

FRANK TALK

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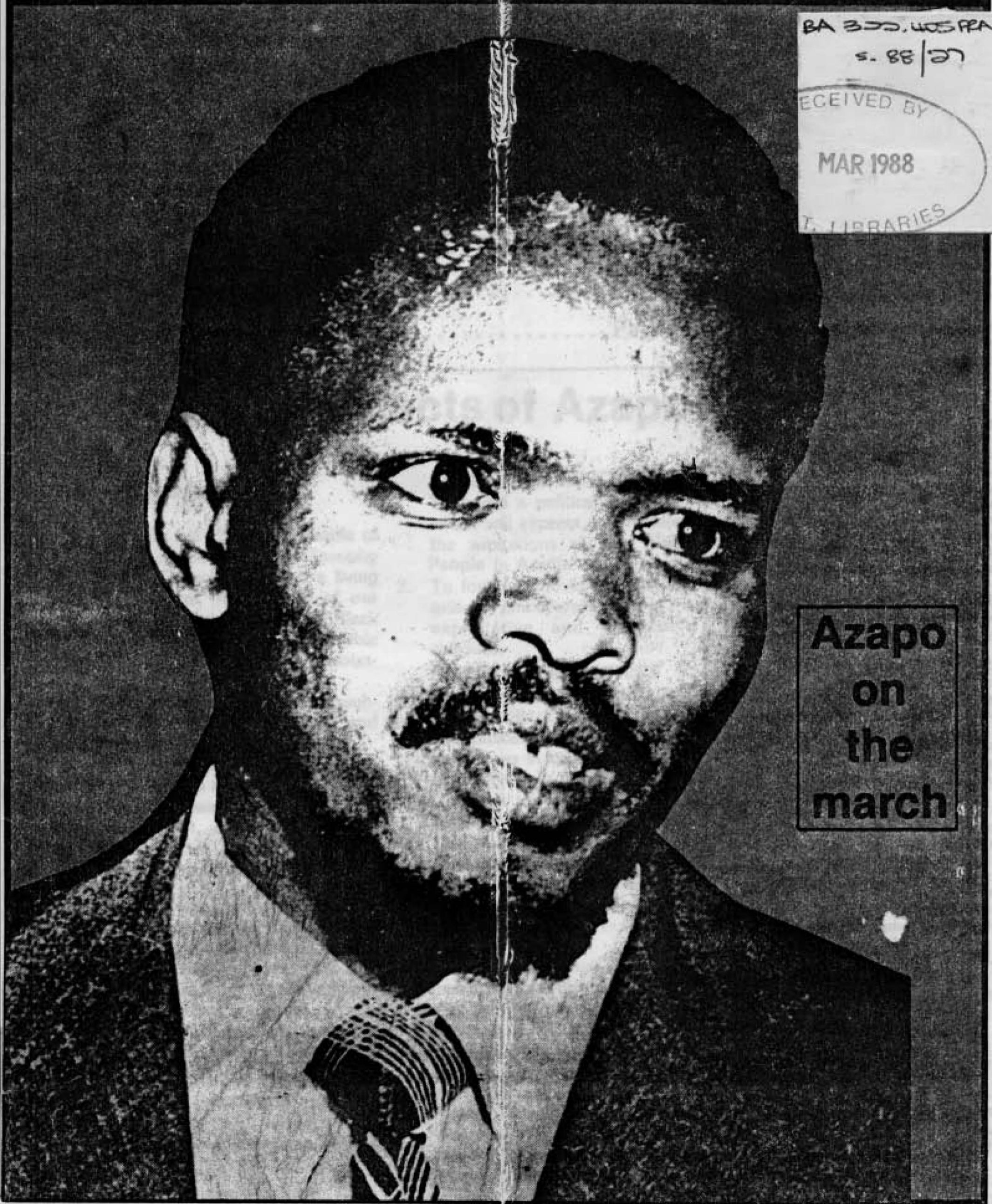
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**Azapo
on
the
march**

To the memory of Bantu Steve Biko...

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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.

Editorial

Frank Talk is a journal devoted to the memory of Bantu Steve Biko (who used "Frank Talk" as his pseudonym in the now-banned SASO Newsletter) and unashamedly propagates the ideology of Black Consciousness.

There are a few ideologies which are as poorly understood by the "revolutionary" intelligentsia but which so easily strike a responsive chord in the hearts and minds of those who bear the brunt of ruthless oppression.

And the reason for this is not difficult to discern: BC is born out of the experiences of the downtrodden and believes in fearlessly translating these experiences into meaningful and constructive action.

In later issues we hope to offer criticisms of the ideology and we are intent on being the most ruthless dissectors of our own records. Make no mistake — our approach will be critical.

Revolutions all over the world show that if revolutionary movements are not prepared to examine themselves, warts and all, they will suffer from atrophy. This is why so many "revolutions" in the colonized world would have become disasters.

Consistent and open discussion are features which characterize the Black Consciousness Movement and Frank Talk is proud to continue this tradition.

BC is a developing ideology: thus the article on AZAPO's Fourth National Congress in this issue suggests areas that need to be explored within the BC movement.

This issue of Frank Talk offers a development of the BC ideology beginning with the pre-1976 BC movement and it captures the evolution in thought which characterizes the movement.

The fundamental pillars of BC remain intact today despite desperate attempts by liberals and other reactionaries to suggest that AZAPO's socialist direction is at variance with the message expounded by Biko and others.

Socialism is a logical development of BC: the pre-1976 papers that we have included hint at a delicate mix of nationalism and socialism that is crystallized by AZAPO in the 80's.

Frank Talk is of the view that the BC movement must continue in its measured and rational response to its critics, for the only task facing us now is to dislodge the system of racism and capitalism, to promote the leadership of the black working class and to usher in a socialist, anti-racist AZANIA. We are developing an indigenous ideology capable of bringing about this revolutionary era.

Future issues of Frank Talk will include features such as Azanian Focus, international forum and will aim to provide a background to events in this country. Articles will be in English and Zulu and contributions are welcome.

While Frank Talk is the official organ of the Natal Region of AZAPO, it encourages discussion — from all concerned with achieving a socialist, anti-racist Azania.

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The Definition of Black Consciousness

WE have defined blacks 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 a unit in the struggle towards the realisation of their aspirations. This definition illustrates a number of things:

1. Being black is not a matter of pigmentation — being black is a reflection of a mental attitude.
2. Merely by describing yourself as black you have started on a road towards emancipation, you have committed yourself to fight against all forces that seek to use your blackness as a stamp that marks you out as a subservient being.

From the above observations therefore, we can see that the term black is not necessarily all-inclusive; i.e. the fact we are all *not white* does not necessarily mean that we are all black. Non-whites do exist and will continue to exist for quite a long time. If one's aspiration is whiteness but one's pigmentation makes attainment of this impossible, then one is a non-white. Any man who calls a white man "Baas", any man who serves in the police force or Security Branch is *ipso facto* a non-white. Black people — real black people — are those who can manage to hold their heads high in defiance rather than willingly surrender their souls to the white man.

Briefly defined therefore, Black Consciousness is in essence the realisation by the black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of their oppression — the blackness of their skin — and to operate as a group in order to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude. It seeks to demonstrate the lie that black is an aberration from the "normal" which is white. It is a manifestation of a new realisation that by seeking to run away from themselves and to emulate the white man, blacks are insulting the intelligence of whoever created them black. Black Consciousness therefore, takes cognizance of the deliberateness of God's plan in creating black people black. It seeks to infuse the black community with a new-found pride in themselves, their

This paper was delivered during a leadership training course in December 1971 and traces many of the fundamental tenets of BC. It also describes the BC attitude towards the true working class in SA.

efforts, their value systems, their culture, their religion and their outlook to life.

The interrelationship between the consciousness of the self and the emancipatory programme is of paramount importance. Blacks no longer seek to reform the system because so doing implies acceptance of the major points around which the system revolves.

Blacks are out to completely transform the system and to make of it what they wish. Such a major undertaking can only be realised in an atmosphere where people are convinced of the truth inherent in their stand. Liberation therefore, is of paramount importance in the concept of Black Consciousness, for we

QUOTE

Being black is not a matter of pigmentation — being black is a reflection of a mental attitude.

cannot be conscious of ourselves and yet remain in bondage. We want to attain the envisioned self which is a free self.

The surge towards Black Consciousness is a phenomenon that has manifested itself through out the so-called Third World. There is no doubt that discrimination against the black man the world over fetches its origin from the exploitative attitude of the white man. Colonisation of white countries by whites eg. the colonisation of Scotland by England has throughout history resulted in nothing more sinister than mere cultural or geographical fusion at worst, or language bastardisation at best. It is true that the history of weaker nations is shaped by bigger nations, but nowhere in the world today do we see whites exploiting whites on a scale even remotely similar to what is happening in South Africa. Hence, one is forced to conclude that it is not coincidence that

black people are exploited. It was a deliberate plan which has culminated in even so-called black independent countries not attaining any real independence.

With this background in mind we are forced, therefore, to believe that it is a case of *haves* against *have-nots* where whites have been deliberately made *haves* and blacks *have-nots*. There is for instance no worker in the classical sense among whites in South Africa, for even the most down-trodden white worker still has a lot to lose if the system is changed. He is protected by several laws against competition at work from the majority. He has a vote and he uses it to return the Nationalist Government to power because he sees them as the only people who, through job reservation laws, are bent on looking after his interests against competition with the "Natives".

It should therefore be accepted that an analysis of our situation in terms of one's colour at once takes care of the greatest single determinant for political action — i.e. colour — while also validly describing the blacks as the only real workers in South Africa. It immediately kills all suggestions that there could ever be effective rapport between the real workers, i.e. blacks, and the privileged white workers since we have shown that the latter are the greatest supporters of the system. True enough, the system has allowed so dangerous an anti-black attitude to build up amongst whites that it is taken as almost a sin to be black and hence the poor whites, who are economically nearest to the blacks, demonstrate the distance between themselves and the blacks by an exaggerated reactionary attitude towards blacks. Hence the greatest anti-black feeling is to be found amongst the very poor whites whom the Class Theory calls upon to be with black workers in the struggle for emancipation. This is the kind of twisted logic that the Black Consciousness approach seeks to eradicate.

“We do not apologise...”

In terms of the Black Consciousness approach we recognise the existence of one major force in South Africa. This is White Racism. It is the one force against which all of us are pitted. It works with unnerving totality, featuring both on the offensive and in our defence. Its greatest ally to date has been the refusal by us to club together as blacks because we are told to do so would be racist. So, while we progressively lose ourselves in a world of colourlessness and amorphous common humanity, whites are deriving pleasure and security in entrenching white racism and further exploiting the minds and bodies of the unsuspecting black masses. Their agents are ever present amongst us, telling us that it is immoral to withdraw into a cocoon, that dialogue is the answer to our problem and that it is unfortunate that there is white racism in some quarters but “you must understand that things are changing.”

Provocation

These in fact are the greatest racists for they refuse to credit us with any intelligence to know what we want. Their intentions are obvious; they want to be barometers by which the rest of the white society can measure feelings in the black world. This then is what makes us believe that white power presents itself as a totality not only provoking us but also controlling our response to the provocation. This is an important point to note because it is often missed by those who believe that there are a few good whites. Sure there are a few good whites just as much as there are a few bad blacks.

However what we are concerned here with is group attitudes and group politics. The exception does not make a lie of the rule — it merely substantiates it.

The overall analysis therefore, based on the Hegelian theory of dialectic materialism, is as follows. That since the thesis is a white racism there can only be one valid antithesis i.e. a solid black unity to counterbalance the scale. If South Africa is to be a land where black and white live together in harmony without fear of group exploitation, it is only when these two opposites have interplayed and produced a viable synthesis of ideas and a *modus vivendi*. We can never wage any struggle without offering a strong counterpoint to the white racism that permeates our society so effectively.

One must immediately dispel the thought that Black Consciousness is merely a methodology or a means towards an end. What Black Consciousness seeks to do is to produce at the output end of the process real black people who do not regard themselves as appendages to white society. This truth cannot be reversed. We do not need to apologise for this because it is true that the white systems have produced throughout the world a number of people who are not aware that they too are people. Our adherence to values that we set for ourselves can also not be reversed because it will be a lie to accept white values as necessarily the best. The fact that a synthesis may be attained only relates to adherence to power politics. Someone somewhere along the line will be forced to accept the truth and here we believe that ours is the truth.

Concern

The future of South Africa in the case where blacks adopt Black Consciousness is the subject for concern especially among initiates. What do we do when we have attained our Consciousness? Do we propose to kick whites out? We have defined what we mean by true integration and the very fact that such a definition exists does illustrate what our standpoint is. In any case we are much more concerned about what is happening now, than what will happen in the future. The future will always be shaped by the sequence of present-day events.

Stereotype

The importance of black solidarity to the various segments of the black community must not be understated. There have been in the past a lot of suggestions that there can be no viable unity amongst blacks because they hold each other in contempt. Coloureds despise Africans because they, (the former) by their proximity to the Africans, may lose the chances of assimilation into the white world. Africans despise the Coloureds and Indians for a variety of reasons. Indians not only despise Africans but in many instances also exploit the Africans in job and shop situations. All these stereotype attitudes have

led to mountainous inter-group suspicions amongst the blacks.

What we should all times look at is the fact that:

1. We are all oppressed by the same system.
2. That we are oppressed to varying degrees is a deliberate design to stratify us not only socially but also in terms of aspirations.
3. Therefore it is to be expected that in terms of the enemy's plan there must be this suspicion and that if we are committed to the problem of emancipation to the same degree it is part of our duty to bring to the attention of the black people the deliberateness of the enemy's subjugation scheme.

QUOTE

White power presents itself as a totality not only provoking us but also controlling our response to the provocation.

4. That we should go on with our programme, attracting to it only committed people and not just those eager to see an equitable distribution of groups amongst our ranks. This is a game common amongst liberals. The one criterion that must govern all our action is commitment.

Further implications of Black Consciousness are to do with correcting false images of ourselves in terms of Culture, Education, Religion, Economics. The importance of this also must not be understated. There is always an interplay between the history of a people i.e. the past, and their faith in themselves and hopes for their future. We are aware of the terrible role played by our education and religion in creating amongst us a false understanding of ourselves. We must therefore work out schemes not only to correct this, but further to be our own authorities rather than wait to be interpreted by others. Whites can only see us from the outside and as such can never extract and analyse the ethos in the black community.

A tragedy we can never forget....



Soweto 1976: Thousands of black pupils protested against Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in schools. The result is history. Yet the memory of those violent weeks continue to haunt black people,

for what began as a peaceful boycott of classes erupted into a bloody confrontation between police and pupils.

White Racism and Black Consciousness

"No race possesses the monopoly of beauty, intelligence, force, and there is room for all of us at the rendezvous of victory." I do not think Aimé Césaire was thinking about South Africa when he said these words. The whites in this country have placed themselves on a path of no return. So blatantly exploitative in terms of the mind and body is the practice of white racism that one wonders if the interests of blacks and whites in this country have not become so mutually exclusive as to exclude the possibility of there being "room for all of us at the rendezvous of victory".

The white man's quest for power has led him to destroy with utter ruthlessness whatever has stood in his way. In an effort to divide the black world in terms of aspirations, the powers that be have evolved a philosophy that stratifies the black world and gives preferential treatment to certain groups. Further, they have built up several tribal cocoons, thereby hoping to increase inter-tribal ill-feeling and to divert the energies of the black people towards attaining false prescribed "freedoms".

Cocoons

Moreover, it was hoped, the black people could be effectively contained in these various cocoons of repression, euphemistically referred to as 'homelands'. At some stage, however, the powers that be had to start defining the sphere of activity of these apartheid institutions. Most blacks suspected initially the barrenness of the promise and have now realised that they have been taken for a big ride. Just as the Native Representative Council became a political flop that embarrassed its creators, I predict that a time will come when these stooge bodies will prove very costly not only in terms of money but also in terms of the credibility of the story the Nationalists are trying to sell. In the meantime the blacks are beginning to realise the need to rally around the cause of their suffering - their black skin - and to ignore the false promises that come from the white world.

Then again the progressively sterner legislation that has lately filled the South African statute books has had a great effect in convincing the people of the evil inherent in the system of apartheid. No amount of propaganda on Radio Bantu or promises of freedom being granted to some desert homeland will ever convince the blacks that the government means well, so long as they ex-

perience manifestations of the lack of respect for the dignity of man and for his property as shown during the mass removals from the urban areas. The unnecessary harassment of Africans by police, both in towns and inside townships, and the ruthless application of that scourge of the people, the pass laws, are constant reminders that the white man is on top and that the blacks are only tolerated - with the greatest restraints. Needless to say, anyone finding himself at the receiving end of such deliberate (though uncalled for) cruelty must ultimately ask himself the question: what do I have to lose? This is what the blacks are beginning to ask themselves.

To add to this, the opposition ranks have been thrown into chaos and confusion. All opposition parties have to satisfy the basic demands of politics. They want power and at the

would venture to say that the most overdue political step in South African White politics is a merger between the United and Nationalist Parties.

The flirtation between the Progressive Party and blacks was brought to a rude stop by legislation. Some blacks argue that at that moment the Progressives lost their only chance of attaining some semblance of respectability by not choosing to disband rather than lose their black constituents. Yet I cannot help feeling that the Progressives emerged more purified from the ordeal. The Progressives have never been the black man's real hope. They have always been a white party at heart, fighting for a more lasting way of preserving white values in this southern tip of Africa. It will not be long before the blacks relate their poverty to their blackness in concrete

This paper was delivered at a student conference in Cape Town in January 1971. It records the BC interpretation of non-racialism and the role of the white "radical" intelligentsia.

same time they want to be *fair*. It never occurs to them that the surest way of being unfair is to withhold power from the native population. Hence one ultimately comes to the conclusion that there is no real difference between the United Party (The United Party used to be the official opposition to the NP and consisted mostly of English-speaking whites. The UP is presently represented by the New Republic Party (NRP)-Ed.) and the Nationalist Party. If there is, a strong possibility exists that the United Party is on the right of the Nationalists. One need only to look at their famous slogan, "White supremacy over the whole of South Africa", to realise the extent to which the quest for power can cloud even such supposedly immortal characteristics as the "English sense of fair play". Africans long ago dismissed the United Party as a great political fraud. The Coloured people have since followed suit. If the United Party is gaining any votes at all it is precisely because it is becoming more explicit in its racist policy. I

terms. Because of the tradition forced onto the country, the poor people shall always be black people. It is not surprising, therefore, that the blacks should wish to rid themselves of a system that locks up the wealth of the country in the hands of a few. No doubt Rick Turner was thinking of this when he declared that "any black government is likely to be socialist", in his article on "The Relevance of Contemporary Radical Thought".

We now come to the group that has longest enjoyed confidence from the black world - the liberal establishment, including radical and leftist groups. The biggest mistake the black world ever made was to assume that whoever opposed apartheid was an ally. For a long time the black world has been looking only at the governing party and not so much at the whole power structure as the object of their rage. In a sense the very political vocabulary that the blacks have used has been inherited from the liberals. Therefore it is not surprising that alliances were formed so easily with the liberals.



Soweto 1983: Pupils of Ibhongo Senior Secondary School dash for safety from teargas cannisters thrown at them during a boycott.

Who are the liberals in South Africa? It is that curious bunch of non-conformists who explain their participation in negative terms; that bunch of do-gooders that go under all sorts of names - liberals, leftists, etc. These are the people who argue that they are not responsible for white racism and the country's "inhumanity to the black man"; these are the people who claim that they too feel the oppression just as acutely as the blacks and therefore should be jointly involved in the black man's struggle for a place under the sun; in short, these are the people who say that they have black souls wrapped up in white skins.

The liberals set about their business with the utmost efficiency. They made it a political dogma that all groups opposing the *status quo* must necessarily be non-racial in structure. They maintained that if you stood for a principle of non-racialism you could not in any way adopt what they described as racist policies. They even defined to the black people what the latter should fight for.

With this sort of influence behind them, most black leaders tended to rely too much on the advice of liberals. For a long time, in fact, it became the occupation of the leadership to "calm the masses down", while they engaged in fruitless negotiation with the *status quo*. Their whole political action, in fact, was a programmed course in the art of gentle persuasion through protests

and limited boycotts and they hoped the rest could be safely left to the troubled conscience of the fair-minded English folk.

Of course this situation could not last. A new breed of black leaders was beginning to take a dim view of the involvement of liberals in a struggle that they regard as essentially theirs, when the political movements of the blacks were either banned or harassed into non-existence. This left the stage open once more for the liberals to continue with their work of "fighting for the rights of the blacks".

It never occurred to the liberals that the integration they insisted upon as an effective way of opposing apartheid was impossible to achieve in South Africa. It had to be artificial because it was being foisted on two parties whose entire upbringing had been to support the lie that one race was superior and others inferior. One has to overhaul the whole system in South Africa before hoping to get black and white walking hand in hand to oppose a *common* enemy. As it is, both black and white walk into a hastily organised integrated circle carrying with them the seeds of destruction of that circle - their inferiority and superiority complexes.

The myth of integration as propounded under the banner of the liberal ideology must be cracked and killed because it makes people believe that something is being done when in reality the artificially in-

tegrated circles are a soporific to the blacks while salving the consciences of the guilt-sticken white. It works from the false premise that, because it is difficult to bring people from different races together in this country, achievement of this is in itself a step towards the total liberation of the blacks. Nothing could be more misleading.

Guilt

How many white people fighting for their version of a change in South Africa are really motivated by genuine concern and not by guilt? Obviously it is a cruel assumption to believe that all whites are not sincere, yet methods adopted by some groups often do suggest a lack of real commitment. The essence of politics is to direct oneself to the group which wields power. Most white dissident groups are aware of the power wielded by the white power structure. They are quick to quote statistics on how big the defence budget is. They know exactly how effectively the police and the army can control protesting black hordes - peaceful or otherwise. They know to what degree the black world is infiltrated by the security police. Hence they are completely convinced of the impotence of the black people. Why then do they persist in talking to the blacks? Since they are aware that the problem in this country is white racism, why do they not address themselves to the white world?

The call for Black Consciousness is the most positive call to come from any group in the black world for a long time.

In an effort to answer these questions one has to come to the painful conclusion that the liberal is in fact appeasing his own conscience, or at best is eager to demonstrate his identification with the black people only so far as it does not sever all his ties with his relatives on the other side of the colour line. Being white he possesses the natural passport to the exclusive pool of white privileges from which he does not hesitate to extract whatever suits him. Yet, since he identifies with the blacks, he moves around his white circles - white-only beaches, restaurants, and cinemas - with a lighter load, feeling that he is not like the rest. Yet at the back of his mind is a constant reminder that he is quite comfortable as things stand and therefore should not bother about change. Although he does not vote for the Nationalists (now that they are in the majority anyway), he feels secure under the protection offered by the Nationalists and subconsciously shuns the idea of change.

The limitations that have accompanied the involvement of liberals in the black man's struggle have been mostly responsible for the arrest of progress. Because of their inferiority complex, blacks have tended to listen seriously to what the liberals had to say. With their characteristic arrogance of assuming a 'monopoly on intelligence and moral judgement', these self-appointed trustees of black interests have gone on to set the pattern and pace for the realisation of the black man's aspirations.

I am not sneering at the liberals and their involvement. Neither am I suggesting that they are the most to blame for the black man's plight. Rather I am illustrating the fundamental fact that total identification with an oppressed group in a system that forces one group to enjoy privileges and to live on the sweat of another, is impossible. White society collectively owes the blacks so huge a debt that no one member should automatically expect to escape from the blanket condemnation that needs must come from the black world. It is not as if whites are allowed to enjoy privilege only when they declare their solidarity with the ruling party. They are born into privilege and are nourished by and nurtured in the system of ruthless exploitation of

black energy. For the 20-year-old white liberal to expect to be accepted with open arms is surely to overestimate the powers of forgiveness of the black people. No matter how genuine a liberal's motivations may be, he has to accept that, though he did not choose to be born into privilege, the blacks cannot but be suspicious of his motives.

What I have tried to show is that in South Africa political power has always rested with white society. Not only have the whites been guilty of being on the offensive but, by some skilful manoeuvres, they have managed to control the responses of the blacks to the provocation. Not only have they kicked the black but they also told him how to react to the kick. For a long time the black has been listening with patience to the advice he has been receiving on how best to respond to the kick. With painful slowness he is now beginning to show signs that it is his right and duty to respond to the kick *in the way he sees fit*.

Terrible

"We Coloured men, in this specific moment of historical evolution, have consciously grasped in its full breath, the notion of our peculiar uniqueness, the notion of just who we are and what, and that we are ready, on every plane and in every department, to assume the responsibilities which proceed from this coming into consciousness. The peculiarity of our place in the world is not to be confused with anyone else's. The peculiarity of our problems which aren't to be reduced to subordinate forms of any other problem. The peculiarity of our history, laced with terrible misfortunes which belong to no other history. The peculiarity of our culture, which we intend to live and to make live in an ever realer manner.' (Aimé Césaire, 1956, in his letter of resignation from the French Communist Party.)

At about the same time that Césaire said this, there was emerging in South Africa a group of angry young black men who were beginning to "grasp the notion of (their) peculiar uniqueness" and who were eager to define who they were and what. These were the elements who were disgruntled with the direction imposed on the African National

Congress by the "old guard" within its leadership. These young men were questioning a number of things, among which was the "go slow" attitude adopted by the leadership, and the ease with which the leadership accepted coalitions with organisations other than those run by blacks. The 'People's Charter' adopted in Kliptown in 1955 was evidence of this. In a sense one can say that these were the first real signs that the blacks in South Africa were beginning to realise the need to go it alone and to evolve a philosophy based on, and directed by, blacks. In other words, Black Consciousness was slowly manifesting itself.

It may be said that, on the broader political front, blacks in South Africa have not shown any overt signs of new thinking since the banning of their political parties; nor were the signs of disgruntlement with the white world given a real chance to crystallise into a positive approach. Black students, on the other hand, began to rethink their position in black-white coalitions. The emergence of SASO and its tough policy of non-involvement with the white world set people's minds thinking along new lines. This was a challenge to the age-old tradition in South Africa that opposition to apartheid was enough to qualify whites for acceptance by the black world. Despite protest and charges of racialism from liberal-minded white students, the black students stood firm in their rejection of the principle of unholy alliances between blacks and whites.

The call for Black Consciousness is the most positive call to come from any group in the black world for a long time. It is more than just a reactionary rejection of whites by blacks. The quintessence of it is the realisation by the blacks that, in order to feature well in this game of power politics, they have to use the concept of group power and to build a strong foundation for this. Being an historically, politically, socially and economically disinherited and dispossessed group, they have the strongest foundation from which to operate. The philosophy of Black Consciousness, therefore, expresses group pride and the determination by the blacks to rise and attain the envisaged self. At the heart of this kind of thinking is the realisation by the blacks that the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed. Once the latter has been so effective-

ly manipulated and controlled by the oppressor as to make the oppressed believe that he is a liability to the white man, then there will be nothing the oppressed can do that will really scare the powerful masters. Hence thinking along lines of Black Consciousness makes the black man see himself as a being, entire in himself, and not as an extension of a broom or additional leverage to some machine. At the end of it all, he cannot tolerate attempts by anybody to dwarf the significance of his manhood. Once this happens, we shall know that the real man in the black person is beginning to shine through.

I have spoken of Black Consciousness as if it is something that can be readily detected. Granted this may be an over-statement at this stage, yet it is true that, gradually, blacks are becoming more and more conscious of the self. They are beginning to rid their minds of imprisoning notions which are the legacy of the control of their attitude by whites. Slowly, they have cast aside the 'morality argument' which prevented them from going it alone and are now learning that a lot of good can be derived from specific exclusion of whites from black institutions. Of course it is not surprising to us that whites are not very much aware of these developing forces since such consciousness is essentially an inward-looking process. It has become common practice in this country for people to consult their papers to see what is said by black leaders - by which they understand the leaders of the various apartheid institutions. While these bodies are often exploited by individuals in them for candid talking, they certainly cannot be taken seriously as yardsticks by which to measure black feeling on any topic.

The growth of awareness among South African blacks has often been ascribed to influence from the American 'Negro' movement. Yet it seems to me that this is a sequel to the attainment of independence by so many African states within so short a time. In fact I remember that at the time I was at high school, Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda was still a militant and used to be a hero of a friend of mine. His often quoted statement was, 'This is a black man's country; any white man who does not like it must pack up and go'. Clearly at this stage the myth of the invincibility of the white man had been exposed. When fellow Africans were talking like that how could we

still be harbouring ideas of continued servitude? We knew he had no right to be there; we wanted to remove him from our table, strip the table of all trappings put on it by him, decorate it in true African style, settle down and then ask him to join us on our own terms if he liked. This is what Banda was saying. The fact that American terminology has often been used to express our thoughts is merely because all new ideas seem to get extensive publicity in the United States.

National consciousness and its spread in South Africa has to work against a number of factors. First there are the traditional complexes, then the emptiness of the native's past and lastly the question of black-white dependency. The traditional inferior-superior black-white complexes are deliberate creations of the colonialist. Through the work of missionaries and the style of education adopted, the blacks were made to feel that the white man was some kind of god whose word could not be doubted. As Fanon puts it: "Colonialism is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the Native's brain of all form and content; by a kind of pervetted logic, it turns to the past of the oppressed people and distorts, disfigures, and destroys it." At the end of it all, the blacks have nothing to lean on, nothing to cheer them up at the present moment and very much to be afraid of in the future.

The attitude of some rural African folk who are against education is often misunderstood, not least by the African intellectual. Yet the reasons put forward by these people carry with them the realisation of their inherent dignity and worth. They see education as the quickest way of destroying the substance of the African culture. They complain bitterly of the disruption in the life pattern, non-observation of customs, and constant derision from the non-conformists whenever any of them go through school. Lack of respect for the elders is, in the African tradition, an unforgivable and cardinal sin. Yet how can one prevent the loss of respect of child for father when the child is actively taught by his know-all white tutors to disregard his family's teachings? How can an African avoid losing respect for his tradition when in school his whole cultural background is summed up in one word: barbarism?

To add to the white-oriented education received, the whole history of the black people is presented as a

long lamentation of repeated defeats. Strangely enough, everybody has come to accept that the history of South Africa starts in 1652. No doubt this is to support the often-told lie that blacks arrived in this country at about the same time as the whites. Thus, a lot of attention has to be paid to our history if we as blacks want to aid each other in our coming into consciousness. We have to rewrite our history and describe in it the heroes that formed the core of resistance to the white invaders. More has to be revealed and stress has to be laid on the successful nation-building attempts by people like Chaka, Moshoeshe and Hintsa.

Our culture must be defined in concrete terms. We must relate the past to the present and demonstrate an historical evolution of the modern African. We must reject the attempts by the powers that be to project an arrested image of our culture. This is not the sum total of our culture. They have deliberately arrested our culture at the tribal stage to perpetuate the myth that African people were near-cannibals, had no real ambitions in life, and were preoccupied with sex and drink. In fact the widespread vice often found in the African townships is the result of the interference of the white man in the natural evolution of the true native culture.

It is often claimed that the advocates of Black Consciousness are hemming themselves into a closed world, choosing to weep on each other's shoulders and thereby cutting out useful dialogue with the rest of the world. Yet I feel that the black people of the world, in choosing to reject the legacy of colonialism and white domination and to build around themselves their own values, standards and outlook to life, have at last established a solid base for meaningful co-operation amongst themselves in the larger battle of the Third World against the rich nations. As Fanon puts it; "The consciousness of the self is not the closing of a door to communication National consciousness, which is not nationalism, is the only thing that will give us an international dimension." This is an encouraging sign, for there is no doubt that the black-white power struggle in South Africa is but a microcosm of the global confrontation between the Third World and the rich white nations of the world which is manifesting itself in an ever more real manner as the years go by.

* * * *

Idyllic setting for a tough battle

Some 50km north west of Pietermaritzburg, among the picturesque hills and rock formations near the University of the North, stands the simple, rustic Kransien Stein Lutheran Mission Centre.

The idyllic setting seems an unlikely venue for a congress of people who see their political group as an "above-board liberation movement", whose detractors accuse them of being intellectual elitists and loud-mouthed radicals who vent rage and don't do anything constructive.

But more than 200 delegates and observers turned up at the centre in January 1981 for the annual congress of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

They were aware that their organisation is under constant surveillance by the authorities, for they are the proponents of black consciousness. Their colleagues have been banned, jailed and detained. Some died or chose exile.

The former Minister of Justice, Mr J.T. Kruger, who declared war on the black consciousness organisations by banning most of them in 1977, described BC as the point where legitimate dissent ended and criminal activity began.

On another front, with the African National Congress and Pan-Africanist Congress operating from exile after being banned in 1960, the only internal, national black political organisation operating overtly in South Africa is Azapo.

Azapo and the black consciousness movement have been careful in their attitude towards the ANC and the PAC. While recognising their historical role, it has neither endorsed nor criticised them.

But for Azapo, another dimension has been introduced, what its members perceive as an attempt at infiltration by white liberals and radicals. One delegate described it as the "total onslaught from the northern suburbs".

It was against this background that Azapo delegates gathered at the mission centre, with a number of important papers on a wide range of subjects up for discussion.

Azapo was formed in 1978 out of the ashes of Mr Kruger's bannings, and immediately ran into trouble. Members of its interim executive were detained, and two members were banned.

In September, 1979, Azapo was formed inaugurated with the chairman of the Soweto Teachers' Action

Committee, Mr Curtis Nkondo, as its first president. Up to the time, BC was interpreted as a philosophy for the psychological and physical liberation of oppressed blacks.

But at the inaugural congress, there was a significant development in the philosophy. Delegates interpreted the black struggle as a race-class struggle, with blacks being oppressed as a class.

Blacks were classified workers, with white workers being rejected because they were regarded as the labour aristocracy which kept the Government in power to protect its own privileged position.

The new Azapo constitution placed strong emphasis on black workers. While the black struggle to repossess the land from whites was described as the rallying point, race was described as a class determinant in South Africa.

And it was this interpretation that was challenged by some delegates at the congress. Led by Mr Vusi Nkumane, chairman of the cultural group Mdali, the group of delegates insisted that the national struggle was solely for the repossession of the land.

Mr Nkumane, Mr Zakes Mofokeng and others gave an indication of the controversy to come when they challenged ideological terms used in a comprehensive, analytical report on education presented by an Azapo commission.

Under the title "curriculum and syllabus", the report said: "The dominant ideas of government and means of enforcement thereof and thus is able to organise society so as to entrench itself and keep in subjugation the other classes."

Mr Nkumane and his supporters immediately challenged the concepts of class in a lengthy debate which overshadowed the commission's full report itself. They objected to "foreign ideology" being used to interpret the struggle.

The debate continued late into the night over the class concepts when the Azapo national organiser, Mr Letsatsi Mosala, presented a paper on "the challenge of labour in the 1980's".

At one point, Mr Mosala accused some people of "seeing communism and Moscow" when they heard the term class.

The sharp differences over interpretation came to a head the next morning when Mr Nkumane presented a paper on "the inroads of

liberals into black consciousness".

The lengthy, controversial paper took most delegates by surprise, for it flew directly in the face of the constitution emphasising the struggle of workers.

Mr Nkumane took the opportunity to reject "Marxist analysis or defining classes". He called for an application to African culture, quoting extensively from students showing that in past centuries, African norms in various fields were well ahead of other continents.

He called for a return to the position prior to 1652, when whites first settled in the country.

But the paper was so lengthy that many delegates lost his thread. He was challenged on various concepts, and one delegate said his paper represented a shift to the "far right".

He was accused of excluding "so-called coloureds and so-called Indians" from his definition of the black struggle. He denied the charge, and said "Africa is for all who owe allegiance to Africa, give expression to its culture and is not confined to blacks."

He was accused of contradicting his own views, but his accusers were unable to cite specific examples because they did not have copies of his paper.

Because of this, and because time was running out on Sunday, delegates agreed to defer further discussion on his paper to a symposium of black consciousness organisations.

All the delegates were agreed on some basic points - that the struggle for land repossession was the overriding factor, that blacks want a socialist set-up, and that there was no place in their struggle for whites.

Mr Nkumane accused white liberals of "telling us to liberate ourselves from themselves", and had a go at Marxists, whom he accused of saying that blacks and whites had to get together to find a common enemy.

How to interpret black consciousness as an ideology for liberation is now the BC dilemma. In the early days of black consciousness, it was more a matter of conscientising blacks about their oppression.

Now it is a question of how to galvanise blacks into a vehicle for liberation, for repossessing the land.

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Black thinking falls under the spotlight again

Black political thinking falls under the spotlight again when Azapo holds the long-awaited symposium on black consciousness within a few weeks.

Already there is intense debate on the nature of the ideology and the symposium will go a long way towards clarifying some of the basic tenets of the revolutionary ideology.

Within a short space of time black consciousness virtually changed the entire focus of black politics percolating to all forms of activity — from cultural organisations to trade unions.

So fast was its development that even adherents found it difficult to keep pace with its momentum. No sooner had black consciousness asserted the idea of psychological liberation and pride in one's being when it suddenly changed its emphasis to black workers. And then, the question of re-analysing the ideology took root.

During its early days, slogans like "black is beautiful" and "Power belongs to the black people" soon gave way, in certain circles, to "Power belongs to the black worker"

It was with this change of emphasis that the storm broke within the black consciousness movement. Though

the colour question was not rejected, a new stress was placed on blacks within the labour field.

The problem started because some proponents believed that unless the ideology focused on the crucial problem of labour relations and its future re-organisation, black consciousness would not be able to provide any systematic critique of capitalism.

Moreover, this new view of black consciousness enabled blacks to posit, without contradiction, black principles of economic re-organisation and assert the view that the wealth belongs to the workers.

Thus, while maintaining the stress on "colour", the initiators of the new thinking added the dimension of "class" to black consciousness. In so doing, they recognised that all black people were oppressed but went further in their analysis by adding that black workers, particularly, suffered the most acute form of exploitation.

Along with Franz Fanon, the new view took into account that when liberation occurs, the danger of a middle class (whites in black masks) seizing the state apparatus would have been pre-empted. The growing middle class among the oppressed though not constituting any immediate threat to liberation, would

simply not be able to entrench itself and maintain the system of capitalism.

The new view seeks to encourage worker leadership based on the principles of black consciousness — worker pride in the fact that he is black, unashamed and therefore deserving respect. And he can get this respect through his collective unity in trade unions, he demands respect also in material terms: better pay, better working conditions, equal facilities and opportunities for development and the like.

From the moment the issue of "class" is introduced, trade union organisation is the logical follow-up.

In trade unions, whites are discounted as allies. Their standard of living make them into what has been called a "labour aristocracy". Whites do not suffer the daily indignities of black workers, they do not live in compounds, they enjoy the right to participation in the political process — all these factors alienate black workers from whites.

In the classical sense of exploitation, white workers because they produce under the system of capitalist relations are economically also exploited. However, their standard of living acts as a cushion against the ill-effects of exploitation.

The Race/class debate

IS the conflict in South Africa a race struggle between black nationalism and white nationalism? Is it a class struggle between owners of capital and the workers, irrespective of race?

Or is it a combination of class and race?

Close on 200 delegates, representing a number of black bodies supporting the black consciousness philosophy, got together at a symposium in April 1981 to give their viewpoint.

The Azapo president, Mr Khehla Mthembu, stressed that black consciousness was not on trial. "We are here to reaffirm black consciousness, to redefine some of our terms, and give direction to the struggle.

"Black consciousness," he added, "is dynamic — we shall adapt and move with the demands of our times."

The symposium set out to show that BC was still a necessary force in South Africa as it moved from its initial "psychological liberation" stage, through the "activist" phase into its present "ideological" phase.

The first two papers — both on "black consciousness and the class struggle" — set the tone for the symposium. The first was by a former Robben Island prisoner, Mr Eric Molobi, and the other by Mr Quraish Patel, of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa.

Eight commissions discussed questions arising from the papers. Some delegates were still unhappy about the class analysis.

But at the end of the symposium, delegates accepted without dissent the following:

Their commitment to the BC ideology;

The assertion that because the black worker is "the hub of the South African economy and yet the most exploited and oppressed", black worker consciousness be promoted in such a way that the black working class be a vehicle for change in South Africa;

Race is a class determinant in the current South African context;

There is no place for whites in the black consciousness movement.

Acceptance by the delegates of the class analysis did not imply that Azapo had embraced Marxism. On the contrary, Mr Patel pointed out: "Orthodox Marxists look at a doctrine and mould it to reality, whereas black consciousness looks at reality and moulds its doctrine accordingly."

With Azapo's focus on black workers reaffirmed, it was logical that worker organisation be taken a step further.

The Reverend Buti Tlhagale, of the Black Priests' Solidarity Group, delivered a paper in which he warned black trade unionists not to regard concessions in the labour field as ends in themselves.

It now seems clear that apart from battles in the educational, sporting and ideological spheres, the tensions in South African society will become increasingly concentrated in the labour field.

* * * *

Black Consciousness and the Class Struggle

Black consciousness in South Africa is no longer in its infancy. A decade has already elapsed since this novel vision was advocated. Despite the initial optimism, the Herculean task of establishing an integrated conception of our reality remains incomplete. But a system of thought or an ideology is of little value if it can only be defined as a response to a particular period of historical crisis.

When an ideology is able to reflect the continuous process of change and conflict, then that ideology has the potential for challenging the dominant ideas of the ruling class. To say then that a set of ideas is incomplete is to accept the permanence of social change which can never be halted.

In this context, black consciousness is the attempt to understand the material conditions from a position of self-determination. When black consciousness emerged, it did so on a specific level and for a definite purpose. Not only did it describe the reign of conceptual blindness among blacks, but it stimulated an intense period of political opposition, inculcating a new sense of existence from which is growing an unparalleled unity of the oppressed. However, one of the aspects of conflict which black consciousness did not properly examine was the relationship of black workers to the productive forces at this stage in history. Such an analysis would no doubt raise the connection between black consciousness and the class struggle.

The question is not to view black consciousness within the class struggle but to find out the relationship of black consciousness and the class struggle within the pattern of social transformation in the country. I suggest that black consciousness does not conflict with the notion of class struggle. There are in fact no practical problems in this regard. To suggest otherwise would be to imply that a black worker does not exist as "colour-blind" orthodox Marxists wish to do. Theoretically, it is necessary to participate in this discussion if only for the sake of conceptual clarity. My starting premise — one which may incidentally surprise orthodox and dogmatic Marxists for it is from the founding father himself — is that: "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, it is their social existence that determines their consciousness." To this should be added

the idea that consciousness, in turn, affects social existence.

It is against this background that a cursory analysis of black consciousness will be made. Let us first accept that black consciousness is an idea used to describe a whole set of experiences — experiences revolving around a certain relationship and structure. It is a ruler-ruled relationship. The structure formalises this relationship where the ruler is not visible. The awareness of both these processes is what we have come to call black consciousness. This relationship and structure influences and determines everyone — black and white alike. It socialises all — teaching the ethic of superiority to whites and perpetual subservience to blacks. In the formal structure of parliament, legislation like the Land Act, Group Areas Act and Influx Control, reinforces what may have existed only informally.

At the time when the government ruled by fear alone, black consciousness emerged as a direct challenge to the dictatorship. At the same time, it addressed itself to blacks urging defiance in the face of unrelenting oppression.

The aftermath of Sharpsville had dealt a devastating blow to black political development. The unspoken threat, the unseen omnipotent security police, the memories of pre-dawn swoops, all this was internalised becoming a feature of the psychological make-up of black people. The government had successfully conditioned people to accept their burden without question. This conditioning became the norm of existence in South Africa. The psychological "dwarfing" of the consciousness of black people clouded their perception of reality and they were unable to properly perceive alternative modes of opposition. The large majority of black workers involved in the process of production were policed into ensuring the continued well-being of the economy.

The sudden, dramatic expression of revolt — such to the dismay of dogmatic Marxists — came from an unexpected section of the black people. Those outside of the focus of the means of production and distribution, the students, searching for identity in an alienated environment, unleashed years of pent-up hopes and dreams by rejecting the false black-white student unity. The search for identity coupled with

political opposition began questioning the ruler-ruled relationship and its related institutions.

The age of political despair was at an end, and the ruler-ruled relationship stood under the imminent threat of collapsing. With this antidote to fear, a new process of de-conditioning started to take place. Refusing to be defined in white terms and rejecting white values, black consciousness stressed the ethic of creativity: think on your own terms. Define yourselves, for you are what you want to be, and you want to be free. In short, re-define yourselves in terms of your own reality. The decade of fear began to disintegrate and the event produced a sense of discovery, an inward severing of the psychological shackles of slavery.

The first condition for liberation took root when black consciousness ripped open the false consciousness of black people and allowed them to experience reality on their terms — to project a vision of liberation without the aid of the white man. The necessary condition for liberation was realised in the tenet that psychological de-conditioning was a crucial preparatory phase for involvement in the actual change of circumstances which enslaved blacks. Black consciousness brought the promise of re-humanisation — again on the black man's terms. Intellectually poverty-stricken, what was there for blacks to emulate in the West?

Before the government even had time to react, white liberals, aggrieved at being cold-shouldered, wagged accusing fingers at a phenomenon that they were unable to comprehend. "Racists," they shouted from the steps of their expensive homes. Strange that when people of colour experiencing varying degrees of oppression unite against a privileged minority, the label of racism is flung in their faces.

Being black is not being a race; it is being conscious that people of colour are the downtrodden, the wretched of the earth and that only they can liberate themselves. We decided to define ourselves. According to the white frame of reference, not being white is non-white. That's their definition. We said black.

Hence, black consciousness can be given a two-edged definition. On the one hand, as the awareness of people of colour of the problems facing them in the social, political and economic structure and on the other

hand, it is the attempt to re-humanise black people whose dignity has been stripped away by the master-slave relationship and the institutions supporting this relationship. A negation of white superiority — not a negation of whites as people — black consciousness is at the same time a positive assertion of our being what we want to be.

This is the humanism of black consciousness. It wishes to restore our being human even if the environment is hostile and inhuman and by proclaiming black solidarity, it prepares us for participating in the historical movement towards a free society. But to be prepared for liberation means establishing the basic preconditions for a revolutionary ideology which challenges and transcends the dominant one of the ruling class. Therefore black consciousness can become a truly liberatory ideology when it also focuses on the economic sphere of activity.

Its main thrust was on the psychological and cultural level but a few years ago it became obvious that unless the economic infra-structure of social organisation was taken into account, black consciousness will be confined to clenched fists and protest poetry.

We don't need an economics degree to know that of about 10 million economically active people in the country, 8 million are black. Moreover, the top 20 percent of the population take 58 percent of the national income while the bottom 20 percent get only 2 percent. It's easy to see that the majority of the economically active workforce, black workers, produce the bulk of the wealth which is distributed among a minority. The pride of being instilled by black consciousness is only half the story. For the oppressed one of the most essential values — because it is the most concrete — is land: the land which will bring wealth and above all, dignity. But blacks hardly own any land. Can we forget how the Land Act drove hundreds of thousands of blacks off their land forcing them into the cities to become proletarianised? So, one of the principles of black consciousness revolves around the struggle for the repossession of land. Another says that since we are the major producers of wealth, we have a right to share in the rewards. Without the just redistribution of wealth, political power is meaningless — substituting a black owner of the means of production for a white one does not

solve the problem of labour exploitation.

How can a black worker feel any sense of pride when he is waging a constant battle against starvation? On this score, black consciousness by committing itself to a re-organisation of the structure of society carries the implication that liberation must also involve the elimination of economic exploitation. Why? Because in the way in which the economy is arranged, the owners of capital by extracting surplus profits rob the worker of his labour. Black workers as victims of colour prejudice and economic exploitation are the force without which capital cannot grow and accumulate.

Since black consciousness expresses the reality of life for black people, it is not a pre-conceived doctrine. The task of black consciousness can now be extended to articulate the problems of black workers. And what is their main problem? Exploitation of labour. The conflict between black workers and capital in South Africa is evident almost daily. When the conflict reaches breaking point, you can be sure of a strike.

Where capitalism is faced with an acute crisis, it tends to move in the direction of a dictatorship. Where a dictatorship exists, there you will find a severe social crisis. And only that class involved as victims in the capitalist-worker relationship can make any real change. In South Africa, it is the black worker. His revolt against capital is also a revolt against a system which denies him the right to determine his future. And, his protest against conditions in the township, is also a protest against the system of capitalism which has actively aided in creating cheap labour reserves.

The existence of a large number of strikes involving black workers attests to the fact of discrimination on the basis of colour in the economy. The division of the labour market along colour lines, supplemented by the segregation in housing and education and reinforced by the white ethic of superiority, perpetuate the low class economic status of blacks. Since the majority of black people are workers, i.e. sellers of labour to owners of capital, black consciousness preaches black solidarity and the power of labour in the economy. What is it but black worker solidarity that is demonstrated when black workers down tools in sympathy with black workers in another industry? Is this not the awareness of black workers' unity? Or, when

students come out on boycott with students from another university? Is this not black student unity?

The consciousness of the power of black workers is gradually taking root. Is this consciousness of the power of black workers anything other than black consciousness operating in the sphere of labour? This is merely a labour-directed view of black consciousness.

Incidentally, when we refer to the "white working class" we do not intend a class description in the classical European sense because white workers — whites who do not own capital — are by the very nature of South African history a "labour aristocracy". Since white racism expresses itself most clearly in the workforce, and since black consciousness is regarded by white workers as the chief antagonist, a clash is inevitable. Those who hope that black and white workers will unite and fight and dream of solidarity between them do not realise that whenever white workers have struggled or supported a struggle in this country, it has not been a struggle for liberation — but a struggle to get something for themselves. Moreover, white workers are a privileged labour aristocracy, i.e. they enjoy the benefits of black exploitation, they have the vote and the right colour. The social and political arrangements which make white workers into a labour aristocracy decide that their labour, because it is white, is worth more than black labour. White workers' awareness of their status compared to blacks inspire their superiority ethic.

When white workers become aware of themselves as a class and realise that the wealth created by the majority should be shared among all, then only will it be possible to reconsider the labour-orientated view of black consciousness. Until then, they must be excluded from the struggle of the true working class for liberation from economic exploitation and political oppression. Black workers are the historical force for the liberation of this country. It is this class that holds the future in their hands.

The only whites who profess to want to join black workers are those who are economically most secure: university students, professionals and a handful of intellectuals — individuals who represent no significant social force.

Black workers are confined to

AZAPO's new leadership takes office



From Left to Right: Muntu Ka Myeza (Publicity Secretary), Imrann Moosa (Natal Vice President), Kenneth Rachiidi (Trent), Peter Jones (Cape Vice President), Lyhon Mahasa (President) Saths Cooper (Deputy President) Zihalele Cindi (Projects Co-ordinator), Sefako Nyaka (Secretary General), Fikile Quthi (Free State Vice President), National Organiser)

direct the struggle within the framework of the law, but each time the struggle reaches an explosive pitch, more workers are driven to recognise that the things they are fighting for cannot be achieved within the system.

Among black people, there are but a mere handful who own some meagre form of means of production. That they are part of the struggle for liberation is beyond doubt. But, by virtue of their involvement with capital and its accumulation, the black consciousness movement must guard against them taking control and redirecting the struggle away from the ideal of economic reorganisation in the interests of the producers of wealth.

It has often been said that black consciousness is a way of life. It is an attempt to search for a lost identity, it is a rejection of a foreign value system and a belief that unless society is completely organised in the interests of black workers, liberation will remain an unattainable ideal.

The more powerful the black workers' protest, the more they will move towards black solidarity and the greater the chances of the whites accepting large-scale changes. On the other hand, the more the black protest and challenge is weakened and diluted by class collaboration (black and white unite and fight) the more chance there is of the white workers remaining counter-revolutionary.

When we speak about black consciousness in relation to the class struggle we are referring to the

workers of colour who live in the reserves and townships subject to the daily humiliation of pass raids, inhuman living conditions, high transport costs and a barbaric form of education for their children. At work, its low wages, bad working conditions and little, if any, bargaining rights.

With his low wages, there is little hope of him improving "the quality of his life". Conditions in the township also prevent him from enjoying the benefits of recreation, even if he was paid enough at work. Caught in this vicious circle, is it any wonder that severe problems at work become "community issues" when workers down tools?

I make bold to suggest that this entire experience is a description of black consciousness operating in all spheres of life. I am not saying that this should be the case theoretically because it is a description of the phenomena that exists. I only describe what is happening, what is the case.

In so accommodating the various levels of the black experience, black consciousness is able to posit the contours of a possible alternative. By transcending the existing status quo and projecting the aspirations of blacks into a system in which wealth and power are equitably distributed, black consciousness truly raises the hope of liberation and so carries the seeds of meaningful change. Without this projection of an alternative, black consciousness would be a mere reaction to the status quo.

Since this is not the best of all

possible worlds, black consciousness must at least also provide some thoughts on what it wants — not only what it rejects. The struggle for liberation is often defined in terms of the alternative — and what is the alternative of black consciousness?

I don't intend to fool myself by believing that I can offer any assistance in this regard. But I do know that unless the alternative includes the decisive feature of worker control, liberation will remain a mere catchword for meaningless reforms.

The surge of a black worker consciousness appears to be dominating the political spectrum. When that consciousness becomes political, the demands of workers will go beyond wages, working conditions and trade union recognition — for a political black worker consciousness means that the producers of wealth finally realise that to achieve a better life would involve a direct struggle for political power.

How black workers will then use their economic muscle depends entirely on the black solidarity built up in all those little strikes across the country, in those boycotts, at those mass meetings and during those community protests against rents and mass removals.

In the meantime, black organisations will serve the purpose of popularising pertinent issues and acting as training grounds for building that unity required for the ultimate and concerted national struggle waged against a regime that appears to be plunging towards its own destruction.



Police keep watch on hundreds of black people marching in protest.

Trade Unions: Strength and Weaknesses

MUCH excitement has been generated by the growth of the labour movement in this country — growth which has been seen as heralding a new era in our political scene.

As was to be expected, this movement has been greatly influenced by the dominant political thoughts and, as a result, it has developed in two distinctive trends: the 'nonracial' trade unions on the one hand and the black consciousness-inspired trade unions on the other.

Those who rally round the banner of non-racialism argue that the instruments of change should be embodied in the envisaged change, whereas those under the Black Consciousness banner believe instruments of change need not necessarily be embodied in the envisaged change.

False

In Black Consciousness, we believe in taking into cognisance the material conditions.

Racism in this country is not just an attitude, but it exists in structures and institutions we have to contend with on a day-to-day basis.

These structures are built to enhance and foster the false superiority of white people in this country and experience has shown that, in any partnership of blacks and whites, white people feel it is their natural duty to occupy positions of leadership, power and control.

Education, and exposure to better facilities and life, are used to justify this position.

The trade union or labour movement has been seen by some as the most revolutionary movement capable of ushering in a new social order, while others have dismissed it as a reactionary product of a capitalist society.

Both views are inaccurate and misleading.

While, on the one hand, it is true that trade unionism introduces workers to democratic processes of accepting joint responsibility and joint decision-making, it also sharpens their consciousness to the relationship that exists between them and the means of production and exchange.

This should not be misconstrued as a complete revolutionary process that needs no direction and guidance.

A revolution has been described as "a dialectical progress of historical development" which is "the sum of varied and diverse circumstances, of multiplex elements that together add up and lead to the solution, in a given historical moment, of a crisis that has stubborn and deep economic causes".

With that in mind, the working class as such is not synonymous with a revolutionary phenomenon. If this were true, the picture of the society in our country would have been otherwise.

Values

As many scholars would have it — and we agree with them — the dominant ideas in any given society are those of the ruling class, and sections of the working class in this country have absconded from their fundamental worker responsibilities and embraced the values of the ruling class.

Nay, they have been bolstering the status quo through the exercise of their bourgeois democratic right — the vote.

Concern

We know the rule of one class over another does not necessarily depend on economic or physical power alone, but rather on persuading the ruled to accept the system of beliefs of the ruling class and to share its social, cultural and moral values.

In our country, the labour union movement should be influenced by revolutionary consciousness to transcend its limitations, that straight-jacket it into assuming "a pressure group" character that concerns itself with the amelioration of working conditions.

Discard

The movement must discard its reformist character, that is, being solely concerned with factory-floor grievances and turning a blind eye to both the existential situations in which the workers find themselves, and the material conditions that determine their respective backgrounds.

It should never be divorced from day-to-day rigours and vagaries of living in a racist capitalist society and, for the direction of its programmes, it

must draw from the ethos and pathos of the workers experiences at both factory-floor level and beyond mass and not work systemati-

Workers do not cease to be — or to exist — as people after downing tools at knocking-off time.

As the political writer, Sorel, has said, we believe "the working class alone" — by virtue of its being the most down-trodden and oppressed people in our society — has the moral virtues necessary to rejuvenate society, and that to perform this mission it must have faith in itself and in its purposes.

Our duty is to raise its revolutionary consciousness.

In conclusion, on this potential revolutionary phenomenon — the labour movement, Gramsci has lessons for any serious activist or student of society to ponder upon when he writes: "To expect that a mass, reduced to such conditions of physical and spiritual slavery, could embody a spontaneous historical development; to expect that it would spontaneously begin and continue an act of revolutionary creation — is an illusion of ideologists.

"To rely on the unique creative capacity of such a mass and not work systematically to organise a great army of disciplined and conscious militants, ready for every sacrifice, educated to put their slogans into practice simultaneously, ready to assume effective responsibility for the revolution, ready to be agents of the revolution — not to do this is a real betrayal of the working class and an unconscious counter-revolution in advance."

Imbalance

The Azanian Peoples' Organisation, Azapo's policy statement on trade unions reads: "Realising the imbalance of power between the owners of capital and black workers, we acknowledge trade unions as instruments that can bring about the redistribution of power.

"In the unique situation that is South Africa, trade unions should go beyond the problems of management and labour.

"We envisage a persistently militant system of trade unions which will challenge the discriminatory labour laws of the white minority Government and thereby bring about change."

CHEAP, BLACK LABOUR FUELS ECONOMY

Any ideology has to come from the experiences of the people and the kind of oppression they undergo. We find ourselves in a capitalist society today. But it is a capitalist society with a racist twist. The overwhelming majority of black people in South Africa are reduced to workers, irrespective of whether or not they would like to enter the ranks of the capitalist class.

Capitalism thus assumes a novel character with the distinction between the haves and the have-nots being colour. The working class is split into a privileged white working class or labour aristocracy and an extremely oppressed black working class. This statutory proletarianisation of the black man in general is well summed up by the past nationalist minister who said that "there is no station in life for the bantu beyond that of a labourer".

Within the body politic we again find that the demarcating line between those who wield power and those who do not is colour. Again it is the black man who is disenfranchised.

Socially the same statutory prohibitions apply. It is blacks who are ghettoised, blacks who are forcibly removed, blacks who are fed gutter education and blacks who have separate and unequal amenities.

We can thus say that Blacks are politically, economically and socially discriminated against and are forced to occupy the lowest rungs of this society.

These are the material conditions existing in society today and any ideology that does not take cognisance of this is starting from the basis of historical fallacy. Black consciousness emerged from the boiling point of this society and the experience of the most oppressed segments of this society. It emerged from the pain of our degradation, the shame of our plight and the vision of our restoration to the ranks of free and proud people of this earth.

Taking into account all these factors, the future society we envisage is one in which there will be no discrimination on the basis of colour; where there will be no economic exploitation on the basis of class; where the wealth of the nation is equally distributed among all her people. Education shall be entrenched in law and the leaders of the people shall be

of the people, elected by the people to serve the people.

It should be obvious that only the oppressed are capable of bringing about the necessary transformation in any society. However this does not occur of its own accord. It has been said that a people can only be oppressed to the extent they allow themselves to be oppressed. Such a truism implies that a national consciousness has to be activated.

Proceeding from the premise that in our vast numbers is our strength we have to harness that strength to the best effect.

It is the economy that is the backbone of any society and the economy of this country is based on abundant and cheap black labour. It follows that the black working class is the pivot around which the liberation movement revolves.

The Black worker possess immense economic power but as yet he has not realised his full potential and is not able to exercise his economic strength on a coordinated basis. Our focus is on accelerating realisation of this potential, of making him aware that he holds a power without parallel in this country. We have to emphasise the political content of the labour struggle, of making the struggle of the worker the struggle of the community. The worker and the political organisation have to become one and indivisible.

We have to work towards the objective of the workers joining the political organisation in ever increas-

ing numbers and the political organisation being ready, willing and able to tackle questions of labour and nurturing the ascendancy of worker leadership.

It is perhaps fortunate that I am speaking in a rural area because this is where the majority of workers are recruited from. Rural areas have been earmarked as vast labour reserves and are the granaries of the country. Every liberation movement in South Africa has been guilty of ignoring the workers in the rural areas and we must ensure that AZAPO does not perpetuate this error.

We may add that students have a role to play in the liberation struggle. Firstly they possess certain skills which can be utilised for the furtherance of our struggle and secondly they tend to have an incredible amount of free time. Students can thus play an activist role in the community. But at this point a note of caution must be sounded: because students possess certain specialised skills, they can be seduced into a comfortable accommodation within the system. Therefore students have to make an active and authentic commitment to the liberation struggle. Vigilance has to be their watchword and they have to bear in mind that they are part of the black community before they are students.

AZAPO commits itself to the liberation of black people under the active leadership of the black working class and the guiding philosophy of black consciousness.



ON STRIKE: Black workers on strike use their economic muscle also to express dissatisfaction with their denial of rights and are becoming aware of their collective strength to demand change.

Nation and Ethnicity in South Africa

A speech delivered during June 1983: this contribution sets out AZAPO's attitude to ethnic politics which parade under the banner slogans "non-racialism" and "multi-racialism".

The immediate goal of the national liberation struggle now being waged in South Africa is the destruction of the system of racism and capitalism. Apartheid is simply a particular socio-political expression of this system. Our opposition to apartheid is therefore only a starting point for our struggle against the structures and interests which are the real basis of apartheid.

During the past 100 odd years, a modern industrial economy has been created in South Africa under the spur of the capitalist class. The most diverse groups of people (European settlers, immigrants, African and East Indian slaves, Indian indentured labourers, Chinese indentured labourers and indigenous African people) were brought together and compelled to labour for the profit of the different capitalist owners of the means of production.

Now, during the 18th and 19th centuries in Western and Central Europe, roughly similar processes had taken place. But there was one major difference between Europe and the colonies of Europe. For in Europe, in the epoch of the rise of capitalism, the up and coming capitalist class had to struggle against feudal aristocracy in order to be allowed to unfold their enterprise. Through unequal taxation, restrictions of freedom of trade and freedom of movement and in a thousand different ways the aristocracy exploited the bourgeoisie and the other toiling classes.

In order to gain the benefit of their labours, to free the rapidly developing forces of production from the fetters of relations of production, the capitalist class had to organise the peasants and the other urban classes to overthrow the feudal system. In the course of these struggles of national unification this bourgeoisie developed a nationalist democratic ideology and its cultural values and practices become the dominant ones in the new nations. The bourgeoisie became the leading class in the nation and were able to structure it in accordance with their class interests.

In the 20th century in the colonies of Europe, however, the situation has been and is entirely different. In these colonies, European or metropolitan capitalism (i.e. imperialism) had become the oppressor which brutally exploited the colonial peoples. In some cases the colonial power had allowed or even encouraged a class of colonial satellite

capitalists to come into being. This class, being completely dependent on London, Paris, Brussels, Berlin or New York, could not oppose imperialism in any consistent manner. If it had done so it would in fact have committed class suicide because it would have had to advocate the destruction of the imperialist-capitalist system which is the basis of colonial oppression. After World War II especially, the capitalist powers realised that this situation would put a great strain on the capitalist system as a whole. Consequently we had a period of 'decolonisation' which as we now know, merely ushered in the present epoch of neo-colonialism, which Kwame Nkrumah optimistically called the 'last stage of imperialism'!

In South Africa, a peculiar development took place. Here, the national bourgeoisie had come to consist of a class of white capitalists. Because they could only farm and mine gold and diamonds profitably if they had an unlimited supply of cheap labour, they found it necessary to create a split labour market, i.e. one for cheap *black* labour and one for skilled and semi-skilled (mainly *white* labour). This was made easier by the fact that in the pre-industrial colonial period white-black relationships had been essentially master-servant relations. In order to secure their labour supply as required, the national bourgeoisie in South Africa had to institute and perpetuate the system whereby Black people were denied political rights, were restricted in their freedom of movement, tied to the land in so-called 'native reserves', not allowed to own landed property anywhere in South Africa and their children given an education, if they received any at all that 'prepared them for life in a subordinate society'.

The colonial national bourgeoisie compromised with British imperialism in 1910 in order to maintain their profitable system of super exploitation of black labour.

They did not incorporate the entire population under the new state on the basis of legal equality, they could not unite the nation. On the contrary, ever since 1910, elaborate strategies have been evolved and implemented to divide the black working people into even smaller poten-

tially antagonistic groups. Divide and Rule, the main policy of any imperial power, has been the compass of every government of South Africa since 1910.

In order to justify these policies the ideology of racism was elaborated, systemised and universalised. People were thrown into a set-up where they were categorised racially. They grew up believing that they were Whites, Coloureds, Africans, Indians. Since 1948, they have been encouraged and often forced to think of themselves in even more microscopic terms as 'Xhosa'; 'Zulu'; 'Muslim'; 'Hindu'; 'Griqua'; 'Sotho'; 'Venda'; etc., etc.

The ideal policy of the conservative fascist-minded politicians of the capitalist class was to keep these 'races' separate. The so-called liberal element strove for 'harmonious race relations in a multi-racial country'. Because of the development of the biological sciences where the very concept 'race' was questioned and because of the catastrophic consequences of the racist *Herrenvolk* policies of Hitler Germany socio-political theories based on the concept of 'race' fell into disrepute. The social theorists of the ruling class then restored to the theory of 'ethnic groups', which had in the meantime become a firmly established instrument of economic and political policy in the United States of America as well as elsewhere in the world. It is to be noted that this theory of ethnicity continued to be based on the ideology of 'race' as far as South Africa is concerned. From the point of view of the ruling class, however, the theory of 'ethnic groups' was a superior instrument of policy, because, as I have pointed out, it could explain and justify even greater fragmentation of the black working people whose unity held within itself the message of doom for the capitalist apartheid system in this country.

The fact of the matter is that the white National Party used ethnic theories in order to justify Bantustan strategy whereby it created bogus 'nations' and forced them to accept an illusory 'independence' so that the black working class would agitate for political rights in their own so-called 'homelands'.

The idea, as we all know, was to

create, revive and entrench antagonistic feelings of difference between language groups (Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho Tswana, etc.), religious groups (Muslim, Hindu, Christian etc.), cultural groups (Griqua, Malay, Coloured etc.), and of course racial groups (African, Coloured, Indian, etc.). I need not show here how this theory was designed to serve the interests of the ruling class by preserving apartheid (grand and petty) and how ruthlessly it was applied. The literature on apartheid is so large today that no single person could study all of it in the span of a lifetime. What we need to do is to take a careful, if brief, look at how the liberation movement has conceived of the differences between and the unity of officially classified population registration groups, the different language groups and religious sects that constitute the Black nation.

Those organisations and writers within the liberation movement who used to put forward the view that South Africa is a multi-racial country composed of four 'races' no longer do so for the same reasons as the conservative and liberal ruling-class theorists. They have begun to speak more and more of building a *non-racial South Africa*. For most people who use this term 'non-racial' it means exactly the same thing as multi-racial. They continue to conceive of South Africa's population as consisting of four so-called 'races'. It has become fashionable to intone the words a 'non-racial democratic South Africa' as a kind of open sesame that permits one to enter into the hallowed portals of the *progressive* 'democratic movement'. If we do not want to be deceived by words we have to look behind them at the concepts and the actions on which they are based.

The word 'non-racial' cannot be accepted by a racially oppressed people because we reject the concept 'race', we deny the existence of 'races' and thus oppose all actions, practices, beliefs and policies based on the concept of 'race'. If in practice (and in theory) we continue to use the word 'non-racial' as though we believe that South Africa is inhabited by four so-called 'races', we are still trapped in multi-racialism and thus in racialism. The denial of the existence of races leads on to anti-racism which goes beyond it because the term not only involves the denial of 'race' but also opposition to the capitalist structures for the perpetuation of which the ideology and theory of 'race' exist. Words are like money. They are

easily counterfeited and it is often difficult to tell the real coin from the false one. We need, therefore, at all times to find out whether our 'non-racialists' are multi-racialists or anti-racists. Only the latter variety can belong in the national liberation movement.

The theory of ethnicity and of ethnic groups has taken the place of theories of 'race' in the modern world. Very often 'racial' theories are incorporated in 'ethnic theories'. In this paper, I am not going to discuss the scientific validity of ethnic theory, usually pluralism of one kind or another. That is a job that one or more of us in the liberation movement must do very soon before our youth get infected incurably with these dangerous ideas at universities. All I need to point out here is that the way in which the ideologies of the National Party use the term 'ethnic group' makes it almost impossible for any serious-minded person grappling with these problems to use the term as a tool of analysis.

It has been shown by a number of writers that the National Party's use of the terminology of ethnicity is contradictory and designed simply to justify the apartheid/Bantustan policies. Thus, for example, they claim, amongst other things, that:

- The 'African' people consist of between 8 and 10 different 'ethnic groups', all of whom want to attain 'national' i.e. Bantustan 'independence';
- The 'Coloured' people consist of at least three different 'ethnic groups' (Malay, Cape Coloured, Griqua and possibly 'other Coloured'). On the other hand, 'Coloureds' are themselves an ethnic group, but not a 'nation';
- The 'Indian' people constitute an ethnic group not a 'nation';
- The 'White' people consist of Afrikaners and other ethnic groups but constitute a single nation i.e. the white nation of South Africa.

In all this angle of contradictions, the most important point is that every 'ethnic group' is potentially a so-called 'nation' unless it is already part of a 'nation' as in the case of the Whites.

We have to admit that in the liberation movement ever since 1896, the question of the different population registration groups has presented us with a major problem, one which was either glossed over or evaded or simply ignored. I cannot go into the history of the matter here. We shall have to content ourselves

with the different positions taken up by different tendencies in the liberation movement today. These can be summarised briefly as falling into three categories:

(i) For some, the population registration groups are 'national groups or racial groups, or sometimes ethnic groups'. The position of these peoples is that it is a 'self-evident and undeniable reality that there are Indians, Coloureds, Africans and Whites (national groups) in our country. It is a reality precisely because each of these national groups has its own heritage, language customs and traditions' (Zak Yacoob, speech presented at the first general meeting of the Transvaal Indian Congress on 1 May 1983).

Without debating the point any further, let me say that this is the classical position of ethnic theory. I shall show presently that the use of the word 'national group' is fraught with dangers not because it is a word but because it fires expression to and thereby reinforces separatism and disruptive tendencies in the body politic of South Africa. The advocates of this theory outside the liberation movement, such as Inkatha and the PFP, draw the conclusion that a federal constitutional solution is the order of the day. Those inside the liberation movement believe contradictorily that even though the national groups with their different cultures will continue to exist they can somehow do so in a unitary state as part of a single nation.

We have to state clearly that if things really are as they appear to be we would not need any science. If the sun *really* quite *self-evidently* moved around the earth we would not require astronomy and space research to explain to us that the opposite is true, that the 'self-evidently real' is only apparent. Of course there *are* historically evolved differences of language, religion, customs, job specialisation etc among the different groups in this country. But we have to *view* these differences historically, not statically. They have been enhanced and artificially engendered by the deliberate ruling-class policy of keeping the population registration groups in separate compartments, making them lead their lives in group isolation except in the market place. This is a historical reality. It is not an unchanging situation that stands above or outside history. I shall show just now how this historical reality has to be reconciled *through class struggle* with the reality of a single nation.

The danger inherent in this kind of talk is quite simply that it makes room both in theory and in practice for the preaching of ethnic separatism. It is claimed that a theory of 'national groups' advocated in the context of a movement for national liberation merely seeks:

'To heighten the positive features of each national group and to weld these together so that there arises out of this process of organisation a single national consciousness'

(Yacoob)

whereas the ruling class 'relying upon the negative features' (of each national group) 'emphasises ethnicity' or 'uses culture in order to reinforce separation and division'. We can repeat this kind of intellectualist solace until we fall asleep, the fact remains that 'ethnic' or 'national group' approaches are the thin edge of the wedge for separatist movements and civil wars fanned by great-power interests and suppliers of arms of opportunist 'ethnic leaders'. Those who sow the wind, as the prophet says, will reap the whirlwind! Does not Inkatha in some ways represent a warning to all of us? Who decides what are the 'positive features' of a national group? What are the boundaries or limits of a national group? Are these determined by the population register? Is a national group a stunted nation, one that, given the appropriate soil, will fight for national self-determination in its own nation-state? Or does the word 'national' have some other more sophisticated meaning? These are relevant questions to ask because the advocates of the four-nation or national-group approach maintain that a liberated South Africa will guarantee group rights such as 'the right of national groups to their culture' and that we have to accept that if the existence of national groups is a reality and if each national group has its own culture, traditions, and problems, the movement for change is best facilitated by enabling organisation around issues which concern people in their daily lives, issues such as low wages, high transport costs and poor housing. Or as other representatives of this tendency have bluntly said we need separate organisations for each of the 'national groups,' which organisations can and should be brought together in an alliance.

