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On 24 March 1991 at the Lambeth Town Hall, London, a commemoration of the Sharpeville massacre of 1960 took place. Sharing the platform with Clarence Makwethu, president of the PAC, was Livingstone Mqotsi a senior Unity Movement person who read out a message. The message was delivered before the meeting in Harare on 17 April 1991 between the executives of the ANC and the PAC to discuss, inter alia, the formation of a "Patriotic Front" and the issue of the united call for a Constituent Assembly. Comrade Mqotsi would, no doubt, have commented on that development.

The message is of great importance. Here we have a seasoned fighter employing his fine intellect and years of experience in the struggle to give invaluable advice. The advice, though directed at the PAC, is no less applicable to the entire liberatory movement.

The message was highly relevant at the time it was delivered. It is more so now.

"I bring you the warm and comradely greetings of the New Unity Movement of South Africa who wish you success in your commemoration of the tragic events that took place 31 years ago at Sharpeville when, at least 69 people were massacred by the violent South African regime, that was determined and still is determined to entrench and perpetuate a system of repression, exploitation and dictatorship. We regard these as occasions of national significance for our people when we should remind ourselves of the basic principles upon which our struggle for liberation and self-determination rest and when it is appropriate for us to re-dedicate ourselves to the cause for which these and many others died. We salute them and hoist our flags in their memory.

We, in the Unity Movement, regard the invitation to this gathering as a significant development in strengthening the relationship that already exists between our two organisations and a milestone in our mutual search for meaningful organisational unity which, as you will know, is the raison d'etre for our organisation. It is fitting therefore, on this occasion, to reiterate what we consider to be the basic ingredients for building such a united front of struggle. For us these include:

 full commitment to the creation of a united, non-racial, democratic South Africa;

- full commitment to the building of national unity on the basis of declared principles and non-negotiable programme of full citizenship rights;
- 3. full commitment to a programme which recognises the paramountcy of the interests of the workers and the peasants, in the short-term as well as in the long term;
- full and unequivocal commitment to opposition to imperialism and the machinations of its agents and allies within South Africa and outside that country;
- 5. unequivocal opposition to the opportunistic, destructive tactic of a "negotiated" settlement, for there can be no viable political justification whatsoever for pretending to our struggling people that "negotiations" can advance their struggle for liberty, justice and peace;
- 6. full commitment to non-collaboration with the national and international ruling class and its agents.

From this certain consequences follow: One is that we are then able to identify who our allies are and who our enemies are and to treat them accordingly. Another consequence is that we are faced with having to make stark choices. It does not follow, for example, that even erstwhile bona fide freedom-fighter organisations are still so, are still capable of playing a liberatory role. We have to look critically at the alliances and coalitions they form and the company they keep to decide how to tolerate them. But the following are clearly outside the parameters of our liberation struggle:

- 1. De Klerk and his government of racist oppressors;
- 2. Big business who are exploiters of our people;
- 3. Capitalist-imperialist leaders right around the globe;
- 4. Collaborators and quislings in the tri-cameral parliament and the Bantustans;
- 5. The liberal bourgeoisie in the Democratic Party, the Five Freedoms Forum and IDASA, and the neo-liberals in the SACP and
- 6. The ruling-class press.

On this basis we would refuse to be party to our own enslavement, keep our organisations independent of extraneous and inimical influences and strive to liberate our South Africa from imperialist domination. It is our hope and desire that your organisation will follow in the footsteps of your late President Zephania Mothopeng who was unequivocal in his rejection of "NEGOTIATIONS" with the enemy. We hope your organisation, in honouring those of its members who have fallen in the course of the struggle for liberation, will distance itself from the jockeying that is going on presently in South Africa in the name of liberation and democracy. In this way, can the PAC expect to earn support and blessing of our people. Indeed, its strength as a progressive player in the political arena in our country lies just in this.

To do otherwise would be to throw away a golden opportunity and to promote reaction, entrench and perpetuate the status quo.

We hope finally you will continue to search for unity in our struggle. We welcome any genuine move in that direction. United, we can break the power of the oppressing ruling class and only then will political power pass into the hands of the masses, the workers and the peasants, the social base of our struggle. When that happens, our people will be in a position to "use their franchise to elect representatives to work in the Constituent Assembly (if they so choose) to set up the framework for a united, democratic, non-racial workers' republic.

OUR OPPRESSORS CANNOT DO THIS FOR US

Our priority is not to address ourselves to the ruling class — domestic and international but to organise, politicise, unite and motivate effectively the unfranchised masses."

by LIVINGSTONE MQOTSI

ON THE PASSING OF COMRADE ABDULLAH DESAI OF CAPE TOWN

This year witnessed the passing of Comrade Abdullah Desai of Cape Town. At his funeral we sent our tribute which was read out by the President of the New Unity Movement, Comrade Richard Dudley.

As we wish to share with our readers knowledge of this remarkable man, we reproduce the tribute below:

"To Family Members, Comrades and Friends of Comrade Abdullah Desai:

APDUSA, Natal, affiliated to the New Unity Movement, mourns with family members, comrades and friends the untimely death of Comrade Abdullah Desai.

