

to ignore this assemblage would be utter folly. The UN in taking up issues presented by the liberation movement crystallises the alignments and isolates those powers whose intentions are sinister. This is exactly what has happened in the debates about sanctions against southern Africa, be they military or economic.

It is also within the UN that sympathetic countries get their briefing about the dimensions of the problem. It is clear that nations act only when they are confronted with the full reality of the problem facing other countries. Yet it is wrong for any liberation movement to put all its trust in an amorphous body such as the UN. Its importance is only in so far as it is part of a whole series of international drives to swing world opinion to its side. For world opinion has two most important effects on the liberatory forces. First it isolates the enemy politically and puts supporting powers in an identical position with the policies and practices of the enemy country. Secondly its effect is to boost the morale of those seriously fighting the enemy, thus creating for the liberation forces a worldwide context for their actions.

Many a revolution has slowed up almost to a halt by its isolation. If a revolution is in essence an action carried out by a whole people, it is necessary to recognise that the dictates of

revolutionary organisation involve revolutionary zeal, realities of disillusionment, realities of mental isolation, etc. For these reasons also, the UN, in spite of its feeble position, can be used to benefit the South African revolutionary effort. This does not mean that the country must be sold to the UN or to South African liberals, who will be only too happy to see a partial victory.

The battlefield for the South African revolution is neither in Britain, France nor the UN, but in South Africa itself. The fact that the UN has failed to carry out the terms of its resolution on South Africa constitutes no great catastrophe. The only catastrophe will be the failure of our revolution in South Africa and it can never fail if we ourselves resolutely take up arms to effect our own victory.

Needless to say, no revolution is true revolution that depends for its success on intervention from outside. Ideologically and otherwise it must reflect the history of the South African struggle. Nor can non-violence, an ideology of the weak, and strongly favoured by those with a stake in the country, be the answer. In this sense then, UN is irrelevant to our struggle for it can neither provide arms with which we must fight nor can it truly reflect our ultimate goal.



loyalty to principles is touching. But, one might ask, is not the more balanced part of the PAC programme taken (with precious little thanks) from the earlier programmes of the ANC, from which the PAC hastily, petulantly and impatiently broke away?

I am glad, sir, that I didn't meet Nkoana by chance, for perhaps if I had he might have accused me of writing the articles that Nkoana thinks are so wicked. Why should Michael Harmel — or anyone else — have to account to Nkoana? Why should Nkoana think it so sinister that Michael Harmel meets the attacks with a silence that many of us would call restrained and dignified?

South Africa does tend to encourage paranoia. Exile also encourages it. I wish that *The New African* would do something to discourage it by giving the noisy Nkoana a rest. — L. BLOOM
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[Mr. Nkoana writes: "The so-called South African 'left' ought to be quite pleased with me for exploding the myth of a 'left' in White South Africa, a myth which has been assiduously built up by Vorster. Will Mr. Bloom perhaps care to explain why anyone who writes such 'sensible and accurate' articles should so obviously lack the courage of his convictions, and write under a pseudonym? Mr Bloom's ignorance about political trends in South Africa is pathetic. His allegation that the PAC lifted ANC policies is without foundation. But let an entry in Mandella's diary written during the last stages of his visit abroad, shortly before he was betrayed and arrested, give the lie to Mr Bloom's claims and also substantiate the main basis of my argument in the article in question: 'The PAC has started off with tremendous advantages ideologically, and has skilfully exploited opposition to Whites and partnership. Sharpeville boosted them up and nthen stand of their leaders, imprisonment of Sobukwe, fostered the belief that they were more militant than the ANC. In the PAFMECSA area the Nobel Peace Award to Chief Luthuli has created the impression that Luthuli has been bought by the West. . . . Luthuli's book and some of his statements have created an impression of a man who is a stooge of the Whites.'" — EDITOR]

Under slavery

SIR,—I would like to thank you and your company for mailing *Frontier* to me. I am very grateful because *Frontier* gives me more knowledge about the development of other countries, and very glad of your support in our great struggle for the liberation of African people who are under slavery. Hoping for your support until we achieve freedom. (Name and address withheld)
Johannesburg

SIR,—I most sincerely thank you and your organisation for your kindness. I hope you will convey my thanks to the well-wisher who so kindly came to my aid. Since I was banned I have had no other book or letter sent to me. I will be only too happy to know who the well-wisher is but please do not force the issue if it has to be that way. I now need the previous issues of *Frontier* and if possible a sample issue of *The New African*. Is it possible to obtain them through you? Wishing you and your organisation a bright future for the work you are doing. (Name and address withheld)
Durban North

[The well-wisher's name has been sent, with his permission. *The New African* is banned in South Africa so will not be sent. — EDITOR]

SIR,—While we appreciate the kindness of the unknown well-wisher who has been sending us the magazine *Frontier*, and find some of the articles very interesting, there are others which seem likely to attract the unfavourable attention of the South African authorities; and having already had to face one charge of being in illegal possession of a banned book, I do not wish to run any further risks in this direction and should therefore prefer not to receive this magazine. (Name and address withheld)
Port Elizabeth

[Possession of *Frontier* does not constitute an offence though for the recipient to distribute it might do so if the particular issue contained articles by banned persons. — EDITOR]

Future of KPU

SIR,—While agreeing with M. D. Odinga's democratic sentiments, I must protest at his unwarranted assertion that "his present policies could safely carry Jaramogi Oginga Odinga into State House". Throughout the "little general election", KANU had easy or resounding victories on a provincial basis except in Central Nyanza and Machakos districts. Yet even in KPU's Central Nyanza stronghold, out of 244,027 registered voters only 55,014 supported KPU — and all this at a time when KPU was a "nine-days' wonder". It is now a spent force, whose offer of "free things" to the people of Kenya has been dismissed by them. — P.O. Kisumu
L. MATHENGE

The African Communist

SIR,—Really one wonders where one is. Vorster and Nkoana both industriously ferreting out the Reds from beneath the Beds. And *The New African* again embarking on its highly-equivocal anti-left line.

Unlike Nkoana I found the articles in *The African Communist* about the origins and policies of PAC sober, remarkably balanced (considering the intemperate attacks by PAC upon practically everyone), sensible and accurate. Nkoana's concern about Nelson Mandela's