These are weighty conclusions on which history itself (since 1960 and especially since 1976) has pronounced a negative judgement. To fan the fires of ethnic politics today is to go

backwards, not forwards. It plays into the hands of the reactionary middle-class leadership. It is a reactionary, not a progressive policy from the point of view of the liberation movement taken as a whole. Imagine us advocating 'Indian', 'Coloured' and 'African' trade unions or student unions today!

(ii) There is a diametrically opposite view within the liberation movement even though it is held by a minority of people. According to this view, our struggle is not for national liberation. It is a class struggle pure and simple, one in which the 'working class' will wrest power from the 'capitalist class'.

For this reason the worker should be organised regardless of what so-called group they belong to. This tendency seems to say (in theory) that the historic evolved differences are irrelevant or at best of secondary importance.

I find it difficult to take this position seriously. I suspect that in practice the activists who hold this view are compelled to make the most acrobatic compromises with the reality of racially prejudiced 'workers'. To deny the reality of prejudice and perceive differences, whatever their origin, is to disarm oneself strategically and tactically. It becomes impossible to organise a mass movement outside the ranks of a few thousand students.

Again, the historical experience of the liberation movement in South Africa does not permit us to entertain this kind of conclusion. All the little organisations and groups that have at one time or another operated on this basis have vanished after telling the simple story which, though 'full of sound and fury', signified nothing.

(iii) The third position is one that has been proved to be correct by the history of all successful liberation struggles in Africa and elsewhere. I have found no better description of this position than that outlined by President Samora Machael in a speech held in August 1982 in reply to General Malan's accusations that South Africa was being 'destabilised' by hostile elements in the sub continent.

In that speech Machael said among other things that:

'Our nation is historically new. The awareness of being Mozambicans arose with a common oppression suffered by all of us under colonialism from Rovuma to Maputo.

Frelimo, in its 20 years' existence and in the path of struggle,

turned us progressively into Mozambicans, no longer Moconde and Shangaan, Nyanja and Ronga, Nyungwe and Bitongs, Chubabo and Ndau, Macua and Xitsua.

Frelimo turned us into equal sons of the Mozambican nation, whether our skin was black, brown or white.

Our nation was not moulded and forged by feudal or bourgeois gentlemen. It arose from our armed struggle. It was carved out by our hard-working calloused hands.

Thus during the national liberation war, the ideas of country and freedom were closely associated with victory of the working people. We fought to free the land and the people. This is the reason that those, who at the time wanted the land and the people in order to exploit them, left us to go and fight in the ranks of colonialism, their partner.

The unity of the Mozambican nation and Mozambican patriotism is found in the essential components of, as we emphasise, anti-racism, socialism, freedom and unity'. (WIP no. 26)

This statement is especially significant when one realises that for many years FRELIMO accepted that 'there is no antagonism between the existence of a number of ethnic groups and National Unity'. This sentence comes from a FRELIMO document entitled 'Mozambican Tribes and Ethnic Groups: Their significance in the Struggle for National Liberation' written at a time when the movement actually was under strong pressure from politicians who were consciously manipulating ethnicity in their own interest' (J Saul: The dialectic of class and tribe).

Even earlier in 1962 a FRELIMO document stressed that 'it is true that there are differences among us Mozambicans. Some of us are Macondes, others are Nianjas, others Macuas, etc. Some of us come from the mountains, other from the plains. Each of our tribes has its own language, its specific uses and habitudes and different cultures. There are differences among us. This is normal.... In all big countries there are differences among people.

All of us Mozambicans — Macuas, Macondes, Nianjas, Changanas, Ajuas, etc. — we want to be free. To be free we have to fight united.

All Mozambicans of all tribes are brothers in the struggle. All the tribes of Mozambique must unite in the

common struggle for the independence of our country'. (Quoted by J Saul).

The development of the Mozambican National Liberation ideology through the lessons learnt in struggle shown clearly by President Machael's August 1983 statement that:

'Ours is not a society in which races and colours, tribes and regions coexist and live harmoniously side by side. We went beyond these ideas during a struggle in which we sometimes had to force people's consciousness in order for them to free themselves from complexes and prejudices so as to become simply, we repeat, simply people'.

Every situation is unique. The experience of FRELIMO, while it may have many lessons for us, cannot be duplicated in South Africa. Certainly the population registration groups of South Africa are neither 'tribes' nor 'ethnic groups' nor 'national groups'. In sociological theory, they can be described as colour-castes or more simply as colour-groups. So to describe them is not unimportant since the word captures the nature or the direction of development of these groups. But this question of words is not really the issue. What is important is to clarify the relationship between class, colour, culture and nation.

The economic, material, language, religious and other differences between sections of the oppressed are *real*. They influence and determine the ways in which people live and experience their lives. Reactionary ethnic organisation would not have been so successful in the history of this country had these difficulties not been of a certain order of reality. However, these differences are neither permanent nor necessarily divisive if they are *restructured and redirected* for the purpose of national liberation and thus in order to build the nation. The ruling class has used language, religious and sex differences among the working people in order to divide them and to disorganise them. Any organisation of the people that does not set out to counteract these divisive tendencies set up by the ruling-class strategies merely ends up by reinforcing these strategies. The case of Gandhi or Abdurrahman are good examples. Middle-class and aspiring bourgeois elements quickly seize control of such 'ethnic' organisations and use them as power bases from which they try to bargain for a larger share of the economic cake. This is essen-

tially the kind of thing that the Bantustan leaders and the Bantustan middle-classes are doing today.

Because they are oppressed, all black people desire to be free and to participate fully in the economic, political and social life of Azania. The middle-classes cannot be consistent since their interests are, generally speaking and in their own consciousness tied to the capitalist system. Hence only the black working class can take the task of completing the democratisation of the country on its shoulders.

It alone can unite all the oppressed and exploited cases. It is the leading class in the building of the nation. It has to redefine the nation and abolish the reactionary definitions of the bourgeoisie and of the reactionary petty bourgeoisie. The nation has to be structured by and in the interests of the black working class. But it can only do so by changing the entire system. A non-racial capitalism is impossible in South Africa. The class struggle against capitalist exploitation and the national struggle against racist oppression become one struggle under the general command of the black working class and its organisation, AZAPO.

Politically -- in the short term and culturally (in the long term) the ways in which these insights are translated into practice are of the greatest moment. Although no hard and fast rules are available and few of them are absolute, the following are crucial points in regard to the practical ways in which we build the nation of Azania and destroy the separatist-tendencies amongst us.

(i) Political and economic organisations of the working people should as far as possible be open to all oppressed and exploited people regardless of colour.

While it is true that the Group Areas Act and other laws continue to concentrate people in their organisations -- geographically speaking -- largely along ethnic lines, it is imperative and possible that the organisations themselves should not be structured along these lines. The same political organisations should and can function in all the ghettos and group areas, people must and do identify with the same organisations and not with 'ethnic' organisations.

(ii) All struggles (local, regional and national) should be linked up. No struggle should be fought by one section of the oppressed alone. The President's Council proposals, for example, should not be analysed

and acted upon as of interest to 'Coloured' and 'Indians' only. The Koorhof Bills should be clearly seen and fought as affecting *all* the oppressed and exploited people.

(iii) Cultural organisations that are not locally or geographically limited for valid community reasons should be open to all oppressed and exploited people.

The songs, stories, poems, dances, music of one group should become the common property of all even if their content has to be conveyed by means of different language media. In this way, and in many other ways, by means of class-struggle on the political and on the cultural front, the cultural achievements of the people will be woven together into one Azanian fabric. In this way we shall eliminate divisive ethnic consciousness and separatist lines of division without eliminating our cultural achievements and cultural variety. But it will be experienced by all as different aspects of one national culture accessible to all. So that, for example, every Azanian child will know -- roughly speaking -- the same fairy tales or children's stories, whether these be of 'Indian', 'Xhosa', 'Tswana', or 'Khoikhoi' origin.

(iv) The liberation movement has to evolve and implement a democratic language policy not for tomorrow but for today. We need to discuss seriously how we can implement -- with the resources at our disposal -- the following model which, to my mind, represents the best possible solution to the problem of communication in Azania.

● All Azanians must have a sound knowledge of English whether as home language or as second language.

● All Azanians must have a conversational knowledge of the other regionally important languages. For example: in the Eastern Province, every person will know English. Afrikaans-speaking persons will have a conversational knowledge of Xhosa and Xhosa-speaking persons will have a conversational knowledge of Afrikaans. In an area like Natal, a knowledge of English and Zulu would in all probability suffice.

These are sketchy ideas that have to be filled in through democratic and urgent discussion in all organisations of the people and implemented as soon as we have established the necessary structures and methods.

The Black working class instilled with a revolutionary consciousness is the driving force of the liberation

struggle in South Africa. It has to ensure that the leadership of this struggle remains with it if our efforts are not be deflected into channels of disaster. The black working class has to act as a magnet that draws all the other oppressed layers of our society, organises them for the liberation struggle and infuses them with the consistent socialist ideas which alone spell death to the system of racism and capitalism as we know it today.

In this struggle the idea of a single

nation is vital because it represents the real interest of the working class and therefore of the future socialist Azania. 'Ethnic', national group or racial group ideas of nationhood in the final analysis strengthen the position of the middle-class or even the capitalist oppressors themselves. I repeat, they pave the way for the catastrophic separatist struggles that we have witnessed in other parts of Africa. Let us never forget that more than a million people were

massacred in the Biafran war, let us not forget the danger represented by the 'race riots' of 1949. Today, we can choose a different path. We have to create an ideological, political and cultural climate in which this solution becomes possible.

I believe that if we view the question of nation and ethnicity in this framework we will understand how vital it is that our slogans are heard throughout the length and breadth of our country.

Idyllic setting for a tough battle continued from page 10

The BC dilemma was summed up by another delegate, Mr Joe Thloloe who talked of the "onslaught from the northern suburbs on BC".

He said white liberals and radicals accused Azapo and other BC bodies of being "petty bourgeois".

"They have also come up with the slogan that 'the struggle is colourless'. Some years ago, people believed in African nationalism, that their goal was a socialist state," Mr Thloloe said. "It was a clear-cut definition.

"Now we are talking about BC. We have to pick-and-shovel workers, managers and other professionals. We all agree — our goal is a socialist state. But the people who are fighting to create it are the black people of this country. Do we call them a nation or a class?"

He added: "If we say the struggle is between black and white, our goal will still be a socialist State where there are no races or classes."

Those who believe in defining it as a class-race struggle are adamant that it has nothing to do with Marxism or any other theories as such, but merely a categorising of the struggle in line with the "socialist ethic".

Their argument is that the South African situation has to be interpreted along African nationalist and African socialist lines.

While the arguments may seem facile and irrelevant in defining its ideological concept, it has to be understood against the background that Azapo in its present format is aimed at mobilising the black workers.

The differences over ideological interpretations tended to overshadow other developments within Azapo. The education paper, in an appraisal critical of the present system in South Africa, suggested a far-reaching counter-system.

Mr Mosala's paper on labour spoke of the Government's dispensa-

tions being seen in the light of its policy of total strategy, and called for a counter strategy.

He argued that the Government had set out to destroy the political potential of the black labour force into a "semi-white mode of existence".

"By allowing workers to have access to the official bargaining machinery, the Government has succeeded in restrictive control on the worker movement, Mr Mosala said.

A major move which emerged at the congress was the expansion of various secretariats. They will now include health, sport, rural and urban development, youth and culture, education and labour.

By doing so, Azapo is hoping to play a bigger role in the daily lives of black people and countering accusations that it is not interested in bread-and-butter issues.

A controversial move during last year was hardly discussed at the conference — the axing of Mr Nkondo as president. It was touched on briefly when the publicity secretary, Mr George Wauchope, said the national executive had come under fire for the move, and although differences with other BC bodies had been resolved, some organisations had given Azapo the cold shoulder.

Mr Nkondo, before being banned by the Government, was suspended by the executive for "violating principles and policy".

The congress ended on an unexpected note — only one of the outgoing national executive was re-elected. Outgoing officials and the new president, Mr K'hehla Mthembu, insist that the move was aimed at training new leadership, from "preventing leadership from becoming an institution and preventing bureaucracy at all levels".

For some time now, BC organisations have been mindful of getting away from leadership cults and allowing the personalities of their

leaders to become associated with the organisations' image.

The new president, Mr Mthembu, 28, has a youthful "cabinet" under him. His immediate task will be to get the secretariat working, and then to await the direction on ideological concepts which is to come from the proposed symposium.

Personally, Mr Mthembu has made it clear how he interprets the struggle. "I believe in the interpretation contained in our constitution — that it is a national black struggle with land repossession as the all-important factor, but that race is a class determinant in our country."

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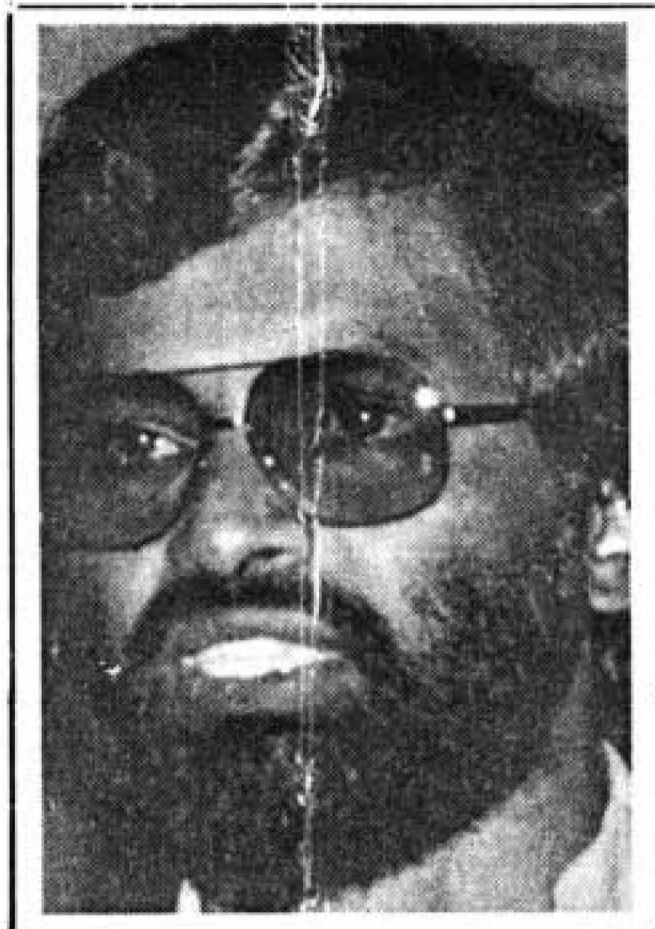
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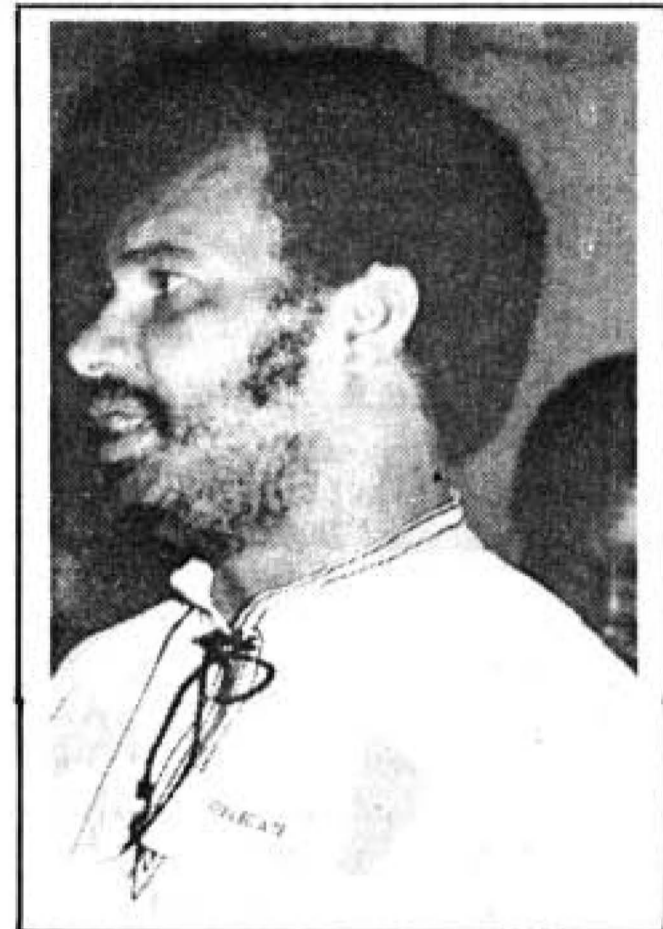
AZAPO's Fourth National Congress



HLAKU KENNETH RACHIDI
Transvaal Vice President



SATHS COOPER — Deputy President



PETER CYRIL JONES Cape Vice President

On being re-elected to the presidency of AZAPO, Lybon Tiyani Mabasa predicted that AZAPO was poised to make its mark in "Southern African history". The Fourth National Congress at the Patidar Hall in Lenasia was attended by over 1 600 observers and delegates on the 8th and the 9th January 1984. It was the largest congress in AZAPO's history and the first ever to be held in the Witwatersrand area.

The theme was, "AZAPO on the March — Facing the Challenges" and all the speakers emphasised that BC was a vibrant revolutionary ideology whose fundamental tenets were as relevant and as valid as ever.

Mabasa recalled that when AZAPO was formed in 1978, various "prophets of doom and destruction clamoured around singing dirges of (AZAPO's) demise." Many erstwhile "comrades", motivated by fear and opportunism, "joined the popular song" so that AZAPO has learnt not to consider affiliation to the pre-1977 BC Movement an "Open Sesame" to acceptance into AZAPO. There is no doubt that AZAPO has maintained its revolutionary consistency and is vigilant against "reactive, revisionist and opportunistic politics." Mabasa said the results of the referendum reaffirmed BC because they prove that white people connived at black oppression and exploitation. The white "radicals" were the main participants in the containment of the Azanian revolution.

Workers

Peter Cyril Jones, the Cape Vice-

President, contended that NUSAS provided a recruiting ground for white businessmen and politicians and a superb training-ground for security policemen. NUSAS's current flirtation with the United Democratic Front (UDF) was dubbed political "schizophrenia" because NUSAS faced "both ways at the same time."

Cyril Ramaphosa, the general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), said that alignments of black and white organisations had nothing to do with "love and friendship".

AZAPO committed itself to the ushering in of a Worker Republic of Azania and it was emphasised that liberation depended on the consciousness of blacks. The Azanian Worker Republic would, in turn, establish a classless society.

It was repeatedly emphasized that in South Africa, racism was the soul-force of capitalism. Ramaphosa complained that there was "a regrettable habit on the part of some people to denounce and ignore the black labour movement as irrelevant, and to heap scorn on what they call the "bread and butter war." In fact, the "black union movement has educated and is educating black workers and is turning them into fighters, not only for their bread and butter issues, but for liberation from oppression as well."

Unions

Ramaphosa said the black union

movement was confused "without any plan — be it short-term or long-term for liberation." Nevertheless, he says: "The black worker has taken the first step by joining other workers in forming his union. He has taken the second step by becoming part of the labour movement. He is presently working on his third step by demanding that there should be one union, one industry, and he will succeed very soon on his fourth step by forming one consolidated union federation for Azania. His fifth and ultimate step is the unity of all oppressed people."

Students

Kabello Lengane, the President of the Azanian Student Movement (AZASM), emphasised the close link between students and workers. He argued that the 1976 and 1980 uprisings demonstrated that isolated student activity tended to be moribund.

The crux of Lengane's paper was that while it might seem that the Government paid for education or that industry paid for education. "It is the black workers that pay for our education. Everybody lives on their sweat and blood, including us ... Simply because they do the paying, all lovers of humanity must find a way of ploughing back what they took from them."

Black students, in order to realize the solidarity between themselves and Black workers, need to "transcend their elitist nature, join and work alongside the working class."

Law

Nakedi Poswa said the ruling class made laws to its own advantage, and all South Africa's laws seethe "with the rotten aura of apartheid."

Poswa concluded that the painful reality was that "the laws made by our oppressors can never serve our struggle for liberation" but that these laws "serve to frustrate and avert our final and total victory".

Imrann Moosa, the Natal Vice-President, warned that while laws were designed to serve ruling class interests, ruling classes often created legal forms which may continuously impose a brake upon their own arbitrary actions and it behoves revolutionaries to take full advantage of this fact.

Economy

Congress acknowledged that political independence without economic independence was a sham and that black people needed to prepare themselves now to assume the reins of power.

Jones noted: "In learning to conduct their own struggles, the masses learn to run the state and economy of tomorrow. This places the emphasis of struggle on people inside the country. We are not spectators, cheering on the team.... We must not underestimate our people. No small group can bring about liberation on its own. Experiences must be shared and taken to the people."

The Cultural and Sporting Isolation campaign was re-affirmed by Congress. George Wauchope, the outgoing Secretary, said that these campaigns were part and parcel of the campaign to persuade foreign companies to disinvest in S.A.

Congress endorsed an earlier decision by Council that people may leave SA as long as their actions overseas do not militate against the struggle.

New Deal

Deputy President Saths Cooper effectively put paid to all suggestions that AZAPO needed to review BC because of the "New Deal" (an argument which emerged from the liberal media) by saying that when Matanzima opted for independence, Xhosa-speaking people were not excluded from the BC Movement, neither were so-called Vendas and Tswanas excluded. Mabasa elaborated: "AZAPO can never review its stand and commitment to BC because of yet another predictable direction chosen by dummy puppet bodies such as the Labour Party and its ilk. We stand on solid ground and committed to our policies to the letter."

Black Solidarity once again emerged as AZAPO's watchword, the definition of Black automatically excluding all elements whom the system has co-opted i.e. sections of the middle class and the collaborators. Mobilization of the oppressed on ethnic lines was viewed as poisonous to the liberation effort. The argument that ethnic divisions are a "South African reality that cannot be wished away" was answered by Nkosi Molala: "Of course it is. But then is not discrimination against us a South African reality that cannot be wished away? Is not our exploitation a reality that cannot be wished away? If we can fight racism and exploitation why cannot we fight these divisions?" Tribal chiefs and kapteins are not to be ignored "for they still continue to dupe a large body of the oppressed that must be won onto the side of the revolution."

Congress saw the "new deal" as one of many oppressive measures which does not warrant being singled out, although Congress emphasised the need for AZAPO to guide the Black people on the issue of conscription into the SADF.

The National Forum Committee (NFC) was seen as a positive move by Congress as it seeks to unite the black people irrespective of their political persuasions. The NFC has not constituted itself into an organisation, but rather provides for unity in action.

The UDF has constituted itself into an organisation "with symbolic leadership" and had "coerced support from across the political spectrum." The UDF is an ad-hoc organisation responding to a crisis and like all ad-hoc organisations, it will face "the problem of leaders without followership". Muntu Myeza AZAPO's Publicity Secretary, called the UDF an "unprincipled amorphous pot-pourri of organisations with conflicting interests." He described the attacks on AZAPO by certain UDF members as "fulminations... of opportunistic, intellectually-abbreviated individuals some of whom harbour grandiose nepotistic notions."

Jones said the NFC-UDF choice was a choice between a united front and a popular front. The united front rejected any alliances between the liberal bourgeoisie and the workers movement and thus sharpened the conflict between workers and the bourgeoisie. On the other hand, the popular front brought together the workers and the bourgeoisie in an amorphous grouping which subordinated the worker's interests to those of the bourgeoisie.

Structure

Four provincial Vice Presidents and the introduction of a Projects Co-Ordinator were the only changes in the structure of the National Executive, now re-named the "Central Committee". The new structure was found to be necessary because of AZAPO's phenomenal growth.

AZAPO's ten-person Central Committee comprises mostly "prison graduates". The Committee is: President — Lybon Tiyani Mabasa; Deputy-President — Sathasivan 'Saths' Cooper; Transvaal Vice-President — Hlaku Kenneth Rachidi; Cape Vice-President — Peter Cyril Jones; Free State Vice-President — Fikile Qithi; Natal Vice-President — Imrann Moosa; Secretary-General — Sefako Nyaka; Publicity Secretary — Muntu ka Myeza; National

er — Thabo Ndabeni; Pro-
Co-Ordinator — Zithulele Cindi
he Constitution was amended to
vide for Regional Executive Com-
ees and the Branch Executive
nmittees will all have to include a
ects Director in future.

he National Congress is the
me and highest governing and
-making body of the organisa-
efore, delegates must leave
s with a sense of mission, a
work and a clear set of direc-
s for the year. Congress must
vide cadreship with definite pro-
mmes of action: revolutionary
ggle is based on linking theory
practice.

Congress 1984 can be described
an unqualified success **only** from
ublic relations point of view.

The same can hardly be said about
sense of purpose and hard-
ided evaluation of AZAPO's

policies and progress these features
were sadly lacking.

The long speeches, nine on the
first day alone, acted as a soporific
and prevented maximum response.
Commissions were often searching
for terms of reference — surely the
reams of rhetoric in the papers
should provide the requisite
guidelines.

AZAPO should seriously consider
the following suggestions for all
future congresses:

1. The number of papers should be
at a **necessary minimum**.
2. Two points of view should be
presented on contentious issues,
e.g. Speaker A can justify
AZAPO's stand on Cultural Isola-
tion while Speaker B can attack
it.
3. All formations of the Organisation
should be given advance notice
of the topics to be discussed at

Congress.

4. Speakers should refrain from
repeatedly "justifying" BC —
AZAPO must move beyond
fighting rear-guard battles.
5. Commissions should be assigned
topics directly related to the
papers presented.
6. Symposia must be arranged at all
levels of the Organisation, par-
ticularly on the following topics:
(A) The Nature of the Soviet
Union,
(B) The National Question in
Azania and the Role of the
Peasantry,
(C) Scientific Socialism,
(D) The Isolation Campaign,
(E) Economic Self-Sufficiency,
(F) Black Theology,
(G) The Trade Union Movement
in South Africa, and
(H) The Specific and Multiple
Oppression of Black Women.

AZAPO ON THE MARCH

A terrified ruling class dropped the
netlet on Black Consciousness
(BC) organizations on 19 October
1977. The aim of the bannings was
re-create the post-Sharpeville era
when blacks stood in awesome fear
of their white "masters"; in a word,
the aim was to destroy the ideology
of Black Consciousness.

What the ruling class reckoned
it had lost was the vitality of BC and
that it had grown from the daily ex-
periences of the oppressed people.
BC cannot be killed for it
characterizes the resistance of the
oppressed, the plundered, the
disadvantaged and the colonized
against an arrogant white world, one
of which the white man has tried to
impose his value systems.

As an ideology BC was first ar-
ticulated by a group of students
responding to problems that affected
them as students. Steve Biko,
Mpetla Mohapi, Onkgopotse Tiro
and their counterparts in the South
African Students Organization
(SASO) did not proceed from any
preconceived theoretical frame. In-
stead, the most remarkable fact about
BC is that it is a developing world
view: as Amilcar Cabral says- "I can-
not ... pretend to organize a Party, or
struggle on the basis of my own
ideas. I have to do this starting from
the reality of the country." BC does
not seek to construct conceptions of
man and his relation to the world
step-by-logical-step but rather seeks
to embody the fears, the frustrations,
loves and hates, the needs,

desires and the aspirations of the op-
pressed and the exploited in a
coherent and a revolutionary
ideology.

When the BC Movement first
emerged, the very mention of the
word "politics" was enough to kill a
conversation: black people were in
the grip of a paralysis and they readi-
ly allowed white liberals to misrep-
resent the cause of the oppressed, a
cause liberals can never properly ap-
preciate because they do not feel and
suffer as the oppressed.

BC protagonists in the 70's pro-
ceeded from the reality of the coun-
try and proclaimed that the first re-
quirement was for black people to
shed the psychological shackles of
slavery, to reject the dwarfing of their
consciousness and to stand up and
define themselves as people who
have every right to live, work and
love in the land of their birth.

The early protagonists also suc-
ceeded where every other liberation
movement had failed — they
brought **all** black people into single
organisations.

The lethargy that had gripped the
60's was shaken off, resulting in
renewed black trade union activity in
December 1973, in recurrent student
action at high schools and univer-
sities which climaxed in the Soweto
uprising of June 1976 and in a
plethora of BC organisations such as
the South African Students' Move-
ment (SASM), the National Youth
Organisation (NAYO), the Union of
Black Journalists (UBJ).

As a result of the 1977 bannings,
there arose a vacuum in political ac-
tivity. But the spirit of pride and de-
fiance was carefully nurtured and this
prevented the paralysis of the move-
ment.

The BC groups which survived the
bannings such as the Black Priests
Solidarity Group and the Teachers
Action Committee formed the
Soweto Action Committee, chaired
by Ishmael Mkhabela. A sub-
committee of the Action Committee
convened by Lybon Mabasa was to
investigate "national possibilities".
This sub-committee called a conven-
tion at St. Ansgar's near Welgespruit
in Roodepoort on 28 — 31 April
1978: Lybon Mabasa delivered the
theme paper "Blackman, Whither
Goest Thou?". Father Buti Tlhagale
gave a hint of the new thrust of the
BC Movement in his paper "A Fur-
ther Determination of Black Con-
sciousness". Mabasa's voice rings
with the proud BC spirit:

*"Our peacefulness does not
presuppose timidity. No timid
people can become a nation. To
augment our peacefulness we also
need a militant spirit, a strong will
and a desire to survive in a violent
and carnivorous world."*

and Tlhagale hammers home the
point that the Black worker is the
most oppressed and exploited seg-
ment of South African society and
must become the vanguard of the
liberation movement.

The St. Angsar's Convention decided that an Interim Committee under the chairmanship of Mkhabela called the "AZAPO Interim Committee" be charged with the formation of an overt political organisation which will provide a rallying point for the Black masses. Mkhabela and Mabasa were banned after the Convention and the Interim Committee was relentlessly harassed. The Interim Committee succeeded in inaugurating the AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION (Azapo) in September 1979.

The theme of the Inaugural Conference was "A Further Determination of Black Consciousness and an emphasis on the workers' situation": from the necessary emphasis on BC being an "attitude of mind" in the 70's, AZAPO set about translating this attitude of mind into an empirical consciousness to challenge the system as a whole. It must be emphasised that the exploration of questions relating to the class struggle was a logical development of the BC ideology: after all, South Africa has to a greater extent been built on Black labour.

AZAPO held its first Congress at Houtbospoort in Pietersburg in January 1981 where Khangale Makhado, in a paper entitled "Black Consciousness as a Driving Force" examined the definition of and the interconnection between the "eight

classes of society" and concluded:-

"Having seen the situation for what it objectively is, BC offers itself as the only viable and appropriate vehicle that black people can ride to final victory and freedom."

In order to clarify concepts relating to the "class/race debate", a symposium was held at Hammanskraal in April 1981 where Quraish Patel argued with disarming simplicity:

"The consciousness of the power of black workers is gradually taking root. Is this consciousness of the power of black workers anything other than black consciousness operating in the sphere of labour? This is merely a labour-directed view of black consciousness."

AZAPO has thus succeeded in working out the dialectic between race and class: it argues that in South Africa, race is a class determinant and that the white labour aristocrat is an integral part of the ruling class. Furthermore, AZAPO argues that a cardinal issue is the repossession of Azania by the black people. AZAPO sees black nationalism as the driving force of the Azanian struggle. On the level of political theory, AZAPO's coalition of the National Question (i.e. the solution of national contradictions) and the Social Question (i.e. the resolution of questions relating to the class struggle) has

been thorough and cogent indeed.

AZAPO's task is to mobilise and consolidate the black masses around the revolutionary ideology of BC.

To do this, AZAPO has embarked on numerous strategies and can chalk up a number of successes: the bus and rent boycotts in the Northern Transvaal in 1981, the scuttling of the SAB International Soccer Tour in 1982 and the launching of the National Forum Committee (NFC) in 1983, to name but a few.

As a result of the strides made by the people's movement, there have emerged counter-strategies by the system with its ancillaries, the semi-system and the sub-system. Saths Cooper identifies the following as characteristic of this counter-strategy:

- a. "Improving the quality of life" in the ghettos,
- b. The promotion of "community-based" organisations with reformist civic and civil demands,
- c. The promotion of non-white leadership,
- d. Re-defining the concept blackness in racist, reactionary terms, and
- e. The revival of multi-racialism and liberalism and the active encouragement of ethnicity.

With these various forces making insidious inroads into black life, the challenges facing AZAPO are formidable.

★ ★ ★



CHATTING: From left to right: Saths Cooper, Ishmael Mkhabela, Zithulele Cindi, Lybon Mabasa, Ramakgopa, Muntu Myeza, Letsatsi Mosala, Pandhelani Nefolovodhwe, Kehla Mthembu, Kenny Rachidi.

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A collection of papers depicting the evolution of the Black Consciousness philosophy in South Africa.

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- **THE DEFINITION OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS** — December 1971.
- **AIMS AND OBJECTS OF AZAPO** — adopted September 1979.
- **IDYLLIC SETTING FOR A TOUGH BATTLE** — January 1981.
- **BLACK THINKING FALLS UNDER THE SPOTLIGHT AGAIN** — March 1981.
- **BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE** — Hammanskraal, April 1981.
- **THE RACE/CLASS DEBATE** — May 1981.
- **CHEAP BLACK LABOUR FUELS ECONOMY** — Pietersburg, March 1982.
- **NATION AND ETHNICITY IN SOUTH AFRICA** — Hammanskraal, June 1983.
- **FOURTH NATIONAL CONGRESS** — Lenasia, January 1984.
- **TRADE UNIONS - STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES** — February 1984.
- **AZAPO ON THE MARCH** — March 1984.

FRANK TALK

VOLUME 1 NUMBER 2 & 3

JULY/AUGUST 1984

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AZAPO FIGHTS BACK

Azapo raid was illegal, rules judge

Nation on Azapo's top men

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es of Durban leaders

e swoop

on Azapo's top men

Daily News Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG: An undisclosed number of Azanian People's Organisation leaders were raided by police in a co-ordinated nationwide swoop today.

Magazines to be returned, judge orders

Reporter claimed they needed the magazines as exhibits at a pending trial, could see only a very small number of specimens for their purpose.

Mr Justice Dikotit ordered that on the evidence presented, no one else should be allowed to see the magazines.

He ordered the police to deliver to the national organiser of Azapo, Mr Thabo Ndabeni, all existing 25 copies of Frank Talk and ordered the Minister of Law and Order to pay costs.

Order on Frank Talk challenge

Judge orders police to return Azapo magazines

Post Reporter
Security Police has applied for leave against a Supreme Court judgment in the Azapo's Organisation following the order of the news

A DURBAN judge this week refused the State to appeal against a recent decision which ordered police to return confiscated copies of the magazine Frank Talk to the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

Mr Justice Dikotit found the authorities had not enough evidence to justify the seizure of the magazine, which contained speeches by the late Steve Biko.

Mr Justice Dikotit said that the evidence to justify the seizure of the magazine was insufficient.

He said that the evidence to justify the seizure of the magazine was insufficient.

Azapo ruling: No leave to appeal

Car 100

Car 100

Car 100

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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International recognition

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 Mbaso 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.

"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.

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:
 - (b) 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

FRANK TALK



Biko and Barney Pityana) 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

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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.

Contributions
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Send all
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P.O. Box 19360,
Dormerton
4015**

The victims of Pretoria



Resettlement: The real conflict

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 Komatipoort 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

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.

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."!

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 va Kemp amongst the Khoikhoi, Moffat among the Tswanas and Rev Owen among 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.

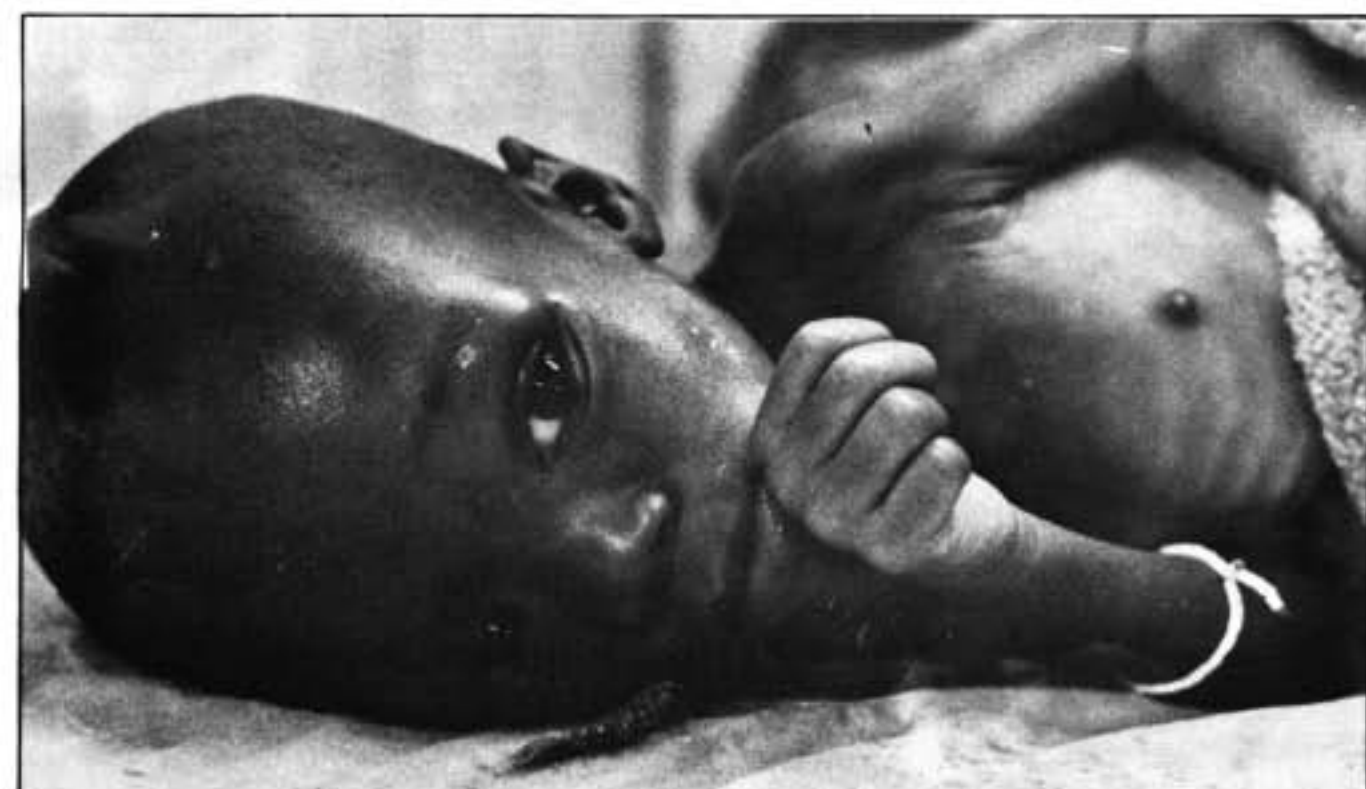
The missionary's station comprised a church, a trading store and fields for cultivation. Blacks began producing for personal consumption: the black peasant's way of life revolved around producing for the market. His sense of spatial belonging transcended the limited tribal world as he worried about the 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, Tswanas 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.

Africa shall be free when Azania is liberated

The road ahead

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.

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;*

- *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.

An apple a day keeps Marxists away . .

The tropical sun beat down relentlessly upon the tarred streets of Maputo, tempered somewhat by the moist winds blowing in from the Indian Ocean. But even the humidity could not dampen the tension that seemed to have gripped everyone from the top echelons of the People's Party to the lowliest of peasants.

The reason for the despondency was not hard to find: everybody these days was going to bed on a somewhat light stomach. It was a long time since the rains last lashed the usually lush valleys and plains of Mozambique.

Rains, by the way. Not the destructive havoc wreaked by the thunderstorms that accompanied a cyclone called — what, Domoina? Another cyclone, as though told of how easily Domoina had laid waste the peasants' farms in Mozambique, followed soon.

This latter destructive force also went by the beautiful name of a girl. It was called Imboa.

As though the cyclones had not been enough, the three-year drought continued to kill whatever crops the farming community had tried to raise. Everybody was simply starving in Mozambique, though it was not a scourge unique to that land alone.

All these thoughts played slowly in the mind of Samora as he sat beneath a huge multi-coloured umbrella in the garden of his palace. Even though the shade provided by the huge parasol was large and cool enough, he still wore his dark green military cap.

He stroked the fuzz of beard on his chin and tried to come up with solutions, but each time something crossed his mind it was as speedily discarded. Angrily he beckoned Joaquim, his Minister of Foreign Affairs.

"Joaquim, I think you would be doing a far better job if you concentrated on what was happening right here at home than in other lands. What do you expect the peasants to eat in this time of extreme distress? Do you expect them to eat cake," barked Samora while he simultaneously suppressed a cold shiver at the thought of what that last remark had led to in France.

Joaquim had been sitting not far from his peer, also lost in his own thoughts. If Samora had been thinking about the drought and the cyclones and hungry stomachs, Joaquim was thinking of full bellies elsewhere.

He had just returned from Pretoria and Cape Town where he had been feted at some of the most fantastic places he had ever been to in all his life, and was eagerly awaiting a return trip. Only he did not know when that would happen.



Nkomati Pact: A bite of the apple

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 properrly, and I am



P.W. Botha

in a big hurry because, you see, you people mut ansverr that we must meet at the Nkomati place otherrwise we come again and destroy yourr 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 Impala 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."

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, withing 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)



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.*

FRANK TALK

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The Gremlin Strikes

The printer's gremlin ran havoc with **Frank Talk** Volume 1 Number 2 & 3 (July/August 1984). The Editorial Collective wishes to apologize for the numerous errors in that edition. In the article "Azapo fights back against State action" (pages 4-6) an entire chunk, including the full text of the SASO Policy Manifesto (see accompanying box) was omitted. Please insert the following portion after the complete SASO Policy Manifesto and before the first paragraph on page 5 (ie the paragraph beginning "In S v

Nokwe and Others . . .):

*In effect, what the Minister of Law and Order argued was that the mere propagation of Black Consciousness is an unlawful offence. Throughout the hearing, the Minister argued that he required copies of **Frank Talk** as exhibits in an imminent criminal prosecution, obviously based on Section 13 of the Internal Security Act. In the end, the State was entitled to keep 25 copies of the magazine as exhibits. Section 20 of the Criminal Procedure Act gives power to the police to seize*

material but says nothing about how long they can retain such material. The Judge found that even if the seizure of the goods was unimpeachable, De Wet had no right to retain more than a handful of the copies of the magazine and had to return the rest of the copies to AZAPO: "The magazine had not been banned and, even if its import was what (De Wet) believed that to be, the mere possession of it was by no means unlawful. (Ndabeni) was at liberty to possess it, and as many copies of it as he liked."

CONTINUED ON PAGE 9

SASO Policy Manifesto

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 the 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 a 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 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.
 - e) This attitude must not be interpreted by Blacks to imply 'anti-whiteism' but is merely a more positive way of attaining a normal situation in South Africa.
 - f) In pursuit of this direction, therefore, personal contact with whites, though it should not be legislated against, must be discouraged especially where it tends to militate against the beliefs we hold dear.
4. a) SASO upholds the concept of Black Consciousness and the drive towards Black awareness as the most logical and significant means of ridding ourselves of the shackles that bind us to perpetual servitude.
 - b) SASO defines Black Consciousness as follows:
 - i) Black Consciousness is an attitude of mind, a way of life.
 - ii) The basic tenet of Black Consciousness is that the Black man must reject all value systems that seek to make him a foreigner in the country of his birth and reduce his basic human dignity.
 - iii) The Black man must build up his own value systems, see himself as self-defined and not defined by others.
 - iv) The concept of Black Consciousness implies the awareness by the Black people of the power they wield as a group, both economically and politically and hence group cohesion and solidarity are important facets of Black Consciousness.
 - v) Black Consciousness will always be enhanced by the totality of involvement of the oppressed people, hence the message of Black Consciousness has to be spread to reach all sections of the Black community.
 - c) SASO accepts the premise that before the Black people join the open society, they should first close their ranks, to form themselves into a solid group to oppose the definite racism that is meted out by the white society, to work out their direction clearly and bargain from a position of strength. SASO believes that a truly open society can only be achieved by Blacks.
5. SASO believes that the concept of integration cannot be realized in an atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust. Integration does not mean an assimilation of Blacks into an already established set of norms drawn up and motivated by white society. Integration implies free participation by individuals in a given society and proportionate contribution to the joint culture of the society by all constituent groups. Following this definition, therefore, SASO believes that integration does not need to be enforced or worked for. Integration follows automatically when the doors to prejudice are closed through the attainment of a just and free society.
6. SASO believes that all groups allegedly working for "integration" in South Africa . . . and here we note in particular the Progressive Party and other liberal institutions . . . are not working for the kind of integration that would be acceptable to the Black man. Their attempts are directed merely at relaxing certain oppressive legislations and to allow Blacks into white-type society.
7. SASO, while upholding these beliefs, nevertheless wishes to state that Black Consciousness should not be associated with any political party or slogan.

Editorial

Soggot: Mr Biko, still talking about the question of inferiority, you, if I may introduce this point in a certain way, an article "I write what I like" by Frank Talk . . . "Fear — an Important Determinant in South African Politics", who wrote that?

Biko: I wrote that.

Judge Boshoff: Is it Annexure 8? Is this by Frank Talk?

Biko: That is right.

Judge Boshoff: Isn't number 9 (Strini Moodley) Frank Talk?

Biko: No, no, he was never Frank Talk, I was Frank Talk. (Laughter).

Soggot: M'lord, the indictment alleged that he compiled and/or wrote it, but in fact it was never ever suggested that Number 9 wrote this. Annexure 9, Focus — "Ugandan Asians and the lessons for us"?

Biko: Yes.

Soggot: Who wrote that?

Biko: I wrote that.

Steve Biko was elected Publicity Secretary of the South African Students Organization (SASO) in July 1970. The **SASO Newsletter** began appearing in August 1970 carrying articles by Biko (and others) entitled "I write what I like" and signed "Frank Talk". The above extract is from the SASO/BPC trial.

This magazine is proud to be associated with the name of Stephen Bantu Biko and the legacy that he left for Azanians and for lovers of humanity everywhere. The life and the death of Biko are an inspiration to revolutionaries wherever they may be.

The Black Consciousness Movement has demarcated the 6th to the 12th of September every year as "National Black Consciousness Week" and the 12th of September is commemorated the world over as Biko day.

This issue of **Frank Talk** focuses on the life and death of Steve Biko and offers a sampling of his writings. The works of Biko chosen for this issue concentrate on the principles of Black Solidarity and non-collaboration: in the light of the magnificent victory of the oppressed and the exploited in rejecting the sham elections perpetrated by the Botha regime and its minions, these principles of Black Consciousness have shown their durability and their viability in the face of devilish efforts to perpetuate an obsolete social structure.

It has been asserted that Stephen Biko "is our magnifying glass.

Through him and his fate a whole spectrum of South African reality is exposed. Perhaps it was always visible; but now it comes sharply into focus. What was confusing is clarified. What was obscure is revealed. In the fate of Steve Biko is encapsulated the truth about South Africa today, and the truth about its twenty-six million citizens, four-fifths Black and one-fifth white." (April 1978). Biko's death shows that our oppression is total and that those who oppress us jointly and severally agree on the perpetuation of evils against us, from the "simple white man" to the real destroyers of black lives in the "House of Assembly", in the South African Defence Force and in commerce and industry. When the chips are down, they will all go to unbelievable lengths to protect their white interests. Otherwise how does one explain the total connivance of police, the courts and doctors in the murder of Steve Biko?

ABBREVIATIONS USED

ANC	— African National Congress of South Africa
BC	— Black Consciousness
BCM	— Black Consciousness Movement
BPC	— Black People's Convention
BT	— Black Theology
PAC	— Pan Africanist Congress of Azania
SASO	— South African Student's Organization

Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement filled a palpable political vacuum by translating the existential experiences of the oppressed into a revolutionary philosophy whose watchword was and is revolutionary action. To those demented liberals in black masks who wish to reduce the significance of the Black Consciousness Movement to "a surface-operating complimentary movement" to the historical organizations, we bring Steve Biko as our witness:

"In a sense, the Black People's Convention is the most powerful organization amongst Blacks, but this is hard to determine exactly, since the ANC and the PAC are banned as organizations, which means that they have a kind of generation gap problem: there is a whole generation now that has not been influenced by the ANC and the PAC. In any case, the actual identification of people with the BPC is strong. When I put it this way, I do not want to give

the impression that the relation between these organizations is one of competition. There will be **one** movement of revolt against the system of injustice. To be sure, there are the usual divisions due to background, but in terms of the revolution there is unity."

—(Interview with Bernard Zylstra, July 1977).

It is worth noting that one of the cornerstones on which the Black Consciousness Movement is built is the belief that the cultivation of any 'personality cult', however well-intended, is always, in the final analysis, detrimental to the principles of self-reliance and self-determination for which the Movement stands. We do not believe in glorifying the past *per se* or in wallowing self-indulgently in the past. Our immediate task is in the present and our responsibility is to future generations. But to know where we are going, we must also know where we have come from.

While it goes without saying that Biko's contribution to the development of BC is remarkable indeed, it is of the essence of BC that all his work be thoroughly scrutinized. We do not wish to encourage slavish acceptance of Biko's views nor do we wish to suggest that a particular view of Biko was necessarily the view of the pre-1977 BCM. The most eloquent testimony to Stephen Bantu Biko is that he set in train the Black Consciousness Movement and contributed to both its revolutionary outlook and strategies.

Conor Cruise O'Brien remarks:

"Many people hailed as martyrs, and almost would-be martyrs, have been more or less crazy. Stephen Biko was as far from crazy as it is possible to be, and he neither wanted nor even expected martyrdom. He became a martyr nonetheless: one who bore witness, both through his life and through his death, to the faith and the love that were in him.

"If we can assume the existence of a God who is Love, Biko is a martyr in the full, traditional, spiritual meaning of the word. Without that assumption, and extending the word in a legitimate secular sense, Biko remains a martyr: not just a passive victim, but one whose life-and-death testimony gives out to the world and changes it."

 **ONE PEOPLE ONE AZANIA**

FRANK TALK

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OUR COVER

The drawing symbolizing Bantu Stephen Biko's commitment to create a free Azania and the deep African roots of the BC approach was designed by Nkoana Myoaga and reproduced by kind permission of Mothobi Mutloatse, editor of *Reconstruction: 90 years of Black Historical Literature* (Ravan Press, 1981).

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"I will only vote for a free Azania"

With the advance of the Black Consciousness Movement in the 70's and particularly since the Soweto Uprising of 1976, the atmosphere in Azanian politics has been suffused with antagonism towards apartheid and all its institutions. The Black people have in leaps and bounds graduated from the sterile politics of **reacting** to every machination of the settler regime to actually formulating their vision of a free Azania and working towards its fulfillment.

BC's twin cardinal principles are Black Solidarity and non-collaboration. Both these principles actually flow from the definition of Black: Black people are defined as those who are politically oppressed, socially discriminated against and economically exploited in South Africa and who identify themselves as a unit in the struggle for Azania — see section 22(1) of the AZAPO constitution in the **Supplement**. This definition immediately excludes all those who, although born in the ranks of the oppressed, deliberately oil the wheels of the oppressive machinery, as well as those who seek to fragment the Black resistance by dividing us along ethnic lines.

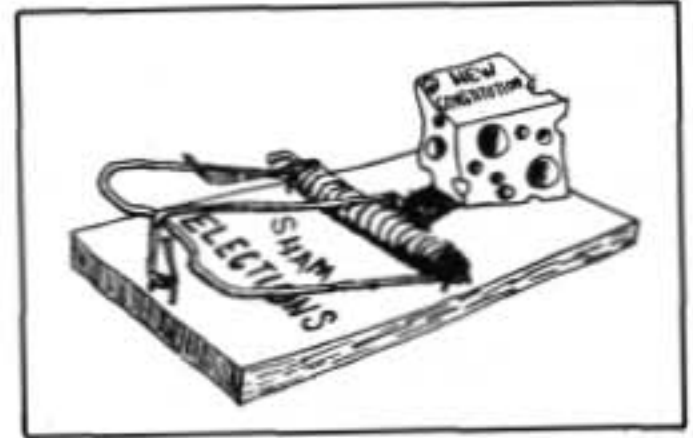
This was a novel vision by the Black Consciousness Movement: never before have the oppressed pooled their collective efforts in single organizations, never before has there been such a concerted effort to destroy thinking on lines laid down by the ruling class and to inculcate the ethic of creativity.

At the level of mass struggle — on the factory floor, on school-grounds and university campuses and in the townships — the BC vision was translated into action. The extent to which Black people identify themselves as a unit can be seen in thousands of campaigns and particularly in the 1973 and post-1980 worker strikes, in the 1976 and 1980 Uprisings.

The 22 and 28 August 1984 most certainly constitute a highwater mark for Black Consciousness. Sham elections were orchestrated by the settlers on these days — on the 22nd for the so-called Coloureds and on the 28th for the so-called Indians. It was hoped that these sections of the Black community would eagerly imbibe the new constitutional brew (entirely concocted by the settlers, of course).

The referendum held on 2 November 1983 established that white society firmly supported the Botha-Malan junta and their diabolical plans. Black people were never consulted about these plans, and in the absence of such consultation, the abysmally low polls recorded during these "elections" demonstrate quite vividly that:

- ★ Black people reject racist labels such as "Indians" and "Coloureds". In fact, the term "Indian" suggests that a section of our people belong to the Asian continent and the term "Coloured" is a meaningless catch-all classification.
- ★ Black people see themselves as a unit. The elections were never considered as being of special interest to "Indians" and "Coloureds" only ever since the lucid analysis by the 1983 AZAPO Congress at Edendale, Pietermaritzburg where it was suggested that anti-election efforts be mounted by the entire Black community. The media is deliberately underplaying the fact that all sections of the Black community mounted the anti-election effort, whether in the form of house-to-house visits, drafting of pamphlets, maintaining a physical presence at the polling booths or participating in the nation-wide boycotts of schools and universities. Thus students actually marched from Soweto to polling booths in Eldorado Park or from Ga Rankuwa to polling booths in Laudium, for example.
- ★ The racist system is facing an acute credibility crisis, and has resorted to desperate measures such as detaining anti-election leaders on the eve of the elections (amongst them Shabeer Randera, 1982 Vice-President of AZAPO; Casslem Christians, 1983 Chairperson of the Western Cape Region of AZAPO and Glenda Constadt, 1983 Chairperson of the Johannesburg Central Branch of AZAPO); keeping many of the leaders under 'preventive detention' (amongst them Peter Cyril Jones, Cape Vice-President of AZAPO; Muntu ka Myeza, AZAPO's Publicity Secretary; Saths Cooper, AZAPO's Deputy President; Haroun Patel, Chairperson of the Lenasia Branch of AZAPO and Oupa Hlomuka, Chairperson of the Sebokeng Branch of AZAPO), brutalizing people who were registering their protest



against the farcical elections, bringing spurious charges against anti-election activists (amongst others, charging 2 AZAPO members with defacing public property in Queenstown, charging 8 AZAPO members for putting up anti-election posters or distributing anti-election leaflets in Durban, charging 24 cadres for public violence in Ga Rankuwa, 4 in Pietermaritzburg and 11 in Pietersburg; detaining and releasing Azapo members in Nelspruit and Rotunda), parroting the "intimidation" cry (when polling booths literally thronged with armed policemen) and attempting to dupe people into voting (by suggesting that voting is compulsory, by threatening pensioners and by a multiplicity of distasteful and disgusting methods).

- ★ Sellouts of long-standing (read Biko's article on **Fragmentation of the Black Resistance** on page 17) have availed themselves for even juicier crumbs from their master's table. They were seen jogging for positions in Botha's stooge political kindergarten but the people have shown to what extent these non-whites and their "political parties" such as the Labour Party, Solidarity Party and the National People's Party are rejected. It must also be mentioned that the reason why Gatsha Buthelezi and Inkatha rejected the "New Deal" is because there is no fourth chamber for so-called urban blacks. The heroic resistance to incorporation into the Kwa Zulu puppetstan by the people of Lamontville and Hambanati illustrate clearly that the principle of non-collaboration has permeated into the very warp and woof of the liberation movement.
- ★ The imperialist media is once again showing its colours by touting for participation in the system (underlining yet again

that whites can never articulate black interests or even begin to properly understand the black experience) and by glossing over the role of the Black Consciousness Movement in the massive anti-election effort.

The regime of Pieter Wapen Botha is determined to go ahead with its constitutional monstrosity aptly labelled a "shamocracy". This cannot be viewed as surprising after 332 years of white settlerdom in our motherland.

Flushed as we are by the anti-election victory, however, we should bear in mind that this campaign was only one more battle in our struggle for total liberation from settler colonialism and the accompanying economic exploitation. The election issue, the struggles against rent hikes and bus fare increases, the resistance to re-settlement and to influx control are situational battles provoked by the enemy and his various tentacles. Winning these enemy-initiated battles will not in itself bring us liberation. In order to repossess what is rightfully ours, we will have to initiate our own battles in which **we** shall dictate terms and the pace of events. The AZAPO slogan "I will only vote for a free Azania" assumes significance in this context: may the character of our blows against the enemy reflect a definite and unmistakable advance towards an anti-racist, socialist Azania!

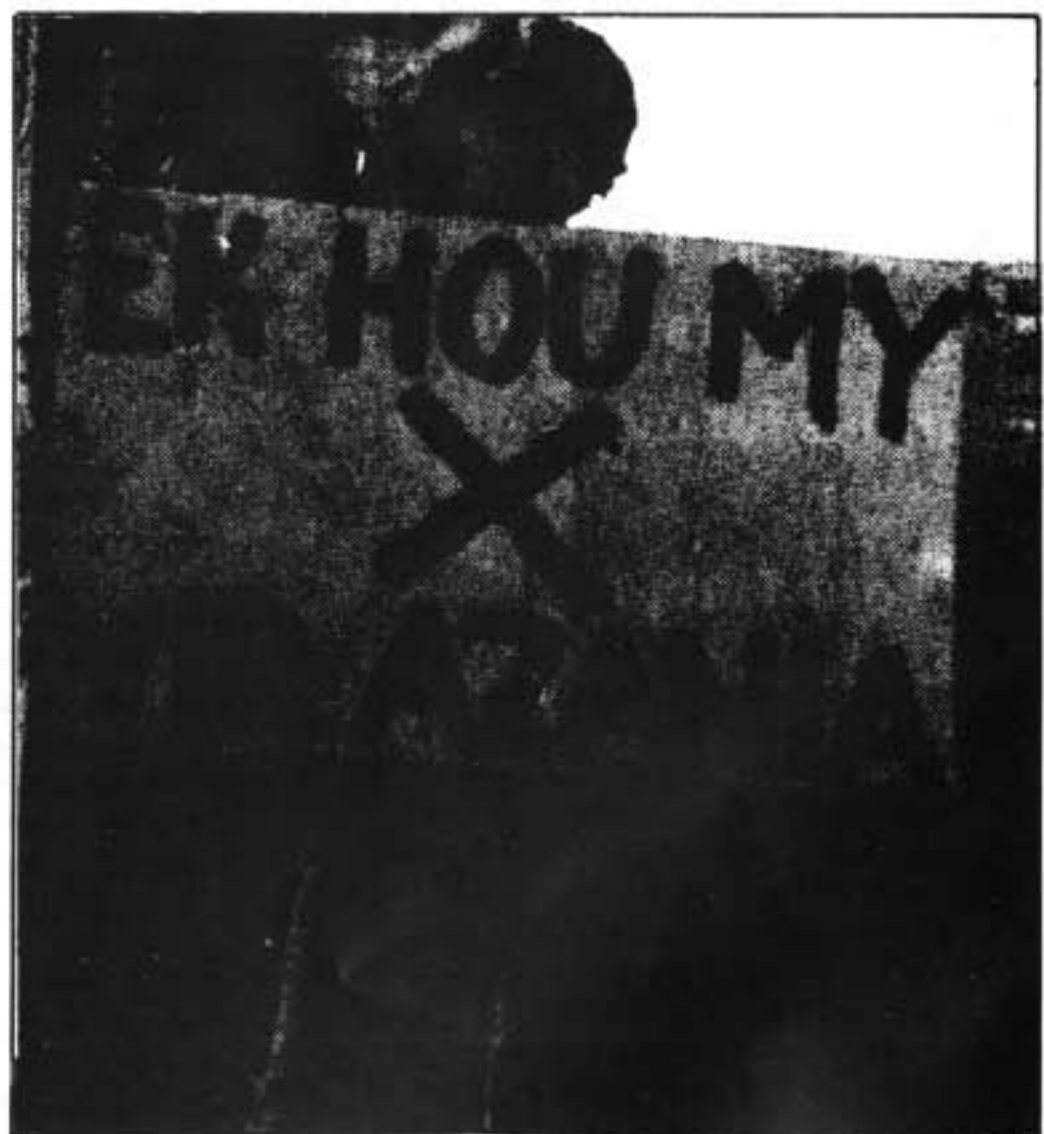
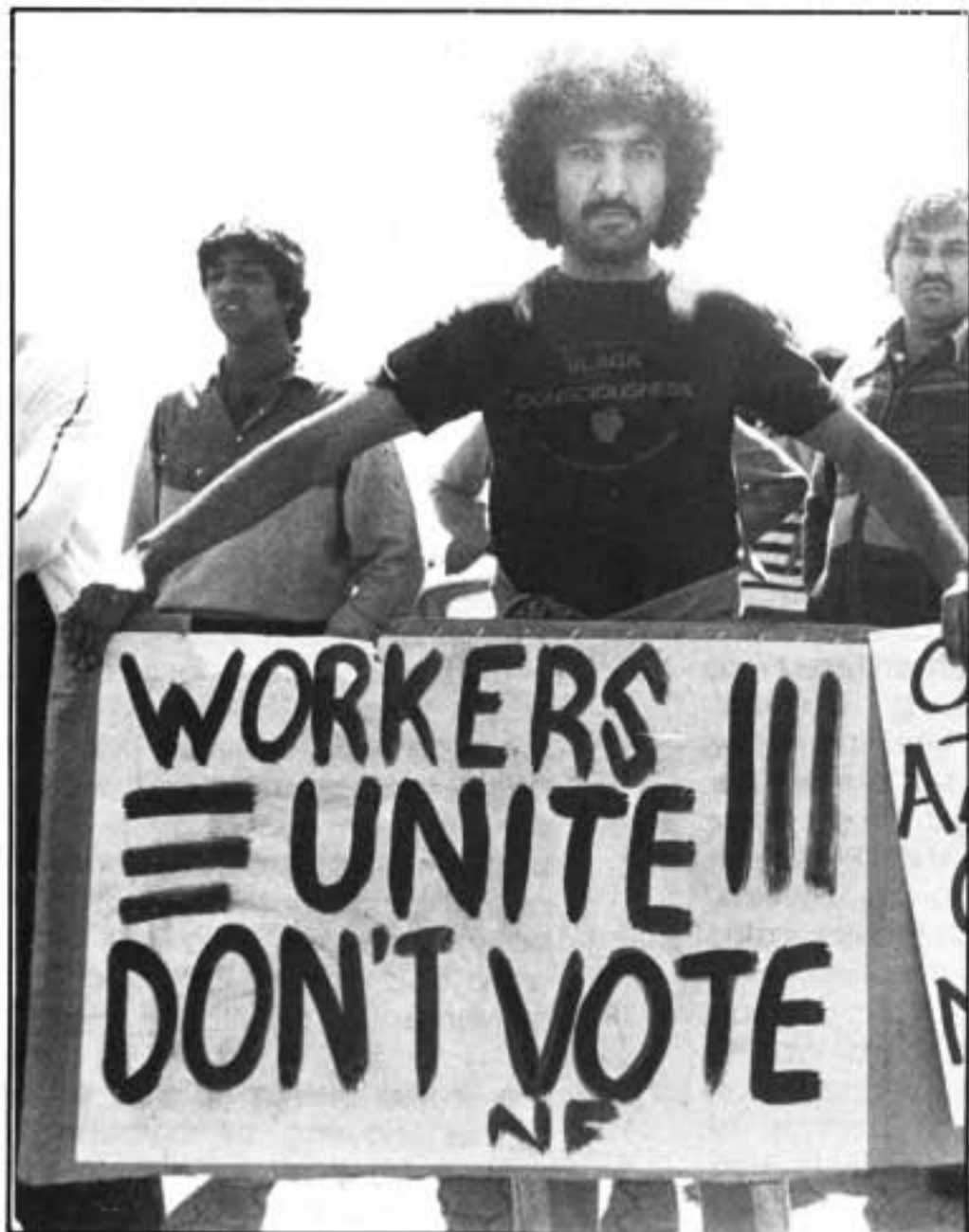
 **ONE PEOPLE
ONE AZANIA**



Pre-election clash — Cape Town, 1984.



Lenasia, 28 August.



Protesters in Riverlea on the 22 August (above) and in Lenasia on the 28 August (left) showed where they stood — in both official languages.



Azapo's Diplomatic Offensive

The first thrust in AZAPO's international offensive was made by AZAPO President Lybon Tiyani Mabasa, in his tour of Europe and North America during 1983. That tour cleared the path to a host of organizations and individuals abroad. It must be emphasized, however, that disinformation about AZAPO and the Black Consciousness Movement is rife and is one of the pressing problems that the liberation movement needs to grapple with, both in Azania and abroad. It is against the backdrop of the first diplomatic offensive launched by AZAPO that my trip abroad should be viewed.

AZAPO was informed that the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid (UNSCAA) intended to host a conference to mobilize North American support against apartheid between 18 and 21 June 1984 and would require a speaker. Since the President's passport had been seized by the system and since other Central Committee members were never granted passports, I was the only member of the Central Committee to possess a valid passport.

BCM(A)

I left South Africa on June 15 and reached Washington DC on June 16. The subsequent hectic schedule hardly provided for recovery from jetlag: almost immediately on arrival, I addressed a June 16 Commemoration service at Howard University organized by a medley of movements, spearheaded by the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania [BCM(A)].

The BCM(A) is a liberation movement launched in 1979. It began as a re-grouping of exiles who were members of the various BC groupings banned by Pretoria on October 19, 1977. Cadres of the BCM(A) could not find a political home in the historical liberation movements viz the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania. They maintained that Black Consciousness had developed independently during the post-Sharpeville era when the historical movements had abrogated their revolutionary responsibilities and degenerated into specialized entities operating abroad. The BCM(A) has consistently eschewed the tendency of forming "governments in exile", conten-

ding that the basic premise of BC is that victory lies in the hands of the oppressed and exploited in Azania and will be generated by their self-activity.

Media

Having committed itself to this course, it came as no wonder that the BCM(A)'s circumstances parallel those of AZAPO: they are as poor as churchmice and the imperialist media deliberately suppresses information about their existence and their numerous successes.

Indeed, there is an orchestrated attempt to portray that there is only one liberation movement in Azania viz the ANC. Amongst community and support groups all over the USA, however, and despite the disinformation programme, nettlesome questions are being asked about certain strains in the broad Azanian liberation movement viz:

- ★ Why, despite the clear lessons of the Black American experience, are whites included in these strains?
- ★ Why do these strains never acknowledge that a primary goal of the Azanian liberation struggle is the repossession of occupied soil?



Jesse

An umbrella grouping of Afro-American organizations has emerged in the USA called the National Black United Front (NBUF). The NBUF is a result of the Jesse Jackson campaign. Although Jackson's bid for the presidency of the USA has the negative effect of suggesting that there is hope in the "American dream", white Americans and the media have blasted Jackson in unmistakably racist fashion. White racism permeates American society despite the ebullient propaganda about "democracy" and "equality". Hence the positive effect of

by **IMRANN MOOSA**

Jackson's campaign is that it has brought disparate groups working within the Afro-American community together.



Minister Louis Farrakhan

Jackson's campaign received the support of the Nation of Islam via its head, Minister Louis Farrakhan. The Zionist-controlled media and white America were outraged: it is fair to say that Farrakhan is the man that white America fears most and Black America respects most. The media demanded that Jackson "repudiate" Farrakhan — while Jackson did not do this, he condemned Farrakhan's statement that Israel is an illegitimate state. This certainly disappointed many Black Americans: wings of the NBUF correctly assessed that the pressures of being a Democratic Party candidate naturally meant a subordination to white interests. Jesse did not heed the call for him to stand as an independent to his own cost: the Democratic Party determined in the end that he would not run for presidency! The lessons of the Jackson campaign must be clearly digested by Black people everywhere.

Pan Africanism

Groups such as the All African People's Revolutionary Party (AAPRP), the Revolutionary National Army (RNA) and the Worker's Tribune have addressed the National Question in the USA in different ways. The RNA, for example, strives for Afro-Americans to repossess the greater part of the Southern states of the USA on the grounds that these states have been built on slave labour.

The NBUF is a step in the right direction. A curious drawback about the American struggle is that it tends to be parochialized: Afro-Americans, Latin Americans, American Indians and other "minorities" tend to struggle in their own little nooks and

crannies. The term "Black" is misconstrued as a person of African descent, which in practice comes to mean people with kinky hair and a surfeit of melanin in their skin. It is most unfortunate that many Black American groups over-emphasize a "Back to Africa" approach and reduce BC to "cultural nationalism". This approach tends to be chauvinistic and often deflects from studying the material conditions within the USA and from analyzing the class content of the American struggle. In fact, there are groups [such as the Workers's Tribune and the Marxist Humanists (or News and Letters)] which are working in this direction and this is heartening indeed. I hope that it is only a question of time before we hear of grassroots melding together of organizations such as the NBUF and the AIM (American Indian Movement).

The Pan-Africanist approach most certainly has a very positive side in that it contributes to Black pride and self-assertiveness and facilitates identification with the Azanian struggle. No Black group in the USA ever asks the silly question "Isn't AZAPO racist in excluding whites?": almost intuitively, the application of BC to Azania is appreciated. It takes little convincing to portray AZAPO as the only liberation movement with a proper ideology and direction in Azania: once the history and growth of the struggle in Azania is mapped out, this is seen as obvious.

The June 16 services at both Howard University and Watoto Community Centre (organized by the All African Trust Fund) evoked some of the foregoing responses. In-depth meetings with community organizations and support groups roundly



Jackson . . . hero or sellout?



UN Security Council in session.

supported these conclusions. Curiously enough, the Rainbow Coalition supporting Jackson (surely an unfortunate choice of name because black is excluded from the rainbow while white is made up of all the colours in the visible spectrum!) at the University of Toledo made up of Latin Americans, Afro-Americans and Arab Americans, is called the Progressive-Democratic Society — the term "progressive democrat" symbolizing amorphous liberalism in South Africa.

UN

The UN Conference was addressed by anti-apartheid luminaries from every point on the political spectrum: by Andrew Young, Jesse Jackson, Angela Davis, Denis Brutus, Edward Kennedy and official representatives of the South West African People's Organisation of Namibia (SWAPO), the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), the ANC and the PAC. Represented were delegations from many countries, liberation movements and a host of support groups from the USA and Canada.

Until the Conference was introduced to AZAPO, its tone was simply to tout the line of the "sole and authentic" custodians of the liberation struggle viz SWAPO and the ANC. Every speech was skewed in this direction and the caucusing and diplomatic intrigues on the sidelines strenuously sought to present this view.

The AZAPO presentation drew applause, especially when the point was made that "the primary task of the liberation movement in Azania is to recover every square kilometre of occupied soil." The applause that punctuated and terminated the AZAPO/BCM(A) presentation becomes significant in the light of the fact that in the dignified atmosphere of the UN, applauding is actually prohibited.

AZAPO took the point that in the post-Sharpeville political miasma, "white liberals", . . . misrepresented the cause of the oppressed as . . . one for civil rights" and that the BCM "injected a remarkable vitality into

Azanian politics". The growth and development of the BCM and the role and function of AZAPO and the National Forum Committee was outlined. The implications of the Nkomati Accord and the "new deal" offered by the Botha regime were analysed: "As the Accords emphasize, the need for a strong internal resistance to the system is paramount and in the final analysis victory will come from the Black masses inside Azania. This can only underline the pivotal role of AZAPO, an organization which at once conquers fear and unifies all the oppressed into one cohesive unit, laying the building blocks for an Azanian nation".

The response from support groups, liberation movements (including members of the ANC and PAC delegations) and representatives of states to the AZAPO presentation was tremendous. What made it unique was that it was the voice of an authentic liberation movement operating inside South Africa. The presentation also challenged holy cows and thus the caucusing in the aisles and in the UN bar proceeded apace.