We from Natal have had the honour of knowing Comrade Abdullah Desai only for the last few years of his life. In those few years he packed in so much of comradeship, warmth and generosity in our relationship that he became a very dear comrade to us.

His was a very lively mind. He was forever searching. His loves were books, articles, journals, tapes relating to the liberatory struggles both here and outside, of the present and of the past. He was par excellence the archivist for the non-Stalinist left in this country.

His generosity was amazing. At a time when people regarded their libraries as if they were Fort Knoxes, Comrade Abdullah parted with rare and precious literature without blinking an eyelid.

Politically, Comrade Abdullah was a loyal but not uncritical friend of the Unity Movement. His criticisms were never malicious. They were always helpful and constructive, the mark of a true friend.

He was a committed socialist. The intensity of his commitment was matched only by his loathing and hatred for Stalinism, especially the local variety. He was forever researching and providing ammunition in the unending fight against Stalinism.

His love for books and literature was not that of a selfish connoisseur. He read and studied political literature. He was, therefore, a reservoir of knowledge. One never left Comrade Abdullah after a visit without having learnt something interesting and useful.

One was always struck by his gentle nature even in heated political debate. His debating instrument was never the sledgehammer; it was the rapier, light and deadly.

In the past few years when renegades were preparing to switch political loyalty for personal and opportunistic reasons Comrade Abdullah remained steadfast to his principles. He never wavered in his commitment to the policy of Non-Collaboration. Hence his unconcealed contempt for the renegades and for the negotiators.

We will miss Comrade Abdullah sorely. Cape Town has certainly been diminished by his passing.

We salute Comrade Abdullah Desai!"

THE INKATHA-POLICE SCANDAL

The Inkatha-Police scandal which had captured headlines for some days in the newspapers came as no surprise to most persons who follow events, even though in the most casual manner. Who, except the most naive, believed that Inkatha is a liberation movement; that it was acting independently of the Police and other organs of the State? There are reported incidents, sufficient to fill an encyclopaedia, to show how Inkatha and the Police worked hand-in-hand. Hence, the absence of surprise and the presence of a feeling of satisfaction flowing from confirmation of what people suspected all the time.

The ripples of the exposure of the scandal have not as yet reached the shores of the cesspool. One of the first consequence was the pathetic public performance of Vlok and the Inkatha crowd. Seldom have public figures so completely condemned themselves by their own word and conduct in the eyes of millions of viewers. De Klerk saved the day for the ruling class by demoting (i.e., wrist taps) Vlok and Magnus Malan and by performing certain other conjuring tricks.

The other consequence is that the Pan African Congress (PAC) has been seriously compromised. It is true that its Vice-President, Mr Moseneke, soon after the exposure, had stated that the PAC has ruled out any future contact with Inkatha. But that is like shutting the stable door AFTER the nag has bolted! Prior to this distancing, the PAC had declared Inkatha a liberation organisation; it had sent observers to the Inkatha conference held in July this year and it had planned a full PAC/Inkatha National Executive Council meeting to be held on 15 August 1991.

The ANC has also been flirting with Inkatha.* The reader will recall the exchange of showers of compliments.** So has been the South African Council of Churches and a section of the liberals.

The ordinary person is entitled to ask: All these organisations have many clever people in them. Some have spent almost 30 years in prison; others, while in exile, have collected degrees and professorships. Were these people not aware of the role of Inkatha and its co-option into the State structures? The fact of the matter is that these people were fully

^{*} The exception is that faction of the ANC led by Mr Harry Gwala of Pietermaritzburg

^{**} One particularly heavy compliment by Buthulezi for Jacob Zuma of the ANC apparently seriously damaged Zuma's standing amongst ANC militants.

aware of what Inkatha is . . !! So why all the wheeling and dealing? It is opportunism plain and simple. Principles are cashed for imaginary short term advantages. Integrity is stuffed in the back pocket. Politicking and inelegant manoeuvering has become the order of the day.

The truth about Inkatha has been staring at us in the face for YEARS. And for years there was agreement amongst the various segments of the liberatory movement about the role of Inkatha. Why the change now?

The New Unity Movement is one of the very few organisations which has not been tainted by all these goings-on.

But then our principles have never been put up for sale!!!

GEORGE BUSH - FATHER OF ALL CHILD KILLERS

"In a dingy pediatric ward at Baghdad's Qadissiya Hospital, Fadhia, 19, stands vigil over a crib where her five-month daughter lies dying of malnutrition. Fadhia has been here before: a month earlier she watched as her three-year old son succumbed to starvation and diarrhea. Now she watches as her little daughter, her face all shrivelled and her body bony, grows smaller every day. The hospital is crammed with such children. But it has no food to save them, and scant medicine."

This is the heart-rending description of the plight of the Iraqi children given by Nina Burleigh in TIME magazine of 10 June 1991.

The powerful propaganda machine of imperialism and its agents would have the world believe that the war has ended and so has the death toll. Bush's war on the children has been carefully played down, if not totally suppressed. We do not recall a single South African newspaper, establishment or alternative, report this one-sided war. According to the Iraqi Red Crescent, 80 per cent of all deaths after the ceasefire have been children. Another grim statistic offered by the Harvard Medical Team is that 170 000 Iraqi children will die of gastro-intestinal disease.

