of the Non-European oppressed people, we have come together in full recognition of the above in order to lay the foundation for real unity amongst the Non-Europeans. As the purpose of this unity is to fight against Segregation, discrimination and oppression of every kind and to fight

for equality and freedom for all, such a Unity Movement cannot and must not be for a moment considered as directed against the Europeans (an anti-European front). it is an Anti-Segregation Front and, therefore, all those European organisations and societies which are genuinely willing to fight segregation (as distinct from those who profess to be against Segregation but in reality are only instruments of the ruling class) are welcome to this anti-Segregation Unity Movement.

(12) in view of the fact that all the disabilities, economic, educational, social and cultural (enumerated above) all flow from the lack of political rights, the struggle for full democratic rights must become the pivotal point of our struggle for freedom. But while recognising that our struggle is chiefly a political struggle, we must not neglect any other form of struggle so long as it serves the cause of liberation. Thus it is the duty of every organisation attached to the Unity Movement to unfold to the people the meaning of the following programme, a programme not for bargaining but for representing the minimum demands and fundamental needs of all sections of the people.

10-Point Programme

1. *THE FRANCHISE, i.e. the right of every man and woman over the age of 21 to elect and be elected to Parliament, Provincial Council and all other Divisional and Municipal Councils.*

(This means the end of all political tutelage, of all communal or indirect representation and the granting to all Non-Europeans of the same universal equal, direct and secret ballot as at present enjoyed by Europeans exclusively).

2. *Compulsory, free and uniform education for all children up to the age of 16, with free meals, free books and school equipment for the needy.* (This means the extension of all educational rights at present enjoyed by European children, to all Non-European children, with the same access to higher education on equal terms.)

3. *Inviolability of person, of one's house, and privacy.*

(This is the elementary Habeas Corpus right. The present state of helplessness of the Non-European before the police is an outrage of the principles of democracy. No man should be molested by the police nor should his house be entered without a writ from the magistrate. The same right to inviolability and privacy at present enjoyed by the Europeans should apply to all Non-Europeans. All rule by regulations should be abolished)

4. *Freedom of speech, press, meetings and association.* (This means the abolition of the Riotous Assemblies Act, directed specifically against the Non-European. It embodies the right to combine, to form and enter Trade Unions on the same basis as Europeans.)

5. *Freedom of Movement and Occupation.*

(This means the abolition of all Pass Laws, and restriction of movement and travel within the Union; the right to live, to look for work wherever one pleases. It

means the same right to take up a profession or trade as enjoyed by Europeans.)

6. *Full equality of rights for all citizens without distinction of race, colour or sex.* (This means the abolition of all discriminatory Colour Bar Laws.)

7. *Revision of the Land Question in accordance with the above.*

(The relations of serfdom at present existing on the land must go, together with the Land Acts, together with the restrictions upon acquiring land. A new division of the land in conformity with the existing rural population living on the land and working the land, is the first task of a democratic State and Parliament.)

8. *Revision of the civil and criminal code in accordance with the above.*

(This means the abolition of feudal relations in the whole system of justice - police, magistrate, law-courts and prisons - whereby the punishment for the same crime is not the same, but is based upon the skin colour of the offender. There must be complete equality of all citizens before the law and the abolition of all punishment incompatible with human dignity.)

9. *Revision of the system of taxation in accordance with the above.* (This means the abolition of the Poll-Tax or any other tax applicable specifically to the Non-European, or discrimination between Europeans and Non-Europeans. There should be one, single progressive tax and all indirect taxation that falls so heavily on the poorer classes should be abolished).

10. *Revision of the labour legislation and its application to the mines and agriculture.*

(This means specifically the revision of the Industrial Conciliation and Wage Acts, the elimination of all restrictions and distinctions between the European worker and a Non-European worker, equal pay for equal work, equal access to Apprenticeship and skilled labour. This means the liquidation of indentured labour and forcible recruitment, the full application of Factory legislation to the mines and on the land. It means the abolition of the Masters and Servants Act and the establishment of complete equality between the seller and buyer of labour. It also means the abolition of payment in kind, and the fixing of a minimum wage for all labourers without distinction of race and colour.)