Commissions

When the Conference broke into Commissions, the BCM(A) proposed in the commission on cultural and sporting isolation that the *bona fides* of South African applicants for foreign citizenship such as Sydney Maree and Zola Budd be determined by checking with people's organizations inside Azania. An ANC delegate insisted that the UN and the OAU recognized only two liberation movements and to recognize AZAPO was to encourage a "proliferation of liberation movements". The BCM(A) countered by specifying that **any** liberation movement operating abroad can only be legitimate if it maintains a symbiotic relationship with the people it purports to represent and that AZAPO, as the internal liberation movement, had every right to **dictate** to the ANC, the PAC and the BCM(A).

In another commission, the ANC pushed for a campaign to "Release Nelson and Winnie Mandela" while the PAC pushed for a campaign to release the PAC 6 (the longest serving political prisoners on Robben Island). The BCM(A) rejected both campaigns as sectarian and insisted on a campaign to "Release all political prisoners". The Commission accepted this viewpoint.

It became acutely obvious that the BCM and AZAPO had scored a major diplomatic victory and that to flog the line of "sole copyright" to



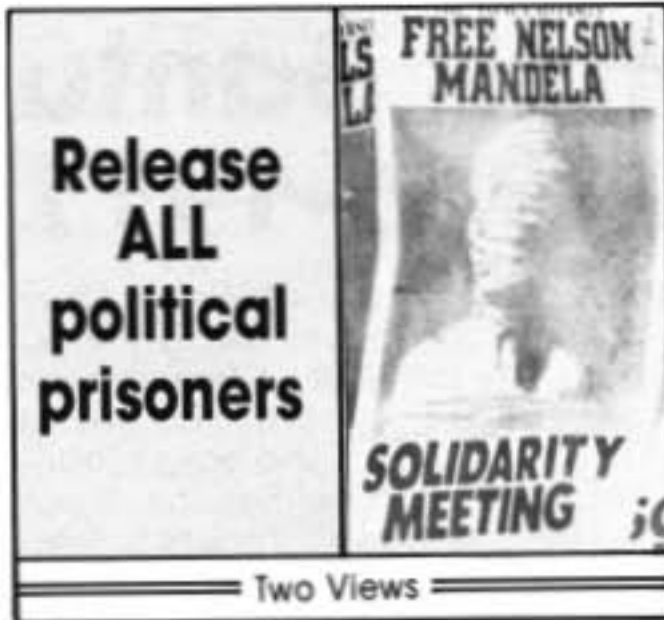
Gatsha Buthelezi, head of Inkatha

the struggle was an extremely tenuous exercise.

Unite

The AZAPO message to the historical movements was to unite with the BCM(A) and become a strong and articulate movement for national liberation. Unfortunately, this message was misconstrued. Major General Joseph Garba, head of the UNSCAA revealed in an interview that the ANC was annoyed with the Nigerians for having invited AZAPO and he further intimated that many in the UN were sick and tired of the recurring skirmishes between ANC and PAC.

Confirmation of this is contained in an official letter by the ANC to UNSCAA dated 20 June 1984. The letter speaks glowingly (our emphasis) of the "principled stand taken by Rev Jesse Jackson, Senator Edward Kennedy, Mayor Andrew Young, Angela Davis and others" and then "puts on record" the ANC's "opposition to a decision which has led to the participation role (sic!) being played by a representative of AZAPO" on 19 June 1984, and demands an explanation for it. It goes on to say that this position has "nothing to do" with the ANC's attitude or relations "with AZAPO" but is "a policy position that applies to all resistance groups still operating legally inside the country", a policy that has "hitherto been always strictly observed by the OAU, Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations". The rationale of this policy is "to avoid the alternative likely to



encourage the proliferation of 'liberation movements' . . . (which) unconsciously facilitates the enemy's strategy of *divide and rule*".

The last paragraph of the letter reads: ". . . I am ready to accept collective responsibility for the time being if it turns out that the aforementioned decision was taken with the full knowledge and consent albeit silent of an African National Congress representative. In that case, I would humbly request that the case be re-opened for discussion by the Committee in the near future in order hopefully, to ensure that AZAPO's participation does not serve as a precedent for them and other groups such as Inkatha, etc."

Support

I also addressed an African Street Carnival organized by NBUF in New York on 4 July 1984. The Pan Africanist spirit displayed at the Carnival was exhilarating with a crowd responding to the rhythms and strains of Mother Afrika, and enthusiastically chanting "Amandla Ngawethu" and "Izwe Lethu I-Afrika".

I was interviewed by numerous radio and television stations as well as newspapers and magazines in Washington, New York, Chicago, Detroit, Toronto and London.

1984 has been declared "Anti-Racist Year" in London, England and the response of support groups was once again overwhelming. Solidarity groups from Trinidad and Tobago, from Australia and New Zealand and from Holland were also contacted.

The pace has been set for a sustained and vigorous diplomatic offensive by AZAPO. In the conditions in which the BCM operates both in Azania and abroad, a shake-up of AZAPO's propaganda arm is a historical imperative.

The Court also examined the question whether there was any substance in De Wet's belief that Section 13(1)(a)(v) of the Internal Security Act had been contravened. This section was modelled on Section 11 of the Suppression of Communism Act, Act No 44 of 1950 and Section 2 of the Unlawful Organisations Act, Act No 34 of 1960. Both these Acts were repealed and replaced by the Internal Security Act in 1982.

Section 11 proclaimed that it was an offence "to further the achievement of any of the objects of communism" or to "advocate, advise, defend or encourage the achievement of any such object or any act or omission which is calculated to further the achievement of any such object." Section 2 extended the range of the Suppression of Communism Act to hit any unlawful organization.

In *R v Adams* 1959(1) SA 646 the words "advocates, advises, defends or encourages" were held to connote communication to some audience or readership. Thus the publication of printed or written matter could never amount on its own to an offence. The product had first to be distributed, its contents to be disseminated. Hence the mere publication of *Frank Talk* could never violate Section 13(1)(a)(v).

Please insert the following paragraph after the second paragraph in the middle column of page 5 (ie after the paragraph beginning "Using the 'Didcott test' . . ." and before the paragraph beginning "The Judge made the telling point . . .":

Ndabeni trenchantly submitted the following: ". . . (A) comparison between the aims and objects of AZAPO set forth in page 2 of Frank Talk (Volume 1 Number 1) and the SASO policy manifesto indicates the divergence between the aims of AZAPO (which is not an unlawful organization) and SASO." In argument, counsel for Ndabeni submitted that SASO contained only the germ of what AZAPO has crystallized.

Note that the case of **Thabo Ndabeni v the Minister of Law and Order and Another** is reported in the third volume of the 1984 *South African Law reports* at page 500 i.e. 1984(3)SA500(D).

Stephen Bantu Biko (1946-1977)

On 18 December 1946, Mr and Mrs Mzimgayi Biko gave thanks for the birth of their third child and second son, Bantu Stephen. Steve's father died when he was four years old.

Steve began his schooling at Brownlee Primary for two years and continued at Charles Morgan Higher Primary for four years. He began his high school education at Forbes Grant Secondary School, then moved on to Lovedale Institute, Alice to prepare for his matriculation. He was at Lovedale for only three months when the school was closed down as a result of strikes by senior pupils. Steve then moved on to Marianhill, the Catholic church centre in Natal.

Steve enrolled at the University of Natal (Non-European Section) in 1966 to read for a degree in medicine. This was in the immediate post-Sharpeville era and Black student organizations like the African Students' Association (ASA) and the African Students' Union of South Africa (ASUSA) were crushed by the system. Thus many Black students drifted towards the multiracial (non-racial) National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) and the University Christian Movement (UCM). The authorities at the "bush colleges" (segregated universities for Blacks), with the exception of the medical school at Wentworth (Steve's campus) refused their students permission to affiliate to NUSAS. In any event, white students at English-speaking campuses outnumbered Blacks in the ratio 9:1 in 1969, making NUSAS a lily-white organization. These white "radicals" took it upon themselves to champion the Black cause and together with the likes of Helen Suzman and Alan Paton, were seen by many Blacks (in the absence of any authentic Black organization) as important spokespersons for the Black cause. Thus a state of virtual white trusteeship came into being.

At the end of the day, however, NUSAS failed dismally to meet the genuine aspirations of its Black members. In 1967-68 a ferment was under way amongst these Black students. Prominent from the start were people like Steve, Vuyelwa Mashalaba, Aubrey Mokoape, Barney Pityana, Harry Nengwekhulu, Hendrick Musi, Petrus Machaka, Manana Kware, J. Goolam, Strini Moodley and Henry Isaacs. The July 1967 annual conference of NUSAS at Rhodes University in Grahamstown

was the occasion which set Steve and his colleagues along the BC path. The University Administration at Rhodes prohibited mixed accommodation and eating facilities during the conference. Black students began to question even more deeply the value of the superficial integration at which NUSAS was playing. Strong doubts were expressed about the sincerity and the integrity of white "radicals"-Rhodes University was one of the citadels of white liberalism, alongside other "open universities". There was dissatisfaction with the manner in which the NUSAS leadership had easily given in to the challenge at Rhodes, after the token motions of condemnation against the establishment. The politics of white trusteeship was exposed as sterile, bold at the verbal level but impotent to effect meaningful change. But even more important to the evolution of BC, the aptitude of whites to define black experiences and grievances and to articulate black aspirations was seriously questioned. It was pointed out that white radicals stood to gain more from slight modifications to the system than from its complete

dismantlement; while the Black people would never be satisfied with the arrangement of the same old furniture with the same decrepit apartheid structure.

At the July 1968 conference of NUSAS and UCM, which were both held within the vicinity of Johannesburg, Black delegates from the two bodies withdrew to caucus among themselves about what to do when the 72 hours during which they were permitted by law to remain in the exclusive white area expired. During the meeting other matters affecting their interests as Black people cropped up. Thus the South African Students Organization (SASO) was conceived.

A Blacks-only meeting was called for December at Biko's old high school in Marianhill and the name SASO was formally adopted. The conference resolved to break with NUSAS in order to create a situation where Blacks could spell out their problems as Black people and prescribe their own carefully thought out remedies. An inaugural conference was planned for July 1969 at the University of the North in Turfloop.



Ntsiki Biko and her two children, Samora aged two and Nkosinathi aged six, soon after hearing of Steve's death.

The conference at Turfloop decided to drop the term 'Non-White', which was used in all official government communications. They saw the term, in Fanonian terms, as a negation of their being. They were being described as 'non-something', which implied that the standard was something else and they were not that particular standard. To quote Steve: "They felt that a positive view of life, which is commensurate with the build-up of one's dignity and confidence, should be contained in a description which (they accepted), they sought to replace the term 'non-white' with the term 'Black' ". It was at this Inaugural Conference that Steve became SASO's first President.

At the July 1970 General Students Conference at Wentworth, multi-racialism or non-racialism in the context of South Africa, where Blacks were doomed to be junior partners, was found to be untenable. Biko declared in a policy statement shortly before the Wentworth conference:

"Blacks are tired of standing at the touchlines to witness a game that they should be playing. They want to do things for themselves and by themselves."

A resolution at this Conference affirmed that "the emancipation of Black people in this country depends entirely on the role Black people themselves are prepared to play." (Perhaps today we would delete "entirely" and substitute it with "primarily". But the fundamental thrust is the same.)

In December 1970 Steve married Nontsikelelo (Ntsiki) Mashalaba from Umtata. From 1971 his heart was increasingly in political activity and he experienced constant surveillance and harassment from the security police. In June 1972 Steve was expelled by the University of Natal (**Black Section**) (!) for his political activities.

It was in this year (1972) that Steve played a pivotal role in forming the Black People's Convention (BPC), an adult umbrella BC organization. BPC was formally launched in Pietermaritzburg in July 1972. The Black Community Programme (BCP) also came into being, to operate as a wing of professional experts. BCP was created to carry out specific tasks in community development in a spirit of self-reliance. Some of the projects undertaken were the erection of creches and clinics, the setting up of adult literacy and preventive medicine programmes, home industries and other economic projects centred in the impoverished rural areas, and the establishment of leadership and youth programmes — a project which proved to

mes — a project which proved to have far-reaching consequences in 1976.

Upon his expulsion from Wentworth, Steve assumed a role in BCP in Durban. Amongst BCP's projects was **Black Review**, an analysis of political trends.

On 1 March 1973, Steve and seven other SASO/BPC leaders were banned under the Suppression of Communism Act. Steve began studying law via the University of South Africa during this year.

Restriction to Ginsberg Location in King William's Town meant that Steve was not permitted to leave the confines of the town and that he was prohibited from talking to more than one person at a time. It also meant that Steve could not be quoted.

QUOTE:

Blacks are tired of standing at the touchlines to witness a game that they should be playing. They want to do things for themselves and by themselves.

Steve founded the Eastern Cape branch of BCP and worked as branch executive until an extra clause was inserted in his banning order at the end of 1975 prohibiting him from being associated with BCP or entering its King William's Town offices at 15a Leopold Street.

In 1974 Steve was charged for breaking his banning order by receiving visitors at home, and charged in the alternative with attending an illegal gathering in terms of the ban. He was found not guilty and acquitted.

Steve founded the Zimele Trust Fund Foundation to help political prisoners and their families and the Ginsberg Educational Trust for the purpose of assisting black students. In September 1975 Steve was refused a passport to attend a conference to which he had been invited by the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission in Germany, and in December 1975 he was specifically prohibited from participating in BPC activity. He was again charged with breaking his banning order by entering an educational institution to write a law examination. This case was never concluded.

In 1976 Steve became the Secretary-General of the Zimele Trust Fund. In April 1976 he was charged once again with breaking his banning order. The Court discharged him.

Outside court, a security policeman gave Steve a summons for not stopping at a stop sign. Steve conducted his own defence and was acquitted.

In June 1976 Steve gave evidence for the defence at the SASO/BPC trial where 9 leaders of the Black Consciousness Movement were charged under the Terrorism Act. Steve was detained under section 6 of the Terrorism Act for 101 days from August to December 1976 at East London's Fort Glamorgan Prison's Maximum Security Section. He was released without being charged.

At the Congress of the BPC in January 1977 in Durban Steve was elected Honorary President of the BPC. Soweto leaders of the 1976 Uprising demanded that the government negotiate with the three black leaders of the liberation movements: Nelson Mandela of the ANC, Robert Sobukwe of the PAC and Steve Biko of the BPC.

In March 1977 Biko was charged with defeating the ends of justice and was detained again at Fort Glamorgan and acquitted later. In July 1977 he was accused of telling a number of black school children charged with setting fire to their school to renege on statements they had made to the police. What had really happened was that the school children had come to him for advice, saying that they had been beaten by security police and forced to sign confessions that they had not even been permitted to read. Steve advised them to tell this to the court. This they did, and were acquitted. (Of course, they were promptly detained under the Terrorism Act). Steve was acquitted yet again.

Finally August 19, 1977. Together with Peter Cyril Jones, Steve was stopped in a car at a roadblock and taken into custody in Port Elizabeth. He was detained under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. He was kept naked and manacled and died in detention on 12 September 1977, leaving a widow and two small children, Nkosinathi aged 7 and Samora aged 3.

After Steve's death, the system dropped the gauntlet on the mainstream BC organizations such as SASO, BPC and BCP on October 19, 1977.

In April 1978 a writer remarked: "The fate of Peter Jones is not known. At the time of writing, he is still in detention." It is a sad commentary on the South African torture chamber that we have to echo these words in September 1984.

Room No. 619

Steve Biko became the 46th person known to have died in security police detention in South Africa.

Why was he detained?

Lieutenant Alfred Oosthuizen of the Grahamstown Police who ordered Biko's detention claimed that on 18 August 1977 he received information that inflammatory pamphlets were being distributed inciting Blacks to riot. He further claimed that he had learnt that Biko was on his way between King William's Town and Cape Town and had reason to suspect that Biko was involved in such distribution. At 8 pm, therefore, he put up a roadblock and at about 10.20 pm Steve Biko and Peter Cyril Jones were arrested and taken to prison in Port Elizabeth.

18 August — 6 September

For the next twenty days Biko was held in a cell at Walmer Police Station (Port Elizabeth) incommunicado and in solitary confinement, naked, without books or materials of any kind. He was not allowed the fundamental privileges accorded to detainees i.e. the right to wash and to exercise for an hour a day. At night he was handcuffed and his feet were shackled by leg irons which were in turn locked onto the walls.

On 2 September Biko asked for water and soap to wash himself, and a washcloth and comb. He said to the visiting magistrate: "I want to be allowed to buy food. I live on bread only here. Is it compulsory that I have to be naked? I have been naked since I came here." Nothing was done to ameliorate his condition in any way.

Under cross-examination at the inquest, Colonel Goosen enlarged on the care taken to see that detainees were not injured and made the following Freudian slip: "We have no reason to assault a detainee. No assault charges have been brought against my assaulting team." Laughter followed and he changed the phrase to 'the interrogation team.'

On 6 September Biko was taken to Room 619 in Sanlam Building in Port Elizabeth. According to the security police, the interrogation began at 10.30 am and lasted till 6 pm. Major Harold Snyman testified that Biko first adopted an aggressive attitude but admitted by 6 pm that he and Patrick Titi, another detainee, were

The information about Biko's death in this article is culled from that gigantic conspiracy to defeat the ends of justice known as the Biko inquest. Included is a piece entitled "On Death" which was an interview given by Steve a few months before his final detention. The gaping holes in the official version of Steve's death are ample testimony that Steve was brutally murdered.

responsible for compiling the inflammatory pamphlets. Biko had to sleep in Sanlam Building that night, because the security police were afraid that he would communicate with Black cleaners or warders. Biko was "guarded" by a night squad of three led by Lieutenant Wilken although Snyman accepted that they were 'night interrogators' during cross-examination.

7 September

Wilken admitted that he saw "a darkening of the skin similar to a birthmark, dark brown, above (Biko's) left eye" but he "placed no value on it." Medical evidence suggested that Biko suffered head injuries either during the night of 6 September or before 7.30 am on 7 September.



(from left to right): Goosen, Siebert, Snyman, and Wilken

At 7 am on 7 September the day interrogation team came on duty: it consisted of Major Snyman, Captain Siebert, Warrant Officer Beneke, Detective Sergeant Nieuwoudt and Warrant Officer Marx.

Biko's leg-irons and handcuffs were removed, said Snyman, and he was offered a chair to sit on: he got a wild expression in his eyes suddenly, and jumped off the chair and threw the chair at Snyman. Biko then lashed at Beneke and pinned him against a steel cabinet. It took the entire team to overpower Biko and

put handcuffs and leg irons on him. Biko continued to struggle against his confinement.

Snyman gave the reason for Biko's behaviour as the "revelations" he made to Biko. When asked to produce these sworn statements, Snyman produced statements ranging from 15 to 30 September. Counsel for the Biko family, Sydney Kentridge, remarked: "These could not have been put to him during his lifetime. What we have got here is a smear prepared after Biko's death and I think it is a disgrace."

According to Siebert and Marx, Biko repeated the words "You are intimidating me, you are harassing me" during the interrogation and during the struggle.

About 7.30 am Snyman reported to Goosen that Biko had become very aggressive. Goosen immediately went to Room 619. Biko was sitting on the mat handcuffed and with leg-irons shackled to an iron bar grille. Goosen immediately tried to telephone the District Surgeon, Dr Ivor Lang.

In one affidavit, Lang fixed the time of the examination as 12 noon and in another affidavit, he claimed that it was at 9.20 am. Colonel Goosen had expressed concern that Biko might have suffered a stroke since he was not eating 'nor was he able to speak and was not using his limbs'. Lang found that Biko had a small laceration on his lip, two swollen hands, a bruise near his second rib, swollen feet and ankles and that Biko's speech was "thick". Colonel Goosen informed Lang that Biko had studied medicine for four years. Lang did not ask Biko how he got the cut on his lip and the bruises on his chest because Goosen had told him that "Biko had gone into a rage and had attempted to assault an officer with a chair and had to be restrained." Lang did not think of ordering that the leg irons be removed. Lang was of the opinion that Biko was shamming, an impression derived entirely from Goosen. Although he examined Biko's head very carefully he failed to see the injury, an injury which was clearly visible on photographs taken after Biko's death.

Lang signed the following statement:

"This is to certify that I have examined Steve Biko as a result of a request from Colonel Goosen of the Security Police who complained that the abovementioned would not speak.

"I have found no evidence of any abnormality or pathology on detainee."

Goosen said that he requested a certificate because he knew that "there would be tremendous propaganda if anything would happen to" Biko. Goosen said that he thought of it "as a possibility" that Biko might have bumped his head during the struggle.

8 September

Snyman made the following entry in the Occurrence Book: "The detainee was very aggressive, then became beserk, threw a chair at me, and rushed with clenched fists at other members of the staff. After a tremendous struggle he fell with his head against a wall and sustained an injury to his body." This was irregular because standing orders provide that entries in the Occurrence Book about prisoners who are kept under restraint should be made immediately. Snyman's reason for the late entry was that he felt that Biko was shamming. Goosen felt that the Security Police use standing orders only "as guidelines", Biko's condition must have caused some anxiety because Goosen ordered Dr Lang to conduct another examination. Lang was accompanied by the Chief District Surgeon, Dr Benjamin Tucker. Goosen said: "I told Dr Tucker and Dr Lang of my suspicions because Biko had not taken food or liquid. We had here a man who would not eat, react or talk and who used no toilet facilities. I still thought he was shamming."

The doctors found Biko still manacled and they were told by Goosen that Biko had not passed urine for 24 hours. They found on examination that Biko's blankets were wet with urine and that they were smelling. They did not ask Biko why he wet his bed.

Biko, according to Lang's evidence, complained of vague pains in his head and back. Tucker said he found a doubtful 'possible extensor plantar reflex': this meant that when he stroked the side of Biko's foot, instead of his toes curling inwards, there was a sign that his big toe might be turning upwards.

Tucker's affidavit stated that there were abrasions around both wrists. He did not think it necessary to note any possible reasons for these

ON DEATH

You are either alive and proud or you are dead, and when you are dead, you can't care anyway. And your method of death can itself be a politicizing thing. So you die in the riots. For a hell of a lot of them, in fact, there's really nothing to lose — almost literally, given the kind of situations that they come from. So if you can overcome the personal fear for death, which is a highly irrational thing, you know, then you're on the way.

And in interrogation the same sort of thing applies. I was talking to this policeman, and I told him, "If you want us to make any progress, the best thing is for us to talk. Don't try any form of rough stuff, because it just won't work." And this is absolutely true also. For I just couldn't see what they could do to me which would make me all of a sudden soften to them. If they talk to me, well I'm bound to be affected by them as human beings. But the moment they adopt rough stuff, they are imprinting in my mind that they are police. And I only understand one form of dealing with police, and that's to be as unhelpful as possible. So I button up. And I told them this: "It's up to you."

We had a boxing match the first day I was arrested. Some guy tried to clout me with a club. I went into him like a bull. I think he was under instructions to take it so far and no further, and using open hands so that he doesn't leave any marks on the face. And of course he said exactly what you were saying just now: "I will kill you." He meant to intimidate. And my answer was: "How long is it going to take you?" Now of course they were observing my reaction. And they could see that I was completely unbothered. If they beat me up, it's to my advantage. I can use it.

They just killed somebody in jail — a friend of mine — about ten days before I was arrested. Now it would have been bloody useful evidence for them to assault me. At least it would indicate what kind of possibilities were there, leading to this guy's death. So, I wanted them to go ahead and do what they could do, so that I could use it. I wasn't really afraid that their violence might lead me to make revelations I didn't want to make, because I had nothing to reveal on this particular issue. I was operating from a very good position, and they were in a very weak position. My attitude is, I'm not going to allow them to carry out their programme faithfully. If they want to beat me five times, they can only do so on condition that I allow them to beat me five times. If I react sharply, equally and oppositely, to the first clap, they are not going to be able to systematically count the next four claps, you see. It's a fight. So if they had meant to give me so much of a beating, and not more, my idea is to make them go beyond what they wanted to give me and to give back as much as I can give so that it becomes an uncontrollable thing.

You see the one problem this guy had with me: he couldn't really fight with me because it meant he must hit back, like a man. But he was given instructions, you see, on how to hit, and now these instructions were no longer applying because it was a fight. So he had to withdraw and get more instructions. So I said to them, "Listen, if you guys want to do this your way, you have got to handcuff me and bind my feet together, so that I can't respond. And I'm afraid you may have to kill me in the process even if it's not your intention".



Biko in his coffin

abrasions. He also thought that the lip injury was evidence of a head injury but asked no questions relating to this.

Tucker recommended that Biko be taken to hospital in order that a specialist could examine him. He was convinced that he did not have a sick man on his hands, but simply wanted another opinion. A hospital and a specialist were needed to make them "feel happier"

During the afternoon, Dr Hersch, consultant physician at Sydenham Hospital was contacted and agreed to examine Biko together with Dr Lang. The transfer took place after dark. Goosen gave instructions that only white members of the police force should guard Biko.

Hersch got the impression from Goosen that Biko was feigning and that Biko was dangerous. He claimed that he never noticed the bruise on Biko's head or the scab that was apparent in the post-mortem photograph, "but in retrospect I have quite a clear picture of him standing with a whitish area over his left eye that I thought was dry saliva or sputum."

Hersch examined Biko about 9.45 pm. It was agreed that a lumbar puncture be performed the next morning to exclude the possibility of cerebral haemorrhage or other cerebral disease.

9 September

At 3 am, Biko was found sitting in a bath of water with his clothes on. A few hours later he was again found in the bath, but this time the bath was empty.

A lumbar puncture was performed by Hersch in the morning. About 9.45 am Lang visited Biko. Warder Shehab reported to him that Biko had eaten half a plate of food and that all his clothes were soaking wet during the early hours of the morning.

Hersch informed Lang that the cerebro-spinal fluid, although not under pressure, was bloodstained. Biko remained at Sydenham hospital during the night. There is no evidence of his condition.

On the form sent with Biko's spinal fluid to the Institute for Medical Research for testing the name of the patient was made out as "Stephen Njelo". Hersch claimed that an orderly at the hospital must have filled in this name, despite the fact that it is clearly the doctor's duty to label the specimen bottle.

10 September

Hersch and Lang agreed that a neuro-surgeon should be consulted and if necessary an X-ray of the skull be obtained. Mr R Keeley, a neuro-surgeon was of the opinion that there was no evidence of cerebral haemorrhage or any other brain damage and that an X-ray was unnecessary. He agreed that Biko should be returned to the custody of the security police provided that he was examined daily by a doctor.

Lang visited Biko at 3.30 pm and found him "comfortable" with "no complaints". He received a report that Biko had "flung a plate of food off the bed onto the floor" with his hands at midday.

A bed letter by Lang and Hersch said that there was no pathology, that the lumbar puncture was normal and that there was no sign of brain injury (they did not consider the upgoing toe serious).

11 September

On the morning of the 11th, Biko was taken back to a mat at the Walmer Police Station. There he was in the charge of Sergeant van Vuuren. He found Biko on the cement floor with his head toward the cell bars and his feet near the mats. There was froth on Biko's mouth and his eyes were glazed. He tried to give Biko water but there was no reaction. He took hold of Biko from behind, dragged him onto the mats, covered him with blankets and called the security police. He saw no injuries on Biko. At 6.20 pm he booked Biko out of the Walmer Police Station.

Goosen visited Biko at Walmer at 2 pm. He noticed that Biko's breathing was irregular and that there was foam on his lips. He telephoned Tucker. At 3.20 Tucker examined Biko. He found Biko in an apathetic condition. The head injury, now between 4 and 8 days old, was still not visible to Tucker, even though he examined Biko's left eye with a torch. Tucker's examination took 5 minutes: it ignored the level of consciousness, the plantar reflex and the slight weakness of the left limb.

Tucker felt that Biko should be transferred to a prison with all possible facilities. Goosen phoned Brigadier Zietsman of the Security Police headquarters in Pretoria. He received orders to transfer Biko to the Central Prison in Pretoria. If no military plane was available, road transport was to be used if Tucker had no objections. Tucker had no objections as long as Biko was provided with a mattress or something soft to lie on.

Goosen did not want to transfer him to a Port Elizabeth hospital because "I still thought he was feigning. I thought it was possible that he could be assisted to escape and leave the country."

Biko was transferred in a landrover with the seats removed. The only facility given to him was a container of water. Tucker agreed to this arrangement because he did "not consider Biko's condition to be so serious". He also did not know "that in this particular situation one could override the decisions made by a responsible police officer." Neither did Dr Lang, who also approved of the 700 kilometre ride. Both Hersch and Lang admitted that the interest of their patient was subordinated to the interests of security.

The men who accompanied Biko were Siebert, Wilken and Nieuwoudt. Biko was naked to place a damper on any escape attempt. They left Port Elizabeth at 6.30 pm. Siebert claimed that when lights were shone onto the vehicle he saw that Biko was awake. When they approached the vehicle to unload Biko he started breathing deeply.

12 September

A Sergeant Pretorius, a medical orderly at Pretoria, said that Biko looked seriously ill and he feared for his life. The security police informed him that Biko studied medicine for four years, that he practised yoga and that he could mislead people.

According to Wilken, Biko was normal upon arrival in Pretoria. Biko refused food and water and did not relieve himself during the entire 14 hour journey.

Dr Andries van Zyl examined Biko at 3 pm on 12 September. He saw that Biko had refused to "partake of anything" for a week and that doctors could find "no fault" with him. He diagnosed general weakness and dehydration as a result of his having had "no food or liquid" for 7 days. He prescribed a drip, and gave Biko a vitamin injection. Biko lay on a mat on the floor and not on a bed when van Zyl examined him.

13 September

Jimmy Kruger, the Minister of Justice, issued the following statement: "Since 5 September Mr Biko refused his meals and threatened to go on a hunger strike . . ."

14 September

Kruger addressed a Nationalist Party Congress as follows:

"I am not glad and I am not sorry about Mr Biko. It leaves me cold. I can say nothing to you. Any person who dies . . . I shall also be sorry if I die." (Laughter).

"But now, there are a lot of scandal stories and all sorts of positions are now taken against the South African Police. And even if I am their Minister, Mr Chairman, if they had done something wrong I shall be the first man to take them before the courts. They know it."

"And indeed he began to push his food and water away — that were continually given to him so that he would freely eat or drink. It is very true what Mr Venter (a congress delegate) said about prisoners in South Africa having the 'democratic right' to starve themselves to death. It is a democratic land."

"Incidentally, I can just tell congress, the day before yesterday one of my own lieutenants in the prison service also committed suicide and we have not yet accused a single prisoner." (Laughter)

16 September

Goosen sent a telex message to Security Police Headquarters in Pretoria. In evidence he denied the existence of the message but it was revealed by Zietsman. The telex stated that Biko was in a semi-coma and the telex refers to injuries which were "inflicted" on 7 September.

The magistrate's finding

Mr Marthinus Prins found: "The cause or likely cause of Mr Biko's death was a head injury, followed by extensive brain injury and other complications causing a renal failure.

"The head injury was probably sustained on the morning of 7 September during the scuffle with Security Police in Port Elizabeth. The available evidence does not prove that death was brought about by an act or omission involving an offence by any person."

Pretoria's Chief Magistrate closed the fourteen day inquest in 80 seconds.

Medical Ethics

The profession of medicine is based fundamentally on the premise: do not harm. Participation in official torture is not expected from members of the medical profession. The South African Medical and Dental Council (SAMDC) and the Medical Association of South Africa have failed to deal with Lang, Hersch and Tucker in any way and have both found that there is no evidence of improper or disgraceful conduct on the part of the doctors.

The Declaration of Tokyo is a guideline for doctors attending to prisoners or detainees. It says, *inter alia*, that:

- A. The doctor shall not countenance, condone or participate in the practice of torture or other forms of cruel, inhuman or degrading procedures, whatever the offences of which the victim of such procedures is suspected, accused or guilty and whatever the victim's belief or motives . . .
- B. A doctor must have complete clinical independence in deciding upon the care of a person for whom he or she is medically responsible. The doctor's fundamental role is to alleviate distress of his or her fellowman and no motive whether personal, collective or political shall prevail against this higher purpose.

The Declaration of Geneva was adopted by the World Medical Association in September 1948 and it states:

- A. The health of my patients will be my first consideration.
- B. I will not permit considerations of religion, nationality, race, party politics or social standing to intervene between my duty and my patients.
- C. I will maintain the utmost respect for human life from the time of conception; even under threat, I will not use my medical knowledge contrary to the laws of humanity.

The Hippocratic Oath includes the following: "Into whatsoever houses I shall enter, I will go for the benefit of the sick, abstaining from all voluntary wrong and corruption."

And the law

Sir David Napley of the British Law Society was invited as an independent observer to the inquest by the Association of Law Societies of South Africa: his observation was that it was the clear duty of the Deputy Attorney-General to present to, and test, on behalf of the magistrate, all the relevant available evidence. Napley went on: ". . . I came away with the clear impression that, on such occasions as he intervened, his questions were directed to preserve the position previously taken up. To this end on occasions he intervened to support the police and doctors although they were already represented by other Counsel." Of course, the very Deputy Attorney-General decided that no criminal proceedings would be taken against the police.

Napley continued: "If, even at this stage, proper and vigorous police enquiries are pursued, in the knowledge and to the end that those who frustrated justice in this case performed no service to their country or to the establishment of better international relations" then "the sense of outrage which appears to have been generated by this enquiry can still perhaps be assuaged."

In the hearing in an American Court of Appeal relating to the torture and death of Joelito Filartigas by the Inspector General of Police of Asuncion, Paraguay, an American High Court Judge ruled that official torture by a national police agency of its own citizens is a violation of international law. The torturer, like the pirate and the slave holder, is '**hostis humani generis**' — an enemy of all mankind.

 ONE PEOPLE ONE AZANIA



BANNED for BLACKNESS

The contribution that the Collective intended including on this page was a tribute to Biko entitled "Biko – the Man". It was penned by Peter Cyril Jones, AZAPO's Cape Vice-President and the last man to see Biko alive.

Peter 'PC' Jones is presently being held under Section 28 of the Internal Security Act and cannot be quoted. In terms of the Prisons Act, no photograph of 'PC' can be published.

Two other close associates of Steve and recently released Robben Island graduates, viz Sathasivan 'Saths' Cooper (AZAPO's Deputy President) and Justice Edmund Lindane Myeza (AZAPO's Publicity Secretary) are also held under Section 28, along with the respective Chairpersons of the Lenasia and Sebo-keng Branches viz Haroun Patel and Oupa Hlomuka. What has changed since the murder of Steve Biko?

Kamal Nasser's Last Poem

Translated by Abdul Wahab Elmesseri

Beloved, if perchance word of my death reaches you
As, alone, you fondle my only child,
Eagerly awaiting my return,
Shed no tears in sorrow for me
For in my homeland
Life is degradation and wounds
And in my eyes the call of danger rings.
Beloved, if word of my death reaches you
And the mourners cry out:
The loyal one has departed, his visage gone forever,
And fragrance has died within the bosom of the flower
Shed no tears . . . smile on life
And tell my only one, my loved one,
The dark recesses of your father's being
Have been touched by visions of his people.
Splintered thoughts bestowed his path
As he witnessed the wounds of oppression.
In revolt, he set himself a goal
He became a martyr, sublimated his being,
even changed his prayers
Deepened their features and improvised
And in the long struggle, his blood flowed
His lofty vision unfolded shaking even destiny
If news reaches you, and friends come to you,
Their eyes filled with cautious concern,

Smile at them in kindness for
my death will bring life to all;
My people's dreams are my shrine
at which I pray, for which I live.
The ecstasy of creation warms my being, shouting of joy,
Filling me with love, as day follows day,
Enveloping my struggling soul and body.
Immortalized am I in the hearts of friends
I live only in others' thoughts and memories.
Beloved, if word reaches you and you fear for me
Should you shudder and your cheeks grow pale
As pale as the face of the moon,
Allow it not to look upon you, nor
feast on the beauty of your gaze
For I am jealous of the light of the moon.
Tell my only one, for I love him,
That I have tasted the joy of giving
and my heart relishes the wounds of sacrifice.
There is nothing left for him
Save the sighs from my song . . . Save the remnants of my lute
Lying piled and scattered in our house.
Tell my only one, if he ever visits
my grave and yearns for the memory,
Tell him that one day I shall return
– to pick the fruits.

FRAGMENTATION OF THE BLACK RESISTANCE

Just who can be regarded as representative of black opinion in South Africa? This question often crosses my mind in many conversations with people through the country and on reading various newspaper reports on what blacks have to say on topical matters. Once more the issue was highlighted during the debate on whether or not to celebrate the 10th Anniversary of the "Republic" of South Africa. On the one hand Mr Pat Poovalingam in Durban was urging the Indian people to celebrate whilst, on the other, people like Mr Mewa Ramgobin and the Labour Party argued the case against celebration. In KwaZulu Chief Gatsha Buthelezi stated that the Zulu people would celebrate whilst elsewhere pamphlets were distributed from various black sources reminding the people that they would be celebrating the countless sins of the Nationalist Government. The interesting thing of course was the conspicuous silence of the urban African people except for the hushed objections of Soweto's Urban Bantu Council. Not at any stage did anybody state a representative opinion.



Pat Poovalingam, Chairman of the Solidarity Party

Bannings

Any one staying in South Africa will not be completely surprised by this. Political opinion is probably very clear-cut on issues of this nature amongst the African people especially. However, since the banning and harassment of black political parties — a dangerous vacuum has been created. The African National Congress and later the Pan-African Congress were banned in 1960; the Indian Congress was routed out of existence and ever since there has been no

Written in June 1971, this piece outlines that collaboration with the system in South Africa is inextricably linked with operating from separate, ethnic units. Recent developments confirm that Steve had an uncanny clairvoyance: the system tries to keep so-called Coloureds and Indians in the servants-quarters of the white Parliament and keep "Africans" in the backyard of the white Parliament.

co-ordinated opinion emanating from the black ranks. Perhaps the Kliptown Charter — objectionable as the circumstances surrounding it might have been — was the last attempt ever made to instill some amount of positiveness in stating categorically what blacks felt on political questions in the land of their forefathers.

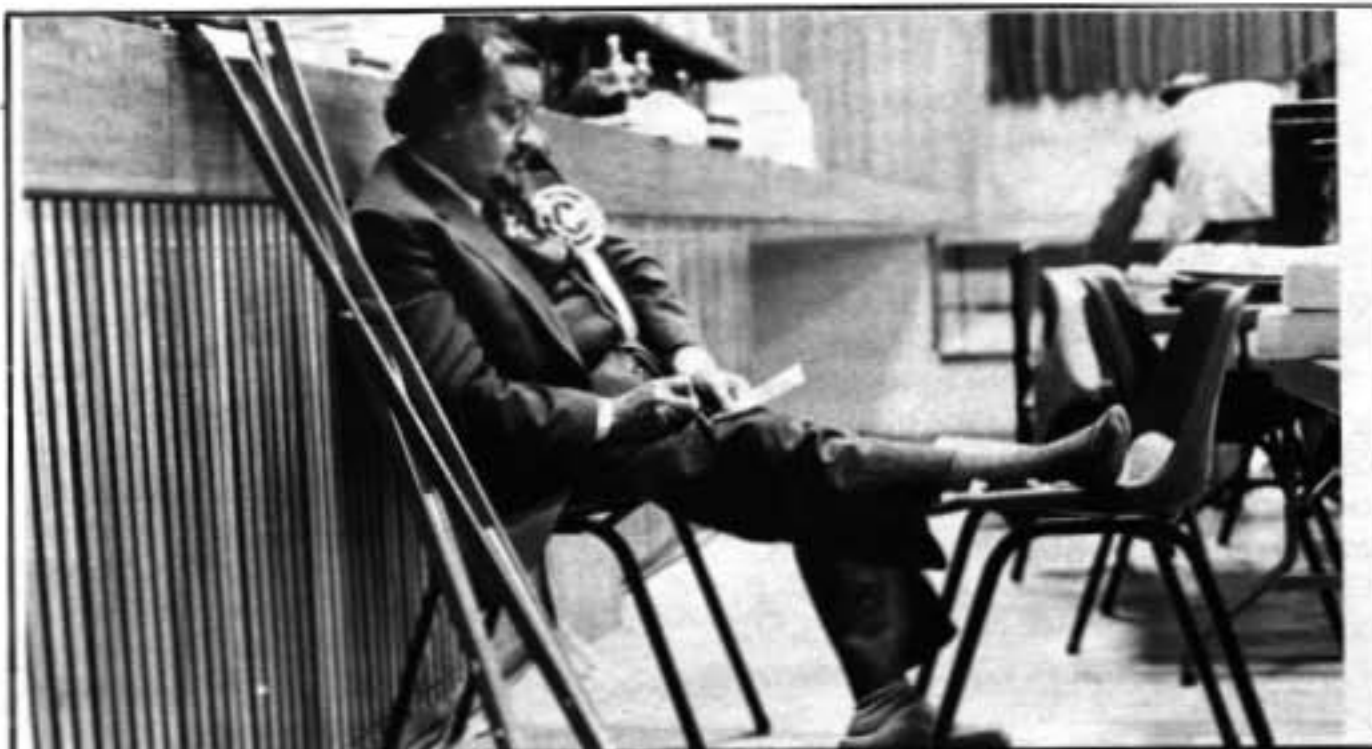
After the banning of the black political parties in South Africa, people's hearts were gripped by some kind of foreboding fear for anything political. Not only were politics a closed book, but at every corner one was greeted by a slave-like apathy that often bordered on timidity. To anyone living in the black world, the hidden anger and turmoil could always be seen shining through the faces and actions of these voiceless masses but it was never verbalised. Even the active phase, thuggery and vandalism — was directed to one's kind — a clear manifestation of frustration. To make it worse, no real hope was offered by the output from the recently created ethnic universities. Sons and fathers alike were concerned about cutting themselves a niche in a situation from which they saw no hope of escaping.

Dangerous

After this brief spell of silence during which political activity was mainly taken up by liberals, blacks started

dabbling with the dangerous theory — that of working within the system. This attitude was exploited to the full by the Nationalist party. Thus the respectability of Matanzima's Transkei was greatly boosted by Ndamse's decision to join hands with him. Clearly Ndamse, being a one-time banned man, convinced many people by his decision that there was something to be gained out of these apartheid institutions. Soon thereafter the Coloured Labour Party, operating on an anti-apartheid ticket was formed to oppose the pro-apartheid Federal Party within the all-Coloured Representative Council. People's logic became strangely twisted. Said a member of the Transkei's opposition Democratic Party: "We know that the Transkeian parliament is a stooge body. We ask you to elect us to that stooge body!"

But it seems that nothing influenced people more to "accept" the "working within the system" theory than the decision by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi to join in and lead the KwaZulu Territorial Authority. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi had for a long time been regarded as the bastion of resistance to the institution of a territorial authority in KwaZulu. Then one morning a newspaper intimated that he might just agree to take it up and within weeks Chief Gatsha Buthelezi was indeed the Chief Executive Officer of the KwaZulu Territorial Authority.



Allan Hendrickse, Labour Party head.

Following the capitulation of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, a burst of activity manifested itself in these apartheid institutions. On the one hand the Labour Party was making full use of the sanctified platform — the Coloured Representative Council (CRC) — to air their grievances against the government, on the other Chief Gatsha Buthelezi was fast becoming an embarrassment to the government with the kind of things he was saying.

Confusion

I believe it is just here that the confusion over who are the leaders of the black world began to arise. Because of the increased verbalisation of the black man's complaints, the people — especially the white world — began to take these various voices as speaking on behalf of and as leaders of the black world. This kind of picture was particularly built up by the English press, who followed in detail everything people like Chief Gatsha Buthelezi did and said. Of course in the absence of any organized opinion it began to sound even to some black people themselves as if this were the case. The fact that Matanzima also joined in the bandwagon of militant demands has made everyone sit back and clap. People argue that the Nationalists have been caught in their own game. The black lion is beginning to raise its voice. This is a gross over-simplification.

What in fact is happening is that the black world is beginning to be completely fragmented and that people are beginning to talk sectional politics. I would rather like to believe that this was foreseen long ago by the Nationalist Party and that it is in fact a part of the programme. After the kind of noises made by Buthelezi, the Labour Party and of late Matanzima, who can argue that black opinion is being stifled in South Africa? Moreover any visitor is made to see that these people are fighting for more concessions in their own area (13% of the land). They accept that the rest of South Africa is for whites. Also none of them sees himself as fighting the battle for **all** black people. Xhosas want their Transkei, the Zulus their KwaZulu, etc. **Coloured people harbour secret hopes of being classified as "brown Afrikaners" and therefore meriting admittance into the white laager while Indian people might be given a vote to swell the buffer zone between whites and Africans.** Of course these promises will never be fulfilled — at least not in a hurry — and in the meantime the enemy bestrides South Africa like a colossus laughing aloud at the fragmented

attempts by the powerless masses making appeals to its deaf ears.

Laagers

"The Transkei is the Achilles' heel of the Nationalists" claim intellectual politicians who are always quick to see a loophole even in a two-foot-thick iron wall. This is false logic. The Transkei, the CRC, KwaZulu and all these other apartheid institutions are modern-type laagers behind which the whites in this country are going to hide themselves for a long time to come. Slowly the ground is being swept off from under our feet and soon we as blacks will believe completely that our political rights are in fact in our "own" areas. Thereafter we shall find that we have no leg to stand on in making demands or any rights in "mainland White South Africa" which incidentally will comprise more than three-quarters of the land of our forefathers.

This is the major danger that I see facing the black community at the present moment — to be so conditioned by the system as to make even our most well-considered resistance to fit within the system both in terms of the means and of the goals. Witness the new swing amongst leaders of the Indian community in Durban. (I must admit I say this with pain in my heart). Ever since word was let loose that the Indian Council will at some future date be elected, a number of intelligent people are thinking of reviving the Indian Congress and letting it form some kind of opposition within the system. This is dangerous retrogressive thinking which should be given no breathing space. These apartheid institutions are swallowing too many good people who would be useful in a meaningful programme of emancipation of the black people.

Leaders

Who are leaders of the black world then if they are not to be found in the apartheid institutions? Clearly, black people know that their leaders are those people who are now either in Robben Island or in banishment or in exile — voluntary or otherwise. People like Mandela, Sobukwe, Kathrada, M.D. Naidoo and many others will always have a place of honour in our minds as the true leaders of the people. They may have been branded communists, saboteurs, or similar names — in fact they may have been convicted of similar offences in law courts but this does not detract from the real essence of their worth. These were people who acted with a dedication unparalleled in modern times. Their concern with our plight as black people made them gain



the natural support of the mass of black people. We may disagree with some things they did but know that they spoke the language of the people.

Does this necessarily mean that I see absolutely no advantage in the present set-up? Unless the political astuteness of the black people involved in these various apartheid institutions is further sharpened, I am afraid we are fast approaching an impasse. The new generation may be right in accusing us of collaboration in our own destruction. In Germany the petty officials who decided on which Jews were to be taken away were also Jews. Ultimately Hitler's gangs also came for them. As soon as the dissident factors outside the apartheid institutions are completely silenced, they will come for those who make noise inside the system. Once that happens the boundaries of our world will forever be the circumference of the 13% "black spots".

Labour

Perhaps one should be a little positive at this stage. I completely discourage the movement of people from the left to join the institutions of apartheid. In laying out a strategy we often have to take cognizance of the enemy's strength and as far as I can assess all of us who want to fight within the system are completely underestimating the influence the system has on us. What seems to me to be logical at this stage is for the left to continually pressurise the various apartheid institutions to move in the direction of testing the limits of possibility within the system, to prove the whole

game a sham and to break off from the system. I will take the example of the Labour Party because it sounds like the most well-organised dissident group in the system.

The Coloured Labour Party stood for election on an anti-apartheid ticket and won most of the elected seats. Further, the Labour Party wasted no time in spelling out its anti-apartheid stance and revived political activity to a great extent within the Coloured community. In fact the growing consciousness of the possibility of political action amongst the Coloured people is due to the Labour Party. Pretty soon the Labour Party will find that it is singing the same tune and whatever they say will cease to be of news value. In the meantime Tom Swartz will start making demands for the Coloured people and will probably gain a few concessions. The Coloured people will then realise that in fact a positive stand like that of Tom Swartz's is more welcome than a negative attitude like that of the Labour Party who keep on saying the same things. Then the Labour Party will start falling into disfavour.

This is not just theoretical. It has happened in the past with Matanzima and Guzana in the Transkei. Guzana's party — once the pride of dissident Transkeians who wanted to

demonstrate their rejection of the system — has now been relegated to the background, operating even on the right of Matanzima's party whose militant demands are being seen as a more meaningful opposition to the system than a rehashed debate on the protection of white interests in the Transkei.

QUOTE:

Granted that it may be more attractive and even safer to join the system, we must still recognise that in doing so we are well on the way towards selling our souls.

Pull Out

Therefore I see the real value of the Labour Party being in galvanising its forces now, organising them and pulling out of the Coloured Representative Council together with the support of all the Coloured people. The longer they stay in the CRC, the more they risk being irrelevant. "Pull out and do what?" this is the next question. **There is a lot of community work that needs to be done in promoting a spirit of self-reliance and black consciousness among all black people in South Africa.**

This is what the Labour Party should resort to doing. By now they have sufficiently demonstrated that the CRC is rejected by the Coloured people. Further operation within the

system may only lead to political castration and a creation of an "I-am-a-Coloured" attitude which will prove a set back to the black man's programme of emancipation and will create major obstacles in the establishment of an egalitarian society once our problems are settled. This to me sounds the only way of turning a disadvantage into an advantage. It is true of not only the Labour Party but also of all black people of conscience who are now operating within the system.

Thus in an effort to maintain our solidarity and relevance to the situation we must resist all attempts at the fragmentation of our resistance. Black people must recognise the various institutions of apartheid for what they are — gags intended to get black people fighting separately for certain "freedoms" and "gains" which were prescribed for them long ago. We must refuse to accept it as inevitable that the only political action the blacks may take is through these institutions.

Granted that it may be more attractive and even safer to join the system, we must still recognise that in doing so we are well on the way towards selling our souls.

 ONE PEOPLE ONE AZANIA



Fragmented front: Gatsha Buthelezi (far left), alongside him David Curry and Amichand Rajbansi (far right).

Ugandan Asians and the Lessons for us

The problems currently faced by the so-called "Ugandan Asians" have caused the entire world to issue out statements of condemnation against Idi Amin and his government. In the moment of heat, the complexity of the situation has been lost to political observers and above all the important lesson for "Indian" people in Africa is not being sufficiently stressed.

Scapegoat

There is reason to believe that Amin is far from being the only guilty party in this whole fiasco. In fact the two other parties involved, namely Asians themselves and Britain, are even guiltier. It is because of his antics and blatant stupidity that Amin has clouded the issue and made himself the scapegoat in a situation so basic to proper race relations in Africa. Perhaps a brief glance at history will illustrate just why the Asian population in Uganda got alienated from the native population.

There were in Uganda, prior to the present expulsion about 80 000 Asians, out of a total population of 9½ million. The main Asian immigration into Uganda came about towards the end of the last century as a result of the British colonial administration policy which attracted indentured labour to assist in the building of the Uganda-Kenya railway. Accompanying this main group were a number of "passenger Indians" of the middle caste merchant class, mainly of the Gujerat stock. This lot came for business purposes and quickly established a network of trading stores throughout Uganda and along the railway.

As the colonial secretariat expanded in Uganda, a number of Asians were employed in the lower strata, working directly under the white colonialists and in a lot of ways identifying themselves with the colonialists.

Exploitative

The Asians had skills and education which the Africans did not have. Moreover the Asians were wealthy enough to send their children for studies abroad and these on return swelled the ranks of the professional personnel in Uganda. As time went on, the "contribution" to, or control by the Asian group of trade, professions and civil service was com-

As far back as September 1972, with Amin's expulsion of "Asians" from Uganda, the treachery of the non-white middle class was outlined by Steve. Events in the Vaal Triangle in September 1984 prove that Steve was perfectly correct when he remarked: "For those of us who shall have too much to lose when others gain what is rightfully theirs, let us accept the fact that we constitute part of the problem: a part which shall have to be dealt with efficiently, painfully, seemingly cruelly and yet so basically logically."



Eastonville, Evaton, Vaal Triangle: September 3, 1984.

pletely out of proportion to their members. Then also the Asians refused to see themselves as part of the soil of Africa. Although they tried hard, they could not really filter through into the upper echelons in Uganda which at the time were a monopoly of the white colonialists. In a sense, therefore, the Asians became middle men who continually saw themselves as a minority and by their practice of exploitation of the Africans through money-lending at inflated interest rates, through the practice of bargaining, through the absence of price controls, they contributed to the growth of animosity between themselves and the Africans who saw them as a hostile exploitative minority.

When independence came in 1962, the Asians were given a choice of citizenship through provisions in the Ugandan Constitution. Most of them preferred to retain British citizenship as against Ugandan citizenship. Hence, as the Africanisation process stepped up, Ugandans replaced foreigners in most fields and trading licences were preferably given to citizens of Uganda. It was at this point that the Asians started feeling robbed.

The threat to rid Uganda of the exploitative non-citizenship ranks which had been in control of trade and industry in Uganda came as far back as 1970 when President Obote announced in his opening address to the Uganda Parliament that all U.K. passport holders would have to leave Uganda. The issue was further picked up by General Idi Amin in January this year.

To the average Ugandan, the Asian departure will present no loss. This is sad to say about a group of people being unfairly treated. A number of people in Uganda including the powerful student group in Makerere University have condemned the action of Idi Amin and called upon him to come and address them on the question. On that day he referred to the Asians as leeches upon the Ugandan economy. In a sense in Africa too the reaction has been sharp as shown by Tanzania. But what prompts this reaction in these quarters is more the deliberate cruelty and immaturity with which the whole question has been handled. No one wants to question the basic existence of the animosity between the two groups and the fact that there is reason for this.

Britain

In terms of the overall international world, what has further compounded the whole issue has been the hue and cry raised by Britain about what they call "Ugandan Asians" who are in fact British citizens. With the kind of racist overtones implicit in the British immigration policy, the Heath government together with its so-called opposition just could not face the prospect of admitting into Britain 40 000 "brown skinned" British citizens. It was therefore imperative to try and paint Amin and Uganda as the real culprits in the whole thing so that if Britain does in fact have to take her responsibility of housing her own citizens she would appear as the benevolent helper of a destitute homeless Asian population.

This of course is nonsense taken with the background that Britain has played in the colonisation of Africa; where Britain has been active in setting one dark race against another so as to create a powerful buffer zone between herself and the local African races; where Britain has for years enjoyed the fruits of exploitation of Africans by Indians who were banking and investing all their monies in British business; where Britain was happy to plant their citizens throughout Africa so as to create an easily accessible market for her products and also control industry and commerce in the former colonies through major well guarded investment in these countries. Now that the Asians have served their purpose Britain has no use for them and is trying very hard to "get the Ugandan Asians absorbed by friendly countries". When we view the hesitation by Britain to take in her Black citizens against the fact that since the 1971 Immigration Act was passed, a potential 10 million white immigrants from the Commonwealth countries are permitted to enter under the "patrial" clause, then we begin to see that colour plays an important role in validating or invalidating one's British citizenship. Britain is echoing what most English people throughout the world are saying that "there shall always be an England" except that they forget to add, "only for whites".

It must of course be pointed out that in spite of all this, nobody sanctions Amin's actions. In a world where Black people are moving fast into a formidable alliance to protect their interests, Amin's actions have cast an unfortunate shadow across Africa. The British Asians in Uganda may have renounced their claim to normal Black brotherhood through their exploitative actions; they may even have tainted the image of the 30,000 remaining Ugandan citizens but this still does not give Amin any moral grounds to treat Ugandan

citizens as if they have no equal right to belong to Uganda.



Idi Amin.

Lessons

The lesson for us is a complex one. White South Africa as usual is busy laughing at Amin's antics and seeing him as a crazed being. In the process they forget that their own actions in this country make Amin's outburst look like a sermon. The Ugandans may have a semblance of a case where they are made to feel despised in the country of their birth by the major part of a group of people who want to see themselves as a visitor minority. In South Africa, whites took our country by force long ago; they truck us around like cattle, moving us from one spot to another; they kill us and our children through creation of squalid conditions leading to T.B., kwashiokor, malnutrition, robbery, murder, hooliganism, etc. They destroy our soul through migratory labour pass laws, wanton discrimination and racial bigotry; they beat and kill us occasionally into submission at Sharpeville, Langa, Gelvandale, Cato Manor and a host of other places; they force us to work as cheap labour so that they can enjoy the fruits of our labour while basking in the sun on our best beaches; where on earth do they then get the nerve to laugh at anybody for being cruel and a racist?

For us Blacks there is a definite lesson. There are in this country nearly 700 000 people of Asian descent.

It is important for this group to see that the trend of race relations in any country is largely influenced by the interrelationship of groups in their joys and woes. We, all of us Black people, are currently the objects of the most abject racism ever perpetrated in the world. Rightly or wrongly, there has been a tendency in South Africa for a long time in the past for Asians to see themselves as a minority group. To what extent this tendency is justified one does not know but it is clear that

it may prove dangerous for race relations in time to come. Already there have been periodic outbursts of animosity between Africans and Indians in Durban and other parts of the country particularly in 1949. The trend observed elsewhere in Africa viz. the existence of a highly "successful" but exploitative merchant class is found here too. However, unlike in the rest of Africa, there has been a steady shift of interest in the general Black man's plight from the Indian ranks. To date we know countless cases where Indian people had to go to jail as a consequence of their political activities.

Black solidarity

What must clearly be regarded as naughty however is the kind of nonsense that makes some Indian nationalists in Durban want to draw a warning note out of the Amin fiasco. Supporters of Black consciousness were warned by one columnist in a Durban newspaper to beware the evils of African nationalism as evidenced in the Amin outburst.

Does it not occur to this political ignoramus that the cause of friction is precisely the non-involvement of one group during the struggle period? Does it not occur to him that if I win independence for myself in spite of appalling silence from a potential colleague then I'm likely to be suspicious of his motives when he motivates for an alliance between me and him after my victory?

The apostles of Black solidarity are right in insisting that all of us must join hands now in seeking for a solution to our common problems. Fence sitters have a curious way of always losing with all sides at the end of it all. If it is wrong for Indians to be discriminated against in India, then it is wrong for them to suffer the same fate anywhere else in the world and they have to learn to fight that evil alongside those they are oppressed with, be it in Kenya, Uganda or in South Africa.

Finally, for the merchant class Indian, Coloured and African bourgeoisie, the writing is on the wall. There is a role for all of us in the struggle for our emancipation. Each one of us has an obligation to be as much a part of the struggle as the situation demands. For those of us who shall have too much to lose when others gain what is rightfully theirs, let us accept the fact that we constitute part of the problem: a part which shall have to be dealt with efficiently, painfully, seemingly cruelly and yet so basically logically. This is the lesson Amin has taught us.

 ONE PEOPLE ONE AZANIA

Let's Talk about Bantustans

It is now almost ten years since the bantustan idea was practically introduced by the Nationalist Government as a lasting measure towards the solution of the "native problem". Of course the idea of territorial segregation in South Africa is an old one. It was in 1913 that Sauer, a supposed liberal Cabinet Minister in the then Government, first suggested the apportionment of parts of the country to accommodate the aspirations of the native population. In the many years that followed, the percentage allotted to natives varied until it was established in 1936 to the present 13%.

Nations

What the Nationalists did under the "able" guidance of their theoretician, Verwoerd, was to convert the naked policy of wanton discrimination and segregation to the euphemistic "separate development" policy which "guaranteed" the eventual growth into complete sovereignty of eight bantustans or homelands which would be autonomous states to cater for the various "nations" that make up the South African native population.

At first the whole idea of separate development was rejected by the entire population, including elements of the Afrikaner camp. It was rejected by the liberals, Progressives, United Party, and naturally by the blacks. It was seen by the blacks naturally as a big fraud calculated to dampen the enthusiasm with which they picked the cudgels in the broader political fight for their rights in the country of their birth. People who took part in it were roundly condemned by everybody as sell-outs and Uncle Toms and nobody took them seriously. They were clearly seen as people who deliberately allowed themselves into an unholy collusion with the enemy.

In the white ranks, too, the idea was heavily criticised and seen as extremely immoral. However, as the *verligte* elements of the Afrikaner section began to show interest in the ideology, a number of people began to pay attention to the idea. This was boosted up mostly by the attack launched by *verligtes* on what they called "petty apartheid". Typical of opposition politics in this country, these *verligtes* were given

The refinement of the centuries-old system of white settlerdom by the Nationalist government (from the creation of separate voters rolls in 1949 to the establishment of the tricameral parliament in 1984) encompasses the theory that South Africa comprises many "nations", each to be given its own homeland or bantustan. It is the intention of the regime to repatriate into these bantustans all Blacks who still live in white South Africa (87% of the land). This devilish scheme is based on the old Roman idea of "divide and rule". Hence the BCM has been resolute in its insistence on Black Solidarity and repossession of the land. This is encapsulated in its banner slogan "One People, One Azania, One Nation."

a lot of support by the English press simply because of their small difference with the Nationalist staunch line. In the process, a lot of people began to see merit in the *verligte* view of separate development primarily because a number of newspapers had changed their policies in an attempt to appease the *verligte* movement.

Two views

With this background in mind it therefore became necessary for us black people to restate in very strong terms the case against the bantustan idea. There are two views regarding bantustans. The first one is that of total acceptance with the hope that any demands made by the blacks through peaceful negotiations will lead to granting of further concessions by the white power structure. The second is that as a strategy the bantustan philosophy can be exploited towards attainment of our overall goals. Both views are dangerously short-sighted. The first one needs but little attention since it is an obvious sell-out and can only be accepted by people who have already sold their souls to the white man. The second one leads to a lot of confusion part of which is in fact a subconscious acceptance of the bantustan idea *per se* by the masses who cannot appreciate the nuances of the debate surrounding the so-called strategy.

Why are we against the bantustan idea? Black people reject this approach for so many reasons, none of which are as fundamental as the fact that it is a solution given to us by the same people who have created the problem. **In a land rightfully ours we find people coming to tell us where to stay and what powers we shall have without even consulting us.** The whole idea is made to appear as if for us, while working against our

very existence; a look at some aspects of the policy shows this very clearly.

Fraud

Geographically, i.e. in terms of land distribution, bantustans present a gigantic fraud that can find no moral support from any quarter. We find that 20% of the population are in control of 87% of the land while 80% control only 13%. To make this situation even more ridiculous, not one of the so-called "Bantustan nations" have an intact piece of land. All of them are scattered little bits of the most unyielding soil. In each area the more productive bits are white-controlled islands on which white farms or other types of industry are situated.

Economically, the blacks have been given a raw deal. Generally speaking the areas where bantustans are located are the least developed in the country, often very unsuitable either for agricultural or pastoral work. Not one of the bantustans have access to the sea and in all situations mineral rights are strictly reserved for the South African government. In other words bantustans only have rights extended to 6 feet below surface of the land.

Added to these observations is the fact that the operative budgets allowed the bantustans for development projects are kept so low. Control of industry and its growth in all the bantustans is locked up in the hands of the Bantu investment cooperative which, though meant to be non-profitmaking, is reputed for its exploitation of the aspirant African traders and industrialists in all the bantustans. The so called Border industries now beginning to mushroom at the edges of the bantustans are orientated to exploit the labour force from within the bantustans. Most of them are sub-

sidised by the government and their products are tax free. In spite of such advantages, they go on to pay all-time low wages which are about one-third of what they would normally pay in urban areas. In addition it should be noted that these industries at border areas are often outside the geographical confines in which most Industrial Council agreements operate; and since the black workers have no trade unions to push their case they are virtually left at the mercy of employers who are under no obligation to pay them according to rates operative elsewhere in the country.

Politically, the bantustans are the greatest single fraud ever invented by white politicians (with the possible exception of the new United Party federal policy). The same people who are guilty of the subjugation and oppression of the black man want us to believe that they can now design for blacks means of escape from that situation. The point is that this is not the intention of the policy. The actual intentions of the bantustan practices are the following:

To create a false sense of hope amongst the black people so that any further attempt by blacks to collectively enunciate their aspirations should be dampened.

To offer a new but false direction in the struggle of the Black people. By making it difficult to get even the 13% of the land the powers-that-be are separating our "struggles" into eight different struggles for eight false freedoms that were prescribed long ago. This has also the overall effect of making us forget about the 87% of land that is in white hands.

To cheat the outside world into believing that there is some validity in the multinational theory so that South African can now go back into international sport, trade, politics, etc. with a soothed conscience.

To boost up as much as possible the intertribal competition and hostility that is bound to come up so that the collective strength and resistance of the black people can be fragmented.

Participation

The question then that immediately arises is whether the bantustan leaders do not see the barrenness and fraudulence implicit in this scheme. We have some men in these bantustans who would make extremely fine leaders if they had not decided to throw in their lot with the oppressors. A few of them argue that they are not selling out but are carrying on with the fight from within. There is no way of ascertaining the truth of these assumptions. Perhaps it is not necessary that this should be ascertained at all especially because no matter how one views it, the ultimate truth is that **participation in the bantustan set-up is dangerously misleading to the black population.** We shall concentrate here on the merits and demerits of using the system to fight the system, and forget about these bantustan leaders who believe sincerely in the policy of apartheid. After all, as one writer once said, there is no way of stopping fools from dedicating themselves to useless causes.

There are in South Africa at the moment a number of people whose participation in bantustan politics has led the black people in part and political observers throughout

the world to begin to take a second look at bantustans with the belief that something can be achieved through a systematic exploitation of the bantustan approach. The argument runs that all other forms of protest, disagreement and opposition are closed to black people and that we can call the bluff of the government by accepting what they give and using it to get what we want. What most people miss is the fact that what we want is well known to the enemy and that the bantustan theory was designed precisely to prevent us from getting what we want. The authors of the system know it best and they give us any concessions we may demand according to a plan prearranged by them. When they created these dummy platforms, these phoney telephones, they knew that some opportunists might want to use them to advance the black cause and hence they made all the arrangements to be able to control such "ambitious natives".

Matanzima and Buthelezi can shout their lungs out trying to speak to Pretoria through the phoney telephone. No one is listening in Pretoria because the telephone is a toy. The real lines between Pretoria and KwaZulu, between Pretoria and the Transkei are very busy day and night with Torlage and Abrahams (commissioners at the time for KwaZulu and Transkei respectively — EC) telling the system every step Matanzima and Buthelezi are likely to take three months hence and how best the system should respond to such stances.

Painful

What is most painful is that Matanzima and Buthelezi are perhaps more than anybody else acutely aware of the limitations surrounding them. It may also be true that they are extremely dedicated to the upliftment of black people and perhaps to their liberation.

Bantustan leaders are subconsciously siding and abetting in the total subjugation of the black people of this country. By making the kind of militant noise they are now making they have managed to confuse the blacks sufficiently to believe that something great is about to happen.

Many times they have manifested a fighting spirit characterising true courage and determination. But if you want to fight your enemy you do not accept from him the unloaded of his two guns and then challenge him to a duel.

As a result blacks are sitting on the touchlines cheering loudly while Matanzima and Mangope are per-



forming. The picture is also confused by the exaggeration given by the white press to the possibilities open to these leaders. The white press knows fully well of course that it is to their advantage to misdirect the attention of the blacks. The white press knows only too well the limitations of bantustan theory; that it is a far cry from what the blacks want but goes on to build up the image of Matanzima and Buthelezi in order to harness them to the path they have already chosen and to make the non-analytic masses believe that a great victory is just about to be achieved. Also, by widely publicising the pronouncements of the bantustan leaders and attaching extremely liberal connotations to these pronouncements, the white press has confused the outside world to think that in South Africa not only is there freedom of speech but that the Bantustan leaders are actively plotting for the ousting of the white government without the government taking any action.

Gatsha

Thus for white South Africa, it is extremely important to have a man like Buthelezi speaking and sounding the way he is doing. It solves so many conscience problems that South Africa has been having for so long. **It has been said that the combination of Buthelezi and the**

white press make up the finest ambassadors that South Africa has ever had.

For me as a black person it is extremely painful to see a man who could easily have been my leader being so misused by the cruel and exploitative white world. It becomes so apparent that whatever one does in the context of the bantustans is likely to be exploited for self-aggrandisement by the white world. When you agree with the government you are an exemplary native, who sees value in being led by whites. When you use bantustan platforms to attack what you do not like you epitomise the kind of militant black leader who in South Africa is freely allowed to speak and oppose the system. You exonerate the country from the blame that it is a police state. South African information bureaux throughout the world carry long coverages of activities and pronouncements by bantustan leaders to highlight the degree of open-mindedness and fair play to be found in this country.

Tribes

No, black people must learn to refuse to be pawns in a white man's game. This type of politics calls upon us to provide our own initiative and to act at our own pace and not

that created for us by the system. No bantustan leader can tell me that he is acting at his own initiative when he enters the realms of bantustan politics. At this stage of our history we cannot have our struggle being tribalised through the creation of Zulu, Xhosa and Tswana politicians by the system.

These tribal cocoons called "homelands" are nothing else but sophisticated concentration camps where black people are allowed to "suffer peacefully". Black people must constantly pressurise the bantustan leaders to pull out of the political cul-de-sac that has been created for us by the system.

Above all, we black people should all the time keep in mind that South Africa is our country and that all of it belongs to us. **The arrogance that makes white people travel all the way from Holland to come and balkanise our country and shift us around has to be destroyed.** Our kindness has been misused and our hospitality turned against us. Whereas whites were mere guests to us on their arrival in this country, they have now pushed us out to a 13% corner of the land and are acting as bad hosts in the rest of the country. This we must put right.

 **ONE PEOPLE ONE AZANIA**

Black Souls in White Skins?

Basically the South African white community is a homogeneous community. It is a community of people who sit to enjoy a privileged position that they do not deserve, are aware of this, and therefore spend their time trying to justify why they are doing so. Where differences in political opinion exist, they are in the process of trying to justify their position of privilege and their usurpation of power.

With their theory of "separate freedoms for the various nations in the multinational state of South Africa" the Nationalists have gone a long way towards giving most of white South Africa some sort of moral explanation for what is happening. Everyone is quite content to point out that these people — meaning the blacks — will be free when they are ready to run their own affairs in their own areas. What more could they possibly hope for?

Do-gooders

But these are not the people we are concerned with. We are concerned with that curious bunch of nonconformists who explain their participa-

In this, the first article signed by 'Frank Talk' in August 1970, the role of the mischievous fringe group known as the "white left" is examined. Having established the starting point of BC (viz that only the oppressed can liberate themselves), Steve proceeded in the next article ("We Blacks" on page 27) to enunciate other basic principles of BC.

tion in negative terms: that bunch of do-gooders that goes under all sorts of names — liberals, leftists, etc. These are the people who argue that they are not responsible for white racism and the country's "inhumanity to the black man". These are the people who claim that they too feel the oppression just as acutely as the blacks and therefore should be jointly involved in the black man's struggle for a place under the sun. In short, these are the people who say that they have black souls wrapped up in white skins.

The role of the white liberal in the black man's history in South Africa is a curious one. Very few black organisations were not under white direction. True to their image, the white liberals always knew what was

good for the blacks and told them so. The wonder of it all is that the black people have believed in them for so long. It was only at the end of the 50s that the blacks started to be their own guardians.

Bilateral

Nowhere is the arrogance of the liberal ideology demonstrated so well as in their insistence that the problems of the country can only be solved by a bilateral approach involving both black and white. This has, by and large, come to be taken in all seriousness as the *modus operandi* in South Africa by all those who claim they would like a change in the *status quo*. Hence the multiracial political organisations and parties and the "nonracial" student organisations, all of which insist on integration not only as an end goal but also as a means.

The integration they talk about is first of all artificial in that it is a response to conscious manoeuvre rather than to the dictates of the inner soul. In other words the people forming the integrated complex have been extracted from various segregated societies with their in-built complexes of superiority and inferiority and these continue to manifest themselves even in the "nonracial" set-up of the integrated complex. As a result the integration so achieved is a one-way course, with the whites doing all the talking and the blacks the listening. Let me hasten to say that I am not claiming that segregation is necessarily the natural order; however, given the facts of the situation where a group experiences privilege at the expense of others, then it becomes obvious that a hastily arranged integration cannot be the solution to the problem. It is rather like expecting the slave to work together with the slave-master's son to remove all the conditions leading to the former's enslavement.

Secondly, this type of integration as a means is almost always unproductive. The participants waste lots of time in an internal sort of mud-slinging designed to prove that A is more of a liberal than B. In other words the lack of common ground for solid identification is all the time manifested in internal strifes inside the group.

It will not sound anachronistic to anybody genuinely interested in real integration to learn that blacks are asserting themselves in a society where they are being treated as perpetual under-16s. One does not need to plan for or actively encourage real integration. Once the various groups within a given community have asserted themselves to the point that mutual respect has to be shown then you have the ingredients for a true and meaningful integration. At the heart of true integration is the provision for each man, each group to rise and attain the envisioned self. Each group must be able to attain its style of existence without encroaching on or being thwarted by another. Out of this mutual respect for each other and complete freedom of self-determination there will obviously arise a genuine fusion of the life-styles of the various groups. This is true integration.