Why are the children dying for lack of food? After all, Iraq is a major oil-producing country, earning many millions of dollars. The journalist, Nina Burleigh, has set a number of reasons which we set out below. The reader will readily see that all the causes flow directly from the imperialist-led war against Iraq.

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- 1. As a result of the massive bombing:
- (a) Hospitals were destroyed and not re-built.
- (b) Power stations were hit and their non-functioning led directly to a breakdown of the water purification systems.
- (c) Sewage works were destroyed resulting in a spillage of sewage into the streets.
- (d) Candle-light has replaced electricity in the hospitals. Premature babies are doomed to death because incubators cannot function without electricity.
- The sanctions imposed by the victors on Iraq cover food and medicines.
- Iraq's foreign reserves are frozen thereby preventing Iraq from buying food from the outside world.

World Imperialism, led by the United States, and aided by its running dogs, foremost amongst whom is Saudi Arabia, have danced at their victory over Iraq. The war is over, but they continue dancing. This time they dance over the graves of thousands of innocent children who were in no manner responsible for the war. While Bush sheds crocodile tears over the plight of the Kurds, he shows a callous disregard for the Iraqi children. Presumably he regards all male Iraqi children as potential Saddam Hussains and, therefore, it's well to rid the world of them.

In the quiet hours of the night when our thoughts turn to the tragic fate that has befallen the hapless children of Iraq, and when one thinks about the anguish suffered by the Fadhias of this world, anger wells up in us against the hypocritical mass-murderers like Bush. GEORGE BUSH — FATHER OF MASS KILLERS OF CHILDREN!

Is it not the same George Bush whose administration has promised Inkatha R7-million and R12,5-million to the ANC?

There is the blood of innocent Iraqi children in that money. Not only of the children of Iraq, but of all the Third World who are dying of starvation and disease.

READER'S VIEW: "THE SELL-OUT OF THE SPORTS STRUGGLE"

"PRO-SACOS"

Dear Mr Editor,

Please publish my letter:

Sam Ramsamy is a human chameleon. While the true chameleon is a marvel of nature, its human counterpart is universally condemned as a contemptible creature.

Once an indefatigable champion of the non-racial sports struggle, today he is a busy betraying all the things he stood and fought for. He has, therefore, declared war on SACOS and its underlying philosophy captured in the slogan of "No normal sport in an abnormal society".

What has prompted Sam Ramsamy to change colours? The motives of human beings are such that even the devil will go crazy trying to fathom them all. We can, however, extract the obvious ones.

With the international-based SANROC set on the way to dissolution, there is need for Ramsamy to ensure a continuous flow of income. What better way than to earn the "fame" of being responsible for opening the doors for White South Africans to international sport. Being loaded with funds, establishment sport will hopefully show its gratitude by providing Ramsamy with suitable employment.

The other reason is that Ramsamy believes that the ANC will be the next government of this country. Like so many of the petty bourgeois bandwagon-climbers, Ramsamy knows the value of truckling up to a government-to-be. Hence, his skin has assumed the tri-colour of black, green and yellow. The yellow, expectedly, dominates.

Behind all this is the policy of the ANC. The latter believes that it can win whites over to its side by bribing them with international sport. This spurious tactic has caused disunity amongst the oppressed. The sportswing of the liberatory movement, SACOS, has been under heavy attack, mainly from those who were onetime SACOS stalwarts. The splits, the in-fighting and the hijacking has done much damage to one of the finest fighting organisations produced by a liberatory movement anywhere in the world. SACOS delenda est. SACOS must be destroyed! That was the treacherous instruction given to its agents by the ANC. Steve Tshwete on behalf of the ANC is pulling the strings and Ramsamy jerks legs, hands and moves lips. On the road to betrayal, Ramsamy moves two steps forward and waits for reaction. If reaction to the betrayal is hostile, he moves half a step backwards. So it is — two steps forward to betrayal and half a step backwards — that is Sam's notorious dance.

When White athletes clamoured for participation in the Tokyo games, Ramsamy exclaimed that that was obscene. That is so. But what is even more obscene is Ramsamy himself.

The sell-out of the sports struggle has caused a stench which is so overpowering that many honest persons are highly indignant. Even rank and file members of the ANC and their local officials are offended at the indecent haste with which the ANC's Sports Department wants to normalise sport in this still very abnormal society.

The people must give expression to their anger against those responsible for the sell-out. People must confront and question persons like Steve Tshwete, Mlulekhi George, the notorious Vawda brothers, Clive and Errol, Krish Mackerdhuj, Cassim Docrat, and their underlings on the local level.

They all have much to answer!

SUPPORT SACOS!

NO UNITY WITH SPORTS-LOVING, TRIGGER-HAPPY OPPRESSORS!

NO NEGOTIATIONS WITH RACIST RULERS!

NO COMPROMISE!

NO SELL-OUT!

ALUTA CONTINUA!