It was at this conference too that the policy of "Non-Collaboration with the oppressor" was clearly formulated, a policy that is now accepted by all progressive organisations of the oppressed including those who violently opposed it at the time but who now claim to be its originators. (See the pamphlet: *The Boycott as a Weapon of Struggle* by I. B. Tabata)

We may mention here that the leadership of the African National Congress refused to allow the ANC to become part of this wider unity which was embarking upon the "New Road of Struggle". It could not have been otherwise. At that time the African National Congress which was under the influence of the White liberals and the Communist Party of South Africa was opposed

to the policy of Non-collaboration and committed to the policy of electing three White leader goats to represent the whole of the African population in a Whites-only parliament of 153 representatives. The three Judas goats were: White liberals and a White member of the Communist Party of South Africa.

The clear statement of the aspirations, aims and revolutionary policy of the oppressed people of South Africa, quoted above, was and continues to be the programme and policy of the Unity Movement of South Africa from its inception. Little wonder that BOSS found it necessary to spend millions of rands in an effort to stop the OAU from granting recognition to the Unity Movement of South Africa which would mean giving it the necessary support in the struggle to liberate our people from White domination. However, we know that many African states are now disillusioned with neo-colonialism and are themselves seeking the road to real liberation. This is the reason why imperialism is attempting to destroy the OAU itself. We know also that the honest young fighters in our country do not know the firm basis on which the genuine struggle for liberation in South Africa was founded because all literature of the Movement was banned. This banning of literature dealt a far more crippling blow to the Movement in general than the blow to individual organisations. For it robbed the younger generation of the knowledge of what the people of South Africa had achieved in terms of a theory of liberation, programme and policy which had been carefully worked out on the basis of that theory and the experience gained from the actual struggle itself. Proof of the correctness of this assessment is shown by the comparative ease with which quislings, traitors, self-styled leaders of different ethnic groups can sow confusion on questions of strategic and tactical approach to the problem of fighting the oppressor's schemes for the formation of a Presidential Council, the Three-Chamber Parliament, the so-called sharing of power and the turning of the unitary state of South Africa into a so-called Multi-National state - all of which means the perpetuation of ethnic groups with their stans in order to maintain White domination.

We publish excerpts from the old minutes and documents of the Movement in order that the youth should know their rich past. They must know the political terrain that has been conquered and traversed by the nation and to realise the absolute necessity to defend it. Any retreat from these positions spells doom for the oppressed. It means a further entrenchment of White domination. The people of South Africa must realise that in spite of the tremendous growth of nationalism since the Soweto Revolt, in spite of the courage and self-sacrifice on the part of the youth, there is nevertheless a set-back on the political front. There has been a retreat from the political positions that had been conquered in the past. There has been a sad lack of a clear sighted knowledgeable leadership because there has been a break in continuity due to a temporary success on the part of the fascist rulers in dealing a heavy body blow to the Movement. As we said before, the most crippling blow was the banning of the Movement's literature which robbed the youth of the knowledge of past conquests and achievements of the struggling masses of South Africa.

The decisions taken unanimously at the 1943 Conference of the Organisations of the oppressed should serve as a guide to action; as beacons illuminating the road, the only road that leads to liberation. There is ample evidence that the so-called leaders of the different ethnic groups are engaged in the task of drawing the struggle as a whole away from the correct road. For this they have the full backing of the oppressors whose press gives them maximum publicity in addition to other perks. The South African Government is very generous in voting funds to support its puppets. It has now become part of the duties of the police force to protect these "leaders" from the people they are supposed to be leading. They cannot hold public meetings without police protection.

But what of the unofficial leader-goats who emerge from the dim and distant past to peddle the old policies of a divided people. A South African paper gleefully publishes in this age: "Leading Transvaal Indians yesterday decided to revive the old Transvaal Indian Congress which was a member of the Congress Alliance with the African National Congress in the 1950s and a signatory to the Freedom Charter." Ethnicism is once more rearing its ugly head. And this is not all. These reactionaries in an attempt to give themselves credentials, wave aloft the Freedom Charter which enshrines Multi-Nationalism. Having discerned that all the White parties in South Africa, from the extreme right to the pinkest of the pink, have rejected the concept of a unitary state and are united in demanding a MULTI-NATIONAL SOUTH AFRICA; these opportunists now advertise themselves as the new converts to the doctrine of Multi-Nationalism.