Grass-roots

From this it becomes clear that as long as blacks are suffering from inferiority complex — a result of 300 years of deliberate oppression, denigration and derision — they will be useless as co-architects of a normal society where man is nothing else but man for his own sake.

Hence what is necessary as a prelude to anything else that may come is a very strong grass-roots build up of black consciousness such that blacks can learn to assert themselves and stake their rightful claim.

Thus in adopting the line of a non-racial approach, the liberals are playing their old game. They are claiming a "monopoly on intelligence and moral judgement" and setting the pattern and pace for the realisation of the black man's aspirations. They want to remain in good books with both the black and white worlds. They want to shy away from all forms of "extremisms", condemning "white supremacy" as being just as bad as "Black Power!" They vacillate between the two worlds, verbalising all the complaints of the blacks beautifully while skilfully extracting what suits them from the exclusive pool of white privileges. But ask them for a moment to give a concrete meaningful programme that they intend adopting, then you will see on whose side they really are. Their protests are directed at and appeal to white conscience, everything they do is directed at finally convincing the white electorate that the black man is also a man and that at some future date he should be given a place at the white man's table.

Irrelevant

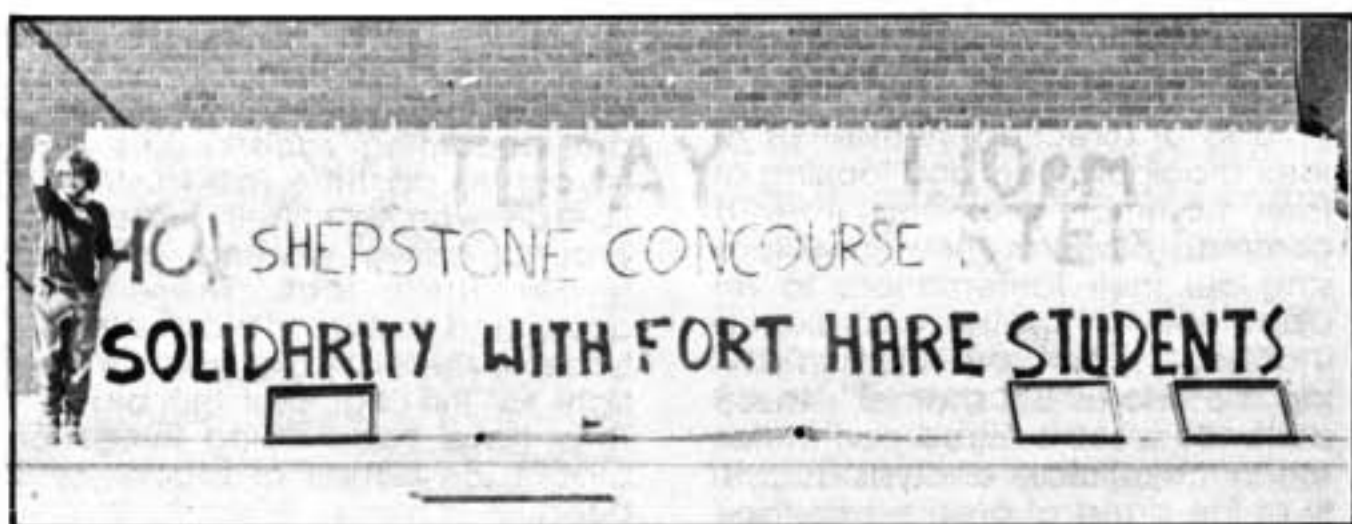
The myth of integration as propounded under the banner of liberal ideology must be cracked and killed because it makes people believe that something is being done when in actual fact the artificial integrated circles are a soporific on the blacks and provide a vague satisfaction for the guilt-stricken whites. It works on a false premise that because it is difficult to bring people from different races together in this country, therefore achievement of this is in itself a step forward towards the total liberation of the blacks. Nothing could be more irrelevant and therefore misleading. Those who believe in it are living in a fool's paradise.

First the black-white circles are almost always a creation of white liberals. As a testimony to their claim

of complete identification with the blacks, they call a few "intelligent and articulate" blacks to "come around for tea at home", where all present ask each other the same old hackneyed question "how can we bring about change in South Africa?" The more such tea-parties one calls the more of a liberal he is and the freer he shall feel from the guilt that harnesses and binds his conscience. Hence he moves around his white circles — whites-only hotels, beaches, restaurants and cinemas — with a lighter load, feeling that he is not like the rest of the others. Yet at the back of his mind is a constant reminder that he is quite comfortable as things stand and therefore should not bother about change. Although he does not vote for the Nats (now that they are in the majority anyway), he feels quite secure under the protection offered by the Nats and subconsciously shuns the idea of a change. This is what demarcates the liberal from the black world. The liberals view the oppression of blacks as a problem that has to be solved, an eye sore spoiling an otherwise beautiful view. From time to time the liberals make themselves forget about the problem or take their eyes off the eyesore. On the other hand, in oppression the blacks are experiencing a situation from which they are unable to escape at any given moment. Theirs is a struggle to get out of the situation and not merely to solve a peripheral problem as in the case of the liberals. This is why blacks speak with a greater sense of urgency than whites.

Guilt

A game at which the liberals have become masters is that of deliberate evasiveness. The question often comes up "what can I do?" If you ask him to do something like stopping to use segregated facilities or dropping out of varsity to work at menial jobs like all blacks or defying and denouncing all provisions that make him privileged, you always get the answer — "but that's unrealistic!". While this may be true, it only serves to illustrate the fact that no matter what a white man does, the colour of his skin — his passport to privilege — will always put him



miles ahead of the black man. Thus in the ultimate analysis no white person can escape being part of the oppressor camp.

"There exists among men, because they are men, a solidarity through which each shares responsibility for every injustice and every wrong committed in the world, and especially for crimes that are committed in his presence or of which he cannot be ignorant."

This description of "metaphysical guilt" explains adequately that white racism "is only possible because whites are indifferent to suffering and patient with cruelty" meted out to the black man. Instead of involving themselves in an all-out attempt to stamp out racism from their white society, liberals waste lots of time trying to prove to as many blacks as they can find that they are liberal. This arises out of the false belief that we are faced with a black problem. There is nothing the matter with blacks. **The problem is WHITE RACISM and it rests squarely on the laps of the white society. The sooner the liberals realise this the better for us blacks.** Their presence amongst us is irksome and of nuisance value. It removes the focus of attention from essentials and shifts it to ill-defined philosophical concepts that are both irrelevant to the black man and merely a red herring across the track. White liberals must leave blacks to take care of their own business while they concern themselves with the real evil in our society — white racism.

Non-whites

Secondly, the black-white mixed circles are static circles with neither direction nor programme. The same questions are asked and the same naiveté exhibited in answering them. The real concern of the group is to keep the group going rather than being useful. In this sort of set-up one sees a perfect example of what oppression has done to the blacks. They have been made to feel inferior for so long that for them it is comforting to drink tea, wine or beer with whites who seem to treat them as equals. This serves to boost up their own ego to the extent of making them feel slightly superior to those blacks who do not get similar treatment from whites. These are the sort of non-whites who are a danger to the community.

Instead of directing themselves at their black brothers and looking at their common problems from a common platform they choose to sing out their lamentations to an apparently sympathetic audience that has become proficient in saying the chorus of "shame!". These dull-witted, self-centred non-whites are in the ultimate analysis as guilty of the arrest of progress as their

white friends for it is from such groups that the theory of gradualism emanates and this is what keeps the blacks confused and always hoping that one day God will step down from heaven to solve their problems. It is people from such groups who keep on scanning the papers daily to detect any sign of change they patiently await without working for. When Helen Suzman's majority is increased by a couple of thousands, this is regarded as a major milestone in the "inevitable change". Nobody looks at the other side of the coin — the large-scale removals of Africans from the urban areas or the impending zoning of places like Grey Street in Durban and a myriad of other manifestations of change for the worse.

Settler

Does this mean that I am against integration? If by integration you understand a breakthrough into white society by blacks, an assimilation and acceptance of blacks into an already established set of norms and code of behaviour set up by and maintained by whites, then YES I am against it. I am against the superior-inferior white-black stratification that makes the white a perpetual teacher and the black a perpetual pupil (and a poor one at that). I am against the intellectual arrogance of white people that makes them believe that white leadership is a *sine qua non* in this country and that whites are the divinely appointed pace-setters in progress. I am against the fact that a settler minority should impose an entire system of values on an indigenous people.

If on the other hand by integration you mean there shall be free participation by all members of a society, catering for the full expression of the self in a freely changing society as determined by the will of the people, then I am with you. For one cannot escape the fact that the culture shared by the majority group in any given society must ultimately determine the broad direction taken by the joint culture of that society. This need not cramp the style of those who feel differently but on the whole, a country in Africa, in which the majority of the people are African must inevitably exhibit African values and be truly African in style.

Racism

What of the claim that the blacks are becoming racists? This is a favourite pastime of frustrated liberals who feel their trusteeship ground being washed off from under their feet. These self-appointed trustees of black interests boast of years of experience in their fight for the 'rights of the blacks'. They have been doing things for blacks, on behalf of blacks, and because of blacks. When the blacks

announce that the time has come for them to do things for themselves and all by themselves all white liberals shout blue murder!

"Hey, you can't do that. You're being a racist. You are falling into their trap."

Apparently it's alright with the liberals as long as you remain caught by *their* trap.

Those who know, define racism as discrimination by a group against another for the purposes of subjugation or maintaining subjugation. In other words one cannot be a racist unless he has the power to subjugate. What blacks are doing is merely to respond to a situation in which they find themselves the objects of white racism. We are in the position in which we are because of our skin. We are collectively segregated against — what can be more logical than for us to respond as a group? When workers come together under the auspices of a trade union to strive for the betterment of their conditions, nobody expresses surprise in the Western World. It is the done thing. Nobody accuses them of separatist tendencies. Teachers fight their battles, garbagemen do the same, nobody acts as a trustee for another. Somehow, however, when blacks want to do their thing the liberal establishment seems to detect an anomaly. This is in fact a counter-anomaly. The anomaly was there in the first instance when the liberals were presumptuous enough to think that it behoved them to fight the battle for the blacks.

The liberal must understand that the days of the Noble Savage are gone; that the blacks do not need a go-between in this struggle for their own emancipation. No true liberal should feel any resentment at the growth of black consciousness. Rather, all true liberals should realise that the place for their fight for justice is within their white society. The liberals must realise that they themselves are oppressed if they are true liberals and therefore they must fight for their own freedom and not that of the nebulous "they" with whom they can hardly claim identification. The liberal must apply himself with absolute dedication to the idea of educating his white brothers that the history of the country may have to be rewritten at some stage and that we may live in "a country where colour will not serve to put a man in a box". The blacks have heard enough of this. In other words, the liberal must serve as a lubricating material so that as we change the gears in trying to find a better direction for South Africa, there should be no grinding noises of metal against metal but a free and easy flowing movement which will be characteristic of a well-looked-after vehicle.

We Blacks

Born shortly before 1948, I have lived all my conscious life in the framework of institutionalised separate development. My friendships, my love, my education, my thinking and every other facet of my life have been carved and shaped within the context of separate development. In stages during my life I have managed to outgrow some of the things the system taught me. Hopefully what I propose to do now is to take a look at those who participate in opposition to the system — not from a detached point of view but from the point of view of a black man, conscious of the urgent need for an understanding of what is involved in the new approach — "black consciousness."

Basics

One needs to understand the basics before setting up a remedy. A number of the organisations now currently "fighting against apartheid" are working on an oversimplified premise. They have taken a brief look at what is, and have diagnosed the problem incorrectly. They have almost completely forgotten about the side effects and have not even considered the root cause. Hence whatever is improvised as a remedy will hardly cure the condition.

Apartheid — both petty and grand — is obviously evil. Nothing can justify the arrogant assumption that a clique of foreigners has the right to decide the lives of a majority. Hence even carried out faithfully and fairly the policy of apartheid would merit condemnation and vigorous opposition from the indigenous peoples as well as those who see the problem in its correct perspective. The fact that apartheid has been tied up with white supremacy, capitalist exploitation, and deliberate oppression makes the problem much more complex. Material want is bad enough, but coupled with spiritual poverty it kills. And this latter effect is probably the one that creates mountains of obstacles in the normal course of emancipation of the black people.

Shells

One should not waste time here dealing with manifestations of material want of the black people. A vast literature has been written on this problem. Possibly a little should be said about spiritual poverty. What makes the black man fail to tick? Is he convinced of his own accord of his inabilities? Does he lack in his genetic make-up that rare quality that makes a man will-

ing to die for the realisation of his aspirations? Or is he simply a defeated person? The answer to this is not a clearcut one. It is, however, nearer to the last suggestion than anything else. The logic behind white domination is to prepare the black man for a subservient role in this country. Not so long ago this used to be freely said in parliament even about the educational system of the black people. It is still said even today, although in a much more sophisticated language. To a large extent the evil-doers have succeeded in producing at the output end of their machine a kind of black man who is man only in form. This is the extent to which the process of dehumanisation has advanced.

Black people under the Smuts government were oppressed but they were still men. They failed to change the system for many reasons which we shall not consider here. But the type of black man we have today has lost his manhood. **Reduced to an obliging shell, he looks with awe at the white power structure and accepts what he regards as the "inevitable position"**. Deep inside his anger mounts at the accumulating insult, but he vents it in the wrong direction — on his fellow man in the township, on the property of black people. No longer does he trust leadership, for the 1963 mass arrests were blameable on the bungling by the leadership, nor is there any to trust. **In the privacy of his toilet his face twists in silent condemnation of white society but brightens up in sheepish obedience as he comes out hurrying in response to his master's impatient call. In the home-bound bus or train he joins the chorus that roundly condemns the white man** but is first to praise the government in the presence of the police or his employers. His heart yearns for the comfort of white society and makes him blame himself for not having been

"educated" enough to warrant such luxury. Celebrated achievements by whites in the field of science — which he understands only hazily — serve to make him rather convinced of the futility of resistance and to throw away any hopes that change may ever come. All in all the black man has become a shell, a shadow of man, completely defeated, drowning in his own misery, a slave, an ox bearing the yoke of oppression with sheepish timidity.

First step

This is the first truth, bitter as it may seem, that we have to acknowledge before we can start on any programme designed to change the status quo. It becomes more necessary to see the truth as it is if you realise that the only vehicle for change are these people who have lost their personality. The first step therefore is to make the black man come to himself; to pump back life into his empty shell; to infuse him with pride and dignity; to remind him of his complicity in the crime of allowing himself to be misused and therefore letting evil reign supreme in the country of his birth. This is what we mean by an inward-looking process. This is the definition of "Black Consciousness".

History

One writer makes the point that in an effort to destroy completely the structures that had been built up in the African Society and to impose their imperialism with an unnerving totality the colonialists were not satisfied merely with holding a people in their grip and emptying the Native's brain of all form and content, they turned to the past of the oppressed people and distorted, disfigured and destroyed it. No longer was reference made to African culture, it became barbarism. Africa was the "dark continent". Religious practices and customs were referred to as superstition. The history of African Society was reduced to tribal battles and internecine wars. There was no conscious migration by the people from one place of abode to another. No, it was always flight from one tyrant who wanted to defeat the tribe not for any positive reason but merely to wipe them out of the face of this earth.

No wonder the African child learns to hate his heritage in his days at school. So negative is the image presented to him that he tends to find solace only in close identification with white society.



No doubt, therefore, part of the approach envisaged in bringing about "black consciousness" has to be directed to the past, to seek to rewrite the history of the black man and to produce in it the heroes who form the core of the African background.

A people without a positive history is like a vehicle without an engine. Their emotions cannot be easily controlled and channelled in a recognisable direction. They always live in a shadow of a more successful society. Hence in a country like ours they are forced to celebrate holidays like Paul Kruger's day, Republic day, etc. — all of which are occasions during which the humiliation of defeat is at once revived.

Oneness

Then too one can extract from our indigenous cultures a lot of positive virtues which should teach the Westerner a lesson or two. The oneness of community for instance is at the heart of our culture. The easiness with which Africans communicate with each other is not forced by authority but is inherent in the make-up of African people. Thus whereas the white family can stay in an area without knowing its neighbours, Africans develop a sense of belonging to the community within a short time of coming together. Many a hospital official has been confounded by the practice of Indians who bring gifts and presents to patients whose names they can hardly recall. Again this is a manifestation of the interrelationship between man and man in the black world as opposed to the highly impersonal world in which whitey lives. These are characteristics we must not allow ourselves to lose. Their value can only be appreciated by those of us who have not as yet been made slaves to technology and the machine. One can quote a myriad of other examples. Here again "black consciousness" seeks to show the black people the value of their own standards and outlook. It urges black people to judge themselves according to these standards and not to be fooled by white society who have white-washed themselves and made white standards the yardstick by which even black people judge each other.

BT

It is probably necessary at this stage to warn all and sundry about the limits of endurance of the human mind. This is particularly necessary in the case of the African people. Ground for a revolution is always fertile in the presence of absolute destitution. At some stage one can foresee a situation where black peo-

ple will feel they have nothing to live for and will shout unto their God "Thy will be done." Indeed His will shall be done but it shall not appeal equally to all mortals for indeed we have different versions of His will. If the white God has been doing the talking all along, at some stage the black God will have to raise His voice and make Himself heard over and above noises from His counterpart. What happens at that stage depends largely on what happens in the intervening period. "Black Consciousness" therefore seeks to give positivity in the outlook of the black people to their problems. It works on the knowledge that "white hatred" is negative, though understandable, and leads to precipitate and shot-gun methods which may be disastrous for black and white alike. It seeks to channel the pent-up forces of the angry black masses to meaningful and directional opposition basing its entire struggle on the realities of the situation. It wants to ensure a singularity of purpose in the minds of the black people and to make possible total involvement of the masses in a struggle essentially theirs.

What of the white man's religion — Christianity? It seems the people involved in imparting Christianity to the black people steadfastly refuse to get rid of the rotten foundation which many of the missionaries created when they came. To this date black people find no message for them in the Bible simply because our ministers are still too busy with moral trivialities. They blow these up as the most important things that Jesus had to say to people. They constantly urge the people to find fault in themselves and by so doing detract from the essence of the struggle in which the people are involved. Deprived of spiritual content, the black people read the bible with a gullibility that is shocking. **While they sing in a chorus of "mea culpa" they are joined by white groups who sing a different version — "tua culpa"**. The anachronism of a well-meaning God who allows people to suffer continually under an obviously immoral system is not lost to young blacks who continue to drop out of Church by the hundreds.

Too many people are involved in religion for the blacks to ignore. **Obviously the only path open for us now is to redefine the message in the bible and to make it relevant to the struggling masses.** The bible must not be seen to preach that all authority is divinely instituted. It must rather preach that it is a sin to allow oneself to be oppressed. The bible must continually be shown to have something to say to the black man to keep him going in his long

journey towards realisation of the self. This is the message implicit in "black theology" (BT). Black theology seeks to do away with spiritual poverty of the black people. It seeks to demonstrate the absurdity of the assumption by whites that "ancestor worship" was necessarily a superstition and that Christianity is a scientific religion. While basing itself on the Christian message, black theology seeks to show that Christianity is an adaptable religion that fits in with the cultural situation of the people to whom it is imparted. **Black theology seeks to depict Jesus as a fighting God who saw the exchange of Roman money — the oppressor's coinage — in His father's temple as so sacrilegious that it merited a violent reaction from Him — the Son of Man.**

Thus in all fields "Black Consciousness" seeks to talk to the black man in a language that is his own. It is only by recognising the basic set-up in the black world that one will come to realise the urgent need for re-awakening of the sleeping masses. Black Consciousness seeks to do this. Needless to say it shall have to be the black people themselves who shall take care of this programme for indeed Sekou Toure was right when he said:

To take part in the African revolution, it is not enough to write a revolutionary song; you must fashion the revolution with the people. And if you fashion it with the people, the songs will come by themselves and of themselves.

In order to achieve real action you must yourself be a living part of Africa and of her thought; you must be an element of that popular energy which is entirely called forth for the freeing, the progress and the happiness of Africa. There is no place outside that fight for the artist or for the intellectual who is not himself concerned with, and completely at one with the people in the great battle of Africa and of suffering humanity.

Brothers, come
And let us go unto our God
And when we stand before him
I shall say —
Lord, I do not hate,
I am hated,
I scourge no one,
I am scourged,
I covet no lands,
My lands are coveted,
I mock no people,
My people are mocked.
And (white boy) what shall
you say?

Some African Cultural Concepts

One of the most difficult things to do these days is to talk with authority on anything to do with African culture. Somehow Africans are not expected to have any deep understanding of their own culture or even of themselves. Other people have become authorities on all aspects of the African life or to be more accurate on BANTU life. Thus we have the thickest of volumes on some of the strangest subjects — even "the feeding habits of the Urban Africans", a publication by a fairly "liberal" group, Institute of Race Relations.

In my opinion it is not necessary to talk with Africans about African culture. However, in the light of the above statements one realises that there is so much confusion sown, not only amongst casual non-African readers, but even amongst Africans themselves, that perhaps a sincere attempt should be made at emphasising the authentic cultural aspects of the African people by Africans themselves.

"Fusion"

Since that unfortunate date — 1652 — we have been experiencing a process of acculturation. It is perhaps presumptuous to call it "acculturation" because this term implies a fusion of different cultures. In our case this fusion has been extremely one-sided. The two major cultures that met and "fused" were the African Culture and the Anglo-Boer Culture. Whereas the African culture was unsophisticated and simple, the Anglo-Boer culture had all the trappings of a colonialist culture and therefore was heavily equipped for conquest. Where they could, they conquered by persuasion, using a highly exclusive religion that denounced all other Gods and demanded a strict code of behaviour with respect to clothing, education, ritual and custom. Where it was impossible to convert, fire-arms were readily available and used to advantage. Hence the Anglo-Boer culture was the more powerful culture in almost all facets. This is where the African began to lose a grip on himself and his surroundings.

Thus in taking a look at cultural aspects of the African people one inevitably finds himself having to compare. This is primarily because of the contempt that the "superior" culture shows towards the indigenous culture. To justify its ex-

This paper was delivered by Steve at a conference called by Idamasa (Interdenominational Association of African Ministers of Religion) and Asseca (Association for the Educational and Cultural Development of the African People) at Edendale, Natal in 1971. This conference proved to be a staging post on the way to the formation of the BPC in Johannesburg in December 1971.

plorative basis the Anglo-Boer culture has at all times been directed at bestowing an inferior status to all cultural aspects of the indigenous people.

I am against the belief that African culture is time-bound, the notion that with the conquest of the African all his culture was obliterated. I am also against the belief that when one talks of African culture one is necessarily talking of the pre-Van Riebeeck culture. Obviously the African culture has had to sustain severe blows and may have been battered nearly out of shape by the belligerent cultures it collided with, yet in essence even today one can easily find the fundamental aspects of the pure African culture in the present day African. Hence in taking a look at African culture I am going to refer as well to what I have termed the modern African culture.

Man

One of the most fundamental aspects of our culture is the importance we attach to Man. Ours has always been a Man-centred society. Westerners have on many occasions been surprised at the capacity we have for talking to each other — not for the sake of arriving at a particular conclusion but merely to enjoy the communication for its own sake. Intimacy is a term not exclusive for particular friends but applying to a whole group of people who find themselves together either through work or through residential requirements.

In fact in the traditional African culture, there is no such thing as two friends. Conversation groups were more or less naturally determined by age and division of labour. Thus one would find all boys whose job was to look after cattle periodically meeting at popular spots to engage in conversation about their cattle, girlfriends, parents, heroes, etc. All commonly shared their secrets, joys and woes. No one felt unnecessarily an intruder into someone else's business. The curiosity manifested was welcome. It came out of a desire to share. This pattern one

would find in all age groups. House visiting was always a feature of the elderly folk's way of life. No reason was need as a basis for visits. It was all part of our deep concern for each other.

These are things never done in the Westerner's culture. A visitor to someone's house, with the exception of friends, is always met with the question "what can I do for you?" This attitude to see people not as themselves but as agents for some particular function either to one's disadvantage or advantage is foreign to us. We are not a suspicious race. We believe in the inherent goodness of man. We enjoy man for himself. We regard our living together not as an unfortunate mishap warranting endless competition among us but as a deliberate act of God to make us a community of brothers and sisters jointly involved in the quest for a composite answer to the varied problems of life. Hence in all we do we always place Man first and hence all our action is usually joint community oriented action rather than the individualism which is the hallmark of the capitalist approach. We always refrain from using people as stepping stones. Instead we are prepared to have a much slower progress in an effort to make sure that all of us are marching to the same tune.

Music

Nothing dramatises the eagerness of the Africans to communicate with each other more than their love for song and rhythm. Music in the African culture features in all emotional states. When we go to work, we share the burden and pleasures of the work we are doing through music. This particular facet strangely enough has filtered through to the present day. Tourists always watch with amazement the synchrony of music and action as Africans working at a road side use their picks and shovels with well-timed precision to the accompaniment of a background song. Battle songs were a feature of the long march to war in the olden days. Girls and boys

never played any games without using music and rhythm as its basis. In other words with Africans, music and rhythm were not luxuries but part and parcel of their way of communication. Any suffering we experienced was made much more real by song and rhythm. There is no doubt that the so called "Negro spirituals" sung by Black slaves in the States as they toiled under oppression were indicative of their African heritage.

The major thing to note about our songs is that they never were songs for individuals. All African songs are group songs. Though many have words, this is not the most important thing about them. Tunes were adapted to suit the occasion and had the wonderful effect of making everybody read the same things from the common experience. In war the songs reassured those who were scared, highlighted the determination of the regiment to win a particular encounter and made much more urgent the need to settle the score; in suffering the Black slaves derived sustenance out of a feeling of togetherness; at work the binding rhythm makes everybody brush off the burden and hence Africans can continue for hours on end because of this added energy.

Property

Attitudes of Africans to property again show just how unindividualistic the African is. As everybody here knows, African society had the village community as its basis. Africans always believed in having many villages with a controllable number of people in each rather than the reverse. This obviously was a requirement to suit the needs of a community-based and man-centred society. Hence most things were jointly owned by the group, for instance there was no such thing as individual land ownership. The land belonged to the people and was merely under the control of the local chief on behalf of the people. When cattle went to graze it was on an open veld and not on anybody's specific farm.

Farming and agriculture, though on individual family basis, had many characteristics of joint efforts. Each person could by a simple request and holding of a special ceremony, invite neighbours to come and work on his plot. This service was returned in kind and no remuneration was ever given.

Poverty was a foreign concept. This could only be really brought about to the entire community by an adverse climate during a particular season. It never was considered repugnant to ask one's neighbours for help if one was struggling. In

ON BLACK MUSIC

The Black indigenous sound is beautiful, soulful. Miriam Makeba, our own personal musical Ambassador-in-exile, made a plea recently that Blacks should not allow their sound to die. For centuries the whites have been taking on Black sounds and converting them, making as though they were their own sounds.

People in the Black ghettos want us to reach them and we simply refuse to reach and communicate with them. What determines our music is how wide the market is. I am not for one moment suggesting that Black musicians should not play for money — that's how they earn their keep, but what I am saying is creativity and Black development should be the foremost factor. Attainment of our longed-for aspirations is our initial goal and all things will follow. We can't afford to play like we do not see the injustice around us; we can't afford to deceive the world and let it believe that all's well in our ranks, and we can't afford to mirror to the world ourselves as a hopeless, hapless and helpless people. We've got power with us, and this power we must use.

Today people want to sing like Elvis Presley — absurd. He is the epitome of "white music" and this is where we have been led to. We've been led to imitate whites and think theirs is better and more cultured. We aim for the top in the hit parade by playing "white" sounds and saying "white thoughts". This kills our sound and stifles rhythm and cramps our free-flowing style. Let us refuse to be used and let's refuse to be exploited. We are ex-

ploited all the way and it is a great God-given right that we should exercise — refuse to be exploited any more. Let's play like Malombo and Dashiki, let's play like Hugh Masekela, Miriam Makeba and Letta Mbuli, let our music throb with the gentle, passionate beat of Ravi Shanker, Assaggai and Osibisa. Let's play like the ebullient gumboot dancers from the mines and keep our sound virgin and pure.

At the present moment there are reports of white people living in Chatsworth with the intention of learning to play the sitar and other oriental instruments. This has been going on for ages. They lived in Harlem and stole Black sounds, took them to Europe and termed them their own original sounds. They then ridiculed Black artists calling them "Negro" musicians or "Coons" as happened in the Cape to the so-called "Coloured" artists in the so-called "Coon Carnival" shows.

Joe Cocker plays the music of Ray Charles and he's honest to admit it. Eric Clapton plays B.B. King; Kenny Burrell plays Wes Montgomery and this is ample proof of the musical prowess of Black people the world over. Let's capture the tears that flow down our cheeks in anger from oppression, the joys we experience when the sun sets and we own the night and all that is Black experience in the music of our own sitars, tambouras and flutes. Let's capture the approach of a new Black day and the thunder over Afrika skies from the deep throb of our drums. From our music let's re-create true Black humanity.

almost all instances there was help between individuals, tribe and tribe, chief and chief, etc. even in spite of war.

Problems

Another important aspect of the African culture is our mental attitude to problems presented by life in general. Whereas the Westerner is geared to use a problem-solving approach following very trenchant analyses, our approach is that of situation-experiencing. I will quote from Dr Kaunda to illustrate this point:

The Westerner has an aggressive mentality. When he sees a problem he will not rest until he has

formulated some solution to it. He cannot live with contradictory ideas in his mind; he must settle for one or the other or else evolve a third idea in his mind which harmonises or reconciles the other two. And he is vigorously scientific in rejecting solutions for which there is no basis in logic. He draws a sharp line between the natural and the supernatural, the rational and non-rational, and more often than not, he dismisses the supernatural and non-rational as superstition . . .

Africans being a pre-scientific people do not recognise any conceptual cleavage between the natural and supernatural.

They experience a situation rather than face a problem. By this means they allow both the rational and non-rational elements to make an impact upon them, and any action they may take could be described more as a response of the total personality to the situation than the result of some mental exercise.

This I find a most apt analysis of the essential difference in the approach to life of these two groups. We as a community are prepared to accept that nature will have its enigmas which are beyond our powers to solve. Many people have interpreted this attitude as lack of initiative and drive yet in spite of my belief in the strong need for scientific experimentation I cannot help feeling that more time also should be spent in teaching man and man to live together and that perhaps the African personality with its attitude of laying less stress on power and more stress on man is well on the way to solving our confrontation problems.

Religion

All people are agreed that Africans are a deeply religious people. In the various forms of worship that one found throughout the Southern part of our Continent there was at least a common basis. We all accepted without any doubt the existence of a God. We had our own community of saints. We believed — and this was consistent with our views of life — that all people who died had a special place next to God. We felt that a communication with God, could only be through these people. We never knew anything about hell — we do not believe that God can create people only to punish them eternally after a short period on earth.

Another aspect of religious practices was the occasion of worship. Again we did not believe that religion could be featured as a separate part of our existence on earth. It was manifest in our daily lives. We thanked God through our ancestors before we drank beer, married, worked, etc. We would obviously find it artificial to create special occasions for worship. Neither did we see it logical to have a particular building in which all worship would be conducted. We believed that God was always in communication with us and therefore merited attention everywhere and anywhere.

It was the missionaries who confused our people with their new religion. By some strange logic, they argued that theirs was a scientific religion and ours was mere superstition in spite of the biological

discrepancies so obvious in the basis of their religion. They further went on to preach a theology of the existence of hell, scaring our fathers and mothers with stories about burning in eternal flames and gnashing of teeth and grinding of bone. This cold cruel religion was strange to us but our fore-fathers were sufficiently scared of the unknown impending anger to believe that it was worth a try. Down went our cultural values!

Detribalised

Yet it is difficult to kill the African heritage. There remains, in spite of the superficial cultural similarities between the detribalised and the Westerner, a number of cultural characteristics that mark out the detribalised as an African. I am not here making a case for separation on the basis of cultural differences. I am sufficiently proud to believe that under a normal situation, Africans can comfortably stay with people of other cultures and be able to contribute to the joint cultures of the communities they have joined. However, what I want to illustrate here is that even in a pluralistic society like ours, there are still some cultural traits that we can boast of which have been able to withstand the process of deliberate bastardisation. These are aspects of the modern African culture — a culture that has used concepts from the white world to expand on inherent cultural characteristics.

Black culture

Thus we see that in the area of music, the African still expresses himself with conviction. The craze about jazz arises out of a conversion by the African artists of mere notes to meaningful music, expressive of real feelings. The Monkey Jive, Soul, etc. are all aspects of a modern type African culture that expresses the same original feelings. Solos like those of Pat Boone and Elvis Presley could never really find expression within the African culture because it is not in us to listen passively to pure musical notes. Yet when soul struck with its all-engulfing rhythm it immediately caught on and set hundreds of millions of black bodies in gyration throughout the world. These were people reading in soul the real meaning — the defiant message "say it loud! I'm black and I'm proud". This is fast becoming our modern culture. **A culture of defiance, self-assertion and group pride and solidarity. This is a culture that emanates from a situation of common experience of oppression.** Just as it now finds expression in our music and our dress, it will spread to other aspects. This is the new and modern black

culture to which we have given a major contribution. This is the modern black culture that is responsible for the restoration of our faith in ourselves and therefore offers a hope in the direction we are taking from here.

Thus in its entirety the African Culture spells us out as people particularly close to nature. As Kaunda puts it, our people may be unlettered and their physical horizons may be limited yet "they inhabit a larger world than the sophisticated Westerner who has magnified his physical senses through invented gadgets at the price all too often of cutting out the dimension of the spiritual." Thus close proximity to Nature enables the emotional component in us to be so much richer in that it makes it possible for us, without any apparent difficulty to feel for people and to easily identify with them in any emotional situation arising out of suffering.

The advent of the Western culture has changed our outlook almost drastically. No more could we run our own affairs. We were required to fit in as people tolerated with great restraint in a western type society. We were tolerated simply because our cheap labour is needed. Hence we are judged in terms of standards we are not responsible for. Whenever colonisation sets in with its dominant culture it devours the native culture and leaves behind a bastardised culture that can only thrive at the rate and pace allowed it by the dominant culture. This is what happened to the African culture. It is called a sub-culture purely because the African people in the urban complexes are mimicking the white man rather unashamedly.

In rejecting the Western values, therefore, we are rejecting those things that are not only foreign to us but that seek to destroy the most cherished of our beliefs — that the corner-stone of society is man himself — not just his welfare, not his material well-being but just man himself with all his ramifications. We reject the power-based society of the Westerner that seems to be ever concerned with perfecting their technological know-how while losing out on their spiritual dimension. We believe that in the long run the special contribution to the world by Africa will be in the field of human relationships. The great powers of the world may have done wonders in giving the world an industrial and military look, but the great gift still has to come from Africa — giving the world a more human face.

Clash of Cultures Part II

(Continued from FRANK TALK, Volume 1 Nos. 2 & 3)

THE INFERIORITY COMPLEX

Because the conqueror had created the situation where he dictated what was right and what was wrong, he caused the development of an inferiority complex in the black people.

Over the three hundred odd years that black people have been oppressed and exploited white people have come to symbolise for black people — the masters, the superior beings.

This superiority has inculcated in the blackman a sense of intimidation; a feeling that he is, in the presence of the whiteman, a second class citizen. This inferiority complex prevents the blackman from articulating his aspirations and determining his future.

This is why the black consciousness philosophy (amongst other considerations) believes that the whiteman cannot directly be a part of the process in which black people map out their destiny. The presence of the whiteman within the ranks of the black people has a negative effect.

Further, the whiteman unconsciously or sub-consciously brings his superiority complex to bear upon the blackman. In other words the whiteman manipulates his position of superiority to dictate to the blackman how he should seek his freedom.

We find that the white liberal — who pretends to be a friend of the blackman — in fact, has the effect of rendering the blackman incapable of seeing himself through his own eyes.

This syndrome destroys the initiative of the blackman and entrenches the condition of a second class mentality within our ranks.

THE MEA CULPA

The *mea culpa* syndrome simply means that black people always believe that they are responsible for all the ills that they suffer. In short *mea culpa* (a Latin phrase) means that we blame ourselves for all the wrongs that we experience.

If we cannot find a job — we blame ourselves; if we cannot earn enough money to buy food for the family — we blame ourselves. In every hardship we suffer we have, because of psychological oppression, come to believe that the hardship is as a result of our own mistakes; it is our own fault.

This self-blame results from the history of our oppression which leaves us with the impression that we are incapable of doing anything.

The reinforcement of stereotyping by the rulers makes us believe that we are lazy; we are stupid; we are ignorant; and because we think that we are all these things we believe that we are at fault.

SUSPICION, MISTRUST AND FEAR

Within the oppressed and exploited people we find that there DEVELOPS A CONDITION ALSO WHERE WE BEGIN TO SUSPECT ONE ANOTHER. Because of our

feeling of inferiority and inadequacy and our self-blame we begin to look at one another with a degree of suspicion, mistrust and fear.

One does not have to look far to see to what extent the black community is riddled with this kind of attitude. In every ghetto in South Africa there is gang warfare, killings, and rapes which result from the attitudes that black people have towards one another.

Not only is this visible within the locations themselves, but also within and amongst different so-called ethnic groupings (Indian, Coloured, Zulu, Xhosa, Pedi, etc.).

Suspicion, mistrust and fear govern our relationships with other people. And most of our fear reflects itself in our refusal to become 'politically involved'. We also have a great fear of policemen and whites who are in positions of control.

Because of the fear we suffer, and the frustrations we experience we tend to lash out at our own people, the innocent ones who are not directly responsible for the exploitation and oppression we suffer. I say, indirectly, because 70% of the oppression we suffer results from our acceptance of that oppression.

The oppressor cannot successfully oppress the people unless the people themselves are allowing themselves to be so oppressed. Somewhere in the subconscious recesses of the blackman's mind is the feeling that he is not responsible for his suffering. But because he cannot articulate his feelings, he reacts aggressively to the nearest opponent — who happens to be his neighbour.

THE DIVIDE AND RULE SYNDROME

We have discussed how the ruling class organised the destruction of the history of a people that it has subjugated.

Having done that it must maintain its position of superiority. And that it cannot do by the continued use of violence alone. Therefore, it has to inculcate within the oppressed and exploited people a condition where the oppressed will maintain their own oppression.

Thus it encourages a policy and implements a programme that will keep the oppressed peoples divided in order that they may exercise greater control over the ruled. **What this, in effect, means is that the rulers maximise the conflict within the oppressed people themselves in order to minimise the need for control.**

Against this they minimise the conflict within the ruling class in order to maximise unity within the ruling class.

Thus the relationship between the various linguistic groups within white society (English, Afrikaners, Portuguese, Italians, etc) is developed to a degree where there is little conflict.

On the other hand the relationship within the various so-called ethnic groups within the black community (Indians,

Zulus, Xhosas, Pedis, Coloureds, etc) is developed in such a way that they are constantly divided and therefore do not act as a cohesive, united force.

DISCOVERY OF THE SELF: A LIBERATING PROCESS

The preceding discussion might leave one with the feeling that nothing can be done about the condition of the black people. That is not strictly true.

Because black people perceive the situation as we have discussed above, the next step is to search for the kind of cure that will effect a reversal of the oppressive and exploitative condition in South Africa.

It is against this background (and also the analysis of the economic, social and political questions in South Africa) that the philosophy of Black Consciousness was born.

Black Consciousness seeks to restore the equilibrium in a society where the haves are white people and the have-nots are black people. This means that white society is the problem, and there is no need for black people to suffer any kind of complex for the woes that face them.

White society by virtue of its role in creating such an unequal society is guilty of the problems we suffer.

And because we must rid ourselves of the mental servitude that has bound us for over three hundred years, it becomes our duty as blacks to forge our own freedom.

In these circumstances BC calls upon the blackman to see himself as self-defined and not as defined by others. In order to do this black people must close ranks to thrash out their destiny and to organise themselves in such a way that they can stand up for the recovery of what rightfully belongs to them.

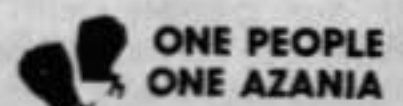
Thus white people cannot play a part in this programme. The best that white people can do is to work amongst their own kind and educate their people about the wrongs that they are committing and prepare them to accept that the black people will establish an Azanian nation.

In the South African context to answer the question "who am I" of necessity demands that you ask whether you are black or white?

If you answer that you are black then there is little alternative but to embrace the philosophy of BC as your guiding light in the search for total liberation.

CONCLUSION

Psychological liberation and physical liberation go hand in hand. Without the achievement of the former we cannot rid ourselves of the chains that bind us economically, politically and socially.



FRANK TALK



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**RESIST
DEFEND
ADVANCE**

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OUR COVER

And the picks in our hands
turn into mallets of justice.
They must wield new power
to guide the truth
And lead the way thro' to light
and freedom.

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Editorial

One day a young girl by the name of Nongquase came running to tell her father, Mhlakaza, that some strange people had appeared on a boat near her home. She had been afraid of them, because they were light-complexioned, and though they spoke in her own (Xhosa) tongue, she had never seen such people before. But they had signalled to her and addressed her in a friendly way.

Mhlakaza hastened with Nongquase to see what manner of men these were. On arriving at the spot, he could not at first see anyone, but Nongquase pointed out their shadows among the tall reeds. The strangers did not reveal their identities and, while still concealing themselves, reassured Mhlakaza that they came as his friend and the friend of his people. They had heard of the suffering of the "Xhosa" people and pitied their distressed condition. Then with an elaborately enigmatic air they told Mhlakaza that they knew of a way to restore peace and bring happiness and abundance back to his people. After reassuring Mhlakaza that they had come from across the water in their earnest desire to help the maXhosa, the strangers disappeared as mysteriously as they had come.

Now Mhlakaza, who was a seer, was greatly moved at what the strangers had commanded him to do, and he and Nongquase went and told the people all that they had heard. They bade them prepare for the day of liberation, the "Great Day of the Lord". They prophesied the resurrection of men and cattle, and the filling of the fields with ripe corn where no man had sowed. The heavens themselves would herald the dawn of that day of liberation, for the sun would descend, not to the west, but to the east; there would be darkness and thunder and lightning and a mighty whirlwind would sweep the whiteman down into the sea together with all those who did not believe the prophecy.

Before these miracles would come to pass, however, the people were commanded to slaughter all their cattle, cast away all their grain, leave their corn-pits empty and their fields untilled.

Many among the "Ngqika", "Gcalaka" and "Thembu" tribes believed this prophecy, but many refused to believe. "The cattle are the race, they being dead, the race dies" said a "Thembu" chief, and refused to slaughter his cattle. On the other hand Suthu, the first woman among the "Ngqika" to become christianized, urged the fulfilling of this monstrous deed. A tide of fanaticism

swept across the country and chief was divided against chief, brother against brother, parents against their children. Famine and fratricidal strife delivered the Black people into the hands of their common enemy. Many thousands of Black people perished.

The story of Nongquase is one that has been handed to us from generation to generation. We know that white historians have done their utmost to obscure the identity of the strange men who revealed themselves to Nongquase, but the consensus of opinion amongst our elders is that these strange men were none other than the missionaries who had familiarised themselves with every aspect of the Black people's culture, traditions and language and who acted as the eyes and ears of the enemy in the ranks of the dispossessed. It is apparent that the behaviour of the people during this National Suicide was directly due to the teachings of these missionaries.

BANNED

Frank Talk Volume 1 Number 2 & 3 and Number 4 have been banned for distribution in terms of Government Notice 2562 of 16 November 1984 as their contents are "prejudicial to the safety of the state, the general welfare or the peace and good order."

The Editorial Collective is appealing against the banning.

It was the missionaries who hammered home the blessings of faith and the tale of how the ancient Israelites were by a series of miracles delivered from bondage and promised land flowing with milk and honey. The National Suicide was an indication of the psychological oppression of the Azanian people. And it solved Sir George Grey's problems at a single stroke — his labour bureaus were overflowing to such an extent that influx control had to be introduced, he had free rein to expand white control beyond the Cape Colony and missionaries could be despatched to hitherto untouched areas as the advance guard of the imperialist garrisons.

The reason that we recall this tragic chapter of Azanian history is that the Azanian people are once again endangered by the acts of latter day missionaries who are attempting to foist their strategies onto the liberation movement.

We call on the Azanian people to *resist* the monolith of racism and capitalism, to *defend* their lives, their dignity and their heritage and to *advance* the liberation struggle to qualitatively greater heights.

Delegates to the Fifth Annual Congress of the AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION bear an awesome responsibility: they are called upon to give proper direction and leadership when the gluttonous hyena pack which holds our country in thralldom and its agents, the latter-day missionaries and their faithful minions amongst our ranks, are doing their utmost to deflect the Black working class from reaching the goal of an anti-racist, socialist Azania by dissipating the energies of Azanians in useless endeavours.

Delegates have to look sagely at the often used strategies of boycotts and stayaways and ask: "HOW CHEAP IS BLACK LIFE?" They have to determine to what extent these strategies are in concord with the real interests of the Black working class.

We realize that it is the bounden duty of AZAPO to instil courage, fortitude and inspiration to the masses of our people. We must be a source of comfort and hope during the long hours of misery and loneliness. We must open up new horizons to a better life in Azania.

The vital pulse of this Congress is nation-building towards socialism. We have included a paper in this issue of *Frank Talk* by Dr Herbert Ushewokunze which illustrates some of the pitfalls that can beset the liberation movement. The key to victory — Black Solidarity under the active leadership of the Black workers — is underscored in a paper by Minister Louis Farrakhan.

We have included a paper on the meaning of the word *Azania*. Those who play silly name-games have to be warned that *Azania* does not have a mere geographical and historical significance. It is an expression and embodiment of the values and ideals of the society we envisage and are struggling for. It defines the character and ownership of the land. Those who align themselves with the name 'South Africa' align themselves with the viciousness, land-robbery, super-exploitation and naked terrorism unleashed by the white settlers on us ever since their arrival on our shores.

Together we toil, together we strive for ONE PEOPLE in ONE AZANIA, ONE NATION.

ONE PEOPLE ONE AZANIA

Frankly Speaking . . .



NF & NKOMATI

● In the *National Forum* (July 1984) it is stated: "Theoretically, the PAC is committed to a people's war. Practically, the divisions within PAC have prevented it from becoming a significant military force . . ." (page 13). I find this comment quite disparaging: it is evidence that you do not appreciate what the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania has faced from imperialism and hegemonic interests. Certain states instigated by social imperialism have tried to sabotage PAC attempts in every possible way: these are the very states which are now being forced to sign 'non-aggression pacts' from a position of weakness and utter humiliation.

In the same report you say: "(PAC has) been kicked out of Zambia, Swaziland and Lesotho allegedly because they have interfered in internal political affairs." (*Ibid*) This is nonsense: the truth is that these frontline states helped in preventing the PAC from hitting at the Boers. In fact, it would appear that as far as the PAC was concerned, Machel had long signed a secret pact with the Boers. The ANC has also suffered the same fate as the PAC in all these countries — are you suggesting that the ANC interfered in their internal affairs?

At present the United Democratic Front (UDF) is being pampered with monies and awards and the NFC and AZAPO are being deliberately played down. This is an imperialist conspiracy. AZAPO and the NFC must not fall into the trap and try to improve their position by denigrating the PAC. The Boers and the imperialist media have done enough of that. Imperialism supports the Kliptown Charter because it compromises the land question and African majority rule in Azania.

ZANU was treated exactly like the PAC by most frontline states. Witness the "super-revolutionary" Machel who asked for the de-recognition of the PAC by the OAU as he dances and dines with the Boers.

The PAC is banned in Azania. Those who are not banned should be careful to provide accurate information to the Azanian public.

MARK NTSHONA
Lusaka, Zambia.

(The article referred to is a commission report at the NF Summit, and was never printed as a viewpoint of AZAPO nor did it ever appear in *Frank Talk*. While the comments made are appreciated, the NFC has

remarked that it reserves the right to comment on the strategies of banned organizations and the clear wording of the commission report was in no way meant to belittle any liberation movement.

The letter has been shortened.—EC)



● I found the article "An apple a day keeps Marxists away" (*Frank Talk* Volume 1 Number 2 & 3 at page 12) a far more accurate response to Nkomati than the position statement adopted by the *National Forum* (*op cit* page 11).

It must be honestly acknowledged that Mozambique practised sectarianism in regard to the Azanian liberation movements. At several conferences, Mozambique displayed a hostile attitude towards the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and staged walk-outs or absented herself whenever the PAC was present.

Your Editorial Collective hits the nail on the head when it points to the irony of the situation when Black Consciousness leaders served long prison terms on Robben Island after celebrating FRELIMO'S victory (*Frank Talk* Volume 1 Numbers 2 & 3 page 2). When scores of young Azanians poured into Mozambique in 1977, they were pressurized into joining the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC). If they insisted that they belonged to the Black Consciousness Movement, they were detained and told that they would be returned to South Africa.

Furthermore PAC guerillas fought against the Portuguese in 1968. Some of these guerillas were detained by the Portuguese colonial government. At the independence of Mozambique representations were made for their

release. To date Mozambique has failed to give a satisfactory explanation about their whereabouts nor has she offered to show where these comrades are buried if they are dead. The Azanian people demand an explanation from Mozambique.

On 13 March 1984 the Commander-in-Chief of the Mozambican army, General Sebastiao Mabote, was reported by a French newspaper as having said that the ANC, unlike guerillas in the former Rhodesia, was waging a fight for "civic rights and not a struggle for national liberation, because South Africa is a sovereign republic recognised by the United Nations".

It is very disturbing to the dispossessed when Mr Joaquim Chissano, Mozambique's Minister of Foreign Affairs, counsels that the ANC must accept the principles of "peaceful negotiations in South Africa". It is not the dispossessed in Azania who have institutionalized violence and it cannot be they who bear the onus of peaceful change.

Mozambique's leadership has shown dismal ignorance bordering on treachery. They have shown colossal arrogance in trying to dictate to the oppressed masses in Azania. Mozambique needs to learn to respect the Azanian people.

DAVID MVOVO
London, United Kingdom.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

RESIST, DEFEND ADVANCE

As the racists prepare to celebrate their commercial holiday and again desecrate all that is holy, as the imperialists hypocritically bleat "Peace on earth, goodwill towards men" while preparing for genocide, as the white Santa Claus gloats "Ho, ho, ho" wearing a uniform dripping with the blood of the oppressed and the exploited the world over, the AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION, imbued with the spirit and the fortitude of the Black working class, brings you revolutionary greetings.

The system of racism and capitalism has launched a concerted attack on the liberation movement. The predictions made at the National Forum Summit on 22 April 1984 are graphically fulfilling themselves.

The 22 May 1984 saw a significant salvo being fired against the Black cause in Azania: in a countrywide raid performed with military precision, the homes and offices of cadres of AZAPO were searched and documents and equipment were seized. The aim of the operation was clear: to cripple the Movement and to thwart AZAPO's anti-election effort. Needless to say, the system reckoned without the gallantry of the dispossessed and our often repeated message that Black Consciousness is the property of the Black masses and can never be eradicated by bannings, pre-dawn raids, detentions without trial or out and out murder of cadres of the Movement.

UNREST

The apparent peace and uneasy calm of South Africa was shattered by Black worker-student solidarity in Atteridgeville, Mamelodi, Tembisa, Soshanguve, Kwazakhele, New Brighton, Uitenhage, Graaff-Reinet, Cradock, Katlehong, Daveyton, Lamontville, Tumahole, Thabong, Queenstown, Warmbaths, Vosloorus, Nigel, Pietersburg, Paarl, Mdantsane and Soweto. Immediately prior to the outbreak of stayaways and other tensions in Soweto, Mrs Elise Botha remarked: "It's wonderful, everyone is so friendly and smiling. Soweto is really a happy place." (8 August 1984).

In the wake of the victory of the Black people in the overwhelming boycott of the elections for the "Tricameral Parliament", another mortal blow was delivered to collaboration and co-option strategies when the Vaal Triangle townships of Sebokeng, Sharpeville, Evaton, Zamdela, Bophelong and Boipa-

tong exploded. The announcement of a R5,90 rent increase by the Lekoa Town Council was the spark that ignited the flame (5 August 1984). The Lekoa Town Council further issued a written directive to ministers forbidding civic meetings in church halls. In a prophetic letter, the ministers urged the Lekoa Town Council "to repent and desist from this wanton order and system that breeds hatred, injustice and violence and to be saved."

The people of Sharpeville resolved to demonstrate against the increases by staying away from school and work on 3 September 1984. Community councillors were called upon to resign. A councillor, Caesar Motjeane, opened fire on a demonstrator and transformed a peaceful march into a violent confrontation and rampage. The houses, shops and property of community councillors (referred to as "the fruits of their collaboration with the system") were destroyed and the councillors themselves eliminated.

The anger of the people knew no bounds. The identification of the monolith of racism and capitalism as the enemy was engendered by the shadowy deals and acquisitions which were the stock-in-trade of the (late) community councillors as well as corruption associated with the the sale of houses. Hence the Mahlatsi brothers' (Paul, Essau and Moiti) three liquor outlets and a million rand bakery were obvious targets.

Reverend Tebego Moselane, the Chairperson of the Vaal Anti-Rent Committee and a founder member of AZAPO (being the 1979 Vice-Chairperson of the Soweto Branch of AZAPO), who is now detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, had his home in Sharpeville fired on by "unknown" elements. Comrade David Makgagu, a member of the Tembisa Branch of AZAPO, went through the same experience.

PALMIET

The violence in the ghettos is ingrained as a way of life by the state through direct provocation or a total dereliction of responsibility. As in 1976, many Black people have gone missing without trace. Operation Palmiet saw the entire township of Sebokeng being cordoned off and every single house in the township being searched. The soldiers' badges with "Trust us" and the pamphlets which read "We are

here to promote normal social life, safe travel, a healthy community, continued education, delivery of food and stability" have produced an overwhelming sense of being cowed down by the rulers amongst the residents of Tembisa and Sebokeng.

The military operations in Tembisa and Sebokeng are unprecedented during "peace-time". The only parallels are with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. In the 1980's, we have seen similar raids only in Israel and Northern Ireland, countries which are at civil war.

The fact that most of those arrested during Operation Palmiet were arrested under migration and influx control laws can hardly strike any oppressed person as surprising: our every step is dogged by such penury and persecution. The special courts which were set up to try the accused persons in sausage machine fashion underlines the barbarism of the settler regime. Strong-arm tactics are meant simply to buy time for a regime in crisis.

Attention must be brought to the position of Oupa Hlomuka, the Chairperson of the Sebokeng Branch of AZAPO. Comrade Hlomuka was detained under Section 28 of the Internal Security Act, released and again detained under Section 29 of the same Act. After the state withdrew charges of public violence against Comrade Hlomuka, he was charged with the murder of a community councillor and is presently awaiting trial.

THEME

The rightful anger of the Azanian masses and the rich lessons to be gleaned from each encounter with the system inform the AZAPO theme for 1985: "Resist, Defend, Advance".

Our history is one of continuous resistance. It is the height of folly to believe that the mass action of Black people is due to the work of agitators and intimidators. Grandiose and much-flaunted "reform" and "change for the better" has only exacerbated the social degradation, economic exploitation and dispossession amongst the masses of Azanian workers. No one knows about unemployment, poor housing, atrocious transport facilities, gutter education, abominable health facilities and intolerable working conditions better than the Black working class. This explosive-

ly criminal situation needs no fuse; it fuses itself.

Of necessity, the Black working class is in a perpetual battle to *defend* itself. It is a crime for anyone who is being brutalized to continue to accept that brutality. And we have been brutalized ever since the white settler landed on these shores, waving the Bible in one hand and the flintlock in the other. The settlers continue to rape, dehumanize and exploit the Black people. For Black people, the struggle is painfully real and all-pervading.

It is in the knowledge that every Black life is treated cheaply by the ruling class and the living and working conditions of Black people are designed to serve the genocidal intentions of the rulers that we pay tribute to Comrades Fezile Tshume (former Secretary of the Port Elizabeth Branch of AZAPO, who died in mysterious circumstances), Peter Naidoo (elected Chairperson of the University of Durban-Westville Branch of the AZANIAN STUDENT MOVEMENT two days before his death), Andries Zondo, Sammy Malatzdi (members of the Soweto Branch of AZAPO), Gugulehu Mfana (shot by police during unrest in Grahamstown), Thembisile Mapolisa (member of the Queenstown Branch of AZAPO), and Reuben Masenele (member of the Dobsonville Branch of AZAPO).

We also salute Comrades Muntu Myeza (AZAPO's Publicity Secretary) and Haroun Patel (Chairperson of the Lenasia Branch of AZAPO), who are detained under Section 28 of the Internal Security Act and the eleven AZASM comrades detained under Section 29, amongst them Comrade Thami Mcerwa (Secondary Schools

Vice-President of AZASM and head of the Transvaal Inter High School Co-ordinating Committee during the anti-election campaign).

The advancing of the liberation struggle is the most important aspect of our theme. For far too long, all manner of political opportunists and adventurers have been allowed to creep out of the woodwork and pose as true "leaders". This treacherous "leadership" works hand in glove with the oppressors and is hell-bent on securing positions in the liberation movement in order to stifle the development of authentic Black worker leadership. The Black workers must be extremely vigilant against such reformist and revisionist buccaneers. They reveal themselves in two fashions: those who have no knowledge at all of revolutionary ideology but thrust themselves forward and those who are capable of spouting passages of revolutionary or scientific works by heart but who participate in no revolutionary activity whatsoever.

It must be emphasized that if somebody studies a lot but does not go amongst the masses, his knowledge remains sterile, he remains a raconteur who will not write a single new line, a single new page throughout his life. We must learn from the masses and teach them what we have learnt. We must apply our knowledge to productive work, correct our mistakes and make our cognition more profound.

It must likewise be emphasized that activism alone is not enough. Without a revolutionary ideology, practice remains blind and is easily misdirected. In fact, such practice is a primitive force which is easily transformed into thuggery.

BOYCOTTS

Our experience of the strategy of boycotts and stayaways shows that it is a weapon which many adventurers call on the Black workers and students to use at the drop of a hat. We are of the opinion that boycotts and stayaways should not be used without the closest possible examination of the material conditions including the resources of the people, the timing of the action, a thorough assessment of short- and long-term goals and, most importantly, after consultation with the community. The aim of the action must at each time be clearly articulated — is it a life-and-death demand, a demand made to improve conditions or simply a symbolic demand.

The system's tactic has been and still is to engage the organisations of the Black people in the sterile politics of reaction. The system acts and we react. While it is true that every issue that we take up, whether it is high rents, community council elections, exorbitant bus fares, resettlement, influx control or detention without trial adds to our experience in mass action, it is also true that if each of these battles is not directly linked to the overall struggle for national self-determination, each one is doomed to be deflected into channels of disaster.

In order to repossess every square kilometre of plundered soil, it is axiomatic that we must initiate our own battles and we must dictate terms and the pace of events. This will mark the finest possible advance in the struggle.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 8





Azania = Land of the Black People

By George Wauchope

There often exists an undeclared state of war among people involved in the struggle for liberation as between those who support and those who are against the use of the name *Azania* as an alternative name for a liberated South Africa. This is because the debate concerns much more than a name: it involves everything that we are fighting for; it concerns the very nature of the society we seek to build.

Those who oppose the use of the name "Azania" often argue that it means "the land of the slaves". This is a contradiction in terms, for slaves are by definition people who are owned: they can hardly own a thing, let alone land. In any event, this tenuous logic would oppose the use of the word "proletariat" because it derives from the parasite of Ancient Greece who lived at the expense of slave society. It would also oppose the name "Cuba" which recently referred to a slave society.

CIVILIZATION

Azania is a Greek transcription of the Arabic name *Ajam*, which refers to the East African shore consisting of countries like Somalia, Ethiopia, Kenya and Tanzania.

It is very important to note that *Azania* has been placed on linguistic evidence in the central area of the northern Savannas. From here it seems likely that the small groups (different linguistic groups) followed the rivers that traverse the rain forests till they reached the central part of the southern Savannas. From this point the steady pressure of population growth probably caused the migration of the Black groups in all directions, thus bringing them into contact with peoples of different stocks like the Bushmanoids of Southern Africa, the Azanians of East Africa, the Indonesians and the Arabs of the coast with whom they merged to form Swahili.

Swahili comes in because of the very strong relations between South Arabia and *Azania* which date back to many centuries before Christ. This Azanian civilisation was mature, had a culture of its own and an accomplished language viz Swahili. Here one must stress that the Swahili language and culture is an arabised African product whose basis and most of whose elements are African.

The characteristics of the Azanian civilisation were that it consisted of a sedentary, agricultural and iron-age folk who practised irrigation works such as canals and terraces, roads, mine workings and smithies, cairns and rock paintings.

The years between 500 and 1500AD were the millenium of maximum growth and development of iron age culture in Eastern and Southern Africa. Social and economic growth was given an impetus by a more advanced agriculture; the emergence of large and stronger tribal societies; the increasing demand from the coast for ivory, iron, gold and other goods, and the expanding capacity of these settled peoples of the interior to supply this demand and to buy in turn imports from the coast.

The move downwards came about during the 14th century when East Africa suffered a long series of migratory invasions from the north, mainly by pastoral nomads from the horn of Africa. The Azanians were organised whether for peace or war on the extended family of negroid and bushmanoid tradition, while the nomads were organised to move and fight in larger cohesive groups. The technically more primitive nomads were militarily stronger, both by the manner of their lives and the method of their organisation. The Azanians were thus overwhelmed by this barbaric invasion from the north, their civilising growth stultified and brought to an end.

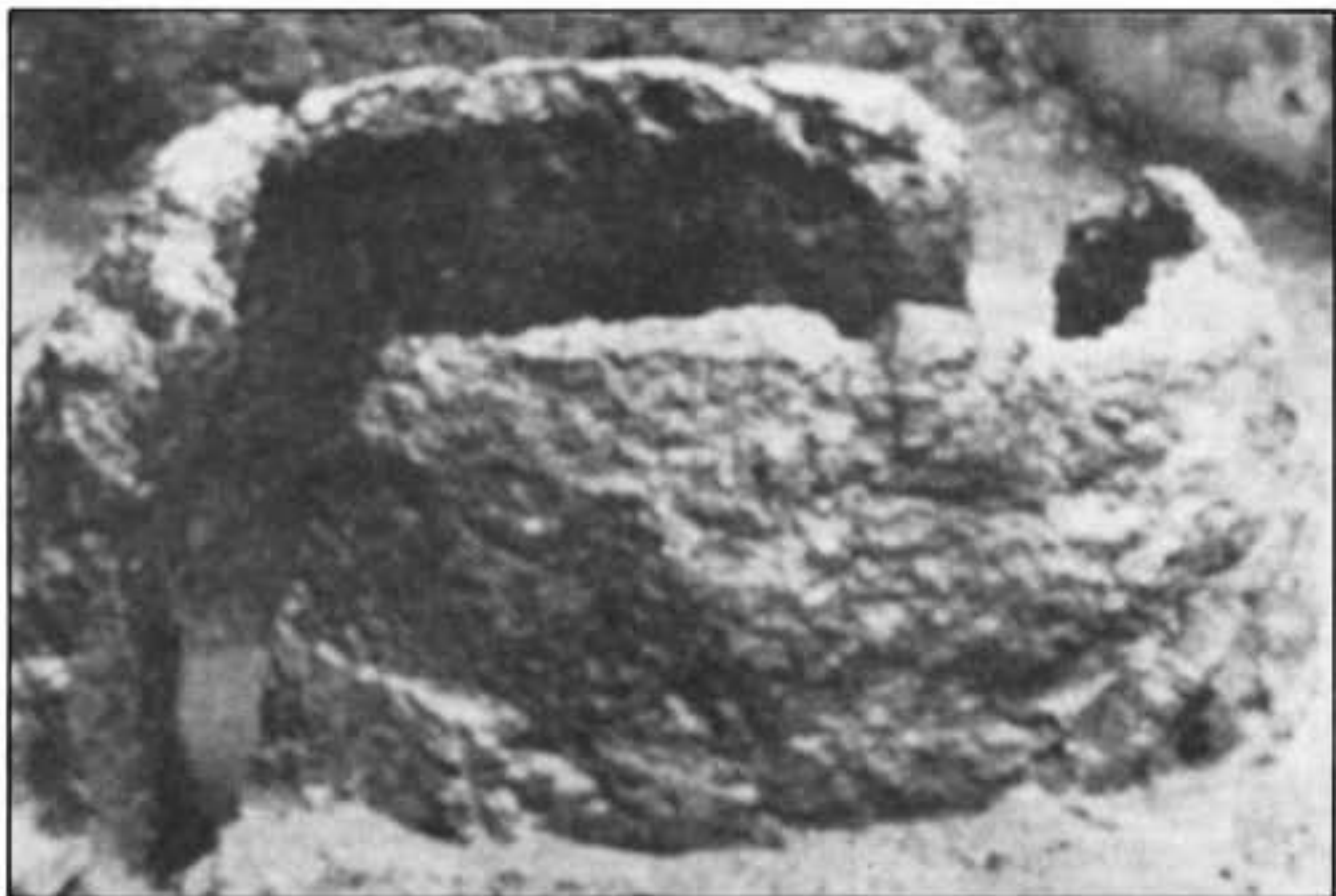
However, in Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Transvaal, the nature of the Azanian culture modified and changed once more by further migration and development in the new circumstances, re-emerged flowering and outlived the barbaric invasion in its splendour and majesty. The re-emergence of this civilisation emphasised the fact that these Africans were all branches from a single stem because of the

similarity in their use of stone dwellings, irrigation, soil conservation, in their mining and metal work, in their knowledge of a widely various pharmacoeia, in their fusion of tribal law and custom with an intertribal and tribute-paying system of centralised power, in their trading habits and in their indigenous pottery.

Etymologically the common heritage of Swahili clearly emerges. The word 'Zanj' is a Persian word meaning 'Black'. In Zulu *zansi* means down or south. When one looks at countries where the phoneme *za* or *z* emerges, one discovers that such countries are situated in the southern hemisphere, e.g. **Zanzibar**, **Mozambique**, **Zambia**, **Zaire**, and perhaps **Zimbabwe**. In the latter *zi* can be compared to the Zulu *ningizimu* which also means south. *la* is a suffix that denotes land whilst the Swahili *nia* refers to the innermost part of man, heart, mind, conscience or disposition. Therefore *Azania* means land of the Black people.

It is for this reason that Black Consciousness refers to our beloved country as *Azania*. It is calling upon the Black people's conscience, hearts and minds to rise up, to recreate and relive the life that was created by the Azanian civilization. It calls on Black people to realise their importance in this continent, see their value and to recognise the contribution they have made to the world in general.

In the 19th century, when imperialism gained momentum, everything great, everything fine, everything really successful in



Iron Age Smelting Furnace, excavated on Melville Koppie, Johannesburg. Date: ca. 1060 A.D.

human culture was white. Black people in Africa who showed any trace of progress were labelled as white. A system first conscious and then unconscious of lying about Blacks became so widespread that the authentic history of Africa ceased to be taught. With the winking of an eye, printing, gunpowder, smelting of iron, the beginnings of social organisation, not to mention political life and democracy, were attributed exclusively to whites.

MYTH

Azania is both a historical and a political myth. But myths are not lies. They are an outline of reality. And a liberation movement can certainly use myths in order to unite the oppressed, to serve as a rallying point.

We may draw a valuable lesson from the current anti-colonial struggle being waged by the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) near the Philippines, which was once a Spanish colony. The current anti-colonial struggle is being waged against both the Philippines and the United States of America.

In the 16th Century the Spanish conquerors of the islands of Mindanao, Basilan, Sulu and Palawan referred to the natives as *Moros* because they practised Islam much as the Moors of North Africa, who once ruled the Spaniards, had practised Islam. The term *Moro* was used to denote a savage and treacherous people.

Abdurasad Asani of the MNLF explains:

"But despite its colonial origins the MNLF has cleansed the term of its unpleasant connotation by propagating the more correct view that the tenacity with which the natives conducted their war of resistance against foreign intrusion was a classic example in heroism.

"The term is not only common to all the indigenous tribes of the region but included Muslims, Christians and those still adhering to traditional religious values — in a word, all those who share a common aspiration and political destiny. Hence, the MNLF adopted *Bangsa* (nation) *Moro* as a national identity and implants it in the consciousness of the masses. Today, it is rooted in the heart of every man and woman and the defence of its integrity has become a national duty."

SOURCES

The term "Azania" carries with it an essentially anti-imperialist content. It was adopted (initially by the PAC) because it helped to situate the struggle for the liberation of the people of South Africa in the context of Africa's history.

We should remember that the names of countries have mainly two kinds of sources:

★ **The tribal past:** names develop organically through a struggle for

national liberation and the country bears the name of the main tribe or of a confederacy of tribes.

★ **Outstanding geographical or historical features of the country:** Zimbabwe is an example where an outstanding historical feature (the Zimbabwe culture, not simply the Zimbabwe ruins of the tourists!) has lent its name to the liberated country. Namibia (from *Namib*), a KhoiKhoi word meaning desert is a clear example of a geographical name.

In South Africa, there is neither an overriding geographical feature because of the variety of nature nor is there a single common historical event or personage that can serve to unite symbolically all the oppressed people. Hence, names such as *Ulundi* or *Maluti* are as artificial and as arbitrary as *Azania* might sound to some.

In the final analysis, it is the historical action of masses of people that decides questions such as the name of a country. The activities of the Black Consciousness Movement during the '70's and especially during the 1976 Soweto Uprising have put the final seal on this question in our country. *Azania*, like *Namibia*, has come to stand for a political programme that is accepted by all the oppressed people of this land. It embraces no less than the aspirations of the people for an undivided, anti-racist, socialist country. To accept the name *Azania* simply means that one identifies with the aspirations of the oppressed people for liberation. We cannot play silly games with new "names" for our country. *Azania* has been baptised on the bloodstained streets and banners of Soweto, Gugulethu, Chatsworth, New Brighton and even in the remotest corners of the land.

AZAPO calls upon all Azanians to resume their position as pace-setters in the world. The *Muezzin* calls the faithful to prayer with the *Azaan*: to a Muslim, the *Azaan* is an observation of the value of the doctrine, it is cherishing all that is of value, appreciating all that is good and revering the beauty and the majesty of creation. AZAPO calls upon the Black people to restore Azania to its formidable position in the world. We are all beneficiaries of that magnificent, superb and inimitable Azanian civilization. Let us all then rise up, one in deed, united in action, steadfast in our goal and fight for our inalienable rights as ONE PEOPLE in ONE AZANIA, ONE NATION.



Mokgethi Motlhabi in *Black Resistance to Apartheid* (Skotaville Publishers, 1984) incisively points out: "It seems probable that change in South Africa will ultimately depend on the *maturity of Black Power*, if this is understood as a direct, lasting challenge to the system by Blacks after summoning their strength and uniting in unrelenting action against it for better or for worse." (emphasis ours).

In order to advance the liberation struggle, a clearly defined Programme of Action is a necessity. If we have vague, nebulous objects then we will still be chattering about conscientization and support in a general sense twenty years from now. There simply has to be a yardstick whereby we can ascertain if we are actually achieving our objectives or not and this is the vital task of this Congress.

NATION-BUILDING

The idea of nation-building towards a socialist Azania is an idea whose time has come. AZAPO has to consolidate itself in every facet of the Black experience — in labour, health, law, culture, religion, sports, education, social welfare and community development. As the revolutionary vanguard of the Azanian people, AZAPO must become as close to the masses of Black people as bones are to the flesh. It has a duty to reveal to the masses the essence of the situation in Azania, and explain the scope and depth of this situation, arouse the consciousness of the Black workers and their revolutionary determination and direct the struggle towards its goal.

A great revolutionary once said: "History is thorough and goes through many phases when taking an old form to the grave. And the last phase of historical development is comedy; so that the people may part with their past cheerfully."

The Azanian people and their vanguard, the AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION, are sure to obtain their liberation. However complacency is an enemy of the people in struggle. The Black people must shun alliances with reformist groups as exemplified by bantustans and liberal petit bourgeois organisations lest they share also in their defeats. For to falter here is to blunder at a crucial point because of which the Azanian working class will never be able either to rediscover revolutionary greatness in itself or to win new energy from the connections newly entered into, until *all classes* with which is contended in 1652, 1832, 1960, 1976 and 1984 themselves *lie prostrate beside it*.

 ONE PEOPLE ONE AZANIA

GAFFES *by Jay Zueve*

It was not immediately clear whether the bad grammar was due to a slip of the tongue, or if it was in fact proof that Bantu Education is inferior and therefore undesirable.

But for a moment everyone was left guessing as to what the real reason for the mishap was. Fortunately the crammed hall of St Peter's Seminary in Hammanskraal did not come down with reverberations of laughter from the hundreds of delegates who had put everything else aside to be present at the inaugural conference of the National Forum.

There was good ole George, rather well-known even though his surname should remain anonymous for reasons that will equally remain anonymous. What had annoyed him is still a mystery, but he thundered: "I am six and tyres of this nonsense. It must stop all at once."

Poor ole George. In a moment he realised that what he had intended conveying to the assembled delegates was that he was sick and tired of something. But again, whether it was because the tongue had notoriously slipped was hard to say. If it was not a slip — and many delegates said it was not — then it demonstrated once and for all that Bantu Education has to be uprooted if George's successors are to fare any better at future congresses.

But then such gaffes have become part and parcel of congress and meetings, in an out of conference halls.

There was a time when a congress chairman asked the delegates to "rise on your feet and song this sing". Needless to say, the audience stared at him in bewilderment, and he repeated his request that they should all "rise on your feet and song this sing."

Bantoe Onderwys alweer, ou kerell!

Earlier this year hundreds of delegates arrived in Maritzburg for a mini-summit to amend the Azanian People's Manifesto. Everything went just fine for the delegates, until it was time to go to bed on the first day.

The Easter winds had a sharpness that told of an imminent winter, and as things were space was one thing not in abundance. All delegates had to do the best they could to share as many rooms — and

blankets — among themselves as possible. Some had to sleep on the floor, demonstrating practically why the place was known as the ecumenical "lay" centre.

It was a bit cumbersome for a lot of delegates, but not so for a few. Muntu, Strini, PC, Nefh and Zith did not have problems getting quickly

Some people, though, take longer to wake up than others. And it doesn't help if you are a thin person who has to share a bed with heavyweights whose legs alone remind you of something you saw at the abattoirs the other day. Also, it is the biggest chaps who have the loudest snores. And no point in shaking them up, because that only



used to overcrowded little rooms. One of them explained that in the cells it was a surprise to find a small enclosure *not* overcrowded... and they should know. After all, they spent most of the 1970s in the coolers.

Overcrowded places are uncomfortable enough, but places overcrowded with delegates who had beans for supper can be quite trying at sleeping time. The winds of change literally begin blowing once the lights go out and everybody tries to settle himself as comfortably as he possibly can. In a short time the sounds of silence are broken by a staccato ripping sound which ranges from tenor to soprano, depending on the amount of beans eaten by the delegates who at night become virtuoso performers in a symphony orchestra of sorts. Highly entertaining, except that the acrid and pungent atmosphere makes real teargas pale into insignificance.

The morning after, well, you might as well have been sleeping through a tornado or a concert of weird sounds. But one thing is dead certain, and it is that the first whiff of outside air that you can get to fill your lungs the better.

seems to make them snore even louder.

Time was when one big fellow, way back in 1980, told a meeting exactly how grateful he was to the organisers for having arranged a splendid meeting at the Welgespruit Fellowship Centre in Roodepoort.

The intrepid speech-maker got carried away and openly declared that his gratitude was intense... "and I say this, Mr Chairman, from the heart of my bottom." He didn't bat an eyelid as he said that.

But of course it is only at congresses that people discover their anatomies have such outlandish features as bottoms with hearts. And it is at congresses that life-long friendships are made, which is what the spirit of a future Azania is all about.

Azapo has never claimed to have millions of members. It simply does not believe in the numbers game such as claiming millions of members, who embarrassingly vanish into thin air each time a mere million signature must be collected for some campaign or other.

But Kehla was a bit taken aback the other day when a somewhat groggy newsman approached him and asked: "Tell me, Kehla, egshatly how many members do you have in Ashapo?"

He asked the wobbly fellow: "How many black people are there in this country?"

Replied groggy: "I'm not sho sure, could be 29 million you shee."

Said Kehla: "Subtract all the sellouts from that number, and you will have your answer."

Queried wobbly: "So you shay you have about 28 million? Ish that a fact?"

The little encounter took place after a meeting in Soweto, called by the regional executive to evolve strategies of protest at the high rents. Had wobbly not been so groggy, he would have noticed that almost the whole of Diepkloof township had turned up for the meeting.

Talking about wobblies and groggyes, one remembers the other meeting the other day at another venue, when three delegates were rather thirsty after a long hard day of intense debate.

Alas, the cooling holes were closed and the nearest spot where one could relax with a cold pint of biters was more than four kilometres away. Otherwise the three delegates would have to settle for the cartons of "mai-mai" that were for sale at the nearby store.

After some argument and a lot of rationalising, the three blokes decided to drink the cartons of "mai-mai".

Their reason for so deciding was best summed up by one of them: "It is not dangerous, and it is food because it is made from sorghum and maize. It is also a proper grass-roots drink."

Grapes can be sour, but ever heard of sour sorghum?

The current Congress promises to be the best ever. AZAPO is bent on *resisting, defending and advancing* — at the Retreat Civic Centre.

● I must seriously take issue with the findings of the National Forum Summit as encapsulated in the position statement (*Frank Talk* Volume 1 Number 2 & 3 at page 11) and in the *National Forum* (July 1984). The joint operation against Renamo by the South African Defence Force (SADF) and FRELIMO as well as Pretoria's intimate economic liaison with Maputo demand a review of the positions taken at the Summit.

I am amazed that the Forum joins social imperialism in talking the language of "political realism". This tired old argument of "realism" is always dragged out to rationalize gutter crawling. For almost a decade now, "realism" has been used to explain the "lack of transformation" in both Mozambique and Angola. "Realism" dictated that these countries "temporarily shelve" the transformation of society in order to throw everything into opposing South Africa.

But what the NF's argument that the nonaggression pact will allow Mozambique sorely needed breathing space to solve her internal problems leaves out is that South Africa is NOT the only cause of Mozambique's problems. Mozambique is a neo-colonial society under imperialist domination — *a la* Soviet social-imperialism. And the Nkomati Accord is pursuant to Soviet strategy, not contrary to it.

The Soviet strategy is to position itself in the best possible way for a future all-out challenge to Yankee imperialism. Mozambique and Angola provide the Soviets with a foothold in the midst of an area of prime strategic importance to American imperialists (this latter point is very well put in the paper *Let's fight against the Organ Grinder*).

The Soviet strategy is not based on seizing power in Namibia or Azania, hence the Soviets have found themselves quite willing to put the reins somewhat on SWAPO and the ANC. The ANC and SWAPO are maintained as loyal rearguard elements behind the lines of white South Africa. And the ANC and SWAPO have also been "realistic" about Nkomati — because their own political fortunes rise and fall on the eventual ability of the Soviets to successfully challenge and defeat the US imperialists on a world scale.

The jockeying for position between the Western surrogates (UNITA, the MNR and South Africa) and Soviet surrogates (MPLA, FRELIMO, SWAPO and the ANC) is intense and cannot be glossed over. The NF must be consistent in its stated goal of anti-imperialism, as enshrined in the

Manifesto.

EPHRAIM GUMBI
Mtunzini, Natal

● The centrist slogan, "Let us fight against the organ grinder" does not take issue with the political responsibility of the Mozambican leadership for the Nkomati Accord.

According to the centrists Nkomati is simply the product of imperialist coercion carried out through South Africa's destabilisation policy. They regard Nkomati not as a "betrayal of the liberation struggle" but only as a "temporary setback for the liberation struggle". This implies that the tactics of struggle simply have to be reviewed and a new emphasis given to the internal mobilisation of the masses.

Our centrists, in keeping with their vacillating character, have not come out in open condemnation of Machel's capitulation. Mozambique has often been quoted by the centrists as *the* "Socialist" model and is often spoken of in a tone of reverence. It is therefore difficult for them to decry the actions of Machel. Although they challenge the populist call for a national convention, they proclaim in the very same breath, "We are not yet in a position where we can talk as equals or from a position of superior strength to the present regime." They therefore propose, "Our organisations must prepare the soil, we must force this government or its successors to ask to speak to us when they can no longer continue." Does not this proclamation echo the foreboding solution that the populists are calling for?

The solution of building one nation towards a "Free Azania" will subsume the interests of the working class under those of petit bourgeois nationalists. South Africa would then follow the same path that the Frontline states have taken; where populist leaders, having come to power, have turned with venom against the working class. Zimbabwe is a classic example of this; only months after independence Mugabe introduced a series of repressive laws against workers' organisations. Mugabe and Machel, both proclaimed "protagonists of socialism" no longer talk about the working class but speak of the "people". Machel, in his address at Frelimo's 4th Congress in April 1983 declared "we must mobilise for socialism" through "people's power". The working class is the only consistently progressive class that can bring about fundamental social change. All other oppressed classes, the petit bourgeoisie and peasantry, must

unite under its leadership because it alone can give their struggle a progressive direction. By conflating classes under the banner of "One Azania, One Nation" the struggle is bound to be hijacked by petit-bourgeois interests in the pursuit of its solution to the "national question".

The working class in South Africa must therefore be wary of the reformist populist and vacillating centrist leadership who have captured the helm of the liberatory movement and who stand poised to axe and limit working class aspirations. The call for the building of one nation should be counterposed with that of building international working class solidarity and a workers united front. As opposed to a popular front, a workers united front would ensure the independence of worker interests, the freedom to criticise and agitate in the context of the fullest democracy. History has shown that popular fronts lead to the betrayal of worker interests as they become subsumed under an opportunistic petit bourgeois leadership. The united front will fight actively against all attempts by reformists to divide the working class. It will fight for working class leadership in the daily struggles of workers and thus give them a consistent direction. The call for a united front is an attempt to unite all workers regardless of political affiliation in a direct struggle to defend themselves against the attacks of the ruling class. The call to build a united front in South Africa is urgent given the long tradition of reformist populist leadership of the working class and thus the stifling of its independent struggle and given the attempt by the ruling class to intensify the exploitation and oppression of the working class in South Africa.

The call for a national convention must similarly be counterposed by the demand for a constituent assembly which is called for by the working class when it is in a position of strength — where it can agitate and organise under the most democratic conditions. It is an assembly of the exploited and oppressed in the country called by them when the ruling class is in a position of relative weakness.

It is therefore the duty of the working class in South Africa to not only fight the organ grinder but also against the several monkeys that stand beside it in the form of bourgeois diplomats, petit bourgeois reformists and centrists. Let the anthem of the working class "International working class solidarity, the united front and the constituent assembly" thunder over the tunes of "One Azania One Nation" and the "people shall govern" as well as that of the organ grinder.

**MANNENBERG, BBSK & PARKWOOD
TENANTS ASSOCIATIONS**
Athlone, Cape Town.

JACKSON — HERO OR SELLOUT?

● The question "Jackson . . . hero or sell-out?" posed by your correspondent, Imrann Moosa (*Frank Talk* Volume 1 Number 4 page 8) must be answered in the light of Reagan's election victory and the entire Jesse Jackson charade.

The focus of the Jackson campaign "Run, Jesse, run" and "Win, Jesse, win" should rather have been "Crawl, Jesse, crawl". The truth is that Jackson was never supposed to win the White House: he was supposed to broker his "constituency" to parlay a shift in, first, the Democratic Party, and then the whole American political spectrum.

It was obvious that we would witness the "miraculous" transformation of "Run, Jesse, run" into "vote Democratic". The Rainbow Coalition has not been betrayed because of the way things worked out: things worked out just the way they were supposed to. Jesse Jackson not only endorsed the Mondale ticket at the Democratic Convention but also apologized to the assembled Democratic apparatus for his transgressions.

And Mondale had no qualms about spitting on the oppressed masses. He was perfectly clear: "Look at the platform: there are no defence cuts that weaken our security. No business taxes that weaken our economy. No laundry list that raids our treasury". Even the tepid reforms that characterized Jackson's planks (which would not touch or even address the oppression of the Black masses, let alone seriously challenge the system) were brusquely slapped down.

Jackson did not "sell-out" at the Democratic Convention: he sold out many years ago. What the masses of Black people must learn from the

Jackson campaign is that the fight against oppression in the United States cannot be asserted through the electoral process. The electoral arena is where the masses of people are trooped through media-packaged rituals, told what to think and who to admire, and finally led before the ballot box to pick one imperialist over another. It is a circus where the masses are told that they have approved (even called for!) the very next criminal acts their own oppressors are about to commit.

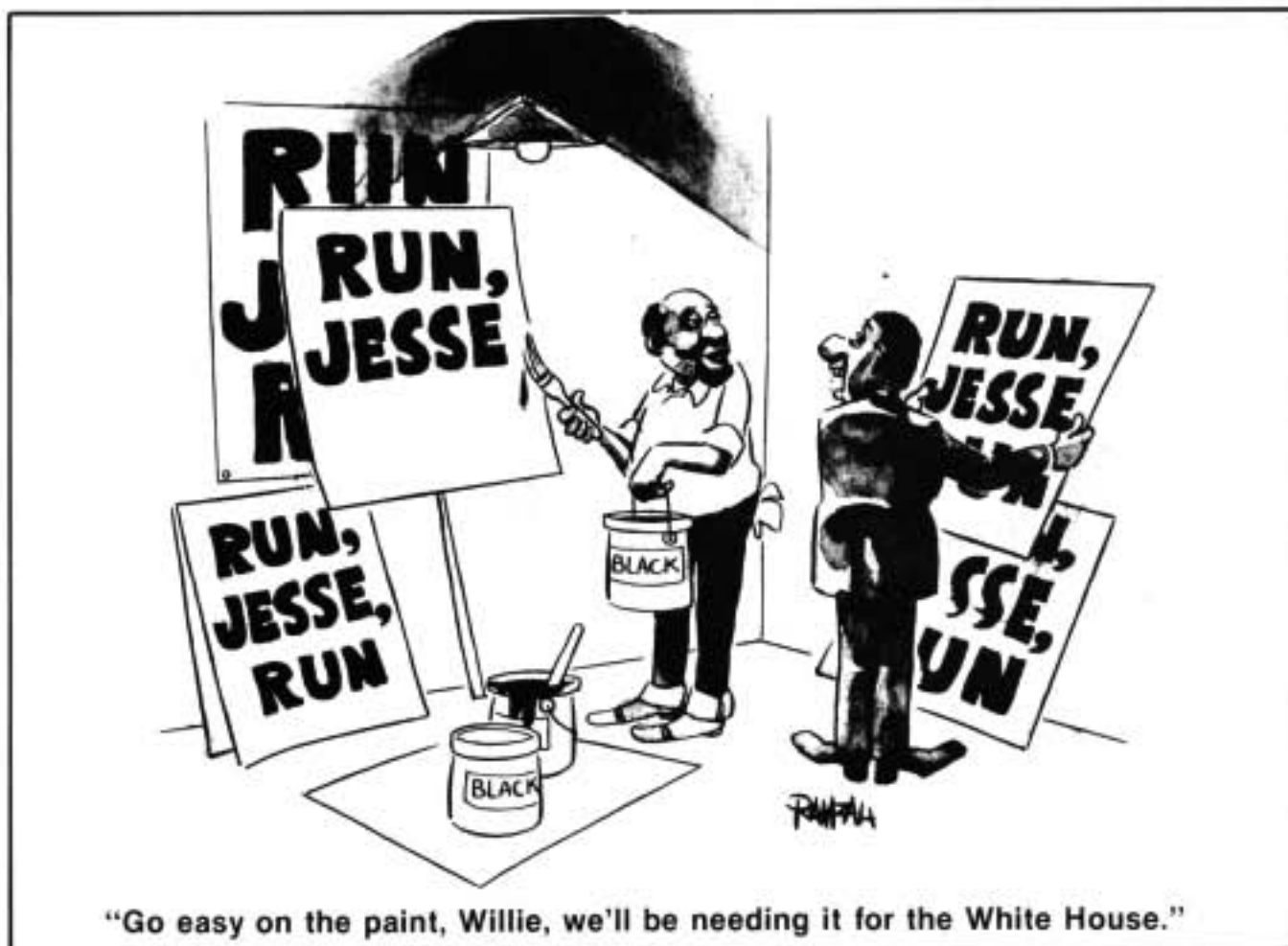
Ruling policies are not developed in response to electoral pressure: they are evolved to serve the most barbarous and desperate imperialists in history — the American bourgeoisie. And this is why the central issue in the American elections was which party could most effectively and efficiently prepare for World War and drag the masses along with it.

The Jackson campaign was merely a part of these preparations and never a part of the resistance. Jackson is not a representative of the masses in Democratic circles: he is a representative of the ruling circles amongst the masses. "My constituency doesn't have a history of walking out", said Jackson, "nor have I ever walked out of a Democratic Convention. I've always fought to get in."

Jackson supporters have found Mondale at the end of the Rainbow, waving twenty thousand American flags and clutching nukes. To those who believe that this is all part of some l-o-o-n-g term strategy to build a real, third "people's party" w-a-a-y down the road, I ask: how long and in how many forms do you allow yourself to be strung along?

SHERRY WASHINGTON
San Francisco, California.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 30



BIKO — THE MAN

One of the important annual events on the BLACK CALENDAR is BC-WEEK (6-12 September). During this week the Black Consciousness Movement remembers one of its greatest fathers and visionaries — Bantu Steve Biko. Various programmes are presented to illuminate various aspects of Black Consciousness to the Black community. Much has been written about Steve's calibre and capacity for political leadership — many truths and many lies have been spoken by many who claimed to have had some obscure (and to those of us who were close to him — unknown) personal relationship with the man. In this article I want to reflect on some of my own experiences and the events that ultimately led to that fateful night on the 18 August 1977, when Steve and I were arrested.

INTRODUCTION

By the time I had to move to King William's Town in January 1977, I had known Steve for seven years. During the late part of 1969 I had become aware of Black Consciousness as a philosophy of resistance, and together with a handful of students at the University of the Western Cape and Hewat Training College, we launched an off-campus branch of SASO in 1970. Together with the official delegates of the branch I attended the General Students Council of that year, hosted by the Natal University Medical School (Black Section). During 1974 (after having left university in 1971 and going through a period of community work and activism as a member of the Black Peoples' Convention), I was appointed Western Cape Regional Organizer. In this capacity I had to travel around the country frequently and had to consult with Steve, who was then banned to King William's Town, from time to time. The 1975 BPC Congress was a major victory for the Movement in more ways than one. Although the entire leadership of SASO/BPC were in detention or banned we were still able to elect a capable National Executive, headed by Hlaku Kenneth Rachidi. We also made tremendous strides in the entire Eastern Cape region, by defiantly having congress in Ginsberg location, King William's Town and by allowing all and sundry access to our open sessions.

The next year 1976, whilst we were leading a national initiative to protest and organise against the October 26 'Independence' of Transkei, the uprising that started on 16 June in Soweto became a ready-made excuse for the State to remove the entire leadership of the BCM, and many others, by detaining them for many months. We believed the real motive for the mass deten-

Peter 'PC' Jones was released from security police detention on 25 September 1984. We have pleasure in including this tribute to Biko which we could not include in *Frank Talk* Volume 1 Number 4.

tions was the State's desire to ensure the peaceful implementation of one of the cornerstones of apartheid policy — balkanisation of the land (the one issue that certainly strikes the deepest chord in the hearts and souls of the dispossessed people).

After our release at the end of 1976, Mxolisi Mvovo (vice-president of BPC), Malusi Mpumwana and myself spent three weeks travelling around the country, convening and arranging an emergency congress for January 1977 in Durban. This congress, held defiantly whilst security police were still jittery and the national executive were still in detention, was another milestone in the turbulent history of the BCM. The national executive was extended to include secretariates in various fields, full-time regional organisers were appointed, and amidst common consensus that the movement had the duty to formally and officially utilise the capacities of its banned leadership, Steve was appointed Honorary President of BPC.

1977 was the most active year in the history of the BCM. A defiant anti-Bophuthatswana Puppetstan Rally was held at Pietersburg in June, there was a massive increase in branches in Durban and rural Natal came to life again after the devastation following the Pro-Frelimo rally in 1974 — BCM was riding the crest of its political wave!!

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN

After the January 1977 congress, at which I was elected to the post of National Secretary of Economics and Finance (police used to call me "Minister van Finansies"), I moved to King William's Town to take up the position of financial administrator for the Black Community Programmes. The following two months saw a running battle with security police in King William's Town and we were almost constantly speculating as to which of our senior personnel was next on the banning list.

In quick succession we lost the services of Dr Mamphela Ramphele (Branch Executive — Eastern Cape), Mxolisi Mvovo (National Distributor of the products from our home industries and simultaneously regional organiser for BPC), Thami Zani (Research Director and simultaneously Publicity Secretary for BPC), who were all banned, and Malusi Mpumwana (Editor, **Black Review** publications), who was arrested and detained under section 6 of the Terrorism Act. I became adminis-

trator and had to supervise all projects of BCP in the region which included Zanempilo Community Health Centre in Zinyoka, the office with its library and resource centre in King William's Town and a leather home industry in Umtata. Some new personnel had to be appointed and at times we had to "import" people such as Asha Rambally from Durban (Research), but we always had Steve to refer to and consult with, even though his banning order specifically precluded him from working for BCP.

THE MAN

Bantu Steve Biko was an enigmatic and exciting person. I have never before met a man filled with so much capacity and capability, at the same time so humble, and filled with all the shortcomings and faults of ordinary man.

As a black political leader, his calibre and bearing must certainly rank him with the best, if not better than any the liberation movement had produced. His command of political diplomacy resulted on the one hand in his becoming one of the most sought after targets for international visitors and opinion makers, and on the other caused him to acquire all sorts of derogatory adjectives from those who had only newspaper reports to form opinions about him. Steve's policy with visitors of any kind (including security police and imperialist agents) was to confer on them traditional courtesy by inviting them into his house — and thereafter informing them exactly what his opinions were. This he was able to handle so superbly that those he insulted — normally liberals — felt so good about it, they would come back for more.

There was a time when Steve was permitted to travel to East London airport to receive USA Senator Clarke (this resulted in some jealous 'black' politicians quietly calling him a liberal and imperialist collaborator). His main point of emphasis was to inform blacks that it was unlikely that the Black Consciousness Movement would in future be willing to speak to American leaders unless they conceded that the Black political leadership recognised as such by the Black community included the leaders who were jailed and banned or exiled. The point was also made that only certain governments (western powers) had access to interaction and communication with Black political leaders.

The BCM leadership had complete faith in Steve and consulted with him on most matters. After his election as Honorary President of BPC, Steve submitted willingly to the dictates of organisational discipline and never once made mockery of the tradition in BC of collective leadership. He constantly consulted Zani and myself at King William's Town and was prepared to accept our advice on the national mood and the public image of the Movement.

At his house Steve demonstrated such comprehension and sympathy for people and their experiences, that he was consulted by young and old alike. Politicians all over the Eastern Cape and Transkei consulted with him and he became generally respected for his grasp of issues and people. I remember that in Ginsberg, a location notorious for its bad dirt roads, there had always been great unemployment. A young group of unemployed men extremely politically conscious mainly because of their constant proximity to Steve, acquired the name 'Cubans' because of this. We immediately knew that the 'Cubans' had had a good (pick-pocketing) day if we were offered free refreshments upon entry at 'Sis Kolla's' shebeen. The 'Cubans' also ensured that it became almost impossible for police to arrest Steve in the location unless they had at least a small army to do it. I recently met one of the ex-'Cubans' and it came as no surprise to learn that after Steve's death, he had developed into a strong and dedicated trade union leader.

Within his family, Steve was the head, even though he had one elder brother and three elder sisters. Until his departure on that fatal last trip Steve, together with his wife Ntsiki and two sons Nkosinathi and Samora, lived with his mother, and he had come to care for her. His mother greatly depended on his patience to resolve family disputes, and to keep the family close together.

BETRAYAL

By 1977 Steve became the symbolic head of the national BC initiative that had started as early as 1974. This initiative grew from the conviction that the liberation movement was under an obligation to itself and its people to establish a machinery for the most effective unity of the historical liberation movements of Azania. Suffice it to say at this stage that the issue then was to set in motion a long-term process whereby all participants in the struggle for liberation were to be afforded an opportunity to address themselves firstly to the principle of unity; and thereafter hopefully to deal with the mechanics of such unity. It was common national consensus that the BC Movement was the only liberation movement that was not riven by the traditional animosities that had kept the historical organizations apart, and that it was therefore the only

logical agent in a dialogue of such a nature.

1977 was a year of great optimism. After a number of years of inquiring and opinion gathering, it became clear that even for public statements that did not clearly underscore this position, there was growing consensus and acceptance of the need to address the question of unity.

The trip that Steve and I made to Cape Town on 16 August 1977 was primarily part of the above programme — we had accepted the necessarily serious consequences if our business was exposed, but we took the risks willingly. Steve was at that time banned to King William's Town. Of course, whilst in Cape Town Steve and I were scheduled to meet, amongst others, a representative or representatives of a group purporting to act for the Unity Movement or, at worst, a significant grouping within those ranks. (We now realize that this was a lie, and that these people were the only ones we did not really know).

We had also made arrangements to consult with our Cape Town BC leadership, who at the time were making serious noises about relinquishing their BPC membership. Subsequent experiences made us aware that a number of these elements had started to dine at the poisonous side-table of the white "left", and that they were "progressing" quite fast into becoming "progressives". But this was a side issue.

On our arrival in Cape Town we learnt that the "Unity Movement" group was under "discipline" not to see Steve until certain "political issues" surrounding him and the BC Movement had been cleared. Reference was made to some silly article at the time by Donald Woods in the **Daily Despatch** speculating about the growing "Black" movements like BCM and Inkatha. (This article had nothing to do with BCM or Steve, but represented the views of Woods who displayed typical white hero-worship of Steve — the Man). Later that same night a fellow-traveller of this group, shocked by what he regarded as callous disregard for traditional courtesy, insisted that Steve accompany him to the house of the spokesman. He was further shocked when he alone was invited in for an explanation which took two hours, whilst Steve sat outside in the car. Steve later remarked that if it was not for the fact that he did not know Cape Town, he would have walked to wherever I was. To Steve who was a diplomat and at times a sentimentalist, this indignity certainly rocked his African soul.

When Steve finally returned to where I was, and we agreed that our whole visit up till then which was supposed to have been very secretive appeared to be known to many more people than we expected, we

decided to immediately abandon, without notice to anyone, our visit, and return home, from the safety of which we would attempt to understand the Cape Town experience, the seeming inexplicabilities and outright suspicious behaviour of some persons.

We left the morning of the 18 August and drove straight into the roadblock at Grahamstown at about 9.30 that evening. Subsequent experiences did not convince me that the police had known of our whereabouts or that the roadblock was intended for us. One thing was certain, however, that if it was not for treacherous behaviour of the Cape Town participants, we would never have been on the road on the 18th, the day that we should have known that there was due to be unrest in and around port Elizabeth — it was on 18 August 1976 that PE's unrest started and it was on its anniversary that we hurriedly left Cape Town.

The arrest of Steve and myself, his subsequent death, the information gathered by security police through the detention of ourselves and many others, and the subsequent banning of all our organisations — effectively interrupted a process that may take many years before conditions permit it to be resumed once again.

A strange occurrence is taking place today. Exactly the same people who spearheaded the above abortion are today being seen flirting with the BCM most ostentatiously.

LAID TO REST

Steve's death to those of us who were in the Eastern Cape in solitary confinement was a traumatic experience. When, after almost 6 months in solitary, we were all able to be together in Grahamstown Prison in "preventative detention" my report to the others filled them with disgust and bitterness.



Biko's mother

I returned to King William's Town on New Year's eve last year (1983) — six years after our arrest. "Manceda's" (Steve's mother) testimony to me was shattering. She told me that she had never accepted Steve's death — it was all so unreal to her. That night we left her house just to go "somewhere" and she felt uneasy — it was only when she had been able to see me once again, that she was prepared to release him, and lay him to rest.



GLOBAL SOLIDARITY

In the name of Allah to whom all praise is due, the Lord of the Worlds. We thank Allah for blessing us with our beloved leader, teacher and guide The Honourable Elijah Muhammad. I greet you my beloved brothers and sisters with the greeting words of peace in the Arabic language *As-salaam-o-alaikum*.

To Brother True Mathematics, to the distinguished platform guests, to those distinguished brothers and sisters who spoke to us tonight on "Global Solidarity — our Key to Survival," to each and every one of you that are here tonight. It is a great honour and privilege for me to have been invited to Howard University once again to share this rostrum with so many distinguished brothers and sisters from here and around the world, who have in our diversity a unity of purpose. I am so grateful to be living in this great time in history when the forces of oppression and exploitation, tyranny and racism shall be destroyed from the earth completely. This subject, "Global Solidarity — the Key to our Survival," is a very important subject to be considered by all of us at this time in our development. We know that a key is a very important instrument for a key opens that which has been locked to us, or a key locks out that which we do not want in.

KEY

Now, in scriptural language the key is used in the Bible and it is mentioned in the Quran. The key symbolises knowledge, wisdom, power and authority. Notice in this subject matter global solidarity will give us the power, the authority to open up a door that has been locked to us

or to lock up that which should be locked out. Global Security — the Key to **our** Survival. Well we know what the key is but who is that possessive pronoun "our" referring to? Global solidarity — is it a key to Mr Reagan's survival? Is it a key to America's survival? Is it a key to the Western world's survival? Is it a key to the survival of capitalism or what they call democracy? Is it the key to the survival of communism? What is global solidarity the key to? If we are talking about the totality of the human family's survival, it would be wonderful if we could attain global solidarity, but we know that there are forces in the world that will not easily submit to the power that would bring them in line with those universal laws and principles that would ensure their survival. They feel that their survival is based on the "third world's" demise, so if the survival of the Western world is based upon the demise, the destruction, the dissipation of strength, the debilitation of "third world" nations and people, then conversely the survival of the "third world" nations will be the destruction of those who have lived from our destruction.

Global solidarity is a word but it represents a process of evolutionary development. Seated before me and around me and behind me are men and women of different nations of the earth, representing different ideologies, different philosophies, different religions, different races, different languages, but global solidarity presupposes a growth beyond the artificial barriers that have divided us heretofore. Global solidarity presupposes a growth that goes beyond our races, beyond our colours, beyond our religions,

by **MINISTER LOUIS FARRAKHAN**



beyond our philosophies and ideologies to find each other across these artificial barriers.

The Honourable Elijah Muhammad has taught us that we evolve from sperm, which we know. To mix with the ovum, the sperm is cast into a hostile environment. This is to teach us that in order for us to attain anything worthwhile in life, we must overcome barriers. So the Quran teaches us that "Surely man is created to face difficulties". The sperm has to overcome the hostile environment of the vaginal tract to get to the egg. The sperm has to overcome the force of gravity to pull up against the force to get to the egg. The sperm has to overcome competition with a billion or more other sperm, all trying for the same goal. Now — when we pass these three tests, overcoming a hostile environment, overcoming the tremendous number in competition that are striving for the same goal and overcoming the force of gravity, we reach the prize, which is the egg



and our one cell life begins. Is that right? The lesson that it teaches us is that when we have a hostile environment in which we live, that is a test of the worldliness of the goal that we seek to reach. If the hostile environment, like the vaginal tract, kills the sperm, then the sperm wasn't strong enough to make contact with the egg in that environment.

If we allow the environment of hostility that is in America and in the world to stop us from reaching beyond that sort of goal that we seek to reach, then we are not worthy of that goal, but if we are worthy of *global* solidarity, then you gotta be worthy of it to reach it. Then you and I must overcome hostility to get there. What kind of hostility? Racial hostility, tribal hostility, colour hostility, religious hostility, all of these things that make us different from one another fight against the force of attraction and present a polarity that pushes us apart from one another. We must overcome the hostility of the environment to reach the goal.

Secondly, we must compete not only with others who want the goal but we must compete against the element of time. Because if the sperm does not reach the egg in time, the environment will kill it. So it is with us today, if we don't reach each other in time, the forces of oppression will destroy our movement. We must move with haste, we cannot drag our feet as we move towards one another, we can't dilly-dally towards global solidarity, we must rush with *great speed* into the arms of one another and we must overcome the gravitational pull of vain desires, personal desires, desires for material things over the spiritual need that we have for one another. The students must overcome the gravitational pull of a desire for a fine home and a car and a good paying job above the liberation of the people. The foreign students that are here must overcome the gravitational pull of this Barnum and Bailey world that offers

you so much wealth that you will submit to wealth and the "good life" and you forget about your struggling people in Africa, in the Caribbean, in the Isles of the Pacific or in the Middle East: you are co-opted by a materialist world that damages the spiritual reality that your children have no future in the world of your enemies; you must return home and build your nations and reach out for global solidarity.

TRIBALISM

We must not become prostitutes and sell out the aspirations of our people and unborn generations for temporary enjoyment with the enemy of our lives. So global solidarity presupposes growth, as we evolve from a sperm to a clot, to an embryo, to a foetus, to a little baby, to a crawling child, to a child that learns to pull up and then we grow to the *fullness* of our physical form: we have evolved from a minute microscopic thing called sperm to the well-seen, fully developed, flesh, blood and bone human being. But all that you see here was visible or invisible in the essence that was the first cell of life, but it had to evolve to the macrocosm for you to see what was inherent in the microcosm. Now hear me well — global solidarity presupposes a growth of each of us who represent a nation into solidarity in our own nation. We must overcome tribalism within ourselves in America as Black people: you see, we have tribes in America. Oh yes! yes! We call them "organisations". We call them different religions or sects or denominations. These are tribes and when we meet one another even though we are the same people with a common heritage, a common history, a common suffering, and a common destiny, we know that we belong to each other, but then we say "Oh he's a Muslim, I'm a Christian. He believes in Muhammad, I believe in Jesus Christ, aw I can't get together with him! Or he's a Pan Africanist, or a revolutionary nationalist or a cultural nationalist. I am a socialist or a Marxist-Leninist, I can't hang out with him." We belong together but the artificial barrier called ideology keeps us polarised when we know we should be about the business of coming together, becoming solid as a people and then not stopping there. We must outgrow our nationalism, our race and our religion to look beyond to another brother or sister in oppression until we find global solidarity and then we've laid hold to the key to our survival. Now how do we get there?

The Honourable Elijah Muhammad has taught us, the Bible and the Quran agree, that Allah is one God. He never said He is more than one, He always said to the prophets that He is one, then if He is one from Whom all things have their beginning and in Whom all things have their ultimate end, then even in all of the diversity that we see in nature,



if it came from one essence, it is moving towards one essence.

ONE EARTH

Look at it now — as I mentioned here in Howard a year or so ago, we came into the world not speaking Spanish or French or Arabic or English. We came from our mother's womb speaking a universal language — all the babies cry. So you can't tell the difference between a Chinese baby, a Caucasian baby, an African baby, they all come into the world crying and when death overtakes them they all make the same universal sound going it, it's just a *g-a-s-p*, they don't gasp in Spanish or in Arabic or in Hebrew, they just gasp and check on out of here, is that right? Isn't that something? The source from which we spring is **one earth**, seven continents, oceans and seas but the earth is one. Now if you want to you can focus on Australia, if that knocks you out, or you can focus on Africa, if that moves you, or you can focus on North America or South America, Europe or Asia, Antarctica, if it's what moves you, but you've got a lot of growing to do if you can't see that the earth is really one earth. Its name is one — earth. The water that is beneficial to all of our lives is a common water, White folks don't drink a different water, they may try to. The water is common, the sun that energises our life is common to us all. The atmosphere that we breathe to keep the heart pumping the life fluid of blood through our veins is common. Well if what we come in to is common and the language we speak is common, and what we live under while we are here is common, and the sound that we make going out is also common, then doesn't that teach us the larger truth, that there is to come a truth that will link up humanity, that will link up nations and races and kindreds and tongues, that we will grow beyond these artificial barriers that separate us as a people and

we will see one humanity. That truth is coming or is present.

Beloved brothers and sisters — you know when I said brothers and sisters the thought struck me that we appear different and there are things about us that are different but there are things about us that are so similar. The differences in male and female cause polarity but as we grow a little older we overcome those things. And then we are drawn together by the force called affinity, is that right? And we become solid, don't we? If we study religion we realise that it is a very divisive force in the world but the Bible teaches that God is not the author of confusion but of peace. If God is one He is not the author of all the religion that's in the world. He's one God. Then his religion is one. Every Prophet that he sent into the world taught varying degrees of the same religion. When you go to kindergarten you learn that which feeds the development of your mind at that stage. But when you reach grade school, you learn a higher form of the same essence that you got in the Kindergarten. When you reach college you are supposed to be reading and understanding a higher form of mathematics, a higher form of communication than what you learned in the kindergarten. But it is a higher growth of the same thing that we call *learning* — *Education*. When it's in the kindergarten you call it education. When it's in grade school you call it education. When it's in college you call it education. The name does not change. It's just what you learn that changes because of the demand of your own evolutionary development. So it is with religion. God didn't send any religion into the world named Judaism. Now before you get excited and call me vicious names, which is alright with me, the name Judaism is a name given by men to a religious system that is as old as God himself. That is not the name that Moses gave to Israel. That's right. And God never revealed any religion called Christianity. Now don't get offended. Because Jesus never told you "I am a Christian". Nowhere in the Scripture did he say that. Moses did not say "I am Jew". Now you got Jews, Christians, Buddhists, Muslims, Zoroastrians, Taoists, Shintoists all of us fighting and killing each other when God is one and His religion is one. How did we become known as Christians? According to the Bible at Antioch the people who professed that Jesus was Christ were called Christians at Antioch. Is that right?

ISLAM

But in the Quran a name is given for that religious system that is as old as God Himself which really didn't need a name. It existed trillions of years without a name and all the prophets taught the same religion, the same principles. If you study Moses, Abraham, Noah, Lot, Jesus,



Courtesy the Black Methodist.

Muhammad and look at the principles that they taught — you can tell by the principles that they believed in and taught the same religion and that religion was in the English translation called 'peace'. Peace is the way of God. Peace is the order of God's creation. How do we attain peace? We attain peace by going in harmony with the Laws of creation then we are at peace with the creation, at peace with the Creator, at peace with one another. That peace comes through obedience to the will and laws of Almighty God. So Moses came with the law and he obeyed the law and he taught Israel to obey the law. Jesus said not "my will be done" but "Thy will be done". The name of that system is called in the revealed world of the Quran, Islam. Islam means to obey, to submit to the divine will and law of God. That's what all the prophets taught, obedience to the will of God. One degree after another of that system, that religious system, are you listening?

Moses came with a narrow teaching but it's still Islam. He taught what you could consider as nationalism. He talked to Israel which had no solidarity. They were like dust or any loose molecules not bonded together so they had no weight. You got it? Like air the molecules are spaced apart so you walk through, you don't feel it until the wind comes and pulls the molecules together, then you actually feel the force of air, but as long as there's no wind present you walk through it as though it doesn't exist. Well this is the way the world has walked through "third world" people.

It is as though you don't even exist because your bonding together in your own nation, among your own people is so weak till you become of no consequence, you cannot resist as dust has no power to resist anybody that wants to remove it. So, as those of us who are the same people but not bonded together. You are seated together in this auditorium but you are not together, so as long as you have nothing to bond you together you can easily be dispersed, you are like invisible people and this is why nobody considers you when they deal in the council of world affairs, they don't call so-called Negroes in to get your advice because you are the spook that is always sitting by the door. To my Arab brothers and sisters you are similar, you have no weight, not here. Think about it, you are Americans, many of you. You fight in all the wars but no President has ever come to speak to Arabs. Why? They fear what Jews will say. Well if the President is the President of *all* America, why should the President not appeal to Arabs when he sends them goodies to fight in America's wars and he makes them pay taxes but he will not represent their concern, something's wrong isn't it?

ZIONISM

Well my Arab brothers, if you have no social weight whose fault is that? You can't blame Mr Reagan or Mr Mondale. The Jews are only 5,8 million in America; 2,5 percent of the total population. But I've watched Bush skipping the other day with a yammock on his head doing a buck dance for the Jews, trying to prove to them that he is gonna out-do Mondale in his promises to you and to Israel. How come you can't make him come to you. You are 40

million in America Nobody comes to you, Mr Mondale didn't promise you anything. He smacked our leader and our champion in the face at the Convention, kicked him around, said he would win it by himself and went on out and chose him a woman, mind you a woman, but women had no rights until Black people began to suffer and get hell against the laws of discrimination. You opened the door for Ms Ferraro and Ms Ferraro don't give a damn about you or me. That's right, you opened the door for Jews and now Jews become anti-black as long as we moved away. They think we should move, everything is alright but when we begin to move independently of what they think Black people should do, then all of a sudden we become an enemy or anti-semitic while the real truth is they are are totally anti-black. The masses of Black people do not bow to Zionist pressure, but black organisations bow to Zionist pressure because the Zionists have control of most black organisations because they finance most black organisations and pull the strings for most Black leaders. So whenever a bold Black man stands up independent and uncompromising, then they psyche their puppet negroes saying "He's dangerous, he's an anti-semitic, he's a hater, he's a bigot".

Dear beloved Black brothers and sisters, you have not stopped one Jew from opening up a store in your neighbourhood. You have not stopped one Arab, one Korean, one Vietnamese, one Hispanic, you open your door to everybody. You have not stopped one Jewish person from becoming the personal manager of the wealth of Black people found in the talent of our young men and women. You have not stopped one Jewish person from getting the money from the records that we make and sell, from the talent of black people, so you have not stopped Jews from doing anything in America so how in the hell can a Black man be considered anti-semitic? But, but... we can point to a **concerted effort** to keep Black people from progressing. You see they put the crime on us. I say tonight to the world that America is anti-Black. Reagan is anti-Black, the Democratic Party is anti-Black, the Republican Party is anti-Black, the Jews in America are anti-Black, but their being anti-Black is inconsequential if we recognise that it is not their fault, it is ours.

We can stop them overnight. It doesn't make any difference who becomes President. "They have no power over us but the power that we give them over us." You'd better listen, you'd better listen. Once we, as a people determine it won't happen anymore, that's the day that it stops *completely*. Nobody has the power to be anti-Black if we come together in solidarity. But, sometimes

when you have molecules that are so far apart because of their polarity the difference is that they see in each other what brought out their vainness, then it needs another force that will force these molecules together and when they get just a little closer, they are drawn to each other under the power of affinity and then they become a new creation. Are you listening? Now just a few days ago, a few years ago, I would say that I am a Muslim follower of Elijah Muhammad, I don't socialise with an Ahmadi or a Sunni Muslim or a Shi-ite Muslim, just a few days ago, we didn't socialise with Christians, just a few days ago if we were Nationalists we all hung out together, happy in our tribalism, happy in our religious tribalism, happy in our foolishness while everybody put their game over on us, because we were not wise enough to grow beyond the artificial barriers that kept us apart from one another. But when the Honourable Elijah Muhammad departed from among us and I saw how easy it was for what he built to be destroyed, I had to ponder and think how can we rebuild his work in a way that it will never be destroyed again. He gave us a good foundation, he gave us the lessons if we studied it, he said how many Muslims are there in North America. At the time of that writing he said that it was a little over 17 million. Did I hear you say that some of the 17 million do not know that they are Muslims? The answer is yes, sir, then it says I can hardly believe that

unless they are blind, deaf and dumb. The answer is well they were made blind, deaf and dumb by the devil when they were babies. I don't care what you call yourself, I see you as the righteous. I don't care what you call yourself, I see us as one people. **I cannot be found in a little Mosque praying and preaching with my Holy Quran to a few little insignificant people preaching them the science of Salaaf when the whole world is going to hell.** We in America cannot waste our time up and down praying not understanding what the real essence of religion is all about. I said no I'm gonna move out in the world and I'm gonna take what people say they believe and show them the common string that runs through everything that we believe, I'll take the same thing and unite because the root of it is the one God and the path of solidarity.

UNITY

I have been working for unity for the last 7 years. I went out and I met with Mr Hooks of the N.A.A.C.P. Made my way to New York, went in his offices, sat down with him, "Brother let's talk." I said 'Brother we gotta build a united front of all Black organisations that guide us to our philosophy, we must come together.' He said, "I agree, I agree, but I have a board that I gotta deal with." I said, "Well deal with the board 'cause the Southerners don't deal with the board. Whether you know it or not, four more years of Reagan is a board that will get everybody



Mondale and Ferraro (inset)



Benjamin L. Hooks

together and it looks like we're headed for four more years of Reagan." He said but oh no, we got to dump Reagan. I say you don't dump him with Mondale. Mondale is worse than Reagan. Yes, Reagan don't owe you nothing, you didn't vote for him and what you see is what you get. The biggest mistake we could make was to think that that Caucasian racist cracker — Mondale — is our friend. He is not our friend. Mondale doesn't want to admit that he's a racist but the fact that Mondale got Black people around him, the fact that Rev. Jackson rolls up to take votes from him in the primary only to give 'em back to *him* after that man won the nomination instead of his saying to Rev. Jackson, "I got your message, Reverend, I got the message of Black people. I understand now that we can't take Black people for granted any more and Reverend I want you to come up here with me in the party and I'm gonna put some planks in the platform that will give jobs to Black people. I understand what your people need and I've got your message." But instead Mondale like the racist that he is, underneath all of that facade of civil rights, he is hard, he said I'm gonna punish this nigger for having gone against *me* in the primaries and pulling all these Blacks around him, I'm gonna punish them, I'm gonna punish him and I'm gonna show them. Let me tell you something Mr Mondale, in November we're gonna show you. Some silly Black people will say what are you gonna do, cut off your nose to spite your face. Ain't my nose, ain't my face. No I ain't got nothing to do with you, if it wasn't for Mr Reagan we would never have seen the fidelity or the candidacy of Reverend Jackson. As long as you don't think you got a friend in the White House, you'd make a friend in the Black House and that's what you need — a friend in the house next door to where you live, you need **solidarity**. You all right? So if Mr Reagan gets in he pulls off the kid gloves 'cause he don't have the four more years he can't do it, he can't get twelve, he's only got to eight, he pulls off the gloves. It's real nice. You say but Farrakhan don't you know what that means for Black people? It means your solidarity because as I see it we're as molecules, we're too far apart because Muslims will say, I can't join together with this Chris-

tian you see he's my brother but he eats pig. **He will let a pig's foot divide us.** Or a man's condition divide us. I say that's pretty foolish. We can talk about the pig's foot later, we can talk about a verse in the Quran or Bible later. Look my dear Brothers and Sisters of the American Muslim Mission, I know that we disagree but I'm not gonna let no enemy devil put me on television, arguing against Imam Wallace D. Muhammad. For what? ... For what? Tony Brown called me and said "We have an Imam Wallace D. Muhammad on our show, we want you on the show too so you all can talk about your differences. I sent a message back to Mr Brown. I said dear Mr Brown, I said the Pope of Rome and the Archbishop of Canterbury have differences, I said the day you put the Pope and the Archbishop on television to argue about their differences, that's the day I'll come on and argue with Imam Wallace D. Muhammad.

I went to the Leader of the Urban League, John Dickenson and sat down and talked with him. I travelled down to Atlanta and talked to Joe Lowery of S.C.L.C. and to Coretta Scott-King and to members of the Congressional Black Caucus. I talked to the Black mayors, I talked to the Republic of New Africa, to Maulana Karinya, to Ha'ki Maributi, to Kwame Taure, as many Black leaders as we could talk to, we talked about *a united black front*, a united Black front. We got to have it, I think everyone of you that belongs to the N.A.A.C.P. should drive your leader to a table with Black leaders in this country and don't let them get away with it. *Drive* John Jacob, *drive* Joe Lowery, *drive* the Black Caucus, *drive* the Black mayors, tell them, damn it get to a table and sit down *or else*.

The trouble with Black leaders is that they are afraid of Jews so they do the bidding of Jews. The Black leaders ought to be afraid of *us* and we ought to terrorise them and make them do what is right or get the hell out of the way of the people's solidarity. You say Farrakhan you sound pretty radical. **I tell you frankly if 85% of the Black people were around me tonight as they were around Jessie Jackson at that convention, we'd be free tomorrow morning.** Let me tell you something and if you doubt it try me. You just gotta be willing to pay the price.

Let's move on. I preach unity, I want to live unity, I realise that all of us must come together, I've been in the churches preaching more than I am in the mosques because **I refuse to let a cross and a steeple keep me away from my own family member.** Do you hear me? Now when they saw Jessie Jackson and Louis Farrakhan standing together which represented solidarity, which represented a coming together of

enemies becoming friends, the disciple of Dr King and the disciple of Elijah Muhammad, the Zionists moved to break it up. They understand, they *understand*, but do you? You see if we understand you know the way they painted me in the press, but you *proved* that you are the greatest generation we've ever produced. If this was twenty years ago I would have been lynched on sight by my own Black people by what they said about me in the media but twenty years later they put out the worst they they could put out and Black people all over the country lined up on the outside, blocks around to come and see the man that they talk about as an anti-semitite. It's a new day, our time has indeed come. Let's take advantage of it.

Now look there are some very negative forces in America. Those negative forces in America are pushing us closer to each other and another force is taking over — the force of affinity — and now you don't see me as "that Muslim", you see me as your brother. I don't see you as "that Christian" I see you as my sister and my brother and greater love has no man that he be willing to lay down his life for his brother, all I got is my life and I offer my life for the solidarity of Black people here and all over the world. Thanks to Allah, thanks to the Honourable Elijah Muhammad, thanks to time, I have outgrown by the grace of God the childishness that kept me in one corner and my brothers and sisters in another.

GLOBAL SOLIDARITY

But I have a lot more growing to do — so now I see as we reach for solidarity, we've got an ocean of our people in Central and South America, they speak Spanish, they speak French, they speak Dutch, they speak English, they speak Portuguese but that's my family *too*. Now this is where you're growing now, beyond your national boundaries — it's global solidarity that we're after, not just regional solidarity — so all

Our Father

Our father, which art in the Ghetto
Degraded is your name
Thy servitude abounds
Thy will is mock
as pie in the sky:

Teach us to demand, our share of gold.
Forgive us our docility.
As we demand our share of justice.

Lead us not into complicity.
Deliver us from our fears.
For ours is Thy Sovereignty
The Power
And the Liberation
For ever and Ever

Amen.

REV. CANAAN BANANA
President, Zimbabwe

the brothers in the Caribbean, and the sisters in the Caribbean, that's your flesh, that's your blood, that's your kith, that's your kin, we are family, you can't have solidarity in America and it doesn't include solidarity with Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados, St Lucia, Dominico, Monsarrat, wherever there are Black people, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Bellize, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Brazil.



So look brothers and sisters you can't play while you're here at Howard. We know their aim when they got you here but don't pay any attention to their aim, you rise above their aim, their aim is to make you white-minded negroes coming out of here to salute the flag, be a good soldier, fight in Nicaragua, fight in Grenada, go anywhere white folks send you. Uh, uh, no, no, no, no, no, oh no no, oh no no, when we get our education, Mr Reagan you can fight a war anywhere you want, *we will determine where we fight*, we are not fighting in Nicaragua, we are not fighting in Central America, **we are not fighting in Africa or anywhere you send us, we are fighting in Mississippi, Louisiana, Washington D.C., New York City, Los Angeles, California. It's your war, you go fight for it.** Look you can't stop in the Caribbean, look at all Africa, that's our family. Look in the isles of the Pacific, that's our black family, same colour, same hair, same nose, same lips, same persecution, same history, same origin, same destiny. So we must have a Pan Africanist solidarity, you understand, but we can't stop there, that's just solidarity with Blacks, but there's some Palestinians around here that have been afflicted by Zionists. Uprooted from their land. Look at it now, kicked out, made vagabonds in the earth. Slaughtered at Shatilla.

Huh! We have a common suffering don't we, oh yes we do, yes. The oppression makes us brothers doesn't it? Look at it now, so I ask you reach out for solidarity with your own, you gotta say "Wait a minute, here's another human being over there, catching hell like me, can we find common ground and find some solidarity in our struggle?" Israel is in the centre of the Arab world, something grafted in from Europe, not natural, don't belong there but grafted in like Paul says in the Book, "like a wild olive branch", wild up in Europe, raised in hell up in Europe

pulling them from all parts of their wicked mischief — making life bringing them into the Middle East and grafting them in among the olive branches. That they may suck from the fat of the real owners of that piece of land. Mischief makers, trouble makers, that want to put one Arab against another, are you listening? So you got Saudi Arabia, the seat of Islam, having moderate Arabs, moderate in their leaning towards the West, but still with a common mind toward a common enemy. You got the Emirates, you've got Egypt pulled out from her Arab brethren by a peace pact with somebody that don't mean peace.

JIHAD³

So now the Arab world is divided just like us, their nations at war with one another but more devastating it is the Islamic world and here are Iraq and Iran-family members, brothers killing each other, leaving the real enemy to go. They destroy each other's build up in arms while the enemy is building up ready to destroy all of you. What the Arabs need is Arab solidarity but the Arab has become corrupted, going after the materialism of the West, negating the values that were his from Islam, from Christianity, from the religions that got revealed to Moses which was all among them, **now they are prostituting those principles and becoming world whores running after Western world values.** My dear Arab Muslim brothers, sisters, you gotta come back to each other and you must

find the path of solidarity. Gaddafi has risen up, many don't like him. "What you don't like about him?" "Well . . . he's a terrorist." "Who said so?" "Well . . . our Government." Your Government is the b-i-g-g-e-s-t l-i-a-r that is on the face of the earth. Your Government . . . Oh my God, Farrakhan, Is there nothing sacred to you, Farrakhan? Yeh, you're a bunch of liars. And you know it and I know it, the Bible teaches it and the Holy Quran too and I'm gonna preach everything that's in the Book for you and against you but most in the book is against you. Liars! Thieves! Murderers! Muslims, Muslims, Muslims, you must find the path of solidarity, it is the key to the Arab world's and the Muslim world's survival. That is a fact, Gaddafi is not an evil man, Gaddafi is committed to the masses who are struggling for justice, to the popular liberation struggles anywhere in the world and he is not selfish, he is willing to use the wealth of the Libyan people and share it with those who are struggling to throw off the shackles of imperialist adventurism, the blood suckers of the poor. The reason they call him a terrorist is because he frightens them, because they don't understand how his mind works. See a true Muslim revolutionary is one that the world don't understand. The world didn't understand Jesus, see Jesus was no milk-toast, punkified man, Jesus was a committed revolutionary who knew how to live and die for what he believed in. Understand this brothers and sisters.



1983 Theme: Mobilise and Consolidate the Liberatory Efforts of the Oppressed Masses

This world that puts profit above principle does not understand men and women who are willing to die for what they believe in. Jesus did not flinch, they lied on him, they trumped up false charges against him, conspired against him and he carried his own cross, according to the Book, according to the Bible. **I'm not talking about the white dude you got in the picture you call Jesus. I'm talking about the real Jesus and the real Jesus was not a white man and don't you ever forget, don't you ever forget, don't you ever forget. If all the rest of them want to argue we'll get on down, Jesus was a Black man.** Not that that makes any difference but it does make a difference to us, since you've been so careless in your painting of the true colour of him. He went on to die for what he believed in.

Brother Khomeni, Imam Khomeni, is a strange man. **It is hard to understand these kind of people whose whole life and being is committed to destroy an enemy.** So you don't understand this, but we do. When you become such a terrible enemy like this, God raises up people for you. The scripture says of these they won't love either silver or gold, so you can't bribe these, their whole mind is to lay the enemy low. They will take your little ones and dash their heads against the stones and rejoice as they *slaughter*. Are you listening? These are the minds that are coming up today all over the world to deal with the enemy of our solidarity. So the Islamic Jihad piles up hundreds of pounds of TNT. **They know that they are gonna die but happy, happy, happy, same way you are happy over some music, they pop their fingers to the dirge of death when they know they are gonna carry down a whole lot of imperialists and racists and demons with them. That's the spirit that's growing in the world today. It's the spirit of sacrifice for a cause that is bigger than your own life. The cause of liberation is bigger than your life and mine.**

IMPERIALISM

Arabs must find solidarity. Poor, poor Africa, our beloved home, torn asunder with tribal conflict and with the imperialist machinations putting the brothers against each other, trying to suck the blood of rich mother Africa, Southern Africa having all of those precious metals that America needs to compete in an atomic age. Reagan must have a relationship with South Africa to get those precious metals. But Reagan also and the Government of America must control the Congo or Zaire because there are precious metals that the West needs, so they must keep puppet governments in power, puppet regimes in power, but they reckon without the solidarity of the people and their willingness to die to rid the earth of those who oppose their solidarity. **It means**

that in a short time the brothers in Southern Africa, the sisters, the family is going to be freed. But don't think that freedom is without a price.

The scripture said blood will be up to the horse's bridle. Blood, blood ran in the depth of the Atlantic Ocean, *a hundred million of us lost our lives according to conservative estimates, in the Middle Passage.* Millions of us have lost our lives in America, I can never forget. **I was born to remember. I was born with the cries of those fathers in my ear, in the cells of my brain, I will never compromise, I will never bend my knees and bow down to this wicked enemy of our people, of our future.** You will soon see, you will soon see, there's a whole generation out there, that God has raised up. I know I'm looking at them. Born

you make, you break. I'm not your man. They did everything they could to try and break the Brother, then when they couldn't get me to go along with their game, they said I was manipulating the press, can you imagine that? When you're smart enough to out-think them, then they say you're manipulating them. Then you should know that you met with God. There never was a time that Blacks could manipulate you but if we are manipulating you now when you used to do all the manipulating, then you should know that a superior power has intervened on our behalf.

Solidarity! Solidarity, this is what we want. Solidarity among Muslims, solidarity among the Arabs, solidarity among the Asians, solidarity among the oppressed in Central and South America. "But what about



Iran . . . Salaat and Jihad are integral to Islam.

warriors, born to give their life for the liberation of our people here and around the world. *These* will not be used, *these* will not bend their knees, *these* will not apologise to white people.

So now, now they are hurt because they see Blacks in America, Palestinians and Arabs sitting together. They don't like that, they don't like that. They don't like to see us and the Chinese and the Japanese sitting down, and the Vietnamese sitting down. "What you sitting down with him for?" When I came back from Libya I was on C.B.S., they won't put me on any more brothers and sisters. They have agreed, they have agreed to photograph what I say, to record what I say but they won't put it out in the public, I ain't even worried about it, I know who this is for. But boy let me tell you, I didn't need these lights and these cameras before and I don't need 'em now. Let me tell you something. The camera can't make the Movement and the camera can't stop the Movement, all it can do is record the motion of it. But anything that

the Europeans?" Hold on a minute. I must say this to my Libyan brothers and sisters, you all are too damn quick to forget what your enemies have done to you. I wouldn't do that if I were you. **My Arab brothers, you are too quick to forget what European power has done in Africa, you should never forget because the moment you forget it will happen all over again and they are planning right now while we're talking, to kill Gaddafi, to kill the Arab movement.** I see Europeans sitting down with you all, having tea. Even I remember Omar Mukhtar, I remember what he and the others went through, I can't sit down with the Europeans and say it's all over now just because you call me comrade. You're no damn comrade. I want to hear the talk of justice. I want to hear no damn comrade talk. You can't be my comrade until justice comes, don't call me comrade, give me justice, empty out your coffers that you have enriched yourself from sucking the blood of Africa, then call me comrade, then call me brother, but until you do,

I can't trust your comradeship. I can't trust your phony attempt at solidarity. But you need alliances, we stand a better chance being allied among all those that have been bitten by the same dog.

I know it hurts but hell let me tell you something about this little brother. You know I don't care about pleasing you, if I have to bridle my tongue. From the time I was a little boy, my mother always told me, son, bless her little heart, tell the truth. When I met the Honourable Elijah Muhammad thirty years ago, he never bridled my tongue, he said as long as it's the truth, tell it. So naturally when I hooked up with Reverend Jackson, they don't understand a brother like me 'cause you see I can't shut my mouth for some political consideration, I gotta tell the truth 'cause I'm not running for *no office*. The enemy is the enemy as long as you got the leverage and the power, he'll bow, the moment you turn your back on that enemy and give up the power that keeps him in check, he'll come against you again and if you doubt what I say, you will live to rue the consequence of your neglect of history. You can call me a hater if you want, I'm not a hater, I'm a practical teacher and watcher of history and I know that you don't change, I know your nature, I know your father, I know the thought when it enters your brain before it forms because God has given us that knowledge of you. So no matter how sweet you talk, I listen, but I will *never* think that you are a friend, not until you do the thing that makes you a friend and no good word makes you a friend of ours. Because that's all we've been hearing from you, all these good words.

NON-WHITEISM

Stop all this skinning and grinning up in the face of your open enemy. Cut it out and you Black women and men, *come away from your slave master's children*. And if you want a good woman, Black man, go get that Black woman and put her in your arms and hold that Black woman. I think it's time that we end all this. The Quran says "All mankind, surely we have created you from a male and a female and made you tribes and families that you may know each other." We were created into tribes and families but the tribe must become the family, the tribe must become the nation and the nation must reach out and form one World, that's where we're headed and you know something, when you reach that point of affinity, I must say this to the Arabs, the Jews are gonna help get you together, and once you get in near proximity to each other you gonna bond 'cause you naturally belong to one another. You must bond, and Israel as a common enemy is gonna force Arabs to come closer and when you get to a certain proximity of each other, a

new force will take place and that force is called affinity and you will become solid and you will become a new entity and then when we become a new entity here, our brothers and sisters in Central and South Africa become a new entity there, then we reach out here to there to the Caribbean, to Africa, to the Middle East, to the Far East and you know what happens under affinity, when the cells begin to multiply they all look alike, they all do a similar work, but at a certain point in their development, they begin to specialise and then you will notice cells, like that are gonna be the tissue for the brain, have come from all parts of the body can form the cells that form the brain and **when they have that kind of affinity they cast out the one that does not belong.**

See when we start coming together family, you know we're family, you can feel it, I can't see you because of the brightness of the lights but I can look out there and sense that you and I don't feel these divisions tonight, we feel like family tonight, is that right? We feel like family tonight, is that right? Now — name everyone else that has that same kinship with us and struggle, there's an affinity there and all we do is cast out the one who is the opponent of our solidarity and then with our global solidarity we have found the key, the key to ensure our survival. The Palestinian cause, the Arab cause, the cause of our brothers in Southern Africa, sisters, the cause of those who suffer in Asia, in the Isles of the Pacific, in Central and South America, *that struggle is one struggle*, it is our struggle on another level in another place, in another time and under other circumstances but it's really one struggle, and so beloved let's look beyond and reach beyond ourselves, first reach for yourselves, then reach beyond yourselves, but when you and I come into closeness with others, don't coalesce with others from a position of weakness, lest your struggle be co-opted and you become their struggle. We are not to be used by anyone who is struggling in the world, we are not to be used, we want others in the world to know if you think like this, "Well those Negroes in America, they're nothing so we'll use them to bring down the mighty ones, then we'll go free. You don't have to worry about them, because they are animals, they don't have a right to exist." If you think like that, if you think like that secretly, Allah will get rid of you because these people in America are very special. I want the world to know beloved that they participated — we had Africans, some Arabs, some Jews, some Europeans and Americans that put us in this condition. They participated in the worst holocaust in human history. Wait, wait, wait, wait. Listen because we have been brought to nothing, we are like Joseph in the Bible, sold

into bondage by our own family, but we became master in the land, but we were sold as slaves and all the other brothers had to come by us. Now I don't care what you do in the Middle East, in Asia, in Africa, in Central and South America, unless the brother and sister in America rise up and deal with this grotesque beast here, your freedom there means nothing. Hear me well. Now if that is true and it is, then you all listen you all should help us because we are in the vanguard of the struggle. I'm closing now.

Less than 6 million Jews are so strong and you have to admire this about them, they're strong, they are organised, exceedingly intelligent and manipulative. Oh yes indeed. Look what I'm trying to say is both the Democrat and the Republican party bows to their power and this government will make no policy toward Israel that will alienate 6 million Jews. Are you listening Black people. These are our Arab brothers and our African brothers and sisters, they suffer because of America's foreign policy. The whole Black world, "Third world" suffers because of policies made right here in Washington, D.C. Yes suppose we became solid, suppose we began to use our tremendous purchasing power of nearly 190 billion dollars and timed it inward so that at least that money would circulate among ourselves three or four times before it goes out of our community. Suppose we recognise what it means to be politically mature and economically strong. Hey, then we could put so much pressure on this government, we could change their policies toward Southern Africa, we could change the policies towards the Middle East, we could make the government have an even handed policy in the Middle East. You can't make them by talk "We think that you all ought to be more even handed and more moral." Well, you might as well get your handkerchief and go on to San Francisco, honey. That's the way you look but sister the only way America will bow is if she sees *leverage, power* and there is power in Black America and that's why they wanted to destroy Jesse, this is why they wanted to use Farakhan's words to embarrass Jesse, because Jesse was making a bid for real political power in this country and those that have it don't want to give it up. You got the potential to stop this beast from her beastiality and all of my brothers in Africa, Asia, Central and South America who recognise the value of us sitting right in the midst of the dragon, you ought to say those are our brothers and sisters, I think we ought to help them.

1. Peace be upon you.

2. Prayer.

3. Holy

war.

ONE PEOPLE ONE AZANIA



Zimbabwe: Problems and Prospects of Socialist Development



Comrades, friends, ladies and gentlemen,

I am very pleased to have been invited to discuss Zimbabwe with you. In coming here this evening I am reminded of my own university days and how it was amidst the academic walls of the medical school that my political awareness was fostered. In those days I and my student friends were already becoming aware of the inequalities that existed both in Zimbabwe and also in South Africa. At the same time, we recognised our position of relative privilege and were guiltily (and not so guiltily) enjoying the good life. We realised that for us there was a choice. We could work towards qualifications and the advancement of our own position or we could direct our thoughts and mould our attitudes towards a more austere way of life, with a more altruistic set of goals. Whatever the decision, as students, it was one which we could ponder at leisure after classes. We could support demonstrations, engage in debate, increase our factual repertoire, but delay the decision for total commitment.

After graduation there continued to be an apparent choice. The role of a busy doctor, spending his time ministering to others, being called out at all hours, was one which could provide a relatively adequate alibi. The lack of total commitment could be rationalised away as due to the urgent demands of the job; and in between the good life continued.

RECONCILIATION

I need not describe the march of political events of the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s. Suffice it to say that the relentless greed of imperialism in Zimbabwe knew no bounds. The suffering of the masses was disregarded, ignored and aggravated by the brutality of those who were themselves victims of the class struggle. The system of colonialism and imperialism was one in which pious sadism flourished. As those of our leaders who timidly asked for a plate at the high table, for a small share in the affairs of the state, were banned, imprisoned or simply 'disappeared', the struggle for basic rights took on a more acute dimension. In desperation the leaders turned to armed struggle. With the commitment to armed struggle, there was no longer any room for choice.

An address given by Dr Ushewokunze at the University of Zimbabwe on 31 July 1981, this paper highlights the problem of a liberated country and the dangers of national conventions. Dr Ushewokunze was Minister of Health in Mugabe's cabinet and is presently the Minister of Home Affairs.

At the moment, resolve narrowed the horizon — to permit of only one lifestyle — a life directed solely to victory.

During the years of the war there was great unanimity of opinion — in fact, one could say there was no sustained disagreement. We shared a common enemy and as brothers we fought for equality, and many, many died for this. It can be said that we revolted against our oppressors and participated in the revolution. We were the revolution. We were very clear in our thinking; contradictions were resolved.

It was as revolutionaries that we came to Lancaster. It was there that we were asked to gamble our reputation, based on actions not words, for our freedom.

When our President Comrade Mugabe asked, as Prime Minister, for reconciliation, he was acknowledging, amongst other things, that our former foes now required liberating alongside us. We understood that not only our former enemies but also our own people required educating in order that they choose equality rather than pay lip service to it. When the gun was put to rest, the dialogue was started. For many of us this dialogue appears repetitive. It enunciates statements that are well known to us, we become impatient for more overt change. But we must remember that for most of our number, who have been denied access to books, access to genuine knowledge of the meaning and workings of socialism that this is a new uncharted territory. How did the suitors in Shakespeare's play choose when faced with the three caskets? Which contained the reward? Was it the golden casket, the silver one, or that which was made of lead?

SOCIALISM

What, then, is socialism? Is there a single definition? Is there a single path to it? At which stage is it achieved? We do know that socialism is not welfare capitalism. Welfare capital-

ism is the benevolent paternalism whereby a portion of the privileged's wealth is doled out for free schools, free health, good roads, low-cost housing, subsidised food, and the poor are protected from the worst excesses of poverty, provided that the numbers of the ever present poor are not too great, and provided that economic power remains essentially concentrated in the same hands as before. At a certain stage the giving stops to protect the goose that lays the golden egg.

Since Independence it has openly been acknowledged that although we may be politically free — and even this is doubtful because of the Lancaster House Agreement — we are still not economically free. Land, raw materials and industry are substantially in private hands, often directed from abroad. As will be shown later in this discussion, of Zimbabwe's fifteen leading manufacturing companies, twelve are foreign owned, as are a majority of the commercial banks. The same is essentially true of mining and agriculture. In these fields, multinationals, whose names are household words, have developed an octopus-like power hitherto unresponsive to any control or even to the wishes of the masses. In our lifetime, food, oil and other materials have become powerful weapons in the hands of the political forces often operating behind the scenes to prevent socialist change, without appearing to be directly involved. For these reasons it is imperative that the land and the nation's natural resources and industries should be predominantly under public control and scrutiny. It is apparent that ultimately the struggle for socialism in Zimbabwe cannot be divorced from that in other countries. We need to be aware of, and constantly on our guard against, the dangers of tribalism, incipient corruption, destabilisation and loss of purpose that may be fostered by the enemies of Zimbabwe.

We know that socialism is concerned with equality (and not merely

equality of opportunity), brotherhood and freedom.

What then is the prerequisite for socialism in Zimbabwe? It is agreement to have socialism. We do not require the agreement of the neo-colonialist forces for this, but the essential agreement is that of the masses of Zimbabwe. Our overwhelming problem in Zimbabwe is how to achieve this agreement. Our people, who have nearly a century of oppression and humiliation to recover from, are timid, are afraid to relinquish the bourgeois material effects which they have. In many cases these possessions are pathetic bits and pieces painfully collected over a lifetime of hardship. As the new Zimbabwean begins to stretch his limbs with new found confidence he does not yet appear to be ready to make sacrifices when he considers himself to have so little. The emerging Zimbabwean is an easy prey to the forces of capitalism, of neo-colonialism. **The deliberate policy of the former racist regime was to exclude us from training in essential skills, and this lack of trained manpower has added to our vulnerability.** We have seen it take its toll on the African continent. We may well ask ourselves, what has independence done for some of our brethren on this continent who seem to have been mesmerised by welfare capitalism? Has the neo-colonial ideology ushered in equality and a fairer world?

EXPERIENCE

We in Zimbabwe are fortunate in that we have already chosen to develop solidarity with and secure assistance from socialist countries throughout the world, and we are able to learn from their experience of socialism stretching over decades. We know from such experience that mass education, on which our government has rightly placed emphasis, can facilitate socialist awareness. Here the mass media can play a powerful part in fostering knowledge, awareness, a sense of solidarity and questioning of the outmoded institutions and values. Those who presume to educate the public should be imbued with a sense of responsibility to the public. Here the government has made a start in freeing the press from South African control and establishing the mass media trust.

Similarly, the government has made a useful, if modest, start in encouraging worker participation in industry and in establishing co-operatives and collective farming. Banks and finance corporations should be subjected to greater public scrutiny and control — already the government has a majority shareholding in one bank and a 40 per cent shareholding in another bank in Zimbabwe. Public financing should be characterised by a fully developed system of public

accountability. The labour movement should be seen to be in alliance with the government. The Party should act as intermediary between the masses and the government. Individual members of parliament and senators should remain in constant touch with the people, so that the permanent black majority in parliament ensures the momentum towards socialism.

In the end our prospects depend upon our choices. No, not our, *your* choices. The future of our country and of our advance to socialism depends upon the commitment that each one of you makes to conquer the enemy, greed and ignorance. You have a duty to enhance your own self-awareness, to recognise your duty to work with, alongside and through our Party to reach the people of Zimbabwe so that, with their enlightenment, we can achieve that for which we have fought.

TRANSITIONAL PHASE

Let me now as a political-scientist take a calm and cold look at our beautiful country — Zimbabwe. I believe we are going through a national democratic revolution whereby society and its institutions have to be democratised. It is a transitional phase to socialism and the guiding principles are socialist. Our Prime Minister has made it clear that we envisage a socialist society in the final analysis. Let us, however, remind ourselves how early in the process of defining a new Zimbabwe the present moment is, and let this serve too as a warning that humility and caution are in order in commenting on such a situation. Where then do we begin an analysis of 'problems and prospects of socialist development in Zimbabwe'?



Obviously, in trying to make an analysis of socialist development in Zimbabwe much will depend upon our reading of the character of ZANU (PF), of the class forces which it represents, and of the kind of politics and ideology which it has come to embody — of how well, in short, ZANU (PF) itself really has 'learnt its dialectics'. Such a reading is no very straightforward exercise, however. The evidence is slippery and the scope for difference of opinion and of emphasis vast. For this reason, there may be some point in bracketing temporarily the ZANU (PF) question in order to look

at the actual terrain for manoeuvre which confronts our government. It is, in any case, a way of posing the issue from which scientific socialists can hope to learn.