What does Multi-Nationalism mean? What does it look like in the concrete? It means the creation of separate parliaments or governments for each of the ethnic groups - White, Coloured, Indian and African. But a government must have jurisdiction over a specific territory in which its people reside as a nation. Since the Coloured and Indian sections reside in a Whitestan, their so-called Parliaments are meaningless. They are no more than toy Advisory Councils. If they are given separate territories, these will be Colouredstans, Indostans, leaving the whole of South Africa as a Whitestan. The decision of the old S.A.I.C. die-hards, quoted above, has another sinister aspect. It calls for an ad hoc unity, on the basis of ethnicism to fight against the creation of a Three Chamber Parliament. But to break up the oppressed into separate ethnic groups is to weaken the struggle against the oppressor's scheme. This is the surest way of smuggling in, through the backdoor, the oppressor's policy of divide and rule in order to facilitate the creation of Multi-Nationalism, i.e. Multistans. What is more regrettable is that the resolution of the S.A.I.C. die-hards received support from two leaders of two militant Black trade unions. This is further evidence that the younger people do not know the history of the struggle; the past conquests of the oppressed as a whole. Because the literature of the Movement is banned, they do not know that this very question of forming ad hoc unity on the basis of ethnic groups was thoroughly discussed and rejected as far back as 1943.

We have discussed in some detail the various manoeuvres of the official and unofficial stooges of the ruling class amongst us in order to show that all their actions and utterances are designed to weaken the struggle of the oppressed and

to throw the Movement back to pre-1943 stage, when the different ethnic groups tacitly accepted segregation or apartheid. We call upon the oppressed people of South Africa to stand firm in their demand for full and equal democratic rights as expressed in the 10-Point Programme quoted above. The era of ethnicism is dead and buried. Its roots were severed by the formation of the Non-European Unity Movement in 1943. The clumsy name of this new federation was itself historically conditioned. At that time there was no acceptable name to designate all the oppressed. The African section did not accept the term 'coloured' as used in the United States of America to designate people who were deemed to have some "black blood" in their veins. The other two sections did not accept the term African. The term Non-European expressed the need on the part of the oppressed to meet on neutral ground on an equal footing. Time was to come when the development of political consciousness among the oppressed would make the designation "Non-European" unnecessary and no longer acceptable. Thus in 1964 the name of the federation was changed to "The Unity Movement of South Africa". It was not only the programme and policy of the Movement that ensured the demise of ethnicism. The very existence of a federation of organisations of all the ethnic groups of the oppressed, drew attention away from irrelevant biological considerations and focused it on purely political matters, common disabilities which alone constituted the real basis for unity. Henceforth ethnicism began to wither away. This was abundantly proved by the dramatic events during the Soweto Revolt: Let us recall the events: African school children barely in their teens are shot down by the fascistic police in locations in Johannesburg for protesting against Bantu Education. Immediately Coloured Children in Cape Town, a thousand miles away, spontaneously institute a boycott of schools. This is followed by Indian children in Natal. This is visible proof that the children saw themselves as part of a single nation of South Africa. They had sucked the knowledge with mother's milk. The same spirit was vocalized by the older youth who subsequently joined the revolt when they proudly proclaimed: "When we talk of blacks we mean all the oppressed in our country."

The tribalist and racialist so-called leaders of ethnic groups are presently engaged in the process of debasing the political concept and policy of the Movement and degrading its political coinage. They create a caricature of a United Front of "leaders" of a Bantustan, Colouredstan and Indostan "The Black Alliance" in order to undermine the real unity of the oppressed. Buthelezi head of KwaZulu tribalstan puts himself up as a champion of the use of "boycott as a weapon of struggle". He calls upon his counterpart in the Coloured section to boycott the formation of Botha's three-chamber parliament while he himself not only refuses to boycott a Bantustan but actively operates it. His fellow United-frontists are not allowed to accept an inferior institution from which Africans are excluded. If Allan Hendrickse and his coterie persist in accepting crumbs from the White rulers' table, the whole of the Coloured people may face the wrath of the Zulus. What a debasement of the policy of Non-collaboration.

Let us make two points clear: (a) No ethnic group of the oppressed is responsible for the oppressor's policy of divide and rule. (b) When one group is placed in a position in which it alone can apply the boycott, it is not doing so as a favour to their brothers in oppression, who have been excluded from particular inferior institutions. It is doing it on principle in the furtherance of the struggle for liberation of all the oppressed. Non-Collaboration is not an instrument for bargaining. It is a basic policy upon which the Movement is founded. The boycott is the application of that policy at specific times on specific issues. The policy was designed to free the minds of the oppressed from slavish dependence on the oppressor in order to make it possible for them to launch an independent struggle free from his baneful influences.