Lenin's enforced reversion to the new economic policy, Mao's early post-1948 dalliance with China's 'national capitalists', suggest that in the transition to socialism, the shortest distance between two points is not necessarily a straight line, that hurried and unprogrammed change can sometimes be as dangerous as going too slow. What of the Zimbabwean case in this regard?

Certainly, the inherited terrain is formidably congested and the need for tactical dexterity patent. A good starting point would be to remind ourselves that Zimbabwe possesses a notably dependent capitalist economy. It is well endowed with minerals, with gold almost the country's largest foreign exchange earner, while on the agricultural side, as much as one-half of Zimbabwe's agricultural production is exported, contributing a third or more of foreign exchange earnings. Nonetheless, this is also an economy where a quite highly developed manufacturing sector accounts for about a quarter of gross domestic product.

FOREIGN INVESTMENTS

Despite such diversification, however, concentration of ownership and a very high degree of external control has remained one of the economy's two most distinctive characteristics; the other being the fact that black Zimbabweans are estimated to control no more than 12 per cent of the productive capacity of the economy! Thus, domestic capital — in agriculture, light industry, commerce and services — merely fills gaps in an economy in which 7.6 per cent of manufacturing firms produce 68 per cent of total output, and where, of the country's fifteen leading profit-making companies, twelve are foreign owned (as are three banks); in which mining production is almost entirely dominated by foreign firms (88 per cent of jobs and 95 per cent of output), and in which, even in agriculture, perhaps as much as three-quarters of profits accrue to externally owned plantations and estates.

A number of very large companies control key sectors — Turner and Newell (asbestos), Union Carbide (chrome), Lonrho (mining and manufacturing), Delta (South African breweries) — while the South African giant, Anglo-American, which is in mining (nickel, copper, coal), iron and steel, agriculture (Hippo Valley for sugar, Mazoe Estate for citrus), and milling, and which has one or more directors on eighty-two different companies, has spread itself right across the economy.

Of course, these firms almost all rely on migrant and low wage labour and have almost all been involved in high levels of remittance of repatriated profits and dividends — two things any socialist government can be expected to bridle at. The big question is: can the possession of bargaining counters by the Zimbabwean bourgeoisie make private capital relatively immune from radical government action? This remains to be seen as no one knows what lies in the womb of time.

Some economists say that it is hard to find a sub-Saharan African example comparable to the Zimbabwe case, in which the role of foreign investments has been so long established, so deeply integrated into the sector producing the bulk of the output, so strongly interconnected with local capital, and in consequence probably as difficult to foresee being quickly altered. This is the major problem in the way of socialist development in Zimbabwe. That is why the statement in the ZANU (PF) electoral manifesto must elicit objective sympathy. I quote: **'One of the existing practical realities is the capitalist system which cannot be transformed overnight' and the attendant formulation that 'private enterprise will have to continue until circumstances are ripe for socialist change'. These 'circumstances' are the problems in socialist development in Zimbabwe.**

It might be tempting, were it not for the circumstances which are not yet ripe, to present as some material approximation to socialism the substantial state sector which does exist — marketing boards, electricity, railways, airline, posts and telecommunications, an industrial development corporation, all these together accounting for one-third of the country's total economic activity — and the quite diverse assortment of available state control — over-prices, imports, foreign exchange, new projects. This is an overt prospect in socialist development in Zimbabwe.

It, however, goes without saying that in this national democratic revolutionary phase forward-looking people ultimately would be much more comfortable with a production pattern which, even at the minimum, serviced the 'basic needs' of the population in ways that 'market forces' are never likely to do. There must, therefore, be advocacy for the movement from political to 'economic independence'. This would create 'ripe circumstances' for the controlled nationalisation of certain institutions, extended control over industry and mining and significant regulation of private sector investment decisions. In addition, this would widen the scope for the establishment of workers' control in all economic sectors. Again, the problem of the terrain being what it

is, no precipitate or unconsidered measures would follow from this approach. The general thrust must, nevertheless, be generated and sustained. Majority shareholding must remain inside the country and projects re-invested.



Robert Mugabe meeting Lord Carrington, Minister of Foreign Affairs, during the Lancaster House negotiations.

LAND QUESTION

The second conditioning factor in Zimbabwe's political economy is the land question, source of much of the heat behind the country's revolutionary thrust over the years and now a policy area of considerable challenge to our government. It provides a compelling argument for structured change. The problem is the grip on productive agricultural land by the private sector as a fundamental factor in determining the shape of such land reform initiatives as are likely to be forthcoming. One of the problems in socialist development vis-a-vis the land question is the compromise we made during the Lancaster House conference, at British dictate, to accept the entrenchment (effectively for ten years), in the constitution's Declaration of Rights, of a stringent section on 'freedom of deprivation of property'. The implications of this can be summarised as follows.

Compulsory acquisition can only take place when it is for the 'public benefit' or 'in the case of underutilised land, settlement land for agricultural purposes'. Acquisition can only be lawful provided there is 'prompt payment of adequate compensation', remitted abroad 'within reasonable time'. The provisions are justifiable and thus the supreme court could have a vital role to play. Much is left to the judges, since there is no definition of underutilised land, adequate compensation or prompt payment. In short, the British, with this section in the constitution, have tried to corner the new Zimbabwe government and thus control the pattern of socialist development in Zimbabwe even more effectively than they cornered some of their former colonies.

This can be seen as a compromise that cost us the pace of socialist advance. This carries the dangers which, if less dramatic than short-term economic crises, are perhaps even more serious in the longer run. For there is the very real possibility of becoming trapped on the terrain of short-term calculation, circumstances never quite so ripe for socialist change as to make realisation of such change a straightforward exercise.

RISKS

Then, with powerful forces acting quite self-consciously to reinforce pragmatism and caution, long-term goals of transformation may, without ever being quite ripe, merely wither on the vine. I have been told that a transition to socialism is never risk-free. **The deftest (and most successful) of revolutionaries have been those who have pushed carefully but creatively at the margin of risk, expanding that margin and increasingly controlling it.** This round of Zimbabwean revolution is much more fraught with complexity than the armed struggle which preceded it.

Nor are the Zimbabwe government's calculations with reference to this complexity being made in a vacuum. Bourgeois commentators summarise the other side of the Zimbabwean coin by talking of a possible 'crisis of expectations'. This is not a contradiction which is easily resolved. Yet even if some greater risk is likely to be envisaged in meeting some of the goals like free schooling, free health services, more and better paid jobs, social security, etc. — problems in socialist development in Zimbabwe still exist, for, viewed from another perspective, such expectations are real class demands, coming from those exploited classes in Zimbabwean society who not only wish to redress their historic situation of deprivation but who also have every reason in so doing to see the settlers and the multinationals as their class enemies. **Moreover, it is precisely in the class conflictual nature of mass demands that there lies the possibility of workers and peasants coming to see in socialism a broader solution to their deprivation aimed at the fundamental transformation of the productive relations of Zimbabwean society.** Equally, it is when such a transformation project is not in train that class demands can dissipate into mere 'expectations' (the understandable, but economic, drive for more education, more health, more pay, more land) and the movement's response transmuted into mere welfarism.

In the latter event, such demands are then too easily construed as 'problems' to be dealt with administratively — the social democratic trap — rather than becoming the substance of prioritisation and self-

conscious planning by the deprived classes themselves. Class alliances fragment, and (we) politicians, far from being catalysts of socialist consciousness, begin to outbid each other to deliver sectoral and regional favour. Or, alternatively, we turn ourselves into instruments of suppressing what we think are unreasonable demands altogether. This is the problem inherent in our socialist development and which could then be interpreted, not so much as failure to 'satisfy popular expectations' but as demobilisation of the class struggle.

WHITES

Let us turn for a moment to the bourgeoisie, whose whites — only a couple of a hundred thousand in a population of some seven million — who nonetheless continue to dominate the infrastructure of the Zimbabwe society virtually across

the direction of the judicious Africanisation of established structures.

Nonetheless, the multinational fraction of the 'bourgeoisie' does have considerably more room for manoeuvre in the long run than its 'settler' counterpart, and can be expected to continue to use it in an attempt to pre-empt radicalisation of Zimbabwean nationalism in the direction of socialism. The game of the most intelligent of this bourgeoisie must now be — in Fanon's words — 'to capture the vanguard, to turn the movement to the right, and to "disarm" the people'. Part of the tactic here consists of threat, tacit or otherwise, i.e. capital flight, flight of personnel, industrial and agricultural collapse, and part will consist of the most obvious carrots, i.e. promotions, directorships, even bribery. But part of it,

will sometimes intervene. Dealing with this aspect of racism will divert us from our socialist course.

BLACK MIDDLE CLASS

At this point in Zimbabwe's history, Maynardism must be, will be, even more urgently the white-cum-bourgeois strategy: the creation of a black middle class. For Mr Maynard, self-evidently, had learnt his dialectics. This will present problems to socialist development in Zimbabwe. Viewed in these terms and in continental perspective, it would be surprising if there were not such recruits and more in Zimbabwe — even among you here today.

Despite massive educational deprivation at the base, and real shortfall in black skills relevant to our situation, Zimbabwe does have a large pool of trained Africans —



Multinationals: The Long Reach

the board. This is far from a uniform group, being roughly divided between settlers (i.e. farmers, skilled workers, small businessmen and civil servants) and those local actors who are attendant upon, or employed by, large multinational enterprises. **It is the settler group which has felt itself to be most threatened — in their land, in their jobs, in their lifestyle — by African advance, and most supportive of limitations upon reform inherent in our advance to socialism.** Multinational capital thinks it can live, on the terrain of neo-colonialism, with a much more adventurous version of black advance and plans to do so. The interests of these two elements of bourgeois society show considerable overlap of self-identification and interest. In any case, multinational capital must certainly be fearful of too precipitous a rate of change, even if such change were merely to be in

too, will be to draw 'the vanguard' even more firmly on to the cultural terrain of international capitalism and to make the values and *modus operandi* of this global system the 'commonsense' of the new African petit-bourgeoisie-in-the-making. It will be a part of the class struggle which will be fought not in the bush but on such prosaic 'battlefields' as the sundowner circuit, the ministerial office and the business meeting over lunch at some posh Salisbury hotel or club. It will be fought by the more sophisticated white civil servants, businessmen, local managers of multinational firms as they regroup on the ground, and by the purveyors of aid, capital and technology. It would be a mistake to underestimate the importance of this aspect of the problem in our socialist development in Zimbabwe. There are limits upon such bourgeois action, of course; white supremacy is not merely a calculating machine and sheer racism

trained both locally and abroad. Complementing those already *in situ*, many of those trained abroad will be returning, and some have already done so, to claim their place in the sun, often from western-sponsored programmes which have been more or less self-consciously designed to groom them for such a moment — the middle-class or Maynardism moment. In addition, there are in most sectors, public and private, skilled and semi-skilled Africans whose advancement up the job ladder has been artificially constrained by racist definitions of competence. Such facts present both an opportunity and a danger, the danger lying in the possibility that some fundamental characteristics of the white economy in particular the extreme inequality in wealth, income, land distribution and decision making, will survive, with the skilled and educated blacks slipping into white shoes, and thereby creating themselves as

a black middle class with interests directly at variance with the majority of the population and in support of growing integration with and subordination to the world capitalist economy. Thus a 'new' or 'bureaucratic' petit-bourgeoisie will begin to form around the state and corporate hierarchies, and perhaps in future there will also be private sector opportunities for the latter to exploit for themselves. In short, black advancement will now be the name of the game, and in that context it will not be the availability of recruits for 'mere Africanisation' which is in question. Rather, the crucial factor will be the political and ideological context in which such potential recruits now find themselves and in which they must define their practice. **Marcellino dos Santos, a senior FRELIMO leader, once said that the most important way to guarantee against such deprivation as just spelt out was to popularise the revolutionary aims and to create such a situation that if, for one reason or another, at some future time some people start trying to change their aims, they will meet with resistance from the masses.** This is a prospect in our socialist development in Zimbabwe.

PEASANTRY

What are the prospects for a people's politics to safeguard the integrity of the present phase of the Zimbabwe revolution? An initial key to this should lie in the role of the peasantry, since it was among the peasantry that the Patriotic Front alliance found its popular base for advancing the armed struggle as effectively and differentially as it did. Perhaps the key is to be found

in our programme of collectivisation — peasant agriculture will be the basis of collectivisation — such collective agriculture will be by 'persuasion rather than compulsion'. When established, such units will provide the socio-political basis for the peasantry's organisation as an even more fully self-conscious class — an insurance for good prospects for socialist development in Zimbabwe.

Such collective units should not be allowed to degenerate, as elsewhere in Africa, into mere instruments of state control of peasant agriculture and peasant surpluses. There must be developed methods of political work which simplify persuasion. There must be countervailing mechanisms of popular participation and control, there must be a balance between leadership and mass action. This assumes the instinct for democratisation will remain as it is now. It is the way in which this instinct is given current expression in the rural areas as institutionalised and focussed peasant power that will be the litmus test of the prospects of socialist development in Zimbabwe.

WORKING CLASS

What of the Zimbabwean working class, an obvious guarantor of a socialist transition? Of course, the category 'working class' is a slippery one under Zimbabwean conditions because much of the workforce is in migratory movement between urban and rural settings and sometimes from beyond our borders and, therefore, not that easily categorised. Moreover, this workforce is quite diversified. The

bases for extreme working-class discontent are also patent. Between 1965 and 1975 the wage gap between black and white had actually doubled. Given the vast discrepancies in income and life chance in Zimbabwe, one must be cautious about using labels like 'economism' or 'labour aristocracy' to characterise the thrust of such labour action, even when it does come, as is sometimes the case, from those sections of the workforce which are, relatively, least deprived and best organised.

Two difficulties arise, however. First, it must be emphasised that the terrain for working-class organisation has hitherto been partially organised culminating in the recent formation of the ZTCU. Despite settler-government restrictions, there are a number of African trade unions, many with some history of struggle, albeit struggle defined, by and large, in quite apolitical terms and directed towards fairly narrowly defined objectives. Less satisfactorily, some such unions have a history of extensive penetration by the most dubious of western influences, and these are influences which are at present again zeroing in on the African working class in preparation for the destabilisation of the good prospects for socialist development in Zimbabwe. Only the development of a self-conscious alliance of workers and peasants — with appropriate political institutions — capable of arbitrating competing demands by the popular classes and resolving such contradictions relatively non-antagonistically provides the key to good prospects of socialist development in Zimbabwe.

Race, Caste and Class in South Africa

I have certain grave misgivings about the analysis of race, class and caste proffered by Dr Neville Alexander and published in the papers "Nation and Ethnicity in South Africa" (*Frank Talk* Volume 1 Number 1, February/March 1984 pages 19-23) and "The National Situation" (*Mobilise and Consolidate*, February 1983 pages 25-34). Alexander's discussion of course centres around Azania, but the questions he raised are not unrelated to the problems of other Third World countries. And it is for that reason — and in a spirit of enquiry and friendly discourse — that I take issue with him.

The crux of the matter lies in Alexander's discussion of "colour-caste" and the implications of his analysis for revolutionary practice. I will consider terminological and conceptual issues before proceeding to Alexander's central thesis.

RACE

1. Alexander seems to be saying that to accept the concept of race — however used (anthropologically, biologically or sociologically) — is to accept a racial classification of people, giving each (race) a weightage or, in the alternative, denying its weightage (and therefore a hierarchy of superiority) altogether. It follows from this that the assertion that race "A" is superior or inferior to race "B" is to be condemned because it assumes the existence of groups of human beings called "races". The assertion that "all races" are equal in their potential for development and the acquisition of skill is to be condemned for the same reason.

So that, for Alexander, it is as meaningless to say that some races are superior to others as it is to say that all races are equal. Hence there is no such thing as race.

But you cannot do away with racism by rejecting the concept of race.

2. Alexander denies the reality of race as a biological entity. Hence he denies the existence of racial groups. For the limited purposes of a genetic science, however, he is prepared to describe such groups as 'breeding populations' — since 'such a description has no coherent political, economical or ideological significance'. (see No Sizwe *One Azania, One Nation*, London, Zed Press, 1979). But however you describe them — and however 'inherently' neutral the description — some 'breeding populations' do think of themselves as superior to

This contribution by A. Sivanandan, editor of *Race and Class*, a journal published by the Institute of Race Relations in London, England is intended to stimulate discussion on the Azapo policy that race is a class determinant. Sivanandan takes issue with Dr Neville Alexander who considers it a "scientific fact that 'race' is a non-entity". (*National Situation* at 31; *Nation and Ethnicity* at 20).

other 'breeding populations' and act out that belief to their own social, economic and political advantage. Changing the description does not change the practice — but the practice can taint the description till that ceases to be neutral (so that for racism we merely substitute 'breeding populationism'.)

In the final analysis, it is the practice that defines terminology, not terminology the practice. The meaning of the word is *not* the action it produces. If so, to destroy the word would be to destroy the act — and that is metaphysics. On the contrary, it is action which gives meaning to a word — it is in the act that the word is made flesh. In the beginning was the act, not the word. Thus 'black', which the practice of racism defined as a perjorative term, ceases to be perjorative when that practice is challenged. Black is as black does.

You cannot do away with racism by using a different terminology.

3. Similarly, the use of the term ethnicity to differentiate between human groups that 'for some natural, social or cultural reason come to constitute a (temporary) breeding population' is equally irrelevant. In fact, it is "dangerously misleading". For, in trying to remove the idea of group superiority while keeping the idea of group difference, ethnicity sidles into a culturalism which predicates separate but equal development, apartheid. It substitutes the vertical division of ethnicity for the horizontal division of class, political pluralism for class conflict, and freezes the class struggle.

4. The concept of national groups implies "a fragmentation of the population into potentially or actually antagonistic groupings", and thereby facilitates "the maintenance of hegemony by the ruling classes". And the concept of national minorities is essentially a European one and one that once again obscures the essential class nature of society.

5. But 'race' in its original sense of 'a group of persons or animals or plants connected by common descent or origin' (*Shorter Oxford*

Dictionary) is no less neutral a term than 'breeding populations'. And that there are differences between such groups is an observable fact. What is *material*, however, is neither the term nor the group differences it implies, but the differential power exercised by some groups over others by virtue of, and on the basis of, these differences — which in turn engenders the belief that such differences are material. **What gives race a bad name, in other words, is not the racial differences it implies or even the racial prejudice which springs from these differences, but the racist ideology that grades these differences in a hierarchy of power — in order to rationalise and justify exploitation. And in that sense it belongs to the period of capitalism.**

CASTE

6. Alexander's 'central thesis', however, is that 'colour-caste' best describes 'the officially classified population registration groups in South Africa' (*Nation and Ethnicity* page 22) — and that it is of 'pivotal political importance to characterise them as such' (No Sizwe). About the importance of correct analysis for correct political action I have no disagreement. But, for that very reason, I find the characterisation of South Africa's racial groups as colour-castes not only wrong, but misleading.

The argument for using the caste concept is made on the basis that South Africa's racial system (my phrase) has the same characteristics as the caste system in India. These refer to such things as rituals, privileges, mode of life and group cohesion ('an integrative as opposed to a separatist dynamic'). And whether or not 'the origin of the caste system in India is related to the question of colour', the crucial difference is that in India it is 'legitimised by cultural-religious criteria', whereas in South Africa it is 'legitimised by so-called "racial" criteria'. But in both, caste relations are 'social relations based on private property carried over in amended form from the pre-capitalist colonial situation to the present capitalist period'. To 'distinguish it in its historical specificity', however, Alexander would characterise the caste system in South Africa as a

colour-caste system — in which 'the castes articulate with the fundamental class structure of the social formations . . .' (No Sizwe).

But, in the first place, these are analogies at the level of the superstructure, with a passing consideration for the 'historical specificity' that distinguishes the two systems. They relate to ideological, cultural characteristics adjusted to take in considerations of class and social formations, but they do not spring from an analysis of the specific social formations themselves — they are not historically specific. That specificity has to be sought not in this or that set of religious or racial criteria, but in the social formation and therefore the historical epoch from which those criteria spring. The social formation in which the Indian caste system prevailed is qualitatively different to the social formation in South Africa, and indeed to that of India today. Secondly, it is not enough to say that caste relations are 'social relations in private property carried over in amended form' from a pre-capitalist era to a capitalist one, without specifying at the same time that private property in the earlier period referred mainly to land, whereas in capitalist society it refers also to machinery, factories, equipment. And that alters the nature of their respective social relations fundamentally. Thirdly,

and most importantly, Alexander makes no reference to the *function* of caste. Caste relations in India grew organically out of caste functions of labour. They were relations of production predicated by the level of the productive forces but determined by Hindu ideology and polity. But as the productive forces rose and the relations of production changed accordingly, caste lost its original *function* — and, un-needed by capital, it was outlawed by the state. But because India, unlike South Africa, is a society of a thousand modes, caste still performs some function in the interstices of its pre-capitalist formation and caste relations in its culture. South Africa, however, has caste relations without ever having had a caste function. Such relations have not grown out of a pre-capitalist mode; nor are they relations of production stemming from the capitalist mode. They are, instead, social relations enforced by the state to demarcate racial groups with a view to differential exploitation within a capitalist system.

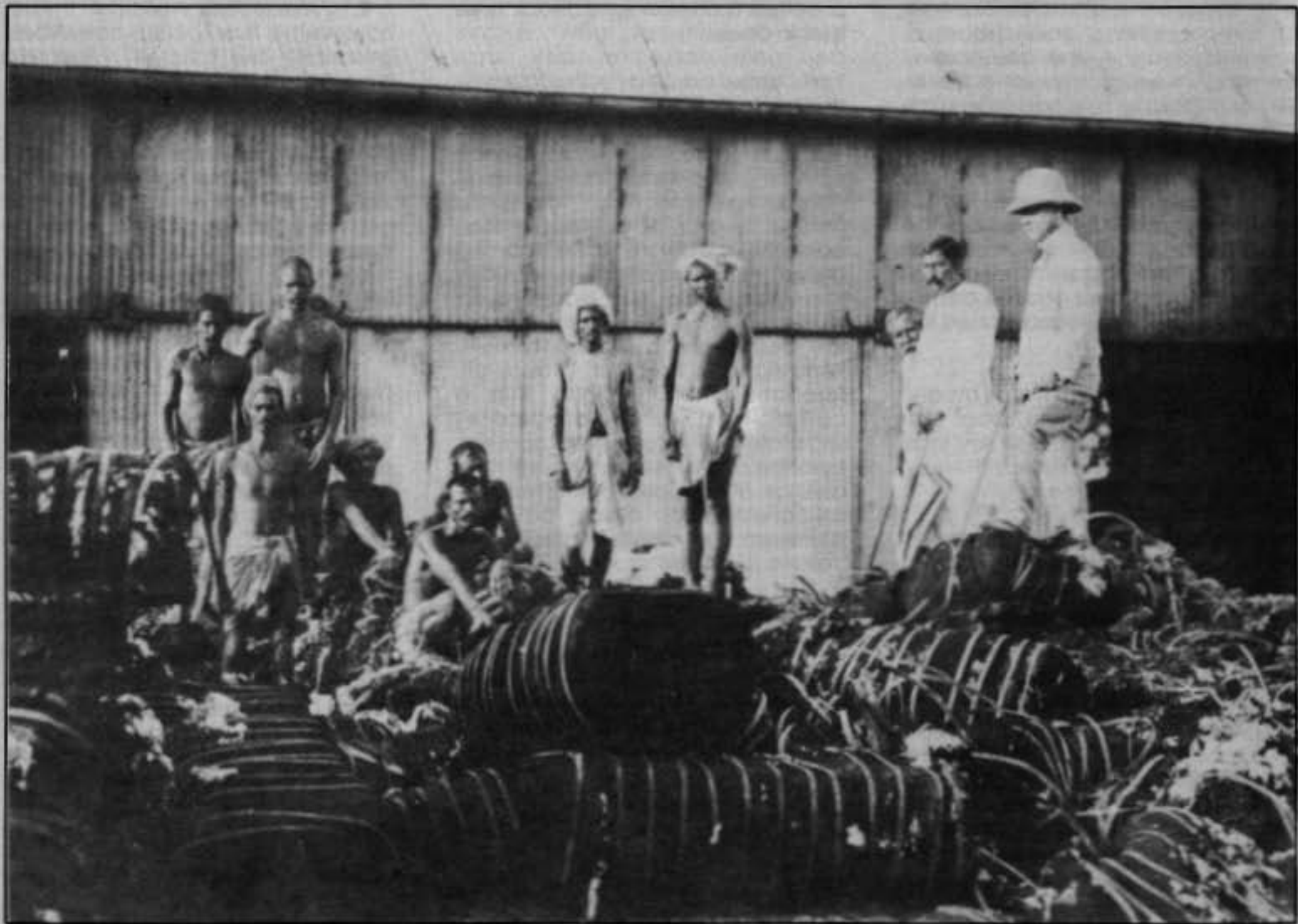
To put it differently, caste as an instrument of exploitation belongs to an earlier social formation — what Samir Amin calls the tributary mode — where the religio-political factor and not the economic was dominant and hence determined social relations. The Hindu religion, like all

pre-capitalist religions, encompassed all aspects of human life. Hindu ideology determined social relations from which the state could extract the maximum surplus: the caste system. It is in this sense that India's great Marxist scholar Kosambi in *The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India* (London, 1965) defines caste as 'class at a lower level of the productive forces'.

CLASS

In the capitalist system, however, it is the economic factor which is dominant; it is that which determines social relations and, in the final analysis, the political and ideological superstructures. And how these are shaped and modified depends on how the economic system is made to yield maximum surplus value with minimum social dislocation and political discontent. Exploitation, in other words, is mediated through the state which ostensibly represents the interests of all classes.

Since European capitalism emerged with the conquest of the Black world, the exploitation of the peoples of these countries found justification in theories of white superiority. Such attitudes were already present in Catholicism, but, muted by the belief that the heathen could be saved, found no



The economic exploitation of the colonies went hand in hand with the development of racist social systems. This picture, of bales of cotton ready for shipment to Britain and Indian cotton workers with their colonial overseers, is typical of what was happening all over the world.



Calvin (left) and Darwin (right) . . . they shook hands over the chained body of the black at Union.

ideological justification in scripture. The forces that unleashed the bourgeois revolution, however, were also the forces that swept aside the religious inhibitions that stood in the way of the new class and installed instead a new set of beliefs that sought virtue in profit and profit in exploitation. 'Material success was at once the sign and reward of ethical superiority' and riches were 'the portion of the Godly than of the wicked' (R.H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, London 1975) — and each man's station in life was fixed by heavenly design and unalterable. You were rich because you were good, you were good because you were rich — and poverty was what the poor had brought upon themselves. But to fulfil one's 'calling' was virtue enough.

In such a scheme of things, the bourgeoisie were the elect of God, the working class destined to labour and the children of Ham condemned to eternal servitude — 'a servant of servants . . . unto his brethren'. Each man was locked into his class and his race, with the whites on top and the blacks below. And between the two there could be no social mixing, for that would be to disrupt the race-class base on which exploitation was founded. To prevent such mixing, however, recourse was had to Old Testament notions of purity and pollution. Social or caste barriers, in other words, were not erected to preserve racial purity; rather, racial purity was 'erected' to preserve social, and therefore economic, barriers. The reasons for the racial divide, that is, were economic, but the form their expression took was social.

Thus, the racism of early capitalism was set in caste-like features — not

ordained by religion, as in Hinduism, but inspired by it, not determining the extraction of surplus but responding to it. The Calvinist diaspora, 'the seed-bed of capitalistic economy', (Gothein) would sow too the seeds of racism, but how they took root and grew would depend on the ground on which they fell.

In general, however, as capitalism advanced and became more 'secular', racism began to lose its religious premise and, with it, its caste features and sought validity instead in 'scientific' thought and reason — reaching its nineteenth-century apogee in Eugenics and Social Darwinism. Not fortuitously, this was also the period of colonial-capitalist expansion. But at the same time, with every advance in the level of the productive forces and, therefore, in the capitalist mode — from mercantile to industrial to finance and monopoly capital — racist ideology was modified to accord with the economic imperative. Slavery is abolished when wage-labour (and slave rebellion) makes it uneconomical; racism in the colonies becomes outmoded with the advent of neo-colonialism and is consigned to the metropole with the importation of colonial labour. And within the metropolises themselves, the contours and content of racism are changed and modified to accommodate the economic demands (class) and political resistance (race) of black people. *Racism* may yet remain as a cultural artefact of an earlier epoch, but *racism* recedes in order that capital might survive. (Racism refers to attitudes, behaviour, 'race relations'; racism is the systematisation of these into an explicit

ideology of racial superiority and their institutionalisation in the state apparatus).

SOUTH AFRICA

But not in South Africa. Here, though the economy is based in the capitalist mode, the superstructure bears no organic relationship to it. It does not on the whole respond to the economic imperatives of the system. And that inflexibility in turn inhibits the base, holds it down, prevents it from pursuing its own dynamic. Hence, there is a basic contradiction between the superstructure and the base.

Where that contradiction is located, however, is in that part of the superstructure which relates to the black working class — and black people generally. In effect, there are two superstructures (to the same economic base) — one for the whites and another for the blacks. The white superstructure, so to speak, accords with the economic imperatives — and is modified with changes in the level of productive forces and of class struggle. It exhibits all the trappings of capitalist democracy (including a labour movement that represents the interests of the white working class) and of capitalist culture (except when it comes to mixing with the blacks). For the blacks, however, there is no franchise, no representation, no rights, no liberties, no economic or social mobility, no labour movement that cannot be put down with the awesome power of the state — no nothing. The 'black superstructure', in other words, is at odds with the capitalist economy, sets the economy at odds with itself, and inhibits its free development — so that only changes in that superstructure, in racism, can release the economy into its own dynamic. **South Africa, therefore, is an exceptional capitalist social formation.**

In the second place, South Africa's racist ideology, compared to that of other capitalist societies, has not changed over the years. Instead, it has gathered to itself the traits, features, beliefs, superstitions, habits and customs of both pre-capitalist and capitalist social formations. Its caste features bear an uncanny resemblance to the Hindu caste system of medieval India, though we know them to be inspired by Calvinism, the religion of capital. It combines, in Ken Jordaan's exact phrase, 'the Afrikaners' fundamentalist racialism with the instrumentalist racism of British imperialism'. ('Iberian and Anglo-Saxon Racism,' *Race & Class* Vol 20, No 4, Spring 1979). It finds authority in religion and in science both at once — in the doctrines of the Dutch Reformed



The whites on top and the blacks below. This picture shows officers (always white men) and lascars (black seamen) on HMS Hardinge during Lord Curzon's tour of the Persian Gulf, 1903. Black crews were taken on, whenever required, from all over Britain's Empire. They were paid much less than white crews.



SETTLER REGIME IN CRISIS . . . OPERATION PALMIET

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- is a forum for the exchange of views amongst the oppressed people in Azania.
- makes known the views of the oppressed and exploited on matters affecting them in Azania.

- contributes to the development of the BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS (BC) ideology in Azania.
- examines relevant philosophical approaches to South Africa's problems.
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OUR COVER

- 13H 00 Bomb Blasts
- 14H00 Nkomati Accord (s) Signed — Setback to banned movements
- 15H00 Raid on Azapo — Silencing internal resistance
- 16H00 Rumours of ANC — S.A. (oppressor) regime Talks
- 17H00 The Tricameral Parliament
- 18H00 The British Consulate siege — Treason Trials
- 19H00 Military Invasion of Black Townships
- 20H00 & 21H00 Imperialist agents in Azania — Whose interests do they represent?
- 22H00 P.W. Botha announces New Forum
- 23H00 Botha-Malan junta offers "Freedom" to political prisoners
- 24H00 Midnight — For whom does the Bell Toll? . . .

Editorial

White South Africa is swiftly reaching the realization that it is in a state of crisis. The Botha-Malan junta has a master-plan to ensure the survival of white supremacy in our beloved Azania. This master-plan has been hatched in conference halls in Washington DC, London, Paris and Bonn.

We know that Imperialism painstakingly studies liberation movements all over the globe and decides which of these movements are co-optable. We know that millions of dollars, pounds and marks are invested in infiltrating liberation movements and coming up with political "solutions" which ensure that the imperialists and their local gendarmes maintain a tight grip on economic power.

Imperialism has assessed the Azanian liberation movement and is now actively seeking to draw the "co-optables" within the broad liberation movement to a "national convention". The national convention will be designed to ensure power in the hands of the system of racism and capitalism.

It is up to all revolutionaries to be wary of the National Convention strategy and to join AZAPO in making that strategy untenable.

The National Convention strategy has already begun sorting out the wheat from the chaff in the Azanian liberation movement. It has created a mighty cleft on the Ted Kennedy issue.

AZAPO unequivocally rejected the Massachusetts senator on the grounds of his horrifying capitalist background and his undisguised imperialist ambition. This clearly put AZAPO in the forefront of those opposing the entire move towards a National Convention of which the Kennedy visit was a cardinal part. Naturally, this has earned AZAPO the everlasting ire of all those who support Imperialism, Capitalism and rampant Racism.

It is fitting to sound a warning to wolves donning sheep's clothing in the liberation movement that the Azanian people will scorn them forever for their selfishness and their criminal blindness in fighting AZAPO, denouncing it or betraying it.

In this issue of *Frank Talk* we focus on the much-vaunted "objectivity" of the white press and expose it for the charade that it is. This is a timely reminder of the dire need for alternative media which will spread the seeds of revolutionary thought far and wide. We earnestly hope that our sister publication *Azanian Focus* will evolve to meet this need. We require media which articulates the aspirations and yearnings of the Black workers. Only when what the

media says corresponds to the loves, hates, fears and frustrations of the Black masses will we accept it, take it as ours and rely on it to further the liberatory cause. The white press is an instrument of the system, it is tied hand and foot to the interests of racism and capitalism.

The rulers' efforts to perpetuate a shamocracy are being heightened by the revolutionary tide which is gripping the Black masses in every street, *pondokkie*, factory, farm and shop in Mother Azania. Life for the Black people has acquired an object: to eliminate exploitation, to govern themselves by and for themselves and to construct a free Azania. And the masses are well aware that liberation never comes as a gift from anybody, it has to be moulded with their own hands.

Frank Talk takes this opportunity to pay tribute to one of the greatest son of the Azanian Revolution, Onkgopotse Abraham Ramothibi Tiro who was murdered by a parcel bomb in Botswana on February 1, 1974.

BANNED

Frank Talk Volume 1 Number 5 has been banned for distribution in terms of Government Notice 9563 of 18 January 1985 and the *Viva Azapo* calendar for 1985 was also banned on 21 December 1984 as their contents are "prejudicial to the safety of the state, the general welfare or the peace and good order."

Tiro's death is a painful reminder of all that we still have to accomplish in the Azanian revolution. Tiro was resolute in stating that nothing short of the repossession of vanquished soil will begin to satisfy Black aspirations. Not for Ramothibi the shortcuts of "national conventions", shamocracies, negotiation and procrastination!

We in Black Consciousness Movement do not promise any easy victories: we are aware that the struggle is long, tortuous and arduous. We have a duty to curb the growing list of martyrs — every day sees a Black father, mother, son or daughter killed by the murderous settler colonialists. And the only way to end this carnage is to actively dedicate ourselves to the cause of Black liberation.

The Fifth National Congress of AZAPO at Retreat, Cape Town saw revolutionaries soberly pondering the strategies of work stoppages, stayaways and boycotts and once again



Q. R. TIRO
22/06/1945 — 1/02/1974

brought home the point that BC knows no holy cows. We wish the new Central Committee a successful year and remind them that we, the Azanian masses, are looking upon them for grit, determination and direction in the gruelling days to come.

The persecution of AZAPO member Comrade Dr Aubrey Mokoape by the racist South African Medical and Dental Council and their continued tardiness to prosecute the Biko doctors provokes us to consider whether the role of the physician in Azania ends with the stethoscope and the syringes. It is often the case that physicians from amongst the oppressed and the exploited have a stake in the system precisely because of the incomparably high standard of living that capitalism provides for them. Physicians in South Africa have to come to grips with their Blackness and employ their skills to participate fully in the ethos and pathos of the Revolution. Only then can we accept them as "our" doctors and technicians until then they fully belong to the murderous world of apartheid medicine.

Ali Shariati's piece on the self-rationalization of capitalism shows how the political strategy of the National Convention is complemented by the economic strategy of bourgeoisifying the working class.

It is hoped that the contributions in this issue will bring attention to the multiform strategies calculated to contain the Azanian revolution and annihilate the true liberation movement. Extreme vigilance combined with unrelenting action is necessary to *kill* the National Convention and usher in a free, anti-racist, socialist Azania.

Frankly Speaking . . .

GUERRILLA STRATEGY

• The Nkomati Accord has cast a brutal spotlight on the guerilla strategy pursued for the past 21 years by the ANC. The foolish notion that secure military bases could be built up in the "Frontline States" as the movement for liberation advanced down the African continent to the borders of South Africa and that *Umkhonto we Sizwe's* (MK's) armed actions would eventually cripple the state now lies in ruins.

It is in this context that I am forced to agree with the analysis of the ANC's position in the *National Forum* (July 1984). It is my sincere belief that the ANC leadership itself will be compelled to turn from its reliance on guerillaism to rely upon the movement of the working class, for no other force exists with the potential to take on effectively the power of the apartheid state.

The tactic of guerillaism made it easier for South Africa to turn the screws on the Frontline States, for the regime was able to use the pretext of attacking "terrorism" to cover its tactics of military aggression and economic strangulation.

I note that the National Forum Summit predicted that some elements in the 'national liberation movement' would participate in a "National Convention" (*op cit* at 15). I am familiar with the tension between the NFC and the UDF and I gather that the NFC meant that the UDF and ANC would be likely participants in such a sellout of the working class.

I am quite sure that such a sellout will not occur. Persistence in the bankrupt strategy of guerillaism can only lead to further defeats of the ANC in the future. But an acknowledgement of defeat, the causes of which are analysed, understood and made clear to everyone, can only drive the ANC to emerge with renewed vigour.

It is my belief that the UDF is the only hope for the working class in South Africa provided that it can analyse and correct the methods and approach pursued by the ANC in the 1950's. That period of mass struggle lacked nothing in courage, militancy and self-sacrifice, but saw the working class being crippled by the lack of a coherent revolutionary conception and a strategy on the part of the ANC leadership.

The problem with Black Consciousness is that it has abandoned the white working class to the capitalist class — thus leaving the white worker as a tremendous obstacle in the way of a victorious struggle. To classify all

whites as belonging to the enemy camp ensures that they remain there. The ANC and the UDF remain the only hope for working class victory in South Africa.

EDMUND NENE
Watville, Benoni

• In response to the letter from Mark Ntshona of Lusaka, Zambia, in which he states that "Azapo and the NFC must not fall into the trap and try to improve their position by denigrating the PAC":

It has never been the attitude of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the National Forum to denigrate any organisation involved in the struggle against the Botha regime. It has been necessary at times to evaluate contributions to the struggle made by banned bodies — the Pan Africanist Congress, the African National Congress, the Black People's Convention (BPC) and the South African Students' Organisation. This has been done in order to formulate our own strategies as an internal movement. The socialist-oriented Black Consciousness movement has recognised the real enemy of the majority of the people as local capitalism and international imperialism. We have made it clear that these are enemies and focussed our aggression against them.

It is regrettable for me to say that some of our suffering brothers and sisters have had their frustrative energies manipulated by organisations that stand for the entrenchment of capitalist and imperialist interests in our beloved country.

The only national party in South Africa that expresses working class interests and is working towards the establishment of a socialist state is Azapo.

Mark Ntshona hits the nail on the head when he says: "Imperialism supports the Kliptown Charter because it compromises the land question and African majority rule in Azania." I say so because there is much to indicate that the UDF is pushing for a National Convention with the oppressor.

I would like to reassure Mark Ntshona that Azapo has never denigrated the PAC or any of the liberation movements in exile. We know that our enemy is capitalism and we will fight it until socialism is established firmly in Azania.

NEIL KIEWITZ
Athlone, Cape Town



• I found the views of Minister Louis Farrakhan inflammatory in the extreme. How can *Frank Talk* print an article labelling Israel a criminal nation and Judaism a "gutter religion"?

The Minister overlooks the historical fact that it was Ralph Bunche, a Black American, who led efforts as a UN negotiator in Palestine that resulted in bringing peace to the Middle East in the post-World War II period and the establishment of the state of Israel.

Nobody who is genuinely against oppression questions the right of Israel to exist. It is important to remember that many of the ethical and religious beliefs upon which Western society is founded came out of the womb of Judaism. If *Frank Talk* subscribes to the tenets of the Judaeo-Christian heritage, how can it be a party to casting aspersions on Judaism?

JABU MGWAZI
Rockville, Soweto

Frank Talk is of the view that Israel has no right to exist, that the Western powers deliberately tried to salve their consciences by creating the Zionist state and by hounding the indigenous people (the Arabs) out of their motherland. Any genuine revolutionary knows that the Israeli regime is an illegitimate regime and the Palestinian cause is a just one.

Minister Farrakhan did not label Judaism a "gutter religion". This well-orchestrated calumny against the Minister emanates from the imperialist media. The Minister said the following at the National Press Club Conference: ". . . When I made the statement that Israel had not had any peace in 40 years and that she will never have any peace because there can be no peace structured on injustice, lying, thievery, and deceit using God's name to shield your dirty religion or dirty practises under His holy and righteous name this was termed to be an attempt on my part to discredit Judaism as a religion. . . There seems to be an unwritten law that Israel and Jews cannot be criticized particularly by Blacks for any one who does so must bear the

**CONTINUED ON
PAGE 9**

DEATH TO THE NATIONAL CONVENTION

There is an agreement that the country is undergoing a crisis. What is dismaying is that there is no clearer perception of such a crisis. Various attempts are being made by various analysts to shed light on the state of developments and there is an increasing expectation of change among some of them. The subject of change and crisis is both wide in scope and topical and the danger in handling the subject "might generate more heat than light".

The liberal over-optimism of the past is rearing its ugly head again as P.W. Botha, the Executive President, of the country increases his tempo of making promises and concessions. Such over-optimism and baseless hope would in the end be proved wrong and dangerous to the destiny of the Black people in this country.

In the backdrop of P.W. Botha's "sophisticated hypocrisy" a growing list of political "blueprints for change" is being made by various academic mercenaries and elements whose interests are tied to the status quo — white supremacy and continued white settler colonialism. We hope the old anecdote of the Hundred Years' War in Europe should not be fulfilled in our country: "when the parties finally got together for peace negotiations nobody could remember what the war was all about or how it had begun — and furthermore, whatever the original issues, they were now irrelevant to peace negotiations".

The real issues need not be clouded or mystified. Oppression and exploitation in our country are based on class, race, and national oppression and **the character of the struggle is therefore, a national liberation struggle whose principal contradiction is between the colonised and the colonisers, the exploiters and the exploited, the anti-imperialist and the imperialist and their local agents.** There is a convergence of the national liberation struggle and the class struggle. **The exclusion of Whites in this struggle is, therefore, non-negotiable.**

In essence "the national struggle" should be the point of departure. All indicators point towards a socialist revolution and reconstruction. A coalition of different social classes of **the colonised in the struggle should adopt correct theoretical and ideological positions in order to contend with the historical, economic and social reality of the country.**

The lesson in the words of Jesus Christ: "He that is not with us is against me" should inform our theoretical and



The growing call for a National Convention will reveal many sellouts. The People's Movement however needs to be even more vigilant against vipers in our bosom.

practical positions. We need not be hoaxed by those whose paternalistic feudalism is covered in a see-through dress of "participatory democracy" in liberal envisaged non-racial and multi-racial society. The colonisers and colonised, and specifically "labour and capital may be partners in theory, but they are enemies in fact".

Those who believe that the Black oppressed and exploited have a stake in the present system of colonialism and imperialist pursuits are placing irrational hope in the rising indignation of international imperialists on development in this country. They forget that imperialists and their agents know no other interests but of their own.

Those who believe in the legendary round table, holds that a National Convention can result in "co-operation and compromise" between the colonised and the coloniser. A National Convention is therefore for a national conspiracy of "all who share in the common objective of creating a peaceful and prosperous country with equal opportunity for all". Joyce Harris pointed out in a lead-in paper presented to the 1975 Black Sash Conference in Cape Town that the call for a National Convention was first made by the Black Sash in 1956 (Black Sash, November 1975). *In fact a similar call was made earlier.*

The issues raised in the lead-in paper are quite revealing. Fearing an explosive situation (total liberation of the Black people) a National Convention was seen to provide an "immediate and positive measure to defuse it and to create a climate favourable to peaceful change". The concerns for a National Conven-

tion were emanating from the fact that:

"There is *too much* inequity. There is *too much* discrimination — now euphemistically called differentiation. There is *too much* resentment and *too much* of its inevitable concomitant fear. There is *too much* abuse of power"

"And there is *too little* justice, *too little* regard for the rights and dignity of the vast mass of the people, *too little* attention paid to their valid demands" (Black Sash, November 1975 — emphasis mine).

The primary concern of the National Convention proponents is therefore, extending bourgeois democratic rights to the Black masses. The question to be asked is what is the basis for such concern. There is an unfounded argument that the country's capitalist system can under a benevolent management team satisfy the needs of the Black working class. Nothing is further from the truth. In a capitalist society private ownership of property (by the few) and a brutal pursuit of profit through the exploitation of workers is the ideal of the system.

As recent as 1980 the Black Sash co-sponsored "A Convention Movement" which had the goal "to demonstrate on as wide a basis as possible, grassroots support for the idea of holding a national convention where a new and acceptable constitution can be negotiated". The Convention with no pre-conditions, was proposed demanded a pledge in a belief in negotiation. **When was the question of negotiation and confrontation settled one may ask the authors?**

The debate on the confrontation or accommodation dispute cannot be resolved by those in disagreement on the actual nature of the struggle. The alternatives available in prosecuting the national liberation struggle in line with the aspirations and interests of the Black majority in the country is yet another field of dispute. There is no doubt that the "employment of certain sort of consideration (on the struggle and available alternatives) in itself, already support either the confrontation or accommodation oriented thought", there is no middle course.

The brutal lesson gleaned or supposed to have been learnt by the proponents of negotiation is that irrespective of arguments, on the contrary all White political parties which wish to accommodate Blacks would only allow it provided it would not deprive them of their (Whites) control. **There is no way in which those in a position of advantage and privilege can voluntarily engage in a process which must necessarily and typically take the form of a transfer of power to the African population.**

Power sharing talk is the smoke-screen aimed at hiding the concentration of power in the hands of the representatives of White settler colonialism in the country. Kwame Nkrumah's words of the caution to his countrymen are decisive in this context: **"We do know that never in history has self-government been handed to a colonial and oppressed people on a silver platter. . . the dynamic must come from us"**. All other "humanitarian" or "benevolent" gestures by the oppressor and the exploiter will only make us "half slaves and half free". The success of such measures rests on bribery and corruption, both moral and factual, of the forces against White settler colonialism and the mankilling remnants of imperialism in the country. Reform and concessions by the for-

At last, they've given each other a chance...



ces of oppression and exploitation is a strategy which knows no law beyond its own interest and it is natural that despite the pretensions of the agents of imperialism to justice and fair play, they always seek their interests first.

The ideological and psychological basis for the proponents of "the politics of the possible" was almost won when the rulers distorted and misrepresented the historical reality of the Black people in the country. The White settler colonialists argues that Black people are foreign to the Azanian soil. That Black and White people are fellow colonisers of Azania and thus the land belongs to *all*, Black and White. This mischievous school textbook argument has already been tried elsewhere in Africa with no measure of success. White colonialists in Zimbabwe tried to tell lies about the origin of the Zimbabwe ruins but new light by day is refuting all their ideologically motivated "archeological and historical findings". **The land is the Black man's inheritance and all those who remain on the land must face this reality.**

Proponents of economic determinism theories are inclined to believe

that the status quo can destroy itself. Without struggle they tend to suggest that apartheid can be reformed by various economic pressures made to bear on it. We are not naive to underestimate the ability of the system to adjust to such pressures in order to facilitate and maintain itself. We thus cannot assume that the present economic crisis facing the country has rendered the rulers incapable of employing "all measure of political violence and suppression at his disposal, and to withdraw into an armed laager or 'garrison state' in the face of the threats from inside and outside our borders".

Those who are genuinely interested in more than mere change should interrogate all the relevant facts around Reagan's imperialist influence in the region, the March 1984 Nkomati Accords, and related deals with "independent" neighbouring countries. One must admit that such accords and deals which have been entered into reflects power and its consolidation in favour of the White settler colonialists.

Who has bewitched the liberals and their careerist Marxists? Their call for or guarded support of the "National Convention Movement" is made in the backdrop of increasing warning from some sources that **"the National Convention will amount to a criminal betrayal of the working class in its struggle for a democratic South Africa free from exploitation and oppression"**. This is an echo of what was clearly spelled out by comrade George Wauchope in 1981 when he said: **"There can be no negotiation between non-equals"**. Joyce Harris and her fellow-travellers need to take her observations seriously. How does one interpret the following words: "Talks between strength and weakness are unsatisfactory and degenerate into appeals, demands, complaints on the one side, and acceptance, rejection, discrimination on the other". The most recent warning to be taken seriously too was spelled thus: **"Only free men can negotiate. Prisoners cannot enter into contracts"** (RDM 11-2-85).

Preconditions that various groups have laid down for a National Con-



An aerial view of the Zimbabwe ruins. All that remains of an extensive city built between the 12th and 14th centuries. It was the centre of a highly organised and developed civilisation

Implicit in the NFC's standpoint is the fear that a national convention might actually arrive at a formula for SA's future that would differ from the organisation's dreams and aspirations. That alone might be good enough reason to convene one.

vention are all steering clear from the question of "transferring complete power and the land to the indigenous owners". The Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) has been the uncompromising exception in this regard. AZAPO warned that a National Convention based on terms by various groups is "an exercise in futility".

In a broad-based summit of the National Forum in 1984 where the issue of the National Convention was raised, delegates agreed that a Convention or accords can only serve the interests of the rulers and exploiters of the Black people. They hold the prospects of deflecting, diverting, and subverting the national liberation struggle into mere civil rights. The way ahead was seen as lying in a constituent assembly to let the people decide for themselves. The concept still begs further discussion and clarification if it were not to be abused and vulgarised like the other concept "National Convention" which is based within the Apartheid framework of national states, the United Party's racial federation, and the so-called geographic federation of the PFP.

Reagan's constructive engagement is inspired by the notion held by the proponents of the accommodation/negotiation approach of struggle. They both share an opinion that the South African Government can be encouraged and persuaded towards change, adaptation, tolerance, and a committed acceptance of the new, and employing the new to one's own advantage. This approach is based on rejection of principle in favour of a compromise strategy. It is not surprising that as early as 1970 President Felix Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast was quoted as saying "there is only one weapon — negotiation. We hope to succeed by dialogue". The President went on to argue that threats encouraged South Africa to accumulate more arms, together with a defensive reaction which would be vented against the Black States to the north. Dr Busia of Ghana argued against the policies of force and isolation in dealing with South Africa. In December 1970 he questioned the wisdom of maintaining these policies, and he indicated that a policy of dialogue might be more successful. The Lusaka Manifesto, adopted in 1969 also expressed preference to negotiation irrespective of its support for the liberation movement.

This harsh reality exposes the fact that other countries see the great

potential of material benefits — the trade, financial and technological for their own countries and people. It is therefore clear that these countries are unlikely to endure continuous hardship in support of a protracted liberation struggle in Azania. Evidence suggests that these countries would be quick to counsel that ours is a "hopeless struggle" and thus urge for the redefinition of the purpose of struggle. Intervention by a foreign country in our favour is a misplaced and dangerous delusion.

One observer of the South African scene concluded that "Afrikaner power in South Africa excludes and aims to prevent the politics of negotiation on a basis of equality". The Afrikaners will not engage in any genuine exercise to transfer power and land to Black people without being confronted by equal forces who would leave the Afrikaner with no other option than suicide.

The above has been stated only to show that the long-held hope in the influence of external pressure on South Africa has its limitations and demerits. It can influence our strategies and tactics in a most fundamental manner. The downfall of the ICU's leadership in the 1920's can precisely be traced to the disproportions reliance on outside pressure than the essential organisation of the people inside the country. International allies shall never be the backbone of the national liberation struggle essentially because freedom and emancipation can never be imported and for that matter it can never fall from the sky.

The fact that our organisational base ensures our strength, the enemy shall do everything in the textbook to divide and rule the oppressed and exploited in Azania. Co-optation is increasingly used by the system in order to cushion itself from the angry and determined blows of our people. The emerging Black middle class as well as the working class and its organisations should do well to guard against the economic lures. The co-optation strategy tends to exploit the tendency and inclination among the oppressed towards immediate material needs.

In the midst of all arguments, the oppressed and exploited have a challenge and a task to confront a people who can still at this age declare: **"We have no guilt complex about land which are supposed to have taken, injustice which we are supposed to have committed, a feeling of temporariness, and urge that other people must decide about our future"** (Die Vaderland 8-1-82). The road ahead is long and the connection and tension existing between principles and facts of the national liberation struggle should be kept in its proper perspective. We have to uphold the principles and moral basis of our struggle and simultaneously take cognisance of essential facts which form the struggle.

In conclusion we must point out that the latest concessions made by P.W. Botha in his parliament are "nought for our comfort". It would be dangerous to interpret recent trends as channels leading out of the wicked grip of the White settler colonialism. There is nothing new in making empty promises to the colonised of this country. The optimism of the 1920's which was based on limited advances flowing from conferences organised by the Dutch Reformed Churches, unofficial joint conferences, and other government-sponsored conferences and committee hearings suffered a rude and painful fate in the years following 1948. Deals among various elites, "consociational democracy" and other elite theories of the rulers should be properly understood as a modernised strategy to maintain the savage system of national oppression, exploitation, and white supremacy in the country. There is an urgent need for the liberation struggle to transcend the limitations which led to one political analyst to state: "The harsh reality is that while blacks limited themselves to constitutional protest, to isolated industrial struggles, to civil disobedience, they did not manage to present a serious challenge to the *status quo*". **It would be sad if the "armed protest" or guerilla struggle should be designed to meet challenges limited to the narrow objectives of a National Convection.**



ELEPHANT BILTONG *by Jay Zueue*

It was the day of the big indaba. The long-mooted "national" convention was about to begin, and the venue was thought to be as neutral as anybody could get. It was Sun City — the pleasure resort, not its jail version near Diepkloof, Soweto.

In attendance were people from the coloured House of Representatives, others from the Indian House of Delegates (if they are Indians, why don't they go to Punjab?) and people from the supreme Parliament where only Makhulu-Baas and his volk sit.

Also seated at the table were some of the biggest sell-outs the world has ever known, some of whom even Judas Iscariot would not have wanted to be seen dead next to. But as sell-outs go, these men went very far and years of trading their own people for the thirty pieces of silver had obliterated any semblance of conscience from their minds.

Also present was Joachim, in his capacity as representative of Mozambique. Whatever else preoccupied his thoughts, there was no doubt that the subject of apples was never very far from his mind.

Someone else represented Swaziland, and was so fawning that even Makhulu-Baas felt very ashamed at times.

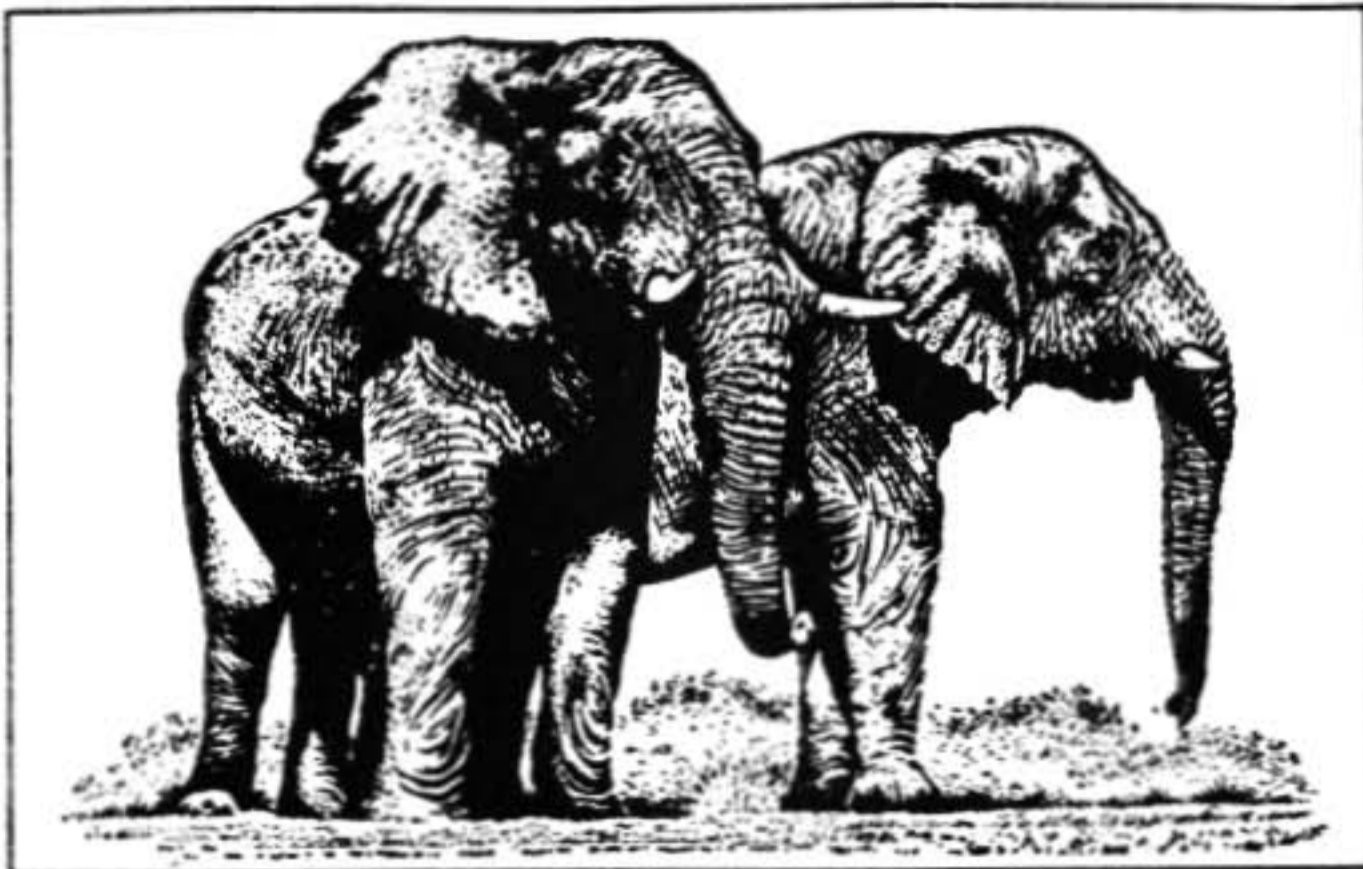
And then there was Makhulu-Baas himself, looking every inch as oppressive and exploitative as he had always been. He smiled hugely from ear to ear as he surveyed the motley crowd assembled for his "national" convention.

Makhulu-Baas cleared his throat and swallowed quite a cupful of spit in the process, and declared the meeting open.

"So now, kêrels, you say you want an end to apartheid. Very well, though it shows you do not read newspapers regularly. Don't you remember that a few years ago ou Piet, he of a million promises, told Americans in a public speech that apartheid has long been dead?"

He glanced around the room to see if anyone wanted to challenge the statement. Instead, Luke lifted up his hand in support and actually said the fact that a multiracial crowd was gathered under one roof at Sun City showed apartheid was not only buried but its corpse had long been devoured by the worms.

Lennie from down south also raised his hand, and Makhulu-Baas turned to him and said: "Yes, Len. I see you want to say something. Why, man,



you look quite smart in that suit and it almost makes you look like a twin brother of Patrick's over here."

Lennie took exception to being compared with Patrick, whom he loathed because it was generally accepted among collaborators that Patrick was the stupidest and ugliest of the bunch.

It must be mentioned here that the suit Makhulu-Baas spoke about was one of several he had offered for the lackeys, so that they must be nicely dressed for the occasion. The suits were made by patients of Loskop Mental Asylum, who because of their state of mental health, had sewn trouser legs where sleeves should have been on the jackets and by the same token had placed jacket sleeves where the legs should have been on the trousers.

But such had been the pleasure of the collaborators at attending the gathering — making history, as Makhulu-Baas termed it — that they had not been in the least bothered by their state of dress, which made them look every inch a bunch of priceless asses.

When Lennie took too long to state his objections to being compared with Patrick, a coloured member of the House of Representatives rose on a point of order and said Lennie was out of order. The coloured was seconded in his view by an Indian, and Makhulu-Baas ordered Lennie to sit down.

"As you can see, this is a very important and representative convention to discuss our problems," proceeded Makhulu-Baas. "We have here peoples of different cultures, peoples from the three parliaments, from the Native Reserves — sorry, I mean bantustans. No, I mean homeinds. Hey,

what am I talking about? I mean we also have here today peoples from the national and independent states."

The delegates laughed heartily, and eagerly pointed out that it was Makhulu-Baas who was behind the times. How could he talk about Native Reserves, bantustans, homelands, national and independent states when those had been dead ages ago? The "in" thing was black states, they reminded him.

"Oh yes, oh yes, you are right. There are no more bantustans and Native Reserves, or anything of the sort," he said and the motley crowd of participants yea-yeard in unison, and it was time to pass to the next item on the agenda.

The Swazi delegate rose on a point of order before the next item. He wanted to praise Makhulu-Baas, but did not know where to begin. So he chose to extol Makhulu-Baas' talents as a statesman.

"Your speech reminds me," said the Swazi, "of the occasion when the other Makhulu-Baas gave us an elephant to slaughter for our young Crown Prince. It was such a lovely speech he gave, telling us how to make elephant biltong in the good old-fashioned Karoo manner."

Here Joacquin saw his chance, and seized it. He told of the time when six million tons of apples arrived in Maputo, and said he had never heard in his entire life a speech as beautiful as that delivered by Stephanus Gerhadus Johannes Poggenpoel at the ceremony when the fruit was handed over.

The Indian from the House of Delegates thought it was now open season for general comments, and said had the Swazis consulted him when

they made their elephant biltong he could have freely supplied them hot chilli from the cayenne plantations of Bangladesh. It would have made all the world of difference to the biltong.

A coloured from the House of Representatives said Mozambique should have consulted him about how to make nice apple chutney, and Patrick said the fat worms his followers plucked from Mopane trees in the Northern Transvaal were something out of this world. Whereupon Lennie said the biltong would have gone down well with "umnqusho" — the mealie samp from down south where it was the staple diet.

Makhulu-Baas called for order, and said the meeting should move to item three on the agenda.

"Kêrels, we can all sing together but we can definitely not talk together. Now Mr Tanabhai, you said something about hot chilli from the plantations of Bangladesh. Where is that place? Surely not in some corner of the Free State, because you know the law Mr Tanabhai," said Makhulu-Baas.

The delegate thus addressed gave all assurances that Bangladesh was as far from the Free State as could be

imagined, and reaffirmed his total obedience to the laws which ensured a lily-white Free State.

Five hours later the convention was over, but a few important resolutions had been unanimously adopted.

- The first was that, in the interest of good neighbourliness, next time an elephant was donated to Swaziland that country should contact Mr Tanabhai for hot chilli from the plantations of Bangladesh.

- The second, based on mutual trade and the interdependence of all the people of the subcontinent, each time Mr Tanabhai was approached for hot chilli from Bangladesh he should also remind Lennie to provide mealie samp from down south.

- The third, taking cognisance of the constellation of states policy, required Mr Stephanus Gerhadus Johannes Poggenpoel of the Apple Board to be appointed chief PRO (perishables division) to carry on with his excellent speeches each time apples arrived in Maputo.

- The fourth, recognising the need for vital economic growth in the region, gave Patrick of the Northern Transvaal full support to grow plantations of Mopane trees from which fat

worms would be plucked.

- The fifth and final resolution gave Makhulu-Baas unwavering support for his statemanship, and thanked him hundredfold for the beautiful suits he had dressed some collaborators in. In his vote of thanks, Makhulu-Baas promised the men more clothes from the skilful hands of the inmates of Loskop Mental Asylum and said in cases of emergency he would ask the patients of Kopdraai Psychiatric Hospital to assist.

Three days later a worldwide message which was issued from the White House in Washington, was beamed to millions of homes on television and was also printed in hundreds of thousands of newspapers.

It was brief but simple: "The Reagan Administration once more reiterates its total belief in the South African government's intentions for real change. It is for this reason that the Administration pledges its total support for Pretoria, because the national convention just ended in Sun City has once more shown how vital and effective our policy of constructive engagement with South Africa is."

 **ONE PEOPLE ONE AZANIA**

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

burden of being called an anti-semitic . . . Black political, civic and religious leaders who repudiated me on the basis of a lie without ever contacting me or getting my words to find out what I actually said run the risk of being looked upon as pawns of Jewish leaders and Jewish interests and therefore cannot lead in the best interests of Black people. The religious scholars and scientists who advised presidents and politicians have gravely misunderstood the scriptures where Israel is concerned and have misapplied these scriptures to justify taking land from the Palestinians by force and they used these same scriptures to justify America's continued support of Israel . . . We can prove that the Israel that is the creation of the Zionists with the help of England and America is not the fulfillment of Divine prophecy and has no Divine power behind it and before too many days pass it will prove to be the destruction of the power of the Western world."

Frank Talk subscribes only to the heritage of Black Consciousness and to the revolutionary culture of the oppressed and the exploited of the globe.)

FARRAKHAN

- I was glad to read Minister Louis Farrakhan's address in *Frank Talk* Volume 1 Number 5 page 14. The Minister's strongest call is for unity

and for all Black groups in the USA to talk to each other and link up in a united front.

Is it not high time that AZAPO took the same initiative as the Nation of Islam and sat at a table with the UDF and Inkatha? We cannot afford divisions which the white oppressor can exploit, especially when it spills over into Black-on-Black violence as in the numerous clashes between UDF and Inkatha and between AZAPO and the UDF. I am firmly of the view that responsible leadership in the liberation movement has a positive duty to unite all the warring factions and make sure that all our energies are harnessed against the common enemy.

ERIC YAWA

Mdantsane, East London

"ZANJI" DEROGATORY

- George Wachope's explanation of the meaning of the word "Azania" (*Frank Talk* Volume 1 Number 5 page 7) fails to mention that the word *Zanji* is a derogatory term for Black people used by Arab slave-traders. Thus the name 'Azania' actually celebrates racist terminology and negation of the human beingness of Black people.

It is a well-known fact that the Arabs enslaved many Black Africans: can we afford a name for a liberated South Africa which has such ugly connotations?

DELIA LAING

Kuils River, Cape Town

- The arrogant attitude that is so characteristic of the Botha regime in its attitude to the aspirations of the black working class in this country seems to have found a home in the Manenberg, BBSK and Parkwood Tenant's Association.

On the one hand the Botha regime has made the black working class suffer under the avalanche of anti-working class legislation it has propounded over several decades. The black working class has struggled to find its feet and at most times it has expressed itself against the ruling class and its puppets by spontaneous violent action. An example would be in the anti-rent protests in the Vaal Triangle in which the regime's puppets — the community councillors — were murdered and their properties destroyed.

On the other hand a group of intellectuals that has grown up in working class environments seeks to treat the black working class in this and neighbouring countries, with disdain. This little group considers itself a "super-revolutionary" force that takes "super-revolutionary" theory and attempts to mould reality to it. This group has cast its theory upon Mozambique and because Mozambique has not fitted into its snide categories, this group condemns Frelimo's efforts in Mozambique.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 30

KENNEDY, THE MEDIA AND AZAPO

by Vanesco Mafora



The hypocritical capitalist world has a marvellous ability to fashion and twist concepts according to its own convenience. Bourgeois democracy employs the finest sounding rhetoric to justify living off the shrinking hides of the downtrodden and the oppressed. It strives to relegate the oppressed to another world, to be "discovered" whenever "philanthropists" want to feel virtuous.

OBJECTIVITY

The capitalist world makes far too much of the "objectivity" of the media. Let us accept that **any journalist worthy of the name would never distort the facts and would treat facts as sacred. This is mainly because facts speak for themselves.** However, it is common place to ignore facts which are uncomfortable to the journalist's or the management's world-view and to marshall those "facts" together which would suit their predilections and biases.

Social analysis lacks the precision of mathematics. **It is virtually impossible for two observers from different social classes to arrive at the same conclusions given the same set of facts because their perceptions of reality are totally different.**

The quest for objectivity and the farce of "investigative journalism" parallel the unending search for certainty - an illusion in the natural sciences let alone to the world of social or political research.

The English language press in South Africa favours the free enterprise system. This is its choice of ethics and informs its interpretation and analysis. As the Afrikaner establishment moves towards endorsing "non-racial capitalism" also, the differences between the English and the Afrikaners media becomes miniscule.

It was in 1980 that the MEDIA WORKER'S ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH AFRICA (Mwasa) rightly pointed out that every journalist is condemned to make a choice and that Mwasa

needs to create its own value-system bereft of the smokescreen of liberal jargon. (Kwasa January 1981 at 6). To quote Ameen Akhalwaya: "The challenge Mwasa throws to the media is to **re-define the value system enshrined by the media and to re-orientate themselves in finding new norms rather than perpetuating the values of the West in an African environment. What black journalists want is for the media to realize that Blacks refuse to be co-opted into the media system of the West but prefer those moral imperatives which best reflect the ideals and aspirations of people seeking an alternative to a decadent and dying Western culture.**" Mwasa dedicated itself to "commitment journalism", to BC rather than "the reformist patchwork of the liberals". (Ibid)

The weakness in that stand by Mwasa was also perceived by Akhalwaya: "In the final analysis, the question is not whether the media ought to be objective **but which interest group controls the media and for what purpose.** It is imperialism and Capitalism which control the media and such a controlled media will not tolerate any point of view which truly articulates the aspirations of the colonized and the enslaved.

Congress

No issue illustrates this better than the treatment of the principled stand taken by AZAPO against the visit of that representative of the "Democratic" brand of Yankee imperialism, Edward "Ted" Kennedy. The action against the proposed visits of Kennedy and the Reverend Jesse Jackson was in line with the following resolution adopted at the Retreat Congress on 18 December 1984:

- This 5th Congress of AZAPO;
Noting the proposed visits of Edward Kennedy and Jesse Jackson to South Africa;
And noting further that such visits only give credit to the settler regime and further imperialist designs, Resolves that:
1. The visits of Edward Kennedy

and Jesse Jackson are not in the interests of the Azanian people;
2. Such visits can only take place on the clear mandate of the Black people of Azania.

This resolution was hardly a surprise at the AZAPO Congress in view of the very first solidarity message read. That message was from the African National Reparations Organization (ANRO). Mikail Alimu wrote:

"Pro-capitalist Black leaders like Jesse Jackson, Benjamin Hooks and Andrew Young have been stunned by the Democratic Party's sound defeat. These so-called leaders are without an independent black political program or direction leaving our people confused and, consequently, open to neo-colonial Black leadership. This is a critical moment in our protracted struggle against national oppression and imperialist exploitation. This is true for our people whether living in Azania or the United States." (Italics mine.)

Minister Louis Farrakhan, the guest speaker, outlined in no uncertain terms that Black Americans rejected the two-faced beast of American Imperialism. The Democratic version displays a smiling liberal welfare visage while the Republican version demonstrates a snarling, fascist military visage.

Reasons

AZAPO made it a point to contact Bishop Desmond Tutu who had extended the invitation to Edward Kennedy. On 3 January 1985, Bishop Tutu admitted that he made a mistake in inviting Kennedy without canvassing the views of people's organizations and assured AZAPO that he understands it's stand. Tutu remarked that he had extended the invitation on the spur of the moment.

Kennedy himself admitted that he had not canvassed the views of Black organizations on his intended visit at a meeting of journalists on 7 January. He angrily remarked: "I an-



nounced my trip six weeks ago. Why did Azapo not write and tell me not to come?" (Maud's Word, Star Africa 12 January 1985) A white racist at his arrogant best. Note that he says "announced" his visit — he would have come with or without Tutu's approval.

Faced with the announcement of Kennedy's itinerary which included a series of public meetings, AZAPO announced its reasons for rejecting the Kennedy visit in two press releases (3 January and 6 January). Briefly, these reasons were:

- Kennedy was engaged in a campaign to use the South African issue as a plank in his platform to win the 1988 Presidential Elections. **Azanians** believe that both the Democratic Party and the Republican Party have never done anything to benefit the liberation struggle and **refuse to carry the remnants of international capitalism on their shoulders.**

- Teddy Kennedy is an inextricable part of the Kennedy clan. Joseph Patrick Kennedy ("Papa Joe") provided the money, the power and the vision for his nine children to carve a nefarious empire. **Kennedy is an avowed capitalist who could only come to South Africa to encourage stability and not real change.**

- Kennedy must be seen as a representative of the Democratic Party and the liberalism of his brother President John Fitzgerald Kennedy (JFK) and Robert (Bobby) Kennedy. This constitutes a horrifying background. **The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) plotted the murders of revolutionaries such as Malek Shabazz (Malcolm X), George Jackson, Che' Guevara, Kwame Nkrumah and Patrice Lumumba precisely during JFK's rule (when Bobby was an attorney general and Teddy a senator - a situation that can prevail only in the Ciskel's and the Transkel's of the world! They also attempted to murder Fidel Castro and engineered the Bay of Pigs fiasco as well as the invitation of the Vietnam war and the escalation of the Middle East war and the slaughter of people in Central and Latin America. AZAPO believes that murderous imperialists can never be allies of the Azanian people.**

- There is a concerted attempt to sell the idea of a National Convention. It fits this diabolical strategy to propagate the idea that Reagan's constructive engagement policy and not American imperialism itself is our enemy. **AZAPO is committed to destroying the National Convention strategy and creating a free, socialist Azania.**

- Kennedy is on record as saying that his visit to South Africa was intended to show to the "people of South Africa" that the South African government "is an enemy of the West and all that the the West stands for" (Natal Mercury 28 November 1984). **AZAPO considers it impossible that the visit of this CIA agent was innocent.**

- Black Americans have had to suffer



(Malcolm X)

Ché Guevara



Kwame Nkrumah Patrice Lumumba

under the whip of successive Republican and Democratic governments and consider Kennedy as just another slave-master.

- **The Azanian people do not need liberators from abroad. They are quite capable of fighting their own battles and they will decide whom to invite and when.**

In other words, AZAPO was putting into practice its off-repeated maxim that **the struggle against apartheid is only the departure point for a struggle against the monolith of racism and capitalism and that imperialism needs to be extirpated root and branch from Azanian soil.**

Given these reasons, it came as no surprise that the imperialist media chose not to publish AZAPO's reasons but rather to record AZAPO's demonstrations against Kennedy and take every opportunity to hurl abuse at the authentic People's Movement.

Black Press

Leading this infamous crusade were those representatives of the Afrikaner

establishment, the Perskor group (which controls the major Afrikaner newspapers) via their mouthpiece *City Press*. Percy Qoboza in his columns of CP devoted themselves to a virulent anti-AZAPO campaign.

Let us lay to rest the myth that there is a Black press in Azania. The major newspapers directed at the Black community are owned by capitalist giants South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN), Argus and Perskor. **The so-called Black press represents the most rabid non-whiteism.**

Red Herrings

It is significant that few newspapers bothered to challenge AZAPO's reasons for rejecting Kennedy. All of them chose to concentrate on red herrings in order to fan the flames of hysteria and hostility amongst the ranks of Black people. Let us focus on a few of these:

- "Today it is acknowledged that AZAPO is the most important representative of the tradition of the banned PAC— although it emphasizes its independence from the PAC." (Rapport, Vaderland 15 Jan '85)

AZAPO can only repeat that it owes allegiance to nobody except the Black masses of Azania.

"For the first time in its seven-year history, the small, radical Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO), found itself on the side of the ruling white Afrikaner National Party and feted in the pro-government press and on state-run television for protesting Kennedy's visit." (Boston Globe 14 January 1985; see also "Percy's Itch", CP 13 January 1985, Letters to CP 30 January 1985, "Zisha Ngani" Natal Witness Echo 17 January 1985, cartoon in Rand Daily Mail January 16, 1985)

The notion that AZAPO is a tiny organization without mass support shows the capitalist media caught in its own trap; they have consistently at-



tempted to ignore AZAPO's existence and because they have done this, they claim AZAPO has no popular support. AZAPO is under no delusions: AZAPO is no paper tiger, it does not perform circus tricks for the media.

Much mileage has been made of the media publicizing an Organization it has hitherto ignored. Surely that says more about the double standards of the media than about the Organization concerned!

We may add that when the Conservative Party (CP), the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), Azapo, the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) all rejected the tricameral parliament, nobody even whispered about an alliance between these diverse groups. AZAPO does not believe in a knee-jerk fashion. **We refuse to be enslaved to the extent of doing the opposite of whatever the oppressor does. People who behave in a knee-jerk fashion will always be slaves**

• "If Senator Edward Kennedy's visit was 'suspicious', I doubt whether Winnie Mandela would have played host to him at Brandfort." (Letter to CP, 30 January 1985).

There is a disturbing tendency to personalize issues and pit the behaviour and views of individuals against the principled stand of the authentic People's Movement. One can only echo Comrade Pule Richard Monama: ". . . **I regard the Black working class as the vanguard of the struggle and not any intellectually malnourished politicians whether he be from America or right here in Azania. I can't see myself calling Senator Kennedy 'comrade' just because he went to Mzimhlope Hostel, just because he chose to sleep in Soweto (and we can't be fooled he enjoys diplomatic immunity so the group areas act does not affect him). He can't be my comrade just because he 'speaks out against apartheid.' No, he can't be my comrade when millions of Black people undergo the same suffering as us right there in America. Black people can't have 'comrades' in the White house. If there is any Uncle Sam or Uncle Tom who desires to be the Azanian people's comrade, then he should empty out the coffers with which he has enriched himself from sucking the blood of the oppressed people here and abroad; then I can reconsider my position and I am sure the Black people will do the same. I am against any form of liberal sweet talk especially when that sweet talk comes from a person who has serious connections with global imperialism, racism and capitalism. To shout heavy political slogans is not good enough; to hug Tutu, Boesak and Winnie Mandela is not good enough. **We want to see the total rejection of value systems that keep us in perpetual servitude; we want to hear the call for the overall transformation from capitalism into socia-****

lism." ("Open Letter to Mr Percy Qoboza, 15 January 1985; see Muslim News Page 20 January 1985) • "It is time AZAPO piped down. Who said Senator Kennedy was here to liberate this country? Kennedy and his hosts know he cannot change this country's political system. He was here to see things for himself. AZAPO shouldn't use this visit to boost their ailing political image." (Letter to CP, 30 January 1985).

Percy Qoboza wrote his column on 13 January 1985 under the revealing banner: "Our fate may hinge on what Kennedy tells U.S." In the same column, Qoboza pontificated: "The deep sense of hurt, as judged by the letters newspapers have been receiving on AZAPO's protests against Kennedy and, therefore, implication, Tutu should make AZAPO's leadership take stock of its priorities." This is significant in the light of the CP's letter columns in the weeks following this column and in the light of the fact that letters submitted by AZAPO members and supporters to CP were never published.

• "As someone who was politically baptised by BC I feel compelled to comment whether the dignity of B.C. is likely to be damaged. . . . I hate to regard AZAPO as a true BC movement - especially because it was formed after a ban on all BC organizations in 1977. . . . AZAPO also failed to play a role in protecting the dignity of Black people. One must always have the Black people in mind when doing something - instead of doing things that belittle Blacks." (Letters to CP, 27 January 1985).

As if to underline the point that these letters were carefully concocted in the northern suburbs, there is a drawing of the late Comrade Steven Biko with the caption "BC's Steve Biko" and a drawing alongside of Comrade Imraan Moosa with the caption "AZAPO's Imraan Moosa" (sic;). The attempt to suggest that AZAPO has deviated from the basic principles of BC is totally unsubstantiated and needs to be rejected with utter contempt. We may add that **Black pride asserts itself in those who, recognise the Imperialist threat and work to combat it. Those who consort with blood sucking imperialists surely lack human dignity.**

• "Ted, believe you me, I think AZAPO is behaving like a bunch of small boys. It seems that whenever the UDF is involved, they rush through to discredit, without first thoroughly studying the merits of the issue" ("Zisha Ngani!" by Khaba Mkhize, Natal Witness Echo, 17 January 1985)

It is certainly news to us that the UDF invited Kennedy. The UDF issued a statement supporting Kennedy's visit on 4 January, insisted that they had not invited him on the 5 January and published a list of pre-requisites to meeting Kennedy including the following:

• that he does not meet Gover-

ment and homeland leaders.

• that he meets Nelson Mandela. Only when Kennedy had failed to meet these conditions, did the UDF again support his visit (9 January). Writes David Breier: "A stormy UDF Western Cape general council meeting this week refused to associate with the Kennedy visit. As a result, senior UDF executives were absent from the stage during the public meeting in Athlone. Recalcitrant UDF Western Cape executives refused to allow the meeting to be held under UDF auspices. . . . The crowd was singularly cool to Senator Kennedy himself. They were particularly quiet when Senator Kennedy denounced those who 'foolishly treated the Soviet Union and its satellite states as a model. Senator Kennedy was effectively snubbed when, immediately after his speech, the crowd sang a song expressing solidarity for the Cuban and Soviet people. This attitude is seen as a strong reaction to the visit by the politician." (Sunday Star 13 January 1985; see also Sunday Times 13 January 1985) **We salute the people's organization within the UDF who opposed the Kennedy visit as well as the leadership of the National Union Mineworkers (NUM) and the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU) who did not turn up at the January 8 meeting held at the offices of the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA)**

"... Attempts to persuade the Senator not to support disinvestment will ultimately be in vain." (Patricia Cheney and Ray Joseph: see also John Matisonn in Sunday Express January 13 1985: ". . . This does not mean there will be blanket sanctions. What there will be is a few more slices off the salami. . ."; (Gary van Staden in the Star.) **"The businessmen waited with bated breath for the Senator's reply, his stand on disinvestment - it never came."**; Die Vaderland 15 January 1985)

There was a deliberate attempt to suggest that Ted Kennedy supports disinvestment. However, Kennedy expressed support for selective disengagement (Sunday Express 13 January 1985) which implies that he was very careful to protect his own business interests.

• "If the Senator expected to find a black oppressed mass on one side and a bunch of smug white oppressors on the other with no further issues complicating the matter, he was badly briefed." (Gary van Staden: "Kennedy: Circus or Boon?" Star; see also Daily News 7 January 1985 and 18 January 1985)

While van Staden's comment is a fair one, it must be seen in the context of the bogey of AZAPO's alleged anti-whiteism raised by eg the Daily Dispatch January 4 1985; Letter to CP 27 January 1985; Citizen 24 January 1985.

We find it quite unnecessary, even on charitable grounds, to repeat our commitment to anti-racism. The spectre of anti-whiteism is raised to cloud issues. Zahed Cachalia remarked on *Capital Radio* (14 January 1985) that AZAPO would not protest against Jackson because he is Black. He caustically added that this is the way that is the way that AZAPO operates. Needless to say, AZAPO's message to Jackson was crystal clear: come and attend Tutu's installation as Bishop of Johannesburg but do not engage yourself in community controversies. Jackson made a telephone call to AZAPO President Ishmael Mkhabela on 9 January 1985 asking if it was advisable for him to come to S.A. AZAPO had already made its stand clear on Jackson's proposed visit in June 1984.

• "... There are some AZAPO supporters who think the Senator is doing a good job..." (Peter Sullivan, *Star* January 13, 1985; see also *Rand Mail* 11 January 1985; *City Press* 20 January 1985).

Journalists participated in a blatant attempt to divide AZAPO members over a tourist. There was no division whatsoever in AZAPO over this issue; it was a Congress decision and Congress is AZAPO's highest policy-making instrument. A subtle attempt to suggest dissent within AZAPO over the Kennedy issue was a story entitled "Cooper steps down as AZAPO leader" in the *Sunday Times* 13 January 1985. This story appeared between two other stories - one containing AZAPO's stand on Kennedy and another containing AZAPO's stand against Jackson. **As Comrade Cooper points out, AZAPO is committed to the principle of collective leadership and does not tolerate leadership cults and his commitment to every AZAPO decision is total and unwavering**

• "The (Jackson) associate said that people had the right to protest but he wondered how AZAPO could think Senator Kennedy was the problem. 'I think they have picked the wrong target', he said." (*Star*; see also *Daily News* 10 January 1985).

AZAPO had very good reasons to choose Kennedy as a Target. Anton Harber wrote in the *Rand Daily Mail* (12 January 1985) that the Kennedy tour was an elaborate, costly affair, but the US GOVERNMENT paid the bill for Kennedy and his staff. So much for the differences between Reaganism and the Democratic Party. We are hardly unfair when we call the Kennedy tour a CIA-sponsored whitewash.

• "What is worrying... is the increasing evidence of black extremists who profess strong opposition to capitalism and free enterprise"... **Bishop Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak... are perceived in London as moderates who want a negotiated, non racial, semi-capitalist settlement to the South African situation while**

(AZAPO) seeks Marxist-type worker power in a socialist state. Whatever white South Africans think of Bishop Tutu, Dr Boesak or the Zulus' Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, many moderates in Britain and Europe, not to mention America, see them as the last of a generation prepared to negotiate a settlement with the white man. In some areas, the African National Congress is seen in the same moderate context as an organisation that has reluctantly turned to the East for arms and support only because the West has said "No." (John D'Oliveria, *Star* 16 January 1985; see also "My View" by Allister Sparks in the *Star* 16 January 1985 and Sparks "Anti-Americanism gains in South Africa" *Washington Post*; Anthony Lewis *Boston Globe* 12 January 1985)



FROM TOP TO BOTTOM: appearing with Kennedy: Bishop Tutu; Gatsha Buthelezi; Reverend Boesak.

Time will tell about the rightness or wrongness of the perceptions of D'Oliveria, but this article indicates that the capitalist media knew the issues involved and especially the thrust towards the National Convention only too well. Nobody can argue that the anti-AZAPO campaign launched by the media was anything but deliberate.

• "Biko's followers once had the reputation of being the most sophisticated of South Africa's Black politicians — but if they believed (that Kennedy's was in South Africa to win the 1988 Presidential elections) they must have become too consciously clever for their movement's good." (Anthony Delius *Natal Witness* 24 January 1985)

Of course, Frederick Cleary (*Star* 5 January 1985) argued that it was quite possible that Teddy Kennedy would be President in 1988. Cleary mentions the pressure on Ted to "pick up the fallen standard of the family ambitions." Percy Qoboza even advised those who shook hands with Kennedy not to wash them until 1988 (Percy's *Itch CP* 6 January 1985) In any case, AZAPO loses nothing if Kennedy does not stand for President in 1988: he remains a high-profile representative of Imperialism.

• "(AZAPO's) BC concern has been rather overshadowed by its socialism in recent years" (*Financial Mail* January 18 1985 at page 48)

"Neville Alexander, a socialist intellectual who served 10 years on Robben Island... is largely responsible for the ideological change in AZAPO, incorporating a class analysis into its policy, which has been based entirely on race." (Allister Sparks "Anti-Americanism gains in South Africa", *Washington Post*)

AZAPO's very first Congress and the preamble to its Constitution emphasized its race-class analysis and committed it to socialism. The likes of Alexander (who is not a member of the BCM) have not contributed anything to AZAPO's analysis that race is a class determinant and that the Black working class is the vanguard of the struggle for liberation.

• "It is a basic principle of any struggle that you do not create enemies out of people. Instead, you reduce foes and multiply friends... It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the demonstrators were planted agents of the enemies of the liberation struggle in South Africa. The urgent issue in South Africa is not socialism versus capitalism. It is the elimination of minority rule and apartheid." (*The Sunday Mail* January 20, 1985)

AZAPO does not accept this superficial and paternalistic analysis of the problem in Azania. It does not surprise us that this analysis is spewed out by Willie Mushararwa, who would have been the Minister of (Dis)Information had the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) taken power in Zimbabwe. ZAPU has conclusively proved itself an enemy of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe. **It is the Azanian people who will decide the priorities of their struggle and not any effete politician.**

It is to be noted that the ANC has also dubbed the AZAPO protests as "immature": "Nobody who is seriously working for a democratic South Africa could possibly be against the visit in South Africa of man like Kennedy — who has spoken out correctly on some of the burning issues in our society and who has concentrated his visit around these issues." (*CP* 13 January 1985) **It is a pity that we have to repeat a basic tenet of**

BC to people who should know better: we do not need Kennedy, Reagan, Chemenko or the Pope to liberate us - we are our own liberators.

• "Senator Edward Kennedy's Soweto appearance was wrecked by AZAPO demonstrators yesterday. And churchmen and UDF figures had to ward off angry sections of the 2500-strong crowd bent on attacking the demonstrators. In an attempt to save the meeting, Nobel Peace Prize Winner Bishop Desmond Tutu warned the protestors they were helping the system. He declared: 'The system is determined that this meeting should be disrupted. I don't want to give the system that joy. The system is not foolish. It knows how to use us against ourselves.' Bishop Tutu took a vote among the audience on whether to give Senator Kennedy a hearing. Only about 120 members of the Azanian People's Organisation stood to vote 'No'. The rest of the crowd gave a vociferous go-ahead. Immediately thereafter part of the crowd threatened to engulf the demonstrators at the front of the hall, but were blocked and dissuaded by community leaders including the UDF's Frank Hikane (sic) and Jabu Ngwenya and the South African Council of Churches' Tom Manthata. At this point Bishop Tutu announced the meeting would be abandoned. 'I have sadly to announce in my own community that we cannot receive a visitor because the system is afraid

of that visitor,' he said. Bishop Tutu added that he was deeply saddened especially because leaders of the PAC and the ANC had recently expressed to him their support of what was being done by some in the struggle. The UDF has been non-committal at a national level on the Kennedy tour. It refrained from co-sponsoring the meeting in Soweto's Regina Mundi Church, but a large contingent of its activists were in the audience prepared to hear Senator Kennedy speak yesterday. . . ." (Jo-Anne Collinge *The Star* January 14, 1985) — there was a photograph alongside this article of Mr Frank Chikane grabbing a pro-Kennedy man with the caption "Peacekeeper") Refer also *Rand Daily Mail* 14 January 1985; *Sowetan* 14 January 1985; *Post Natal* 16-19 January 1985)

I have quoted Collinge's article at length because it is a textbook

example of the widespread distortion about the Regina Mundi meeting. Let us first note that Bishop Tutu met an AZAPO delegation on 7 January 1985. He was told that AZAPO would picket at the proposed Regina Mundi meeting. The Bishop replied that if AZAPO chose to picket at Regina Mundi, "other people" would be very upset and would deal with AZAPO accordingly and blood might flow. On 12 January 1985 the UDF instructed its activists "to help in whatever way that may be required by the organizers of the Regina Mundi Church rally". This came in the aftermath of the meeting in Cape Town where demonstrators were physically assaulted by UDF members.



TOP LEFT: Nick Tucker being arrested at Jan Smuts Airport during the demonstration against Kennedy. He is facing charges of demonstrating in airport buildings and is presently on a diplomatic offensive of the U.S. and Europe.

TOP RIGHT: Demonstration at Lekton House. From the extreme left is Haroon Patel (AZAPO Projects co-ordinator), Thabo Sehume (AZAPO — National Organiser) and AZAPO members.

MIDDLE LEFT: At Louis Botha Airport. MIDDLE RIGHT: At D.F. Malan. BOTTOM LEFT: Outside Regina Mundi. BOTTOM RIGHT: Inside Regina Mundi.

For its part, AZAPO issued a statement on 9 January 1985 to say that the protests were directed at Kennedy and not Tutu. **AZAPO remarked that the enemies of Tutu were its enemies but not all Tutu's friends were its friends.**

It becomes clear that there were efforts to stoke the fires of a confrontation. Tutu's remarks at the Regina Mundi meeting were designed to inflame emotions for he clearly equated the "ladies and gentleman of AZAPO" with the system. The imperialist media has distorted the actual number of AZAPO members and supporters at the Regina Mundi meeting, but it goes without saying that a tiny minority could never succeed in stopping a majority from exercising its will. **There were 500 Azapo members in the hall and 700 members outside.** Collinge's attempt to suggest that the UDF members present were urged to exercise restraint is particularly mischievous. AZAPO has a record for responsible behaviour: **the Movement was simply not prepared to compromise its stand and was prepared to deal with any eventuality.** Incidentally, the Regina Mundi meeting was never disrupted: Kennedy had already decided not to appear.

As for the suggestion that the police protected AZAPO, this must rank as a singularly malicious statement. It was Kennedy who was protected by South African security policemen throughout his tour. Listen to Louis du Boisson in his account of Kennedy's landing: "And here now is a sight that lends new meaning to the word irony: South African security police forming a protective cordon around this enemy of the Government they serve, to protect him against another enemy of the Government!" ("Kennedy Media Blitz") *Avenue March* 1985 at 21) On the 5 January in an attempt to protect Kennedy

security policemen and railway police assaulted and arrested AZAPO members. On 8 January 1985, police teargassed a crowd of AZAPO demonstrators in Wanderers Street, Johannesburg and the police again attacked demonstrators when Kennedy landed in Cape Town. Each of these attacks saw AZAPO members being arrested and interrogated by the police.

The identification of Kennedy with the settler regime was best illustrated when a Kennedy aide asked Cde Zithulele Cindi, the Co-Ordinator of the Black Farm Workers Project to produce that badge of slavery, the *dompans*!

The *City Press* (13 January 1985) contained a "Souvenir Supplement" which mentioned Kennedy's speech at Regina Mundi as a *fait accompli*. CP placards were plastered all over Johannesburg reading "Bishop Desmond Tutu, Reverend Allan Boesak and Senator Edward Kennedy invite you to a meeting at Regina Mundi." Talk about objective journalism!

It should be obvious that the liberation movement faces serious problems from multi-national communication systems. A problem which any liberated country has is the cultural imperialism of the communications media. **If AZAPO is seriously indulging in nation-building towards socialism, it has to grapple with the practical problems of an alternative media.** The press and broadcasting media determine what people know, what they talk about and to an important but lesser degree, how people act.

The mass media must be transformed into an agent for change. It must convey the message of change, the need and the revolutionary direction. We do not want to simply inherit foreign-owned and controlled public communications

systems, press, broadcasting and external telecommunications which are motivated by and programmed for profit. A nation whose mass media is dominated and manipulated from outside is no nation.

It must be emphasized that censorship is not merely a matter of silencing *individual* conscience. When the *collective* conscience — that of peoples, civilizations and cultures — is muzzled, that also is the crime of censorship. Censorship is an aspect of existing power relationships and is itself a part of the game of power. The question that has to be asked repeatedly is whose voice is being silenced?

Peregrine Worsthorne has to be correct when he asserts: **"The more open the society, the greater the opportunity for the media to get things seriously wrong, which is why a free Press is best secured in closed societies which deny it enough rope to hang itself."** (*Time & Tide*, Winter 1984 at 64).

ONE PEOPLE ONE AZANIA

THAT GREMLIN AGAIN

• Really, EC, how could you? You've labelled Sonny Leon "David Curry" in *Frank Talk* Volume 1 Number 4 page 19!

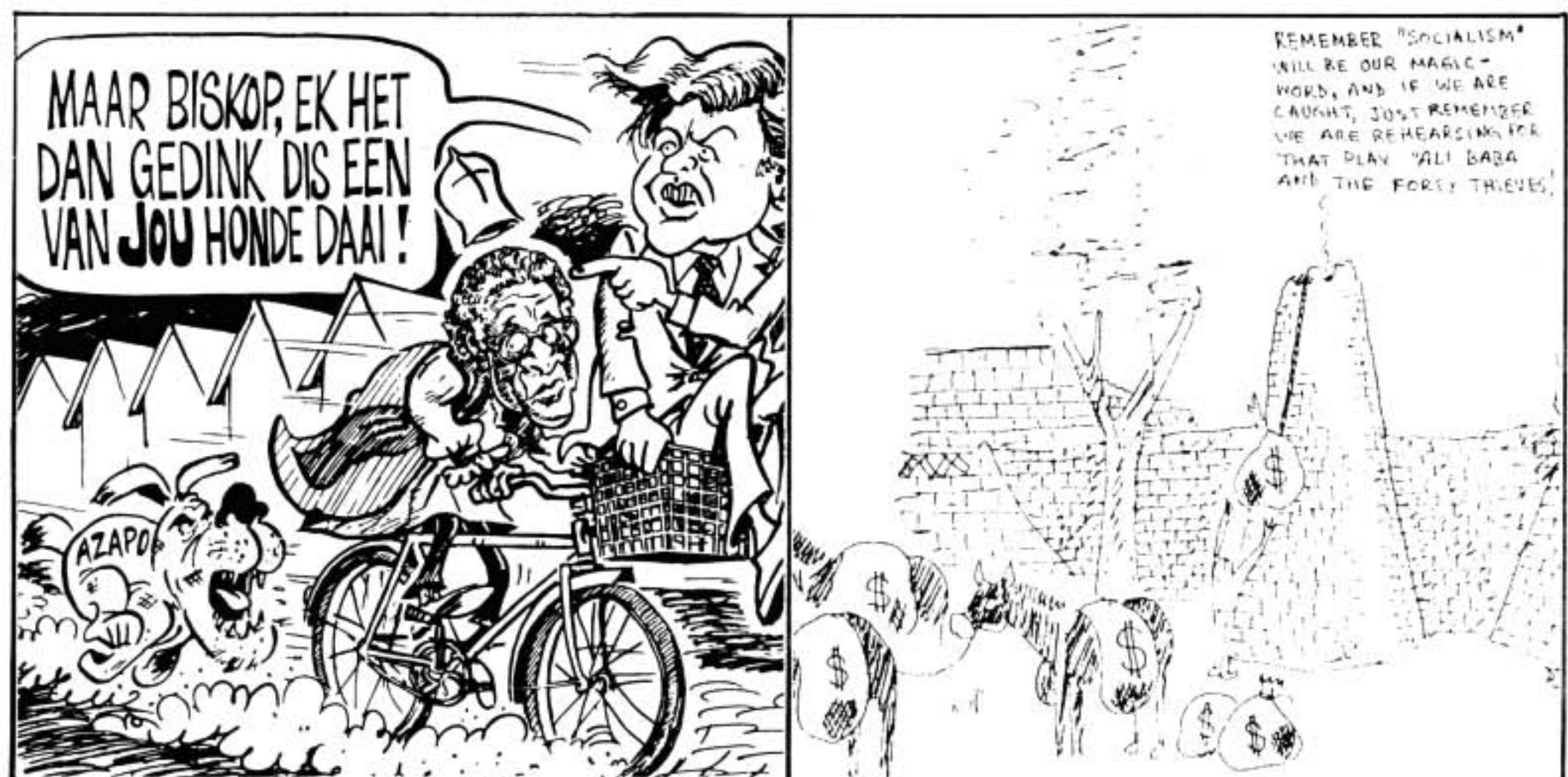
DARRYL DUNN
Ixopo, Natal

(We find it quite difficult to distinguish between non-whites — EC)

• EC, please let us in on the secret: why the space in *Frank Talk* Volume 1 Number 5 at page 26?

INNOLENT LUJIZA
Mdantsane, East London

(It was the printer's gremlin again. Here's the cartoon which was meant to fill space:



UMBUTHO WESIZWE
RESIST - DEFEND ADVANCE
AZAPO 5th NATIONAL CONGRESS



AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION
AZAPO! AZAPO!

ON THE MARCH

facing the challenges

UMBUTHO WESIZWE
RESIST - DEFEND ADVANCE
AZAPO 5th NATIONAL CONGRESS



AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION
AZAPO! AZAPO!

ON THE MARCH

facing the challenges

BEYOND THE STETHOSCOPE AND THE SYRINGE

by Meshach Khaile

THE SOUTH AFRICAN MEDICAL AND DENTAL COUNCIL (SAM & DC) must have nightmares about its many tangles with the BCM. The SAM & DC has consistently emerged with egg all over its lily-white face and it seems that this pattern is destined to continue.

On 30 January 1985, Judge President W G Boshoff of the Transvaal Provincial Division (the very same Boshoff who convicted the SASO/BPC Nine) found there was a *prima facie* case (i.e. a case calling for an answer) against the Biko doctors- viz. Drs Ivor Ralph Lang and Benjamin Tucker- of "improper or disgraceful conduct" or conduct which, when regard is had of the professions of these doctors, is improper or disgraceful. The Judge President ordered the Medical Committee of Preliminary Inquiry of the SAM & DC to arrange to have the Biko doctors prosecuted.

This judgement was preceded by the following:

- On 9 January 1978, Chief Magistrate Prins who presided at the Biko inquest, transmitted that portion of the Inquest record which related to Doctors Lang, Tucker and Hersch to the SAM & DC. **The Chief Magistrate and his assessors (both professors of Forensic Medicine) took the view there was *prima facie* evidence of improper or disgraceful conduct on the part of Lang and Tucker. The SAM & DC did not institute an enquiry into the matter.**
- On 20 December 1977, one Eugene Roelofse, of the Ombudsman's Office sponsored by the

South African Council of Churches, directed a letter to the SAM & DC asking them to constitute an enquiry into the conduct of the Biko doctors.

- On 16 January 1978, Roelofse again wrote to the SAM & DC and drew the attention of the Council to press clippings which reported the evidence which the Biko doctors had given at the Inquest. **He also posed 14 questions in respect of Lang and 13 questions in relation to Tucker relating to medical ethics and professional standards.**

- On 24 April 1980 the Inquiry Committee of the SAM & DC resolved that no further action be taken against the Biko doctors. Their press release dated 17 May 1980 indicated that they had found that there was no *prima facie* evidence of improper or disgraceful conduct on the part of the Biko doctors.

- On 17 June 1980 the SAM & DC voted 18-9 to confirm the action of the Inquiry Committee.

- On 17 February 1982 Professors Frances Rix Ames, (head of the Department of Neurology at Groote Schuur Hospital) Trefor Jenkins (of the South African Institute for Medical Research) and Phillip Vallentine Tobias (of Witwatersrand University) amongst others, **lodged a long list of clearly specified, fully detailed and properly motivated charges and complaints running into 88 pages and containing allegations of improper or disgraceful conduct**

against Drs Lang, Tucker, Hersch and Keeley. They emphasized that their charges and complaints were not a continuation of the complaints of Roelofse nor an appeal against the dismissal of Roelofse's complaint, but new and independent complaints which had never been dealt with by the Council.

They also emphasized that the Inquest record did not contain all the relevant evidence and that even that record contained material conflicts between the doctors *inter se* and between the doctors and the police witnesses. (see "Room No 619", Frank Talk Volume 1 Number 4 at pages 12-15) The new evidence before the SAM & DC included evidence given by Keeley to an *ad hoc* committee appointed by the Medical Association of South Africa (MASA) and the rest of the inquest evidence.

- On 18 March 1982 the Health Workers Organisation and certain medical practitioners including Doctors Yosuf Variava (former National Forum Committee Member), Dumisani Mzamane and Timothy Wilson lodged a 26-page list of clearly specified, fully detailed and properly motivated charges and complaints (in substance much the same as the 17 February dossier) against the Biko doctors.

- On 4 March 1983, **the Inquiry Committee of the SAM & DC resolved that no action be taken against Doctors Lang, Tucker,**



Dr Ivor Lang: 'I could find nothing organically wrong with the man'



Dr Tucker and Dr Hersch. Both examined Steve Biko before he died; neither expressed any serious indication of brain damage at that time

Hersch and Keeley. The Inquiry Committee found that all the material evidence had been considered by it when it dealt with Roelofse's complaint and that no new material evidence had emerged from the dossiers before it.

- 29 members of the SAM & DC confirmed this decision of the Inquiry Committee on 25 April 1983.

Doctors Variava, Mzamane and Wilson and professors Ames, Jenkins and Tobias brought an application to the Transvaal Provincial Division to set aside the resolutions adopted on 4 March and 25 April 1983 and to order the SAM & DC to institute an enquiry into the professional conduct of Lang and Tucker.

The Court found that the Inquiry Committee and the Council failed to appreciate the nature of their respective function viz to determine whether the evidence furnished by Variava, Ames et al to them supported the charges and complaints disclosed prima facie evidence of improper or disgraceful conduct on the part of Lang and Tucker. The Inquiry Committee & the Council chose merely to consider whether the evidence submitted by Variava, Ames et al was the same as evidence submitted by Roelofse. Even in performing this limited function, they erred in finding that no new evidence was placed before them.

Of course, the Court was not concerned about the merits of the charges and complaints and directed that the SAM & DC hold a proper inquiry into the professional conduct of Lang and Tucker. A special meeting of the SAM & DC ON 16-17 February 1985 resolved not to appeal against the decision in *Variava v SAM & DC* and the inquiry into the conduct of Tucker and Lang will begin in June 1985.

CONTRAST

In grotesque contrast to the foot-shuffling of the SAM & DC in the matter of the Biko doctors, the SAM & DC displayed inglorious haste in prosecuting Dr Maitsho Nchaube Aubrey Mokoape who was Accused Number 4 in the "SASO-BPC Trial" (widely known as the Trial of Black Consciousness). Much as Boshoff's judgement in the SASO-BPC Trial was epoch-making- it convicted nine leaders of the BCM for writing speeches, poetry and plays and organizing rallies to celebrate the accession of Frelimo to power in Mozambique (obviously, the SAM & DC has not yet heard of the Nkomati Accord!) the case of the SAM & DC versus Mokoape was poised to make medical and legal history. It was the the first inquiry into the professional conduct of a medical practitioner for his political beliefs held anywhere in the world!

MOKOAPE.

Dr Mokoape obtained the degrees MB, CHB and registered as an intern with the SAM & DC on 5 July 1974. He was detained during September 1974 and underwent the marathon SASO-BPC Trial. In December 1976, he was sentenced to six years imprisonment on Robben Island. He was convicted of two counts under the Terrorism Act, Act Number 83 of 1967.

On the main count, Boshoff found that the **"the common method or means employed to accomplish total liberation of the Black people" (viz BC) was designed "to create amongst the Blacks a hostile power block orientated for action, more particularly political violence."** (*Judgement* at 241). It can fairly be said that the Nine were convicted for their belief in the BC ideology as the following passage indicates: **"(L)anguage was used by the conspirators to condemn whites as the oppressors of the Blacks . . . In the process language was used which caused and encouraged feelings of hostility . . . between the Blacks and the whites . . ."** (*Op cit* at 240).



Aubrey Mokoape (far right) during the Sharpsville uprising. On the extreme left (face partly obscured) is the late comrade Mangoliso Robert Sobukwe.

On the second count, Boshoff found that by organising Viva-Frelimo rallies, the accused intentionally endangered the maintenance of law and order. A rally planned for the 25 September 1974 was banned at the eleventh hour and the Court found that the accused were guilty of proceeding with the rally "notwithstanding" (the) real danger of violence." (*Op cit* at 252).

Dr Mokoape's name was deleted from the Register of Interns in 1978 as letters sent to him were returned undelivered. On the 28 August 1978, the SAM & DC was informed by the Prisons Department that Mokoape was convicted under the terrorism Act in 1976. **In an affidavit submitted to the SAM & DC by Mokoape asking for his housemanship to be restored, he made full disclosure about his convictions (26 July 1982). Mokoape's name was restored to the Register on 6 September 1982.**

On 20 October 1982, the President of the SAM & DC instructed the Registrar to refer the matter of Mokoape to the Inquiry Committee.

In December 1982, Mokoape was released and began serving his internship at the King Edward VIII Hospital in Durban. The period of housemanship completed in 1974 was recognised by the SAM & DC. Mokoape completed internship in December 1983 and then started a private practice in Umlazi Township which adjoins Durban. He was placed on the register of medical practitioners by the SAM & DC. The council made numerous attempts to get the judgement in the SASO-BPC trial between February 1983 and August 1984. **On 28 August 1984 the Inquiry Committee resolved that there was a prima facie case of improper or disgraceful conduct or conduct which, when regard is had to of Mokoape's profession, is improper or disgraceful. It should be emphasized that the SAM & DC knew no more on 20 August 1984 than it did on 28 August 1978, and that the Council had still not succeeded in obtaining a copy of Boshoff's judgement in the SASO.BPC Trial.**

It should also be emphasized that there was no written charge, complaint or allegation against Mokoape but the SAM & DC had decided to institute proceedings on the basis of Mokoape's own disclosures.

On 23 November 1984, Mokoape was served with a summons to appear before the SAM & DC. The charge proffered against him read:

"THAT you, being a registered medical practitioner, are guilty of improper or disgraceful conduct, or conduct which when regard is had to your profession is improper or disgraceful, in that during or about 1976 you were convicted in the Supreme Court on two charges of contravening Section 2 (1) (a) of Act No 83 of 1967."

THE HEARING

Counsel for Mokoape (Ismail Mahomed SC assisted by Imrann Moosa and Edwin Cameron) contended that:

- The Medical, Dental and Supplementary Health Service Professions Act No 56 of 1974 (the Act) confers a jurisdiction to the Council to institute an inquiry if and only if it is triggered by a written complaint (Sections 41 read with 45 and Regulation 2 of Government Notice R 2268 of 3 December 1976). The Council lacked the jurisdictional fact (namely the written complaint) required to catalyse the inquiry.

- The case against Mokoape was that he was convicted nearly a decade ago of contravening an Act which has since been repealed. In law and in fact to argue

that a mere conviction under the terrorism Act constitutes improper or disgraceful conduct without regard to the motive of the offender, the circumstances under which the offence came to be committed, the actual conduct constituting the offence and whether guilt was affirmatively or presumptively established is untenable. **There may be convictions which contain inherent moral turpitude, but terrorism is not one of them.**

The representative for the *pro forma* (i.e. nominal) complainant argued that Section 45 of the Act only required proof of the conviction and the opinion of the Council that this conviction constituted improper or disgraceful conduct. Section 45 does not require a written complaint, but allows the Council to take cognizance of the conviction of a medical practitioner.

Mokoape replied that **the formalistic approach suggested by the complainant would make a doctor's traffic offences or his failure to pay his dog licence the concern of the SAM & DC.** The *pro forma* complainant had to go further and suggest how the conviction constitutes improper or disgraceful conduct. For example, while a speeding offence *per se* might not show improper or disgraceful conduct, the fact that a doctor endangered the lives of twenty people might show a *prima facie* case of improper or disgraceful conduct.

The Disciplinary Committee appointed by the SAM & DC granted the application for Mokoape's discharge without enunciating any reasons.

It may be added that the Act makes no provision for this kind of discharge: the Committee's decision was decidedly uncharacteristic.

ISSUES RAISED

On the other hand, the Committee clearly chose the way of least resistance. Had it decided to hear the full defence case in the *Mokoape* episode, the following issues would possibly have been thrown full square before it:

- **Does the medical practitioner's commitment to healing end with his stethoscope and syringe or does it extend to dealing with the problems of suffering humanity and helping to weed out oppression, exploitation and dehumanization?** In September 1948, the General Assembly of the World Medical Association passed the following declaration to bind all medical practitioners:

"I solemnly pledge myself to consecrate my life to the service of humanity."

It is noteworthy that the WMA pub-

lished this Declaration after the horrors of World War II. Amongst the barbaric deeds of the Nazi regime were various crimes committed by medical men relating to human experimentation: the excuse that they were ordered to perform these by the state was not enough. **Medicine can no longer restrict itself to symptomatic relief, to the treatment of specific organs and to the care of the individual person it must assess its goal within the total context of human society.**

- Accepting that a medical practitioner has to have a social conscience, the medical practitioners who acquiesce in the genocidal practice of apartheid medicine and who do nothing to alleviate the lot of the oppressed, exploited and dehumanized in South Africa are the ones who are really guilty of improper or disgraceful conduct. Mokoape helped initiate and actively participated in the Dududu, New Farm, Wintervelds and Zanempilo health and community projects of SASO and the BCP.

- The SASO-BPC Trial did not disclose that the accused committed any acts of violence nor did they incite violence. **The Court found that the accused justified violence. While committing abortion might well be disgraceful conduct, is arguing that abortion is justified also disgraceful conduct?**

- The terrorism Act allowed for a presumptive guilt i.e. the state does not have to prove the accused's guilt but the accused has to rebut the presumption. Although Boshoff mentioned how confused counsel on both sides were about the workings of this presumptive guilt (*Judgement at 2*), he lands himself in the same morass (*op cit at 250*). (Incidentally, this means that the conviction of the Nine is quite questionable in law). To take an example: say the Minister of Finance goes to the Internatio-

nal Monetary Fund and asks that the world returns to the gold standard: he is attempting to bring about economic change mentioned in Section 2(2) (f) of the Terrorism Act and thus he is presumed to have the intention to endanger the maintenance of the law and order. The Minister must prove beyond reasonable doubt that he did not have this intention.

There is no such presumption to assist the *pro forma* complainant in the *Mokoape* matter. Theoretically, the *pro forma* complainant would have to re-open the SASO-BPC Trial in relation to Mokoape in order to establish whether Mokoape was actually guilty of the offences charged!

- The case against Mokoape in the SASO-BPC trial was confined to membership of and presence at meetings called by the BCM. The Court accepted that **the accused were motivated by a passionate concern for the physical, psychological and spiritual well being of the Black people of South Africa.** Where a criminal offence is committed or is presumed to be committed from motives of high and lofty idealism the inference that the conduct was disgraceful or improper is not a legitimate inference.

- **Medical ethics must distinguish between what is unlawful and what is immoral and between what is immoral *per se* and what is immoral in the sense of being disgraceful.**

- A distinction must be made between a simple intention to promote racial hostility and the BCM's criticism of racist policies.

NUREMBERG

The SAM & DC has conclusively proved itself to be a bumbling arm of the executive. Coming as it does in 1985, when the WMA Congress is due to be held in Cape Town, the

**CONTINUED ON
PAGE 30**



The accused at Nuremberg . . . the greatest trial in history

5TH NATIONAL CONGRESS

The Fifth National Congress of AZAPO at Retreat, Cape Town on Monday 17 and Tuesday 18 December 1985 saw content being given to the theme "Resist, Defend, Advance" and a clear commitment being made towards systematically developing the infrastructure for a socialist Azania.

Theme

The outgoing President, Comrade Lybon Tiyani Mabasa, remarked in his State of the Nation Address: "There is no doubt in our minds that this government is under the grip of fear and what we are watching and experiencing is its final stages of disintegration and we are more than ever convinced that the future of this country definitely lies in the hands of the exploited, oppressed and dispossessed."

Mabasa clarified the 1985 theme by adding: "We have chosen and followed a revolutionary path. Today our battle-cry is *resist* all efforts of the *status quo*, *defend* and *advance* the Cause of the people and the Revolution. Our struggle should cease to be passive and reactive. . . . Our clear understanding of the forces in constant action and interaction in our society will lead us to understand the role we have to play in our society to bring about change. **We have to understand that the Revolution . . . requires the escalation of demands and actions, stage by stage, in the conflict with the enemy, utilizing the whip of the counter-revolution to deepen the conflict and to drive the Revolution forward, without stopping at the most extreme actions required to win.**

" . . . One also needs to point out that as much as the Revolution has to have a life and beat of its own it cannot be merely left to chance. As much as spontaneous eruptions are both essential and necessary in that no Revolution is successful without them, it is our duty as leaders and members of the Movement to give decisive leadership, using whatever agitation and propaganda available to us to organise the struggle and to create the momentum of a continuous offensive towards Revolutionary objectives. **Over the years there have been spontaneous eruptions and these will continue, while the Counter-Revolution is developing its method of containment and repression. This containment and repression should be vigilantly resisted by the forces of revolution . . .**

" . . . We have to wilfully subject ourselves for the sake of the struggle, to vigorous tests of self-criticism and

self-assessment . . . We should move beyond our own rhetoric into practical revolutionary action. . . . no strategy should be too old and pure to be reassessed. The older the strategy and tactics are without any conceivable and visible success, the more the need for total and complete reassessment . . .

" . . . As a Movement . . . we have said all that needs to be said for the movement. Our theoretical position is quite clear and what we need to do is get down and work.

" . . . Unless we actively exercise our right to self-defence our communities are going to turn into police garrisons and cemeteries. We can no longer afford to stand and watch as the 'tears go by' . . . We will have to go out of our way to defend the gains made in the course of our struggle, and to preserve and defend the principles of Black Consciousness displayed by the masses in action."

Programme

This State of the Nation Address set the tone for a Congress which did not perpetuate the realms of rhetoric and the old rearguard battles to define the nuances of the BC ideology. Delegates analysed the strategies of work stoppages, stayaways and boycotts and the decisions of Congress in this regard are encapsulated in the Position Statement issued by the Central Committee.

The direction and thrust of Congress was to provide the basis for a Programme of Action which would see directed action and the ushering in of a Worker's Republic of Azania.

Congress resolved to:

- Adopt a revamped version of the education policy;
- Pay close attention to the Education Crisis and to call a National Seminar on Education over the Easter week-end;



Mathews Phosa, Head of Legal Secretariate of AZAPO.

- Further the efforts towards strengthening AZAPO'S women's wing and actively assisting in the programmes of BLACK WOMEN UNITE (BWU);
- Create a National Youth Organization on the principles of BC;
- Pledge total support for the Anti-Asbestosis campaign launched by the BLACK ALLIED MINING AND CONSTRUCTION WORKERS UNION (BAMCWU);
- Launch a co-ordinated campaign against the celebration of Golden Jubilee of Johannesburg in 1986;
- Destroy the myth that the struggle is only against Apartheid and to achieve civil and human rights;
- Form Detainees Concern Committees;
- Enact the theme "Resist, Defend, Advance."

Constitution

Constitutional amendments included the cleaning-up of excess verbiage in the AZAPO Constitution. Significant amendments include:

- The duties of the National Vice Presidents will be determined annually by Congress. Congress resolved to elect a Cape and a Transvaal Vice-President whose duties shall be:



Kehla Mthembu, Head of Youth Secretariate



Sefako Nyaka, Secretary for Urban and Rural Development

(a) To direct and co-ordinate all activities of the Organization in the Cape and the Transvaal respectively.

(b) To be responsible for convening and presiding over interregional meetings in the Cape and the Transvaal respectively;

(c) To perform other duties as directed by the National Council or the Central Committee.

A Vice-President (Finance) was also elected whose duties are:

(a) To initiate and co-ordinate fund-raising projects;

(b) To monitor financial records of branches, regions and secretariates and to ensure that funds are despatched to the Secretary-General.

The Vice-President (Political Education) whose duties are:

(a) To ensure the development of the BC ideology;

(b) To implement and monitor orientation programmes and leadership training schools for members;

(c) To constantly update the Organization on developments

both nationally and internationally.

• Branch executive committees must now include branch organisers.

• Disciplinary powers of all formations are strictly governed by AZAPO'S Code of Conduct.

1985 Central Committee

The new Central Committee elected at Congress reveals how strongly the convention that nobody should serve on a post for more than two terms is observed.

This convention has developed out of the principle of collective leadership.

The New Central Committee is:
President Ishmael Mkhabela (Soweto);
Deputy President Reverend Joe Seoka (Soweto); Vice President (Transvaal) Ntjama Habedi (Soweto) Vice President (Cape) Phambili ka Ntloko (Queenstown); Vice President (Political Education) George Wauchope (Soweto) Vice President (Finance) Mandla Seleane (Cape Town); Secretary General Mbuyiseli Mahlali

(Uitenhage); National Organizer Thabo Sehume (Attredgeville); Publicity Secretary Imrann Moosa (Durban); Projects Co-Ordinator Haroun Patel (Lenasia)

The Central Committee has appointed the following secretariate-heads:

Labour - Thabo Ndabeni

Health - Abu Asvat

Legal Affairs - Matthew Phosa

Urban & Rural Development - Sefako Nyaka

Womens Affairs - Thembi Mbobo

Religious Affairs - Marnabolo Rapesu

Youth - Kehla Mthembu.

Education - Lybon Triyani Mabasa

Culture - Mandla Masweni

Frank Talk is of the view that the manner of conducting the Fifth National Congress showed a positive advance over previous AZAPO congresses. We would like to urge all formations of AZAPO to resist the machinations of settler colonialism and its apologists, to defend the revolutionary gains made in the liberation struggle and to advance towards an anti-racist, socialist, worker Republic of Azania

POSITION STATEMENT ON WORK STOPPAGES, STAYAWAYS & BOYCOTTS ISSUED BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION AS AT 85-02-02

Following a thorough overview and reflection on the political/ideological development and the immediate- and long-term tasks of the Black working class and its revolutionary organisations, the Central Committee of the AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION (AZAPO) unanimously decided to declare that the toiling and oppressed masses shall use all revolutionary and progressive strategies and tactics within the grasp in order to abolish the country's system of social degradation, economic exploitation and political oppression of Black people.

In order to sow confusion among our ranks by propagating policies and slogans incompatible with the line of the national liberation struggle, the system has through its agents fanned the flames of hysteria, enmity and hostility among the ranks of the oppressed and the exploited. This propaganda onslaught against the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist forces represented by AZAPO is nothing but an extension of the psychological propaganda war-machine championed by the SABC, the enemy media and the internal and external allies of murderous imperialists.

The Central Committee believes that in the struggle for the repossession of land and a society devoid of every kind of inequality, exploitation and discrimination only a united, politicized and organized people with their consolidated, galvanized power can break the chains of slavery and oppression.

AZAPO believes that any form of struggle should raise the revolutionary potential of struggle and that it

should be consistent with both the short-term and long-term goals of the national liberation movement.

AZAPO considers that the tactics of work stoppages, stayaways and boycotts are tried and tested methods in the liberation struggle, and have every potential to enhance the struggle.

Realizing the ruthless oppression and super-exploitation of the Black working class, AZAPO regards it as axiomatic that *Asinamali* (we have no money) and *Azikhwelwa* (we will not ride) inform the tone of most boycotts, stayaways and work stoppages in racist South Africa.

While conscious of the possible benefits of work stoppages, stayaways and boycotts and their contribution to the experience of the Black workers in united mass action, AZAPO takes into account that any method of struggle employed carelessly can be perverted and made to deflect the Revolution into channels of disaster.

As a liberation movement, AZAPO has a duty to analyze all mass actions of the oppressed and exploited and use the rich lessons which may be gleaned therefrom to advance the revolutionary effort to qualitatively greater heights.

AZAPO is of the view that work stoppages, boycotts and stayaways are only to be employed after carefully scrutinizing the material conditions. These conditions include:

- (1) the resources of the people,
- (2) a thorough assessment of the short- and the long-term goals,
- (3) consultation with the community,
- (4) how the tactic links up with

the overall struggle for national liberation.

In embarking upon these tactics, the following must be articulated:

- (a) the target,
- (b) the method,
- (c) the duration,
- (d) the consequences,
- (e) clear and achievable goals and demands.

It was with this in the back of our minds that the following resolution was adopted in December, 1984:

That this Fifth National Congress of AZAPO held in Retreat, Cape Town;

Realizing and acknowledging that boycotts, strikes and stayaways constitute some of the necessary and essential weapons in the struggle of our people;

Also realizing the need for a concerted and sustained effort in pursuance of the goals and principles of our struggle as contained in the Manifesto of the Azanian People;

And further realizing the effects and potential of such collective efforts to effect the achievement of One Azania, One Nation.

Therefore resolves:

To reaffirm and commit ourselves to the defence and prosecution of the Black working class struggle;

To continue to give direction and sustenance to our people and their legitimate organisations in enhancing the revolutionary potential of the oppressed and the exploited;

To maximize the full participation of all sectors of the Black community, after thorough consultation, investigation and canvassing in pursuit of these goals.

CAPITALISM WAKES UP

by DR. ALI SHARIATI



Dr Ali Shariati was born in Mazinan, a suburb of Mashad, Iran. Being one of the foremost exponents of socialism based on the teachings of Islam. He was continuously harrassed by the Shah's regime and twice served prison terms for political activity. He fled into exile in May 1977 and was murdered three weeks later on the 19th of June. This article was translated by Ali A Behzadnia and the Editorial collective cannot vouch for its accuracy.

I will now examine a very fundamental problem which I have always referred to but never discussed the problem of the tactics capitalism uses to rationalize itself. ¹

When a historian discovers laws of the transformations in history, factors which cause social revolution and the dialectical principles of history and when a historical philosopher shows which factors cause the formation of a social class and how and under what circumstances it is formed and how it grows until it explodes, and when he shows how the determinations of the dialectics of history cause one's social class to destroy its opposing class and then by means of an internal revolution, annihilate the ruling class and seize power, then the ruling class will certainly feel the danger of becoming the victim of the dialectics of history.

In view of the above, as the philosophy of history and the game of dialectics helps **the growth of the awareness in the proletariat about the factors creating a proletarian revolution which will destroy capitalism from within, by the same token, capitalism realizes the historical, social, class factors, the direction and behaviour that endanger its existence and which will ultimately destroy it.** ²

Subsequently, according to Marxism, when man's self awareness, social consciousness, awareness of being part of the proletarian class and when the proletariat, who are the pioneer force, mobilize and form a political party, as a centre for their struggle against the ruling class, this could be one of the causes and factors leading to the expediting the revolution in favour of the proletariat. For the same reasons, the ruling or the exploiting class, that is to say, **capitalism, is able to have control over such factors as self awareness or scientific awareness and become familiar with the law of histo-**

rical revolution and cause its path to deviate in such a way as to safeguard its own capitalistic direction.

Consequently, when one becomes aware of the fact that incidents are occurring to one's opponent's benefit, then one becomes aware of how to divert the direction of the incidents to one's favour. Thus, when capitalism learns that 'competition' is one of the causes of the proletarian revolution because it creates inflation and unemployment, then capitalism becomes able to eradicate that cause. In other words, capitalism acknowledges that these factors cause the proletarian revolution.

Therefore capitalism, by means of creating trusts, cartels and common markets, may stop or change these factors. That is to say, capitalism may make competition disappear, as a result of which, the huge factories would not jettison or burn billions of dollars of goods produced as was the case in the year 1820 or 1925. Some of the reasons attributed to this are the following:

1. In order not to lose their market shares, factories has to produce,
2. To pay their employees,
3. Being unable to reduce production to meet the reduction in consumption,
4. Increase in production has always been ahead of increase in consumption,
5. To keep production (supply level) inferior to the demand level in order to preserve high prices. All the above mentioned factors will cause capitalism to fall into a crisis or create critical unemployment which would expedite the proletarian revolution.

Another factor causing the proletarian revolution is the dialectical principle transferring quantity into quality. For example, if you read a poem or recite an anthem, you will not become as emotional or excited as when a group reads the same poem in which case you will become extremely excited. What is the reason behind this? Quantity. That is to say, if 500, 2000 or 5000 people were reading the poem, there would certainly be more feeling and excitement than if only five or six people were reading it. Thus, when quantity

is added, it changes into quality.

The same is true in the system of a social class structure. One of the reasons Marxism gave in the 19th century about **why the peasants revolution may occur late, or never happen at all, is attributed to their lack of self awareness** - workers should lead the peasants and give them the necessary awareness. This is called the problem of quantity, that is, the lack of concentration of farmers at their place of work.

Peasants are working over a vast area of land in a scattered manner, 100, 200 metres or even one or two kilometres from each other, whereas, in industry, workers are more concentrated. Another reason is the fact that workers live close to each other. In the fuedal system, the workers are very much spread out and dispersed. As the concentration of workers in industrial capitalism grows, it will cause the feudal system to pull back.

This will enable the labor force to become even more concentrated. Quality-wise, as capitalism grows, groups of 10, 20 or 30 who used to work together under 100 businessman will now have to work under five capitalists. Thus, concentration of the labor force, capital and pro-



The lack of concentration of workers on farms results in a lack of self-awareness and therefore on awareness of their exploitation.



Concentration of workers leads to debates heightening the consciousness of workers.

duction will lead to the concentration of the proletariat. This, in turn, would cause the number of workers to increase, thus accentuating the growth of workers solidarity.

I call the increase in the proletariat and its ever growing concentration, a quantity-wise increase — just like the increase in water temperature. This quantity will then be transferred to quality which is the awakening and self awareness of the proletariat, called revolution. You may have noticed that in places where people work or study as a group during the day and then disperse at night, they are more sensible than emotional towards problems. The reason is that they are concentrated at work and where they live. The result is not the same when they are scattered. **The more the concentration of workers grows, the more they will get involved in debates and the exchanges of ideas,** thus attracting more and more workers. **These are the factors which cause an awakening, an alertness, a class feeling, the expression of class needs, the making of decisions, the belief in self and worker power, organization, analysis and evaluation of the environment and conditions of life in order to confront the ruling class. All these factors pave the way for a revolution.**

On the other hand, the capitalist is also aware of all the above problems. He is no longer the old unintelligent hoarder of money. The capitalist can now employ sociologists, philosophers, scientists and even the most *renowned socialists and Marxist experts.* As the capitalist is informed of all the dangers facing his existence, he will mobilize all his powers to change the direction of history in his favour.

Capitalism in the West has been very successful in its mission. As I mentioned before, a proletarian revolution had even started in the 19th century, but we hear nothing about it in the 20th century. **In some French villages, the proletariat even votes for the right wing. In France and**

Italy, the election boards show exactly those who have leftist or rightist tendencies. Moreover, during elections, the proletarian tendencies are shown by a curve on the political board.

When living standards show signs of improvement, the political board indicates that the tendencies are towards the right wing. That is to say that even the proletariat and the exploited class in Europe mentioned by Marx have rightist tendencies. But **when living standards drop and the French economy is badly hurt because of war, etc, the political board shows tendencies of moving towards the left wing.** But today, as compared with the 19th century, the board is indicating all the signs to be in favour of the right wing.

STOPPING WORKER SOLIDARITY

The proletariat, which according to the dialectics of history, had to bring about a revolution, is now moving further away from the direction of history. The reason is that capitalism is now aware of all the factors and is working hard to stop the concentration of workers.

In the old times, for example, in Lancashire, England, all the factories used to be built in industrial areas. Thus, an industrial town would be created with its employees living close to the factories and also to each other. Moreover, they used to have a common workers club, common swimming pool, common village, common cinemas and common beaches, etc.

Today this is no longer the case. Efforts are towards having all workers living quite a distance from their place of work. Instead of building one single living conglomerate for all workers, they now build several scattered conglomerates.

In most industrial towns, there are villages two or three kilometers from each other, which are separated by means of deserts or unnecessary parks and open spaces. That is to say

that in a vast area there are several living conglomerates which have no contact with each other. Each village uses its own cinema, clubs and shops within their own conglomerate. The distance to the next conglomerate is great and they have no contact with other conglomerates. This is how capitalism is destroying workers concentration and solidarity.

CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

The major factor which would expedite a revolution of the proletariat is the consciousness of that class. As I have mentioned before, it is the feeling of poverty which starts a movement. **The necessary factor that would persuade a social class to rise is the consciousness of being exploited rather than the mere fact of being exploited.**

It is the dialectic that is moving. We have witnessed the fact that unlike frozen dialectics, **thesis and antithesis have been living together happily and peacefully for 1000 or 2000 years.** Class consciousness is the factor which hastens the revolution. It is a factor of the dialectical movement. How could a blind class find consciousness? Or divert it? Or postpone it? If one understands class consciousness, one can stop it. It is very clear. It is just like a doctor who knows all the symptoms of the illness and can then fight it.

One of the major factors bringing about the exploited classes awareness of self is deprivation.³

Thus, it is natural that the more I feel deprived, the more I will become aware of my class. Now, what factors will make me feel deprived? Through experiences in your society, you may notice that it is not enough to be hungry in order to feel that you are hungry. It has been observed that not only do some people who are hungry not feel it but they even thank God that they are leading a good life. Their stomachs are hungry but they are not conscious of it. Or they are aware of their hunger but they are not aware of their unnatural deprivation. They feel natural.⁴

There are many factors through which one can either fool oneself or be fooled by others. What is that fact through which a deprived person may realize that he is deprived? To



People aware of hunger but not of their unnatural deprivation.

conceive and to lead a natural life and to know what a normal person must have in a normal life is a big problem. But one must realize all of those things which one does not have, while one is not aware of this.

Under Consumption

What makes a person realize that he is deprived in life? It is neither low income nor no income, nor low production, nor even small ownership nor little capital. The answer is under consumption. When one feels that one has a very low share of consumption in whatever is produced one feels one is being exploited. Consumption could be basic, such as that relating to food and clothes or it could be luxurious like that relating to cars, etc.

You can realize the feeling of being exploited via under consumption through class antagonisms. The symptoms of class differences are neither capital nor production but consumption. In other words, a social class will not realize how backward it is even if it possessed capital a million times more than another social class. When the backward class actually conceives of the differences existing between the basic and luxurious consumption of the other class with itself, then it will really feel deprived.

Therefore, it is through comparisons and contractions that man basically realizes and conceives of reality. In a closed environment a person may claim to be the most knowledgeable person on earth, thus having no need for education. It is only when he finds himself in a situation where he meets with other persons that he finds out how little he knows.

Eventually 'I do not know' is the phrase I would feel when I would meet others who knows a lot. **The time I would feel deprived, exploited, poor and hungry is when I would become aware and see how my antagonistic class eats, the clothes it wears, the things it enjoys and the life it leads.**

Consequently, it is consumption that creates deprivation. What makes me realize my under consumption is the consumption of others.

Contradiction

For example, a certain big businessman, who is able to buy half the city, sits in a very tiny office, wearing cheap clothes, looking quite poor in a dirty room with an extremely cheap desk. At noon time he eats soup or bread and yoghurt. Life is worthless. Why? Because his employee who sits close to him sees that usually his clothes are nicer than those of his boss. He also sees that his appearance, his child and wife are better than the businessman's.

As the employee sees that his boss is even more deprived than himself, he



Exploited people live in houses which are identical.

does not feel exploited at all. We notice that our own capitalism rationalized itself before Europe did. The external facade of the old village houses does not differ very much from each other in the classical towns of Kashan and Yazd. All doors look alike in the houses of the classical merchants of the bazaar unless those houses belong to the big landowners and the feudal lords. Usually all the walls are made of mud and straw and look so much alike that aside from their different sizes, all houses seem as if they belonged to one family in the town. You do not notice a large class difference.

SHOWING OFF

However, the case would be different once you entered the houses. When you see all the carpets and the food that is served, you would feel the big difference between this and the very next house. They would be incomparable. This is entirely contrary to what exists in our cities today and our present class system. More contradictions are being noticed in modern towns. Modern man uses his utmost effort to beautify the outside of his house. Since he himself does not see the outside and since it has no effect on his life, he does this only for the sake of others. He wants to indicate that he belongs to an upper class. This relieves his morale. Otherwise, the style of the outside of his house does not change his real life.

This class life is a way of life that we have learned. In the old times all doors looked alike. Today, everybody's aim is to make, paint or deco-



His car and clothes have to be unique. He's got to be different.

rate them in such a way as to be completely different from others. **Nowadays, one tries to look unique in his district. The colour and model of one's car must be unusual. One's clothes must be exceptional. To be unique is to show that one is different and unmatched. One belongs to another class.** Thus, one continues to pay attention to one's appearance. One even wishes to exaggerate these contradictions and differences. Once these kinds of actions, whether real or unreal, are presented to the deprived class, it would certainly belittle them. This is the spirit of the West's class differences which has infiltrated into our society and has influenced our so-called modern people. This is a factor which irritates and awakens the deprived class.

The aristocratic tradition has always been more noticeable in the West. Because of the system of ownership in the Islamic economy, such aristocratic traditions have never existed in Muslims society. Islamic ethics have always struggled and resisted such aristocratic dispositions to the point where it has extremely weakened the aristocratic sumptuousness with regard to richness, opulence, comfort, showing off and belittling others. This state, however, is still at its highest stage in Europe.

Two centuries after the great French Revolution which caused the disappearance of the aristocracy, today's aristocrats still walk and wear clothes differently. **They even frequent their own 'closed restaurants'. That is to say that whatever amount of money you are willing to pay you may not enter those restaurants.** They have their own clubs, closed entertainment and closed marriages. They are all firmly and aristocratic clubs which admit special persons holding membership cards. As a whole, aristocratic families have relationships with each other. Their actions, kinsmanship, relationships and their social etiquette bear a kind of rigid formality, all of which is intended to show that this group or class is superior to others. This class wishes to enforce itself upon others. It wishes to persuade other people that its superiority is basically natural; it is a quality of its blood, life, nature and temper which still exist. It

tries to sell this idea even though nobody is willing to buy it.

This spirit of showing off the class antagonism, with regard to consumption, has caused the following, certainly to a greater extent in Europe than in Iran and other Third World countries. First, it has created complexes for the deprived class. It has made the said class realize how poor it is and how different it is from the upper class. Generally, 100 or 200 years ago, the difference between the capitalist and the rich class, excluding the small capitalists (the same opulent landowners and businessmen), with the middle and lower class was much more than what it seemed to be in appearance. But to day, this class difference is less than its appearance. **As a person's salary today is increased by \$30 or \$40 it is soon echoed everywhere. He will belittle everybody with his car, clothes, house, his appearance, his looks and also with the changing of the curtains, carpets and furniture.** He will show his family, competitors, friends and all the people on his street that he is now superior to the others. He even makes false presumptions and therefore consumes in a false way. His lunch table is curtailed everyday while adding to his car. His reasoning being that people cannot see your stomach but this (my car) shows my prestige. His living room is the best place of his house, it receives the most sunshine, it is sanitary, big, and nice. This is the living room of a very rich person which is used once or twice a year. But he himself, his wife and his children are living in the worst place of the house and in the worst state of life. He curtails all possibilities regarding the natural and real needs of his family in order to pay more attention to the appearance of things which are more noticeable to outsiders. This antagonism in consumption awakens the exploited class. That is to say, that this class always seeks with its own eyes the things that others possess but it still does not have. There, day and night, it sees, hears and feels the terms 'haves and have nots' This awakens it and makes it aware of what to do. These things will mobilize it and cause it to hold a grudge against others.

I mentioned that rich men and the classical bourgeois tried to hide or lessen the appearance of their consumption. In general they spend little. But when capitalism awakes, it changed the whole story completely, that is to say that capitalism increased the apparent consumption of the deprived and the proletariat, but it did not lower its own.

Sops to workers

Suppose I was a French worker, what were all the alms and comforts belonging to the aristocrats that we did not possess? They had beaches and they would go to the sea. **Going to the sea was an aristocratic and**

rich entertainment for those who owned cars, while the poor people had to go for a walk to the local town square. The capitalist accepts to allow the proletariat to the beaches. This would not be very expensive while it would make his complexes disappear. The problem is going to the beach. This would not be very expensive to a capitalist. He goes to the beach for the sake of feeling relieved, comfort and entertainment, while a worker goes for the sake of his prestige. Often he has no more than one day. He rushes to the beach from Tehran just to touch the water and come back. This is not only for the sake of showing others that he, too, went to such and such a place, making all complexes psychologically blow up, but it also causes the envy he feels towards them to die out. This a personal, internal psychological problem. He is first saturated and then satisfied.

In Paris, there are cinemas whose tickets cost 10 francs, or 100 francs. There are 3 or 4 cinemas which are off bounds to a poor and deprived person. They were a source for envy and formed a boundary. He may not go to a cinema on the Champs Elysees. As a whole, neither could he or any of his friends, nor any member of his family or any one from his class go there. **Capitalism will now admit him to these places - without really giving him anything - that is to say that he only feels he has joined the aristocratic class and has acquired its dispositions.** What is capitalism really doing?

Nothing. **Capitalism only removes a small constraint.** The worker can now go to the very same cinema and watch the same film. He now goes to the same places that his boss and all industry owners go to. He also sits on the very same chair and feels relieved. The chair is still warm when, just like them he provides himself and his wife, with sandwiches, and waits, just like the aristocrats who used to go to cinema in the past. Now he has also gone to a cinema. **He also drinks a beer as his boss used to drink whisky.** It makes no difference, he imitates



Credit Purchasing

them in the best cinemas of the world. The worker used to have a very small and insignificant constraint. **The only difference is that, unlike his boss, he can go to cinemas on Thursday only. That is I say that the same cinema ticket: only one franc on Thursdays thus enabling the worker to go to such a cinema.** Therefore he has succeeded in reaching the symbolic places and cafe's which were always closed to the people of his class.

The opera, the Paris Opera in particular, belongs to the aristocrats, to that very intellectual class and to those who possess the highest university education. It is built by the artists who were linked to the Louis' and Versailles. Its art belonged to them as a whole. He could neither enter nor approach such an opera with his simple clothes. The waiter, alone, is several times more luxurious than he is, which makes him feel complexed. Also, the culture of the worker class is not rich enough to watch an opera by Moliere. He will neither understand nor like it at all. Even though he likes his own songs, he goes to the opera. The day they announce that the opera ticket is, for example, 2 francs, he takes his wife, children and uncle there. This is just for the sake of overcoming his own and his grandfather's complex, which he had for years. This is a kind of spiritual and psychological consumption.

Credit Purchasing

We will give them refrigerators and cars which are the symbols of aristocracy. How? Do we give them the possibility to buy? No. If we give



The Rich at Play

the purchasing power, then we would abolish class differences. The problem of self rationalization of capital is to make the working class not hungry and have everything while being poor and remaining poor. Not-

has changed. Although you cannot afford a refrigerator, you wish to have one? Yes. You may have one without paying for it. You wish to have a T.V.? You may have one without paying a cent for it. Take it. But there is a box here that you put pennies in for every time you wish to switch it on. It is nothing. Anyway he now possesses something which is a symbol of aristocracy. That is to say that the biggest French capitalist does not possess more than this T.V. You have one too. But he has a small debt. What will he do? His children used to get change and spend it enjoying themselves. His wife used to save the change until it would reach \$30 or \$40 and then she would spend it when necessary. Then there was this small change that he would donate to the needy and spend when urgent. All these monies have to go into that box now, the T.V. box. He watches T.V. and after 15 minutes it automatically turns off.

He wants to watch the continuation. Finally he has to borrow from friends to switch the T.V. on again. When his neighbour comes over to his home, he would not ask him to turn the T.V. on, he would pay himself and watch the T.V. The capitalist is constantly sucking the money of his neighbours friends and relatives. The capitalist does not ask his workers for money. It is free. But what has happened? The worker possesses one of the biggest signs of aristocracy. He owns one of the best, most luxurious, most beautiful and most prestigious tool of a comfortable life in his house. Well, he thanks God that he is better off now. He could not even have dreamt of it.

Imperialism

He can now own a car in the same way. Credit purchasing can do miracles in life. Without increasing the standard of living or purchasing power or class difference, it gives him false sense of purchasing power, and aids consumption. Loan, bank credits and credits given by the Westerners to the Easterners have a dual purpose. First, these backward people should not become so poor that the list of our goods for consumption be drastically reduced. If those people were to become very poor then they would be unable to buy our goods, thus we would lose our market. On the other hand, they should not become so rich as to become able to produce. They should be in between. That is why we would give them a false sense of purchasing power. How? One way is through "credits" We even have to be a little lenient. For example we used to take uranium and diamonds from Tanzania at \$5 a gram. Now we will increase it to \$7 a gram. This



means that we have shown good intentions and at the same time we have increased their purchasing power and they become satisfied.

This increase in purchasing power would create a bigger market for our goods. As we donate \$2 as an increase for the price of diamonds, tomorrow we will witness that the sales curve of our capitalistic goods to the same country has increased by 30%. This would make the poor country happy because, politically, their pride is saturated as well as socially and economically. They would serve progress. At the same time their unhealthy consumption has increased because they can now buy more. This is an unauthentic feeling. All hopes given to them that they would become an advanced country and would no longer belong to the backward and exploited class are nothing but empty words. Worthless. Now this deprived class — the proletariat — can go to the best aristocratic cinema as well as to the beach even though it is lower than the aristocratic beach. But it does not make much difference. Aristocrats own a lot of commodities and they also go to the beach anyway. We will give him cars, refrigerators, T.V. and etc. which are the symbols of the bourgeoisie class, thus making him feel well-off without having changed his class status

Social Security

Another factor is the social advantages, such as insurance, social security, wages, etc. A portion of each of

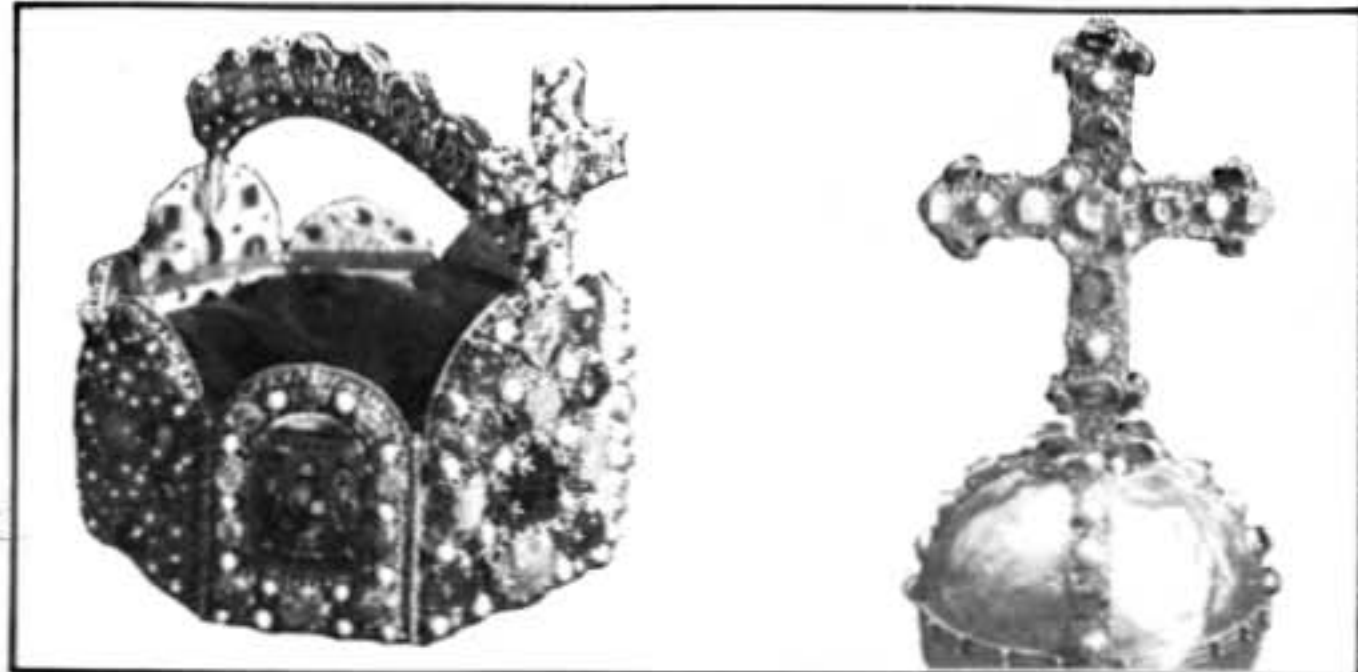
the above is given to them by capitalism. This is where capitalism is really making an investment. It is no more very unhealthy. He is investing. **An uncertain future is one of the conditions which would cause the worker to revolt.** He always feels, "I am getting old in this place and if tomorrow my hand is chopped off, I would be fired. Well if I became poor, old, and disabled, then my wife, my child and all of them will be left hungry. We have no kind of security. He has full dominance over our fate and can fire us at his will."