Once more we issue a clarion call to unity on the basis of the policy and programme unanimously decided upon at a conference of the organisations of the people of South Africa when they laid down the foundation of a struggle to build a nation free from oppression and exploitation of man by man. Let not petty differences or personal ambitions for leadership stand in the way of such a noble task. We appeal particularly to the leaders of the trade-union movement to realise that their struggle cannot be separated from the general struggle for emancipation. Even their basic demands for equal pay for equal work, and equal opportunities cannot be realised so long as the vast majority of workers, the Blacks, belong to an oppressed people and are therefore denied equal political rights in the country of their birth. The task of trade union leaders, therefore, is to draw the workers through their unions into the federation of the organisations of the oppressed. The problems of the oppressed and exploited workers are inseparably bound up with those of the oppressed people as a whole. In short they are the problems of the nation. We cannot solve them while we shut ourselves up in separate sealed compartments. Parochialism serves only the interests of the ruling class. It is time for trade union leaders to realize that their struggle for economic benefits has grave limitations. It is time they realized the necessity to lift the struggle out of the narrow groove of economism onto the broad struggle for emancipation. This means drawing trade unions into the federation of the organisations of the oppressed people - peasants, students, intellectuals etc - all progressive organizations which are pledged to fight for nothing less than full democratic rights. This automatically excludes all stooge organizations and institutions created by the government for separate ethnic groups. It is time to realize that it is impossible for the Movement to achieve its goal without the working class playing its proper role of leadership in the struggle for liberation. Perhaps it is necessary to explain why and how we arrive at this conclusion.

The starting point of our national struggle in South Africa is a fight for the attainment of bourgeois democratic rights. This implies that the capitalist system which was implanted in our country had strong vestiges of a pre-capitalist era. Indeed it was built on the basis of feudal social relations. Black workers had no more political or human rights than the serfs of the old feudal system. This situation imposes a duty on the National Movement to accomplish the tasks that were left unfinished by the old bourgeois revolutions in Europe. It is in the interests of the working class equally with the peasantry, as well as all the classes among the oppressed to put an end to feudal social relations in our country, that is, to complete the tasks of a bourgeois revolution. But a revolution should and must be led by a specific class in whose name it is launched. In our country there

are no Black bourgeoisie to lead such a struggle. In any case in the epoch of the highest development of imperialism it is impossible for the bourgeoisie as a class to lead a successful revolution of any kind except a counter-revolution. Thus this historic task of leading the revolution falls on the shoulders of the working-class, the only other fundamental class in society. The immediate objective of the struggle is the attainment of bourgeois democratic rights but the historic objective demand of the working class is socialism. Since it is not possible to skip historic stages, the working-class must of necessity obtain bourgeois democratic rights for all the oppressed en route to socialism.

In this sense the National Movement is in essence an anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist Movement, in short, a class struggle. Here we come up against a serious problem of leadership which must be openly and frankly discussed. Due to historical factors the leadership of all our national political organisations has been the monopoly of the petty-bourgeoisie, an in-between class sandwiched between the two fundamental classes in society, namely the bourgeoisie and the working class. Because of its social position this class is by nature unstable. It depends for its existence, both politically and economically on attaching itself to one or another of the two fundamental classes. In times of crisis it veers towards that class that appears to be the stronger. In political terms this class is congenitally opportunistic. This is not a personal trait but a class quality inbred by the necessity to survive. In the titanic battle between the two fundamental classes in society, the petty bourgeois has something to lose. It will be subordinated to whatever class that wins. Thus it has to calculate which class will offer better terms. Will it live better as a class under capitalism or under socialism which seeks to destroy all classes. If we look at our problems in South Africa in this light, then we shall realize how critical the problem of leadership is. The present crisis in our country is building up to a confrontation. Either capitalism survives, which means the perpetuation of White domination or it is replaced by socialism which means the rule of the working class, a class that has nothing to lose but its chains and has everything to gain by its victory. In view of this the parochialism of trade union leaders not only weakens the Movement but leaves the door wide open to petty bourgeois leadership at a time when the developing crisis is forcing the two fundamental classes to draw their lines of battle. Is this not a suicidal policy? Is this not a policy of criminal shortsightedness?

The bourgeoisie have a highly developed class consciousness. They can read the writing on the wall. Having studied the history of revolutions, they are embarking on a plan to stop the rising revolutionary tide by deflecting it from its course. Imperialism is at this moment mobilizing world public opinion for talks between the racist government and selected organisations. Internally the White South African liberals with the connivance of the Botha regime, are grooming Gatsha Buthelezi as the spokesman of the African section of the oppressed. All the "troublesome" organisations with unacceptable policies and programmes will be rigorously excluded. And what will be the basis of the discussions in that Conference? Multi-nationalism, another name for Bantustans. Confronted with such a situation, what is the petty bourgeois likely to do? In the first place, is it likely to agree to the exclusion of the "troublesome" organizations that are likely to raise awkward questions which will jeopardize the discussions? Secondly, will it have the courage to reject outright the item on the agenda on Multi-nationalism on the ground that South African citizenship is not negotiable? Or will it weigh

the gains and losses of compromise on such vital matters. These are the questions that must be thoroughly discussed by the oppressed people of our country. We must warn the compromisers amongst us that a Muzorewa solution is not possible in racist South Africa. No Black man will be allowed to become prime minister of South Africa until their racist military power is broken. But this cannot be done by any number of armed freedom fighters marching in from outside; not even if they have the backing of African states. The only power at our disposal capable of defeating the racist military might is that power which is capable of disrupting all industrial activity and communications. That power rests in the hands of the oppressed Black masses in South Africa. For it is impossible to run any form of industry or farming without the oppressed in our country. We have the capability therefore to bring industrial life to a standstill. But this requires tremendous organisation and foresight. There is no question that the people of South Africa do have the foresight. As far back as 1943, they devised an organisational form which would meet the revolutionary requirements of our epoch. The structure of the Unity Movement was designed to bring together under one programme and policy, the organizations of the working-class, the peasantry, the students, in short, all progressive organisations of the oppressed. This is why the press of the oppressors, English and Afrikaans, tried to kill the Unity Movement from its inception with a blanket of silence. You will search in vain for any mention of the Unity Movement in the columns of the oppressors' press throughout the 40s and the 50s when it reached its zenith. But you will find volumes of journalists' notes in the archives of all their newspapers, notes that never saw the light of day. It was those files that the prosecution used during the trial of our men in the 70s. It was for the same reason that the South African rulers were so concerned with blocking the recognition of the Unity Movement by the OAU. Just imagine for a moment what our power would have been today if all the various organisations were in a position to act as battalions in the huge army of the oppressed. The workers, backed by the population, would be in a position to bring to a standstill all industry and transport; the peasantry would take care of the mines; the clerks - the administration. Such a situation would undermine and paralyse their army and police force, leaving the oppressors without a reply.

It's not too late for our people to return to their original political positions. In fact, with the present high degree of political consciousness, it will be easier to mobilize the population in spite of the infinitely higher degree of oppression. Remember: it is not by the gun alone or even chiefly, that people win their revolutionary struggles. It is efficient organization with the correct policy and, the readiness to die for freedom. A determined movement with a correct policy is not easily diverted from its course. It is able to perceive the diversionary tactics of the enemy. Right now there are many such diversions. The oppressors' press is busy trying to introduce ethnicism through the backdoor. Everyday the press blazons the names of some popinjays upon whom they have thrust the cloak of leadership of some ethnic group or other. Everyday the South African press screeches to high heaven about some bomb that burst in this or that place. The question to be asked is: who, and who else, plants those bombs. We must always remember that Hitler's cohorts themselves set fire to the German Reichstag in order to justify the introduction of naked fascism with its brutalities which culminated in the roasting of Jews in the gas ovens of Belsen etc. The oppressors' simulated fear that bombs may

succeed in toppling the edifice of White domination is partly calculated to raise false hopes on the part of the oppressed and at the same time draw their attention away from the arduous task of building the real force which alone is capable of toppling the racial paradise.

The central aim of our struggle is the seizure of power which can be accomplished under the leadership of the working class supported by the peasantry. But trade union leaders persist in their parochial attitude which keeps the unions out of the federation of the people. At best they think only of involving local communities in what they call "community-based trade unionism". This is no time to think in terms of amorphous communities here and there. It is time to raise our sights and think in terms of a nation. We are faced with NATIONAL (not community) oppression. We have to confront racists with a national political organisation which federates all progressive organisations of the oppressed, which accept nothing less than full democratic rights in a unitary South Africa.

We send out this clarion call to unity in the firm belief our people will once more respond to it. Those who are in positions of leadership in their respective organisations or unions have a duty to the nation. They have to discharge it by mobilizing the people in a manner that will enable them to achieve their cherished goal of liberation. This is no time for ambitions or aggrandisement. It is time for self-sacrifice in the interests of our nation. It is the noble task of each generation to leave behind a worthy heritage for its young and those still unborn.

WE BUILD A NATION