Therefore, the capitalist, through giving the worker class security and assurances, abolishes this kind of instability, insecurity and wavering. So much rest for this period of work or this much to be paid as retirement benefits are some of the forms of the class security given by the capitalist to the exploited class. He says that I will deduct 5% for his social insurance while he deducts 10% and explains that the difference is to provide him with life insurance. "We will provide him with whatever he likes such as insurance and social security even for his wife and child. We will pay him \$35 for every newborn child." All these are the alms given to him. **But the amount that the capitalist invests in him causes his anger to be abolished for good. This state of contradictions is replaced with a state of competition.**

Religion

What has changed? The change is that in the capitalistic system of the 19th century, the proletariat had no hope and all the factors helped in belittling him. **The church used to say, "You are born so, God has made you just like this. Jesus Christ is Kind. He has wished and made you so. You have to be like this. Religion would say, on behalf of God, that you have to remain in this state of deprivation. You are created and have to live in this way, just as the capitalist and the well-to-do feudal lords are created to live the way they are living.** As a whole, God has separated you and the well-to-do class by a heavy, large and invincible wall."

All these factors had made him hopeless. All philosophers, socialists, writers and poets were at the service of the capitalist. Everyone obeyed him



The imperial crown and Orb of the Holy Roman Empire. The biggest share of capitalism in the West belongs to the Roman Catholic Church.

in order to remain in their present state in the name of being virtuous and ethical. If not they would be called sinners, spoiled people who ignore other people's rights. They would obey him in the name of spirit, religion, ethics or anything else. They were helpless. Therefore, the more the aristocratic class showed itself to be superior, to have advantages, to be well-to-do, eager for money and the exploiter of this class, the less they would think of breaking this wall and sharing a little of their life and aims with the deprived class.

But in the present class cycle, when the proletariat obtains class awareness at any cost, they would realize that what all the capitalists has said on behalf of God, was what they had previously said about the gods. The proletariat would then abandon religion.

As you see in the struggles in the 19th century **the worker supports materialism because religion was totally at the service of and dedicated to the Gods of gold and power.** Generally, gold, power and fraud were all prefabricated. As we see, the biggest share of capitalism in the West belongs to the Roman Catholic Church. The biggest investments in the world belongs to them. Thus, it was not at the service of the people. This is why workers revolts against religion and this kind of class system. They knew that their only salvation is through revolution, through breaking and destroying everything. They had nothing to lose.

Now capitalism realizes that it should give something to the worker so that if there were a revolution, he would envy its loss. So, the feeling of possessing something he likes, has made his life more comfortable and hold him from taking any risks. **Also, when a worker owns something, he becomes conservative. While he may keep his revolutionary ideas if he wishes to, he is allowed to do anything in his revolutionary thoughts.**

This same proletariat and revolutionary class in 19th century France, who saw that, that year they were

working seven hours as compared to eight hours the year before, started a guild struggle and later went on strike. He was able to reduce his working hours half an hour and increase his wages. He was becoming better off. He obtains better social security, better and larger insurance, he becomes better off, and receives more possibilities and can go on more strikes. **Capitalism offers him a syndicate as a break to go on a strike for a couple of hours when he becomes very angry. Finally they would compromise with their leaders and solve all the difficulties.** I would like to mention the logic and rationale which lies behind such reasoning. That is to say, the disappearance of 'the difference in consumption for the purpose of safeguarding the differences in production, ownership and classes'. **This is when 'capitalism becomes rational.'** In other words, **capitalism's tactic is to donate a little to saturate the worker. Now that the worker owns something, he is no longer willing to run a risk of losing it whether in a revolution, rebellion or uprising.** This might even kill his class awareness because he can see that he possesses whatever his boss owns. **But as I said before, while he own nothing, he is apt to break, destroy, blow up, revolt, adjust and abolish the capitalist society.**

He is prone to destroy the system in order to own something. He sees that he is gradually being given things like wages, syndicates, insurance, beaches, refrigerators, etc. He feels that hope is replacing disappointment in him — disappointment because by protecting capitalism and the class system, he can have a human life while he was disappointed and would have ended up in a historical revolution. But this process of gradual donation to the worker or creating a false feeling of being well-to-do or granting him a syndicate instead of an ideology⁵ will make a worker hopeful. During these seven or eight years that he has begun to become better off, he has also become hopeful that if he is able to preserve his present situation, by means of struggling through his

syndicate, or through gaining more power, then he will acquire more and more advantages. That is how hope makes him feel relieved. The false feeling of being well-to-do makes him feel satisfied and his showing off by differences between consumption, or the disappearance of all the pride and the aristocratic tendencies of luxury during the bourgeois period, which would then reduce the contradictory crises. And the syndicate will find their way to divert all social complexes.

Awakening of Capitalism

Indeed this is the 'awakening of capitalism,' that is to say that through their tactics, capitalism tries to invest even from its own pocket. During the bourgeoisie period, it desires to obtain the absolute maximum profit. **But capitalism, in order to destroy the revolution, spends a little and gives away some of its profit.** For example, on a 20% profit he is willing to give away about 5% of it in favour of the workers or for the sake of the society in order to destroy the revolution. He foresaw that if the extent of exploitation was to be continued as it did during the 19th century, there would have been a revolution ten years from then, **so he has to reduce the prevailing extent of exploitation in order to postpone the revolution.** He gives away a little in favour of his enemy in order to delay the revolution to 20 years, 30 years, 1000 years or even to completely destroy it. We can also see that he has also been successful to a certain extent.

But what is the main reason for such a success? Unfortunately, even Marx, who was at the peak of his reputation and thinking in the second half of the 19th century, has not referred to this problem. It is astonishing and unbelievable that he who is so sensitive and observant about the exploitative relationship between the proletariat and his employer in the capitalistic system does not refer to that problem. It would be acceptable from such and such a French, Dutch, or English capitalist in the 19th century but not from Marx, who is so considerate about the problems of brotherhood, class system, exploitation, the rights of the deprived class and the proletariat. He who has depicted the most profound problems on the basis of economic exploitation, he who more than anybody else has worked towards the creation of self awareness of the proletariat and the deprived class which is the main factor of awareness and consciousness as far as the exploitation and class system is concerned. I Wonder why⁶

Colonialism

During the periods 1850, 1860 and 1870, the most dreadful forms of murder and animal-like exploitation of Latin America, Africa and Asia existed. **That is to say that the animal-like imperialism, similar to a wolf attacking people of the third world**

-today's term bit and killed them. They destroyed everything, such as culture, morale, ethics and normal life. ⁷ They would formally mass murder, plunder our best cultural and artistic works as well as all of our raw materials. Often they would take a group of local workers with themselves.

All African tribes were captured as slaves in the worst animal-like forms. Then while taking them to the U.S.A., they would put these slaves in a special way in their huge vessels. ⁸ How is it that under such conditions where a group of African labourers on coffee fields had a maximum to eat in order to survive, had no clothes, and under such conditions here all of the East, Africa, and Latin America was plundered in order for the West's capitalism to be created, those most progressive of all groups, in the West during this period, who struggle more than others for human rights, against exploitation and class differences and who show more sensitivity and who even fight for it, never talk or say a word about the contradictions the horrible imperialistic differences, just like the relationship between a wolf and a sparrow? **It even astonishes me that in the West's analysis of capitalism is no such problem as plundering of the East's raw materials.** Why don't they even mention this? **Why do they not discuss the problem of where all the capital accumulated now in England, Germany, and France with which they exploit the European worker, came from?** Marx says that this capital should be put at the service of the proletarian class, or at the service of the people's government. What belongs to the people, to the governments of Europe and must be nationalized? As a whole, to whom should it belong?

"Third World"

I undoubtedly believe in the antagonism existing between the employer and proletarian relationship. I believe in it globally as well as scien-

tifically. Especially since it is the word of the day in Europe and a group for struggle and revolution that the proletarian class is invited to revolt. There is no revolt. There is no misunderstanding between the relationship of the proletariat and the capitalist. **But the real problem is whom does this capital belong to? Where has it come from?** Despite the fact that I believe infinitely in Mr. Schwartz whom you have seen me mentioning often and although I believe in his scientific thought and social path — he is also the founder of the three party system, that is to say the united Socialist parties ⁹ — very very astonishingly he says that capitalism had become rationalized and gives away a portion of it's capital and profit to the proletarian class, and creates a bourgeois-looking life for him. **The reason why Marx's prediction was not realized and the revolution in Europe was delayed and the proletariat does not possess that revolutionary state of being is firstly due to the awakening of the capitalist class and secondly the proletariat becoming bourgeois-like. They look and live like the bourgeoisie.**

I ask the question, why do you not contribute this to the awakening of capitalism, a result of which it has been able to provide ample possibilities such as salary, social advantages, social security, insurance, purchasing power, price reductions etc. Where has the capitalist acquired all this money from? Is it due to its awakening? Or is it because the third world is sinking into continuous poverty and increasing misery and becoming more backward in order for your proletariat class to be changed to the bourgeoisie? Which one is the reason?

Mr. Yves Lacoste is then author of a book entitled 'The Geography of Hunger' which has recently been translated. He compares the prices of all the raw materials exported from backward countries to Europe during 20 to 30 years in exchange for already cooked and made com-

modities. ¹⁰ The result of this comparison is incredibly grotesque.

If his research and method were not written as a world reknown economist we could not even think that all the consumer goods exported from Europe to our countries during the last 20 or 30 years often had a 300%, 400% to 600% price increase. On the other hand, the raw material which they receive from us, Africa, Asia, and many Latin American countries, contrary to the demand and supply rules which state price increases in every 30 or 40 years, some of these raw material curves had small slopes and some none.

The price of most of the exported raw materials from the backward countries to Europe had declined compared to 30 years ago. It has often been halved.

Contrary to the last analysis of the most highly ranked, intellectual, progressive, and revolutionary, socialist, ¹¹ which says that it is the self rationalization of capitalism which has destroyed the revolution and has made the proletariat become bourgeois I believe that the only thing we can pay them with in order to guarantee their exports, is our poverty.

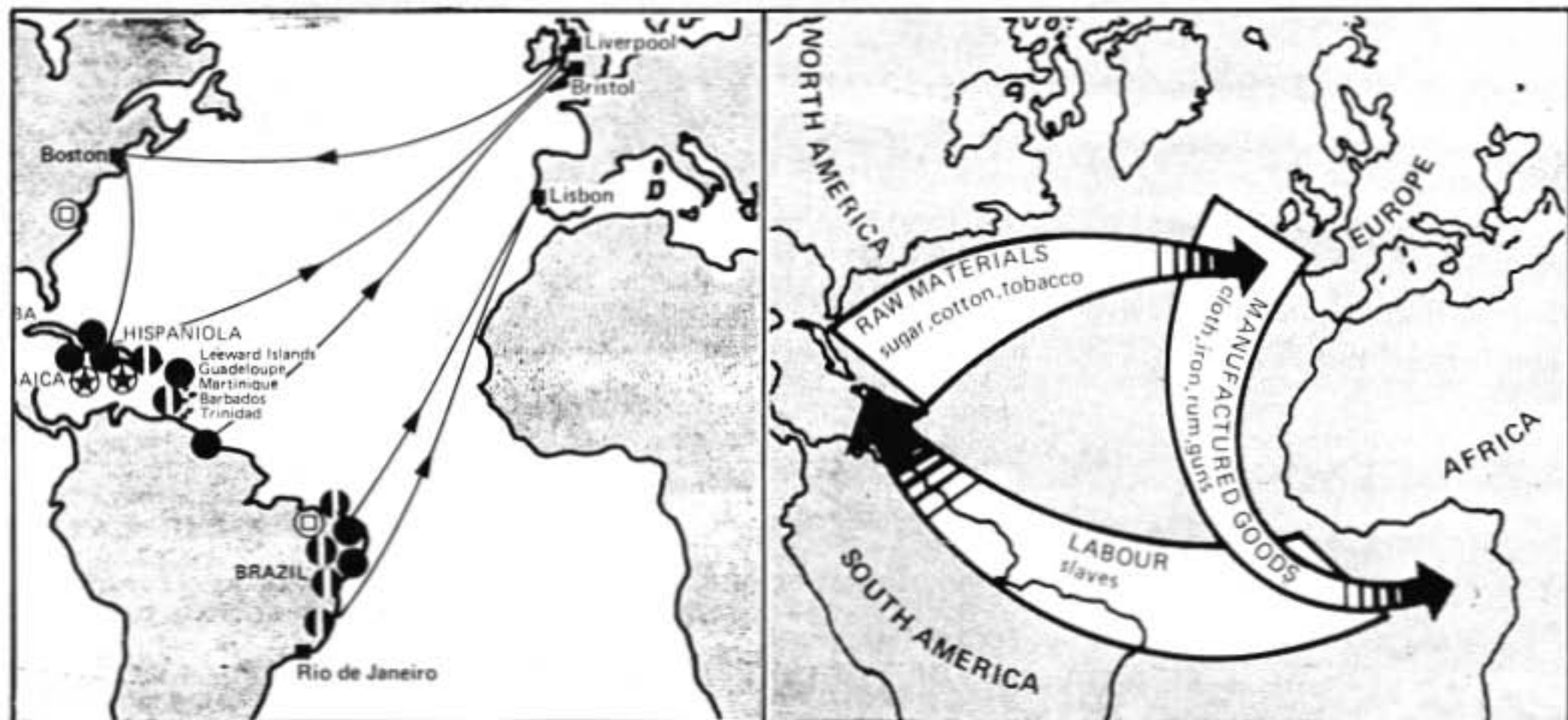
The 'Triangular trade'

Ships sailed from the 'mother country' with manufactured goods, which they exchanged on the West Coast of Africa for slaves.

The cargoes of slaves were taken across the Atlantic (the journey became known as the 'Middle Passage') and sold in the West Indies, North and South America, to work on the plantations there.

The same ships were then loaded with the products of the plantations, i.e. food, luxuries and raw materials, which were taken back and sold in the 'mother country'.

Thus the slave trade, or the 'triangular trade' as it became known, made profits at each of these three stages — profits which went to the merchant capitalists who financed it, and which made seaport towns like Bristol and Liverpool very wealthy indeed.



Footnotes Referred to in CAPITALISM WAKES UP

1. As this is neither a theoretical problem nor a scientific theory or ideology, but rather a real and contemporary problem which deals especially with the fate of the third world in which we live, it must be discussed thoroughly and independently.

2. In other words capitalism is becoming wise. Why? "Because", explains a writer, "as much as Marxism has helped the awareness and self-consciousness of the proletariat it has indirectly helped the awareness and self-consciousness of capitalism."

3. Even though the external factor of the problem of self awareness is objective — the problem of self-awareness is a subjective matter.

4. A friend of mine used to narrate that someone was complaining about poverty, hardships in life, debts, and deprivation. He believed that his life was worsening everyday. Then, he would reflect a moment and say, "We still have to thank God that in this summer heat I am not ill because if I were ill then the doctor would tell me to go and sleep close to the heater then what would I have done! Thank God that I am not ill and I am leading a good life."

5. And to destroy an ideology, he creates syndicalism to protect the worker's profits within his guild than in his society or his class and solve the problem in relation to the capitalist, or to enforce it upon the capitalist. But it will not endanger the capitalistic system. It will rather put so and so capitalist or factory owner under pressure and divert the direction of the flow.

6. The reason I say "no" — in relation to the same ground on which the problem is posed — is because my judgement would then differ, because problems are always to be tackled from all its aspects in order to get the right result, not on the same grounds on which the problem is posed, because then the judgement would be different.

7. The capitalist, in order to make his factory run, would even destroy all or half of the agriculture, the normal life of its people, forest and even the natural resources, water and the animals of that state or country in order to employ a cheap work force for his factory.

8. In order to place 1200 slaves in a vessel with a capacity of 300 men, in order to deliver to the U.S.A. about 650 to 700 living slaves, it would still be advantageous for example to place them in a way that even if 300 out of 1000 of them die, there would still be 700 to deliver alive to the U.S.A.

9. He and his group divorced from the French Communist Party due to the latter's choice of very inhumane and reactionary directions regarding the problem of Algeria and Hungary. The French Communist Party has also compromised with the capitalists and they had all become one. Djimole used to be in a Socialist Party. Maurice Tours was the head of the Communist Party. Djimole was the person who compromised with Israel and hence attacked Egypt. He had compromised with England too. Yet he was a socialist. Also, Maurice Tours owned a Villa and a castle near to Brigitte Bardot's villa. They (Mr Schwartz and his group) left the Communist Party and became Free Socialist and Intellectuals who had no obligation towards the big powers and foreign governments. They formed a very clean and clear-cut intellectual group which had no engagement towards the big powers, but which felt obligation towards the proletariat class.

10. Very well, I give wool and he makes it into clothes. Thank God, he makes us wear new clothes! He is making us civilized!

11. Thus they say: the revolution in Europe is destroyed, postponed or deferred due to the fact that the capitalist has become a sociologist, aware, wise, and has understood that he has to share a portion of his profits with the proletariat. He has to create a oriented life and thus change the proletariat to a bourgeoisie as a result of which the workers become conservative and attack and oppose any revolutionary risk and class consciousness.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 20

anti-BC stance of the SAM & DC must add grist to the mill of those who are arguing for the isolation of white South Africa in the medical world.

The inquiry into the Biko doctors and the promise of the Attorney Generals of the Cape and the Transvaal to open a murder docket for the Biko killings if new evidence comes to light will certainly not take the place of the Azanian equivalent of the Nuremberg Trial. **Colonel Goosen was, after all, promoted to the rank of Brigadier in 1982- we are quite convinced that this was remuneration for the murder of Steve Bantu Biko.**

AZAPO maintains that nothing has changed in racist South Africa since Makana was dragged to Robben Island. Our advice to the South African medical practitioner is:

PHYSICIAN, HEAL THYSELF

which means that any physician truly committed to his profession needs to dedicate himself to the struggle for national emancipation.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

Frelimo represented working class interests and visualised the structuring of a socialist state. Its violent pro-capitalist neighbours — South Africa and Rhodesia — subverted Frelimo's attempts at carrying out its aims. Ever since Frelimo has taken over the country it has never stopped being at war with the counter-revolutionary forces which were backed by Rhodesia and South Africa. Imperialism has had a centuries-old grip on Mozambique, but Frelimo has made honest efforts at trying to get rid of it. Frelimo's association with the 73-year-old African National Congress which claims to be in opposition to the Botha regime, has antagonised South Africa and led to frequent raids by the South African Defence Force (SADF) into Mozambique. In the few years that Mozambique has been in power, it has not been able to establish a socialist structure. It is the height of arrogance to condemn a hard-pressed Frelimo and not give Mozambique a chance.

Zimbabwe is only five years old yet it comes under the wrath of this little intellectual group. If they had bothered to read the history of Zimbabwe before commenting, they would have known that Robert Mugabe's Zanu (PF) was forced by the frontline states to negotiate with the Smith regime and sign the Lancaster House "agreement". That "agreement" has prevented Zanu (PF) from implementing socialist structures in the country from 1980 to 1990. Zanu (PF) leaders have said frequently that they would like to scrap the

"agreement", but cannot because they are bound to their promise to let matters ride for 10 years. Zanu (PF) should be judged by what it does in the years after 1990 and not before. Mugabe is not a populist leader. He was one of the main proponents of working class interests during the bush war and in the years that followed he has sanctioned and established socialist structures in spheres that the "agreement" allowed him to. If you are looking for populist and anti-working class leadership in Zimbabwe you should cast focus no further than Mugabe's political opponent — Joshua Nkomo.

The intellectual attitude that does not take into cognisance the reality of this country shines through in the slogan used by the group: "international working class solidarity". I say so because nowhere in the letter was there reference to the "black" working class. The "international working class" perspective reads that the interests of the white working class and the black working class are one and the same and that the two groups form a monolithic working class entity with common interests. No cognisance is taken of the privileged position of the white working class in this country and the fact that the Botha regime receives much of its support from this class when acting against the black working class.

The intellectual arrogance comes through again with the call for a united workers' front because it is plain to see that from the attitude of this group they want to impose leadership on that front. It seems their arrogance will not allow independent working class leadership to form.

What we need is working class aspirations expressed through a socialist party. Once that party has achieved its takeover of this country, we will establish an assembly, an international solidarity and a workers' front expressing itself through socialist state formations.

PAUL ALBERT
Bosmont, Johannesburg

CAL

• I understood the main impetus of the National Forum to be a united front of Black organizations. It is obvious that the broad liberation movement is riven by hegemonic conflicts and "ideology" is used to mask the attempts by ambitious politicians (as against revolutionaries) to create and fortify their own little fiefdoms.

It is equally obvious to me that every people's organization uses the language and ideas implicit in the BC philosophy while addressing the masses in the ghettos, the factories and the farms although they adopt an apologetic and submissive posture at the tea parties in Lower Houghton or La Lucia or the cheese-and-wine "dos" at Rondebosch or at Sandton.

The idea of the Black family getting together behind closed doors, sorting out its common problems and forging a principled unity which would inevitably result in unity in action was the motive force behind the NF. It is true that this motive force underpins the BC approach.

I must say that I have been extremely disappointed that the NF has developed into a talk shop for intellectuals, some of whom are under the impression that the liberation struggle begins in Athlone and ends in Kuils River. There are valuable lessons to be learnt from the All African Convention (AAC) called by the ANC and the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM) which developed therefrom.

The hysterical colour-blind orthodox "Marxists" in the Cape Action League (CAL) have both historical roots and tactical affinities with NEUM. And the most dangerous thing about NEUM is that it tends to ossify ideology and encourage interminable witch-hunts which divide and sub-divide the liberation movement *ad infinitum, ad nauseam*.

The dangers which I refer to must have been obvious to members of the BCM at the 2nd National Forum in Lenasia and the 3rd National Forum in Athlone when CAL attempted to thrust their white friends and/or members on to the BCM. Here was CAL attempting to subvert the very basis on which the NF was founded!

Evidence in black and white (my apologies to CAL) of CAL's mischievous intentions are to be found in the February 1985 edition of *Work in Progress* (WIP Number 35). I call attention to the following:

(a) Armien Abrahams, CAL's media officer, claims that the idea of a "national political organization" was mooted to AZAPO members in early November 1982 (WIP at 19). This must take the cake for crass arrogance at worst or stuporous ignorance at best, for AZAPO is the "national political organization"!

(b) Na-iem Dollie admits that the NF idea can be traced to a resolution at an AZAPO Congress, but ascribes it to "the December 1982 Congress" (WIP at 24). AZAPO held no Congress in December 1982. The NF idea can be traced to Resolution 9 at the February 1983 Congress of AZAPO (see *Mobilize and Consolidate* at 40f).

(c) Abrahams prefers AZAPO because of its "consistent anti-collaboration position" (WIP at 21) and remarks: "To work with them, despite differences on some issues is better than giving up our stand on anti-liberalism and going into the UDF". Far from working towards principled unity, CAL seem to be a bunch of opportunists and political mavericks.

(d) CAL has a pedagogical approach: their aim, it seems, is to teach AZAPO dialectics. They ap-

pear quite convinced that they have nothing at all to learn from the BCM. Here are a few tell-tale remarks:

- "At present the main impetus for the NF project comes from AZAPO and other black consciousness-oriented organisations on the one hand, and a number of other *explicitly* socialist-inclined organisations on the other." (WIP at 24: my emphasis). Needless to say, AZAPO's commitment to socialism emerges from its stated positions and from its revolutionary practice.

- "BC has started accepting ideas of class, although in a way that we do not necessarily accept." (*Op cit* at 21) For the information of CAL, the pre-1977 BCM had long started accepting ideas of class analysis, and the BC position is informed by historical realities rather than by CAL's approval or disapproval. The papers at the Convention at St Ansgar's on 28-31 April 1978, when AZAPO was still in its nascent stage, already hammered home the idea of the Black working class as the vanguard of the struggle.

- "(The BCM) is a young movement, it hasn't got any sacred cows which it can't reject... (it is) very willing to review anything." (*Ibid*) This is true, but the fundamental tenets of BC have been subjected to rigorous appraisal within the BCM. The innuendo that we need to be prodded into reviewing positions must be rejected with utter contempt.

- "Before the Azanian Manifesto, BC had not explicitly come out against imperialism. To that extent it was always capable of being described as a potentially liberal organisation." (*Ibid*) The implication is that the Manifesto is a CAL creation, which is sheer fantasy. That the BCM has long been pitted against Imperialism, Colonialism and Neo-colonialism is so trite a position that one wonders whether CAL even knows the basic principles of BC or has any idea at all of the history of the BCM.

- "The Black Consciousness organisations are in many cases mass based, even though the leadership is still largely in the hands of petty bourgeois individuals." (*Ibid*) One wonders whether occupation devoid of consciousness inform CAL's definitions of concepts such as "worker", "bourgeoisie" and "petty-bourgeoisie".

- "One of CAL's practical contributions to struggle has been... theoretical input which has filtered through to other organizations." (*Op cit* at 23) Some-

one needs to inform CAL that dialogue is a two-way process and that no organization possess a monopoly on wisdom or truth.

(e) There are attempts at identifying a "left wing" in AZAPO which is informed by "more explicitly socialist ideas" and a "right wing" which asserts that "the main objective of the liberatory struggle is the reconquest of the land by the black people of Azania." (WIP at 24) How this breath-taking analysis is arrived at boggles the mind. BC fuses the Social Question with the National Question, it does not graft "a class analysis onto its perception that colour rather than class is the main contradiction in South African society." (*Ibid*) It is a crime in alliance politics to try and divide the membership of a fraternal organization into one's preconceived categories. It is a crime in journalism to present mere gossip as well-researched conclusions. Suffice to say that repossession of the land and socialism are both fundamental to AZAPO's Programme.

(f) Dollie takes an impression that the Black Allied Mining and Construction Worker's Union (BAMCWU) is part of the BCM's "left-wing" to throw left-handed praise at BAMCWU. BAMCWU is an integral part of the BCM and its perspective in issues is informed by the broad provisions of BC and the general direction of its mother-body, AZAPO.

(g) On the question of white participation, Neville Alexander's view that committed whites must be allowed to participate while the leadership of the struggle must remain with black working class (which is nothing but a spin-off of the classical NEUM line!) is classified "leftist". By implication, BC's exclusion of whites is considered rightist! (WIP at 25) This arrogant labelling of a scientific position has no role in alliance politics and underlines CAL's "Oracle of Delphi"-type approach.

(h) Dollie sees the "historical hostility to white participation" (WIP at 28) as a barrier to forging links between the BC unions and the "non-racial" unions. Nothing describes better the opportunism of those who would like to make contacts with Black workers "from the top" while loudly subscribing to the principle of authentic leadership by the Black working class.

In my opinion, the broad direction of these comments suggests that the provincial CAL is riding on AZAPO's back. Surely AZAPO does not need additional burdens to its already devastating workload. My suggestion is to throw off all excess weight and concentrate on mobilizing and consolidating the revolutionary efforts of the Black working class.

MARGARET MOLETE
Kroonstad

Revolution is...

revolution is...
when the first ray of light
slashes night and day asunder

revolution is...
when a woman gives birth
with her thumb raised high
urging "Amandla!"

revolution is...
when a child marches from a womb
with a raised clenched fist
saying "mama we are on our own!"

revolution is...
when consciousness tears the mask
hiding my sister's beautiful face
redeeming her blackness

revolution is...
when pick-axes and ploughs
pause to determine the worth
of sweat on labouring backs

revolution is...
when a forest rises to sharpen
its branches like pencils
then poverty will inscribe
the song of the river in ink



Fragment 17

in the sun
the anger of the earth
shaking the maroela trees

in the sun
the anger of the trees
hurling venomous flowers

in the sun
the anger of the flowers
breaking stubborn cataracts

in the sun
in the anger of the cataracts
splitting obdurate rivers

in the sun
the anger of the rivers
flooding forest fields

in the sun
the anger of the fields
spreading rapacious fires

in the sun
the anger of the fires
shuddering the grass roots

in the sun
the anger of the grass roots
awakening my country...

tomorrow let no man say we were asleep

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FRANK TALK

Volume 2

September 1987

BIKO LIVES





* Dedication *



COMRADE VEDAN
(1961 – 1985)

This issue is dedicated to our 1984/85 Internal Secretary, Comrade Julie Vedan and our 1984/85 Circulation Manager, Comrade Siva Chetty who died in a car accident at Winburg in the Orange Free State in October 1985.

Phumulani Kahle, comrades: the blood, sweat and tears that you expended in building the Frank Talk Editorial Collective and advancing the freedom struggle will continue to inspire us and to spur us on.



COMRADE CHETTY
(1963 – 1985)

FRANK TALK

- is a quarterly journal published by the *FRANK TALK EDITORIAL COLLECTIVE* ("the EC").
- is open to all those on the same side of the ramparts against settler-colonialism, imperialism and reaction and who are committed to the realisation of an anti-racist, socialist Azania.
- promises to be the most ruthless dissector of the records of the Azanian people and their struggle for liberation.
- is a forum for the exchange of views amongst the oppressed people in Azania.
- makes known the views of the oppressed and exploited on matters affecting them in Azania.
- contributes to the development of the BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS (BC) ideology in Azania.
- evaluates relevant philosophical approaches to South Africa's problems.
- gives critical support to the struggles of the oppressed and the exploited all over the world.
- requires *your* active support. Please send newspaper clippings, magazines, periodicals, books for review, photographs, graphics, cartoons, letters and help us in our funds drive.

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FRANK TALK

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822642

12th September 1987

Today marks the tenth Anniversary of the murder of Bantu Steve Biko by Hitler in Pretoria. October 19th will mark the tenth anniversary of the bannings of the mainstream BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS organisations of the 70's.

The FRANK TALK EDITORIAL COLLECTIVE felt very strongly that the revival of our magazine on this auspicious occasion was a necessity.

Our readers will note that the last issue of *Frank Talk* appeared in February 1985.

Much has happened since then: the clash between the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF) and the AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION (AZAPO) rapidly took on the proportions of a civil war bleeding our gettoes, the State declared a partial state of emergency on 20th July 1985 and made this national on 12th June 1986, our Internal Secretary Comrade Julie Vedan and our Circulation Manager Comrade Siva Chetty met untimely and tragic deaths on October 10th, 1985 and October 12th 1985 respectively in a car accident which resulted in the protracted hospitalisation of our Chairperson, Comrade Imrann Moosa. And on the eve of Pee Wee's Botha's announcement of a clampdown on the alternative media (12th December 1986), our Resources Director, PATRICK MOODLY was held incommunicado by the Security Branch in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. He was released by a Court Order which declared his arrest and detention unlawful on 12th February 1987. Comrade Moodly has instituted action against the Minister of Law and Order for damages.

Through all this, the struggles of the toiling masses heightened and deepened at a breath-taking pace. The need for cogent analysis, for revolutionary theory and practice was never more acutely felt.

Before resuming publication, however, the Editorial Collective had to soberly take stock of itself in the context of the unfolding struggle.

The magazine *Frank Talk* was first published in March 1984 as the official organ of the Natal Region of AZAPO. By Volume 1 Number 4 (September/October 1984), its publication was authorized by AZAPO's National Publicity Secretary.

By February/March 1985 (Volume 1 Number 6), *Frank Talk* had ended its "first cycle".

The Editorial Collective has benefitted a great deal from its seminal experience: amongst other things, the back breaking grind of producing the magazine (along with its sister publications) requires tighter administration and control.

It is for these reasons that the *FRANK TALK EDITORIAL COLLECTIVE* structured itself into an independent body corporate, capable of taking its own decisions and meeting its own responsibilities, this year.

With its roots firmly in the Black Consciousness (BC) ideology, the COLLECTIVE will continue to hone a theoretical vision and practical path aimed at tearing asunder the horror of settler colonialism in our ravaged land.

We urge you to take part in the commemorations of the murder of Steve Biko and the bannings of BC organisations this year. And the most fitting way to commemorate these events is to contribute as much as you can to our Fund Drive. A single issue of *Frank Talk* costs R8 960 for printing alone. Postage runs over R8 000 a year, telecommunication over R6 000 a year, freight costs over R12 000 a year, legal costs over R17 000 a year, cost of resources and stationery over R12 000 a year and transport and office costs over R20 000 a year.

We urge you to *step forward now* and to help build and financially support the EDITORIAL COLLECTIVE by becoming a SUSTAINING SUBSCRIBER i.e. pledging an amount that you can afford to the COLLECTIVE every month, by publicizing the Fund Drive and initiating or being part of special fund-raising activities.

Don't pass this Letter by without sending us your contribution and/or pledge. Fill in the coupon below and send it to *Frank Talk*.

yours for Azania
THE Publisher

STOP PRESS!

The racist regime has promulgated what amount to the harshest and the most savage press curbs yet, especially designed for the alternative media: see Government Gazette No. 10880, Pretoria, 28 August 1987, Proclamation R123.

The EC has taken legal advice: it is clear that these regulations do not affect Frank Talk yet, although existing security, media and emergency laws have in any event seriously restricted us.

Meanwhile, the Publications Control Board banned our sister publication Azanian Focus Volume 1 Number 5 for distribution via Government Gazette 10840 dated 24th July 1987 (Government Notice No. 1650) because:

"The publication contains a call to action and freedom.

The Cover says: "Let's make revolution."

Page) 3 has the words: "We had vowed to let the blood of our brothers flow..."

The publication is potentially an incitement to violence.

The Committee decided that the publication is undesirable in terms of Section 47(2)(e) of the Publications Act, 1974."

The EC has instructed its legal team to appeal against this banning. Focus will henceforward be published by the AZAPO Central Committee and not the EC.



TO: The Internal Secretary
FRANK TALK EDITORIAL COLLECTIVE
P.O. Box 19360
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4015
South Africa

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In this speech delivered on the occasion of Mozambique's "independence", the President of Mozambique - and FRELIMO, Samora Machel, sketches the character of the Mozambican "revolution". Machel died mysteriously in an air crash on 19 October 1986: significantly, the crash occurred within the borders of racist South Africa.



On Being Powerless in Power 29
Mubashir Hasan was Minister for Planning and Finance in the Cabinet of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (December 1971 - October 1974) and former General Secretary of the Pakistan People's Party. This is the text of a speech

he delivered at the Bangladesh Economic Association, Dhaka on 17th December 1985.

Musical Interval	36
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This is a modern operatta in one scene by El Salvador's foremost revolutionary poet (now deceased). The translation from the Spanish is by Richard Schaaf.

Black Theology: Opiate or Material Force?	37
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This article was penned by a Minister who wishes to remain anonymous for professional reasons. It poses the provocative question whether a Black Theology has developed at all in occupied Azania or whether the rubric "Black Theology" cloaks apologies for the status quo.

The Church as seen by a Young Layman	40
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Steve Biko delivered this address to a Conference of Black Ministers of Religion organised by the BPC and held at Edendale in May 1972.

Black Consciousness and the Quest for a True Humanity	42
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This paper by Steve Biko first appeared as an eloquent contribution to Basil Moore's collection Black Theology: the South African Voice (C. Hurst & Co., London, 1973).



Fear: An Important Determinant in South African Politics	47
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The first task for revolution is to provide an antidote to fear. This article, penned by Steve Biko as "Frank Talk" in 1971, assumes renewed importance in the prevailing conditions of the state of emergency and massive repression.

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Abbreviations used:

ANC	African National Congress of South Africa
AZANYU	Azanian National Youth Unity
AZAPO	Azanian People's Organisation
AZASM	Azanian Student Movement
AZAYO	Azanian Youth Organisation
BC	Black Consciousness
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
BCM (A)	Black Consciousness Movement of Azania
BPC	Black People's Convention
BT	Black Theology
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
FRELIMO	Front for the Liberation of Mozambique
FTC	Frank Talk Collection
IDASA	Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IUEF	International University Exchange Fund
NACTU	National Confederation of Trade Unions
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NUM	National Union of Mineworkers
OPEC	Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress of Azania
PFP	Progressive Federal Party
Polad	Political Education
UDF	United Democratic Front
UK	United Kingdom
US(A)	United States (of America)
SACP	South African Communist Party
SADCC	Southern African Development Co-Ordination Conference
SALB	South African Labour Bulletin
SASO	South African Students Organisation
WIP	Work in Progress

"So many deeds cry out to be done
And always urgently
The world rolls on
Time presses
Ten thousand years are too long
Seize the day, seize the hour."

It is now ten long years since our comrade, Bantu Steve Biko met his death while being transported — naked and manacled — on a 700 kilometre journey by his goalers.

It is also ten long years since our mainstream BC organisations — the Black People's Convention (BPC), the South African Student's Organisation (SASO), the South African Student's Movement (SASM), the Black Community Programmes (BCP), the National Youth Organisation (NAYO) and others were banned by Pretoria.

It was ten long years last year since the righteous anger of Azanian youth exploded in Soweto and sent reverberations throughout occupied Azania.

Ten long years ...

It is time for sober reflection, for steeling ourselves for the awesome tasks ahead.

The guiding spirit of the era is encapsulated in the slogan "Biko Lives !!!"

Steve Biko was a dreamer who believed seriously in his dream, who attentively observed life, compared his observations with his castles in the air and then worked conscientiously for the achievement of his fantasies.

We could do with more of Biko's kind of dreaming. Such dreaming is a veritable stimulus to complete extensive and strenuous work in all spheres of life.

In the last decade, we have witnessed thousands of acts of heroism by a people who have snatched the dreams of Biko and taken them as their very own.

The people have been motivated by the BC ideology. Ideologies are really sets of beliefs — as opposed to ideas: ideas are subject to scientific investigation while beliefs are accepted on faith — about society and politics which seeks to understand how the whole society is organised, what goals should be promoted and what methods should be employed to achieve them.

While such a set of beliefs takes into account a good many facts, it also usually shows the connection between these facts in a false light. In addition, ideologies are directly connected with the economic, social and cultural situation of specific

groups or classes.

In this light, then, we can see that the "spontaneous" happenings of the previous decade were both ideological in orientation and revolutionary in content.

At all stages, the people through their many organisations espoused an anti-colonial ideology aimed at achieving self-determination as an element of democracy.

The masses took up all the basic principles of the Black Consciousness Movement of the 70's: 1980 and 1984 saw Black student solidarity in action and thousands of strikes saw Black worker solidarity being employed, the principle of non-collaboration became a tangible force to such an extent that traitors of every ilk still find it most uncomfortable to live amongst us, there was an attempt to infuse all spheres of the Black experience with liberatory values (hence "alternative" or "people's" education, Contextual or Black Theology etc.).

What the people lacked was not ideology as such, but theoretical guidance.

Theory (or "scientific ideology") has a scientific orientation. It explains observed regularities through some kind of testing and verification.

A revolutionary theory is a scientific appreciation of society, its functions, contradictions and weaknesses, the peculiarities of the socio-economic and political structures, and the specific state of internal contradictions.

In short, a revolutionary theory is one that produces the concrete knowledge necessary to engage in efficient and successful revolutionary activity.

Revolutionary theory informs revolutionary action — it is a guide to action.

The article "Black Solidarity for a Socialist Azania: An Introduction" is offered to you as an incipient analysis for a revolutionary theory.

The writings of Steve Biko contained in this issue make the *Frank Talk* collection of his known written works complete (see page 21). If, however, you have more information on this please contact us immediately.

We are trying to piece together the history of all liberation movements and your help is urgently needed.



A Portrait by *Daily Dispatch* artist, Don Kenyon. It was published in full colour on the front page of the issue announcing Steve Biko's death

Continued from Page 6

It is not our intention to merely recycle these facts. We wish to know what it was like, how people felt. We wish to make the past vibrant for the present, to emotionally involve those of us who were not there. *And* to make us understand.

President Samora Machel died in an air crash within the borders of occupied Azania on October 19, 1986. We reproduce Machel's address to the Mozambican people on the occasion of Mozambique's independence in this edition.

In doing so, we are aware that the correctness of ideological and political line determines everything.

While Machel makes a great many incisive points, the fatal weakness in his analysis is that he seeks to "revolutionize" a state apparatus which he describes as "profoundly retrograde and reactionary" (see page 25).

We believe that the state apparatus must be smashed, broken up and replaced by a new state (see page 21).

Mozambique has seen the implementation of a

classic exercise in Bismarckian *realpolitik* in the treatment it has received at the hands of the South African imperialist quartermaster.

Just as Bismarck's "foreign adventures" in the 1870's were aimed at establishing Prussian hegemony in Germany, South Africa aims to tie Southern Africa into a single economic entity.

Mubashir Hasan's article reveals that it is not possible to maintain "independence" within the framework of underdevelopment without challenging imperialist trade relations. "Non-alignment" becomes a mere cloak for increasing dependence upon Western capitalist countries and their international credit agency, the IMF.

The article "Black Theology — Opiate or Material Force?" is a pathbreaking analysis and is penned in the best *Frank Talk* tradition of "going against the tide."

Let us rededicate ourselves to BC and accept the responsibility to meet still greater challenges to make the further leaps required in the period ahead.

BIKO LIVES!!!

BIKO LIVES!!! Two words slashed across a ghetto wall. A phrase that haunts the nights of South Africa's rulers. Reactionaries and opportunists of every stripe hope and pray that it will disappear under a rain of blood and the white-wash of reform. But it remains, bold and powerful; not a tired and worn out slogan but the battlecry of a generation whose hopes and aspirations are for revolution, for an end to all exploitation and oppression.

This September marks the tenth anniversary of the brutal murder of Steve Biko by the South African state. Biko was beaten to death by the police while in detention. His so-called crimes were the ideas he espoused and developed, ideas that took root among the Azanian people and were turned into the material reality of the Soweto Uprising.

The decade since Biko's murder has been one which has shaken the foundations of settler colonial rule and imperialist domination in occupied Azania — years of intense rebellion punctuated by ever briefer periods of lull. It has been an era born of the ideas and the movement unleashed by Biko. And there is no greater testimony to the continuing importance and relevance of the revolutionary spirit of Steve Biko and its influence among the masses than the flames that erupted with the Rand Revolt on September 3, 1984 and that have engulfed the entire country over the last three years.

The commemorations of Bantu Steve Biko should by no means be confined to the honouring of a martyr. Instead, it will be much more fitting if this occasion is seized upon to rededicate ourselves to the cause of liberating Azania. And, a crucial part of this process should be a critical examination of the current situation and the road forward, drawing inspiration and guidance from the revolutionary stand and spirit of Steve Biko.

Genuine Leadership versus Capitulation

An overview of the situation in Azania today shows both promis-

ing and some very troubling developments.

For the last few years the Azanian people have shown in their millions that they are more than willing to take on and battle the regime and its imperialist backers. They have heroically sacrificed on every front. Yes, for some it has been out of sheer desperation but many, many others have been moved to rebel by a spontaneous and raw yearning for liberation. At the same time, these very favourable conditions have essentially been left at the raw and spontaneous level and, especially under severe state repression, a certain amount of demoralization and exhaustion has set in among the masses, however temporary it may prove to be.

In trying to explain this phenomenon there is a disturbing tendency by the various organisations who claim to be the leadership of the struggle to point the finger everywhere but where it belongs. Perhaps the most commonly heard excuse has been that the state of emergency and other forms of state repression make it impossible to move things beyond the spontaneous stage. Some have even found solace in blaming the masses themselves for their supposed "backwardness", "lack of consciousness" and susceptibility to misdirection and "mob psychology". What sickening condescension and haughty paternalism!

If the truth be told, these and the multitude of other excuses currently making the rounds these days fall far wide of the mark in explaining why the situation has not progressed further than it has.

Certainly the state of emergency and other state repression has made things far more difficult and risky than in "normal times" — whatever "normal times" means in our society. But surely this is not the first country in the world where the state has utilized every means at its disposal to try to crush the struggle of the people.

In any event, simply because the state brings down repression does

not mean that this repression is insurmountable and that the only option is to capitulate to it.

Nor can the masses be blamed for the state of affairs that exists today: they have never been found wanting in their willingness to sacrifice and their desire to struggle for liberation.

The problem has been the lack of any real vanguard revolutionary leadership both willing to and capable of uniting with the most advanced sentiments and actions of the masses and LEADING them in an overall revolutionary direction.

It is a law of historical and social development that the masses of people on their own, no matter how heroically they struggle, will never develop revolutionary consciousness and action spontaneously.

Who among all of the various organisations has taken this law to heart? Who has been consistently out there among the masses mobilizing and organising around a revolutionary programme?

Has it not often been the case that the masses have been left to struggle on their own — and even then have left many of the organisations eating the dust behind them — while the so-called "vanguard organisations" have busied themselves clucking over how terrible the situation is and how the key task now is to "protect our structures" and positions.

No one is saying that there is never a time when it is necessary to temporarily retreat. But even when it is necessary to do so, it must be remembered that within this defensive posture there has to be elements of the offensive and work has to be done to turn the defensive into an overall offensive position. Otherwise the temporary retreat quickly degenerates into capitulation. What is more, it is not even all that clear that such a situation exists in occupied Azania today and it certainly did not exist when the partial state of emergency was

declared at midnight on 20 July 1985 and the masses were at the height of rebellion throughout the country.

The Real Content of Biko Lives!
It is precisely within the context of the situation that exists today and in considering the questions raised above that the real content and importance of "Biko Lives!" emerges. What are the key lessons that Biko's life and ideas hold for the movement today?

One of the earliest and most important contributions of Biko and the BC Movement in general was bursting through the wall of intimidation and repression that had been built up around the Azanian people through the sixties. In the aftermath of the banning of the ANC and the PAC the regime unleashed very severe repression against the masses in general and against any and all revolutionary opposition that existed among the masses in particular. Politics, most especially revolutionary politics, was forced into a subterranean existence.

Biko and the BC Movement were not put off by this situation nor did they use it as an excuse for submission to the regime and complacency. Instead they attacked the monster head on. And while their understanding and the tools used were limited by the conditions at the time, especially by the fact that they had been born into a political vacuum, they did indeed attack the regime with unprecedented vigour and determination.

Biko realised that one of the first tasks that had to be accomplished in order to advance the struggle was to shake the fear and complacency out of the masses of Azanian people. Biko struggled for a correct assessment of the situation among the masses of Black people at the time and concluded that: "The type of black man we have today has lost his manhood. Reduced to an obliging shell, he looks with awe at the white power structure and accepts what he regards as the inevitable position. Deep inside his anger mounts at the accumulating insult, but he vents it in the wrong direction — on his fellow man in the township, on the property of black people. No longer does he trust leadership, for the 1963 mass arrests were blameable on

bungling by the leadership, nor is there any to trust. In the privacy of his toilet his face twists in silent condemnation of white society but brightens up in sheepish obedience as he comes out hurrying in response to his master's impatient call. In the home bound bus or train he joins the chorus that roundly condemns the white man but is first to praise the government in the presence of the police or his employers.... All in all the black man has become a shell, a shadow of a man, completely defeated, drowning in his own misery, a slave, an ox bearing the yoke of oppression with sheepish timidity." (*Steve Biko "We Blacks"*)

While Biko accepted this as a true picture of the mood of the masses, he did not capitulate in the face of this situation and use it as an excuse to do nothing.

Instead, he recognised that this "fear" was a two sided issue — that it was not only an obstacle to the advance of the struggle but that, since it was a product of the system, it also went hand in hand with a tremendous hatred for the regime. And this hatred provided fertile ground for revolutionary work.

For Biko the task was not berating the masses for fear and inactivity or falling prey to misleadership, but for the leadership to actually play the role of leadership. The purpose of recognising the situation was to act on it and change it. "This is the first truth, bitter as it may seem, that we have to acknowledge before we can start on any programme designed to change the status quo. It becomes more necessary to see the truth as it is if you realise that the only vehicle for change are these people who have lost their personality."

For Biko the realization of the need for genuine leadership was not just idle chatter or a platitude reserved for scholarly treatises and political haymaking.

On the one hand he waged a relentless struggle against the white liberals who had seized upon the absence of revolutionary leadership among the Black people in the previous decade to declare themselves "the leaders" of the Black struggle in order to

keep them from attacking and challenging any of the fundamental contradictions in society.

At the same time he vigorously organised among the Black people themselves around all of the key issues facing the struggle for liberation. In opposition to white liberal "leadership" he urged Black people themselves to seize control of their destiny. He attacked and defeated all attempts by the regime to divide the masses of oppressed Azanian people. He led the way in fully developing the concept of one Azanian nation as opposed to the divide and rule schemes of the regime concentrated in the phoney "racial" divisions the government had tried to impose upon the Black people. And, he ruthlessly exposed and welded Black opposition to all of the various collaborationist



IN ONE WORD "SOWETO"

schemes and "solutions" propagated by the government and various agents.

Not surprisingly, Biko's activities elicited a severe response from the state. In 1973 he was banned and restricted to his hometown of King William's Town. In 1975 an extra clause was added to his banning order which prohibited him from engaging in political work for the Black Community Programmes. From August to December of 1976 he spent at least one hundred and one days in prison and was then released without being charged. Throughout these years he was also arrested and charged many times under security legislation but was never once convicted. And finally, on 18 August 1977 he was detained under sec-

tion 6 of the Terrorism Act. It was during this period of detention that Biko, held naked and manacled, paid the ultimate price for his revolutionary activity.

Biko's response to this state intimidation and repression holds valuable lessons for activists today. It stands as a direct slap in the face to all those who argue that state repression automatically precludes revolutionary work. No matter what the state brought down against him, Biko continued to push forward with his revolutionary work. During the time of his banning and restriction to King William's Town he organised the Eastern Cape branch of the Black Community Programmes. And moreover, his home, intended by the government to serve as an isolated prison of sorts, became more like a centre of political



discussion and ferment as young activists from all over the country continued to seek out Biko and discuss his ideas and various programmes of action.

One of the most powerful and inspirational examples of Biko's overall orientation towards state repression and all of the other risks and threats involved in struggling for liberation was captured in a statement Biko made during an interview conducted a few months before he was murdered. "You are either alive and proud or you are dead, and when you are dead, you can't care anyway. And your method of death can itself be a politicizing thing. So you die in the riots. For a hell of a lot of them, in fact, there's really nothing to lose — almost literally,

given the kind of situations that they come from. So if you can overcome the personal fear of death, which is a highly irrational thing, you know, then you're on the way." "On Death"

Is it Terrible or is it Fine?

While there are undoubtedly many more examples from Biko's life and actions that could serve as important lessons for the struggle today, there is one outstanding fact about Biko that can never be highlighted enough. Throughout his political life Biko never failed to stand solidly with the masses in rebellion. When he was once asked for proof of the success of Black Consciousness he proudly announced that such proof could be shown in one word — Soweto!

Far from being an empty or arrogant boast, this statement not only recognised the very real effect of BC on the masses of Azanian people but staunchly defended the actions of the masses against the oppressive system. Biko not only upheld the rebellions of the masses, he celebrated them as righteous festivals of the oppressed.

While Biko recognised the "untidy" and spontaneous character of these revolts, he did not use these weaknesses to scold the masses and suffocate their revolutionary enthusiasm but instead studied the weaknesses in order to correct them and transform them into ever more powerful tools in the hands of the people.

In the final analysis it must be said that Biko and the BC Movement not only stood with the masses in the abstract, in a very real sense they **taught** the masses of Azanian people to dream the wild and crazy dreams of liberation. More than that, they boldly stepped forward to lead the people in acting upon those dreams, to reach out and seize the future. And in doing so, they helped to create the conditions necessary for many thousands more Bikos to rise up out of the struggle and lead the masses in storming and tearing down the walls of oppression and exploitation in occupied Azania.

This, more than anything, should be taken to heart and made a material force by all who commemorate the tenth anniversary

of the murder of Steve Biko and who continue to share his yearning for liberation.

Indeed, Biko proceeded from the fact that all correct leadership comes from the masses. In practice, this meant taking the unformulated ideas of the masses, systematizing them through study, going back to the masses to explain them in a new and concentrated form, namely BC. Naturally, the masses embraced BC as their own and implemented it — and continue to do so!

BC also ignited and fuelled revolutionary fires among the oppressed on every continent as evidenced today in the uprisings in Haiti and South Korea to name but two.

Biko taught the masses that it is possible to bridge the gap between the grinding horror of the present and an entirely different world which can genuinely be called beautiful — a world of radically different conditions, radically different relations between people and radically different ways of looking at everything.

The future is bright, the road is tortuous. The South African ruling class is like a wounded beast which will not retreat from the stage of history on its own accord but will carry on a last ditch struggle to protect itself by every possible means. It will be buried only after many more reverses, many twists and turns.

We must fight against the deliberate attempt to reduce Biko to a mere icon by revisionists. Biko and BC are a living force: let the words "BIKO LIVES!!!" ring with revolution.

It is a quaint notion that the revolution should be neat, tidy and predictable — in other words, not revolution! Revolution can never be so very refined, so gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous.

STOP PRESS!!!

We greet the news of the murder of Comrade Peter Tosh with horror and indignation. We will feature an appreciation of Tosh's life and work in the next *Frank Talk*.

Stone talk

Jay Quee

Two stones sat by a riverside in the country, idly pondering their future as they gathered a lot of moss and little else.

Lamented the first stone: "It is now five thousand years that I have sat at one spot, gathering a lot of moss and nothing else. I have seen the waters of this mighty river flow by through lean and fat years. I really wish things would change and I moved somewhere else."

The second stone said: "But you are better off. Five thousand years is not a very long time, considering that I have nestled at this very spot since the end of the Ice Age. At least you came rolling down with the river during the last mighty flood, and you immediately said on arrival that you wanted to make a better future yourself on this river bank."

"I have stayed here for a long time. Even during the Stone Age when our tribe had its glory years as the only implements man could think of, I was left untouched. I was not shaped into a warhead of those years, and not even considered for selection. I guess this thing of merit being the only criterion for selection is very old indeed."

Replied the first stone: "At least I can boast of being descended from a great lineage. My great-great-grandfather will go down in history as the rock which the first caveman used to club the first cavewoman when he came home one night from the first cave pub and found that she had not yet prepared his supper."

Said the second stone: "I don't know who will believe your tale, because the first cave people lived when there were no written records. As such, there is no proof of the first domestic tiff you are talking about. In my case it can at least be proved that my uncle was the one king Mosheshoe rolled down Thaba Bosiu in defence of his land from murdering bands of thieves from Europe. If you doubt it, ask my neighbours here."

"When the great ice floes melted and ended the Ice Ages, the

gushing waters rolled us down here from the mountain top. But many of our relatives were left behind - and just as well because they helped King Mosheshoe repel the attack of the murderous bands of plunderers."

The stones continued their idle chatter for some time, unaware that not far away feet were advancing along the river bank. The owner of the feet - for they had an

owner and were not just a pair of feet that were left lying around - was a small boy who was hunting birds.

In his trousers pocket he had a few pebbles with which he loaded his catapult. Every now and then he dipped his little hand inside his pocket to select a shot. It was while he passed the two stones that he reached into his pocket and the pebble he selected fell from his hands and rolled towards them. The little boy walked past, his mind and eyes concentrating on the tall trees along the river bank.

The two stones welcomed the newcomer with joy, and sadly observed that he might be visiting for a relatively short time - say about a hundred years at the most, because there was no doubt that the next time the river flooded he would be washed away because of his small size.

As stones go - which is very far if they are in the hands of an expert thrower or catapult shot - the new arrival was relatively young

though he had much more experience than the elders in his newly-found company.

"Tell us all about yourself. Where do you come from, and how is the place you come from," pleaded the older and bigger stones.

Said the young fellow: "It is a long story. I come from the urban areas - you are my rural cousins.

"I was beneath the ground for



thousands of years and only emerged when bands of marauders from Europe started mining the spot where I lay buried for ages. I was thrown out with other stones and we were piled into a mound which was later used in the construction of roads. The Europeans poured smelly, sticky and gooey stuff called tar over the roads.

"I was very lucky to escape the ordeal. It was while the road was still being built that two boys on their way home from school had a quarrel over a sandwich. One of them picked me up and landed me smack on the head of the other, and I have virtually landed on hundreds of heads and helmets ever since. I have smashed countless windows and in the process fathered several children when I broke into a number of pieces after landing flush on a policeman's face and knocking him stone cold, if you will forgive the expression."

The rural stones were spell-bound and fascinated by all this, and wanted to hear more.

Shrugged the younger stone: "Oh, it's the thing these days to land on human heads, particularly unpopular ones. The last time I saw two of my boys, they were disappearing into the windscreen of a motor car whose owner had scabbed when the people said everybody should not go to work."

"But it is more exciting when you are in a hand of a good and angry young man or woman -and there are thousands of them nowadays - who can take good aim and land you on the intended window or head. It is fun to know how small I am yet what power I possessed. On the other hand, it is sad when I am abused and miss my target, because that is a wasted chance and it may not be till another funeral that I am put to use again."

"Did you say funeral?" inquired the other stones simultaneously.

"Yes, throwing stones goes with a heavy price these days. If my thrower breaks a window pane, the European settler magistrates say he is guilty of sabotage and usually sentence him to not less than five years in jail. That is when the thrower is very, very lucky."

Asked the other two: "You say five years in prison is very, very lucky? Do you mean that he can get even more than five years?"

Replied the urban stone: "The last little boy who threw me, whom I loved and now miss very much, was shot dead. That is what happens nowadays. Which brings me to the question of funerals almost every day."

"Because people are shot dead so regularly, their funerals are held as regularly. And because the people hate those who shoot them, and because those who shoot the peo-

ple never keep away from the people's funerals, this results in more stones being thrown and more people being shot. These days stones are much more precious than all the gold and diamonds below the ground, because they are the people's only defence against bullets."

The rural stones pondered this bit of news. It was too much for them, because they had been isolated from the rest of stonekind for so long. Nonetheless they expressed a wish to be part of the urban happenings.

Said the newcomer: "You will be part of the scene sooner than you realise, because the people's anger at European rule is spreading right across the length and breadth of this land. If I do not see you here again, in case I am washed away in the next floods, we will meet in Pretoria. Good night."

Hymn for Africa

*Oh, pray, Africa, pray
pray to the Jesus of dismay
for your suffering is right
and deserved,
there are too many blackened souls among you*

*Good people of Africa, pray
wait for the fruits of tomorrow
and not of today,
for the Imperialist Gods will
that you serve this way
Oh pray to Them, Africa, pray*

*Give praise and homage
to the highest God,
give money to His Church
if Jesus be that big-bellied preacher,
He wills that you give this way.
Turn the other cheek,
be humble, be gay
if the Trinity be Those Chauffered in Benzes,
They will that you act this way
Oh pray to Jesus, Africa, pray*

*Do not delay, Africa, do not delay
Toss these shackles of superstition away,
let no one — not even Jesus take
your freedom away
Be not prey, Africa. Be not prey.*

Bob Slaymaker

Black solidarity for a socialist Azania

An Introduction

by Frank Talk Staff Writers



● With the deepening of the liberation struggle since the mass uprisings beginning with the Rand Revolt of September 3, 1984 the broad liberation movement has reached a crossroads. The direction which we choose now will determine whether our struggle will end with resistance which will merely rattle the chains of our oppression or whether we will be able to shatter these chains through a thoroughgoing *revolution*.

In order to carry through the truly fundamental change that is called for by the conditions in occupied Azania today, we will need to be armed with a scientific understanding of society, including a rigorous and critical grasp of the basic role of the resistance of the masses and the process of revolution itself.

We believe that BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS (BC) is a scientific ideology¹ in that it:

- focusses on the *material conditions* in occupied Azania for the ultimate causes and directions of every event and phenomenon therein;
- comprehends these phenomena in their *changingness* and development and their interaction with other phenomena;
- studies the *struggle of opposites* as the underlying basis of the motion and change of processes.²

It is vital that BC continuously refine and cleanse its ideas — BC can never be stagnant and still be scientific. Therefore, we are acutely aware of the need for critical inquiry which will irreverently weed out what has been proved wrong or outdated in BC and further develop BC's correct kernel.

It is only if BC is constantly developed in this way that it will prepare and guide the Black working class in their political struggle for the assumption of State power. Only state power in the hands of the Black working class can lead to a liberated society which benefits all Azanians.

Development of BC

In its initial stages, BC's priority was to jerk Black people out of the vice grip of fear and complacency. It snatched the cudgels of struggle from the hands of liberals and placed it firmly in the hands of the oppressed people. The 1976-77 Soweto Uprising is testimony to the success of this strategy which was employed under the banner slogan "BLACK SOLIDARITY".

"BLACK SOLIDARITY" signified a transcending of the artificial barriers of tribe and race and the assertion of the identity and interests of the oppressed nation.

"BLACK SOLIDARITY" also implied a closing of the ranks of the oppressed nation so that the notion that Black history was a history of barbarism in which Blacks lived by senseless and cruel violence alone, that Black religion was ignorant superstition filled with dark deeds and reeking Macbeth-like witches' brews, that Black music was unable to contain fresh content, that our illiteracy meant stupidity and emptiness of our heads of wisdom, intelligence or reason and that we were little more than troops of baboons with remarkable human resemblances could be laid to rest and Black people could attain psychological liberation — as a stepping stone to their physical liberation.

After the bannings of the mainstream BC organisations on October 19, 1977 a period of introspection within the BCM occurred.

The Inaugural Conference of the AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION had the theme "A Further Determination of BC and an emphasis on the workers' situation."

The line of the "leadership of the Black Working Class" was consolidated at the AZAPO National Symposium during April 1981 and the Dictatorship of the Black Proletariat as a transitional stage to a socialist society was boldly asserted at the First National Forum on 13th June 1983 in elucidating the Azanian People's Manifesto.³

In this Article:

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The goal of "scientific socialism" was defined by the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania at their First Conference in England in 1980⁴ and was independently but unambiguously asserted by AZAPO.⁵ This amounted to sharpening the definition of the future society from the nebulous "Black Communalism" adopted by the Black People's Convention⁶ and portrayed in the Mafekeng Manifesto.⁷

AZAPO has decisively placed the quest for socialism on the political agenda. There is a danger of "socialism" and even "scientific socialism" degenerating into a mere platitude, of it becoming a "chicken in everyone's pot" demand. It is no wonder, then, that the demand for socialism is, for instance, linked by many to the liberal document known as the Kliptown "Freedom" Charter.⁸

For still others, BC's quest for socialism is an excuse for endless "conscientisation" not linked to a political programme and specific ends.

It is clear that the BCM of the 1980's has specified that Black Solidarity must be firmly in the hands of the Black Working Class, hence its banner slogan is "BLACK SOLIDARITY UNDER THE HEGEMONY OF THE BLACK WORKING CLASS."

This amounts to a qualitative leap forward in the execution of our struggle.

It remains true that groups such as the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT are rooted firmly in the BC tradition of the 1970's and constitute a deformed Black Consciousness Movement.⁹ They have refused to come to grips with new challenges but have rather tried to take the struggle back to the tired shibboleths of the Congress Alliance of the 1950's.

We repeat that the extent to which revolutionary feelings and aspirations are deepened into revolutionary science **now** and how that science is applied towards transforming spontaneous resistance into conscious revolution, has everything to do with what will be made of those opportunities and challenges and how much of the future will be

wrenched from the rubble of the old.

Changes in the South African Political Economy

South Africa's system of racism and capitalism (referred to in this essay as "apartheid capitalism") has its *origins* in a particular form of settler-colonialism and has its *logic* in the capitalist mode of production.

Capitalism in occupied Azania has developed in a very specific context: it has utilized and transformed the rural African economy and has developed under the protective umbrella of and in close conjunction with imperialist capital.

Dramatic and far-reaching changes followed the discovery by the white settlers of diamonds in Hopetown in 1867 and the main gold-bearing reef of the Witwatersrand in 1886.

Intense social struggles occurred as the Black people sought to resist the onslaught of the settlers and the Boers sought to maintain the "independence" of the Transvaal and Free State republics. The Black people were eventually swept off their land and herded into tiny reserves where the settlers could contain them while the Boer republics were ground down and their political and military strength broken down so that a unitary capitalist state under British influence could be established in occupied Azania. Such a state was established after a *National Convention* in 1910.

Duncan Innes is no doubt correct in arguing that "the key to understanding why events unfolded as they did lies in recognizing the specific form of the international capitalist relations involved: that is ... they were relations of *monopoly* capitalism."¹⁰

The profits generated via the super-exploitation of Black labour¹¹ on the mines laid the basis for subsequent capitalist development and the emergence of a South African capitalist class.

As from 1933 onwards manufacturing industry began to expand rapidly, overtaking mining as the biggest single contributor to national production during the Se-

cond World War.

For its expansion, however, South African capitalism has continued to depend on the import of capital goods such as machinery from the advanced imperialist countries, producing on a bigger scale and far more cheaply than South Africa could hope to match. To pay for such goods, South African capitalism has had to rely first and foremost on raw material exports — the products of mining and farming.

The expansion of "modern" manufacturing industry under South African capitalism has thus been bound — and remains bound — by a thousand threads to the economic forces governing mining and farming.¹²

In viewing changes in the postwar South African economy, it is possible to discern three periods, viz:

1. the consolidation of the system of apartheid-capitalism between 1948 when the Nationalist Party assumed the reins of power until the events of Sharpeville in 1960;
2. the period of the South African miracle with the decisive crushing of the military wings of the PAC and the ANC (viz. *Pogo* and *Umkhonto we Sizwe*) in 1963 until the Soweto Uprising of 1976-7;
3. the period from the Soweto Uprising to the present; corresponding to the multiple organic crisis of apartheid-capitalism.

The *first period* is marked by the systematic elaboration and enforcement of a system of racial segregation suited to the requirements of modern capitalist growth and the provision of the necessary infrastructure and heavy industrial investment to spur capital expansion.

There was a boom based largely on developments in gold and uranium in the immediate postwar years. A series of initiatives were taken to encourage and facilitate investment in manufacturing. A highly integrated network of state corporations created a modern industrial infrastructure. This "parastatal"

structure was from the beginning heavily penetrated by foreign capital. The World Bank loaned some \$200 million to South Africa in the 1950's for these efforts.

The *second period* saw the instruments of repression being perfected further while Western capital plowed millions in floating capital and technological know-how into the South African economy. Capital intensive industrial developments saw the increasing interpenetration of different capitalist sectors.

This period was quite appropriately inaugurated by Sharpeville. In the immediate wake of the blood-bath, the American bank, Chase made a much publicised loan of \$10 million to the regime and soon joined a consortium to lend the regime \$150 million.

American bankers saw the chance to get on the "inside track" and push the British into a subordinate position. What followed was an unprecedented inflow of Western capital.

The United States is not the dominant investor (see Chart A) but it has emerged as the imperialist chieftain in South Africa. It is clear that *foreign capital has played a critical role in the development and configuration of the South African economy.*

The sheer magnitude of this foreign investment has cushioned Pretoria, freeing up her resources for her awesome military machine. The repressive capabilities of the regime are very much a function of foreign capital: the regime has been given the extended capacity to transport military equipment and personnel rapidly at low cost over widespread geographical areas.

Sectoral differences between monopoly capitalists became gradually less important as the monopoly conglomerate, with subsidiaries in many sectors and substantial investments in other conglomerates, emerged as a significant force in apartheid-capitalism, ALWAYS subordinate to foreign capital.

The *third period* is marked by economic contradictions and

Table 1
EMPLOYMENT AND AVERAGE MONTHLY WAGES IN SOUTH AFRICA

<i>Mining, May 1983</i>	<i>No. Employed</i>	<i>Av. Monthly Wage</i>
African	613,452	\$ 260
White	78,020	1,395
Coloured	9,581	430
Indian	659	690
<i>Manufacturing</i>		
African	748,700	\$ 320
White	316,600	1,290
Coloured	240,800	365
Indian	86,400	460

Source: Republic of South Africa, *Central Statistical Services*

Table 2
SOUTH AFRICA'S RESERVES OF SELECTED MINERALS
(percentage of world reserves)

<i>Mineral commodity</i>	<i>World</i>	
	<i>Rank</i>	<i>%</i>
Manganese ore	1	81
Platinum group metals	1	72
Gold	1	49
Chrome ore	1	58
Vanadium	2	29
Andalusite, sillimanite	1	38
Fluorspar	1	34
Vermiculite	2	28
Diamond	2	22
Uranium	2	16*
Zirconium	2	11
Coal	2	10
Phosphate	3	9
Antimony	3	7

*excluding COMECON countries

Source: Republic of South Africa Yearbook, 1984

Table 3
RATE OF RETURN ON TOTAL BOOK VALUE, U.S. FIRMS' DIRECT FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN MINING AND SMELTING, 1953-72 (percentages)

	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Latin America and the Caribbean</i>	<i>South Africa</i>
1953-57	8.3	10.4	25.7
1958-62	5.9	14.5	20.8
1963-67	9.9	19.9	43.3
1968-72	5.3	12.8	31.6

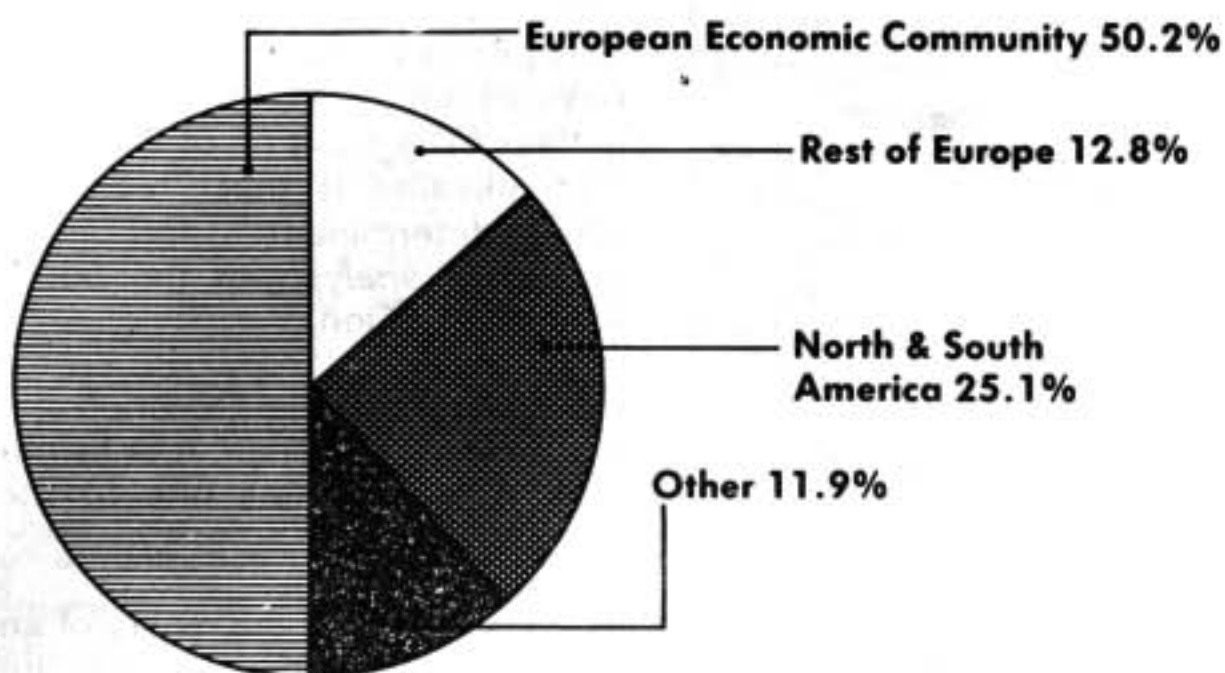
Table 4
RATES OF RETURN ON U.S. MANUFACTURING OPERATIONS
(in percent)

	<i>1967</i>	<i>1974</i>	<i>1980</i>
Canada	8.0	14.1	10.3
Europe	9.5	13.2	13.7
South Africa	16.2	17.1	31.3

Accounting procedures between years not strictly comparable.

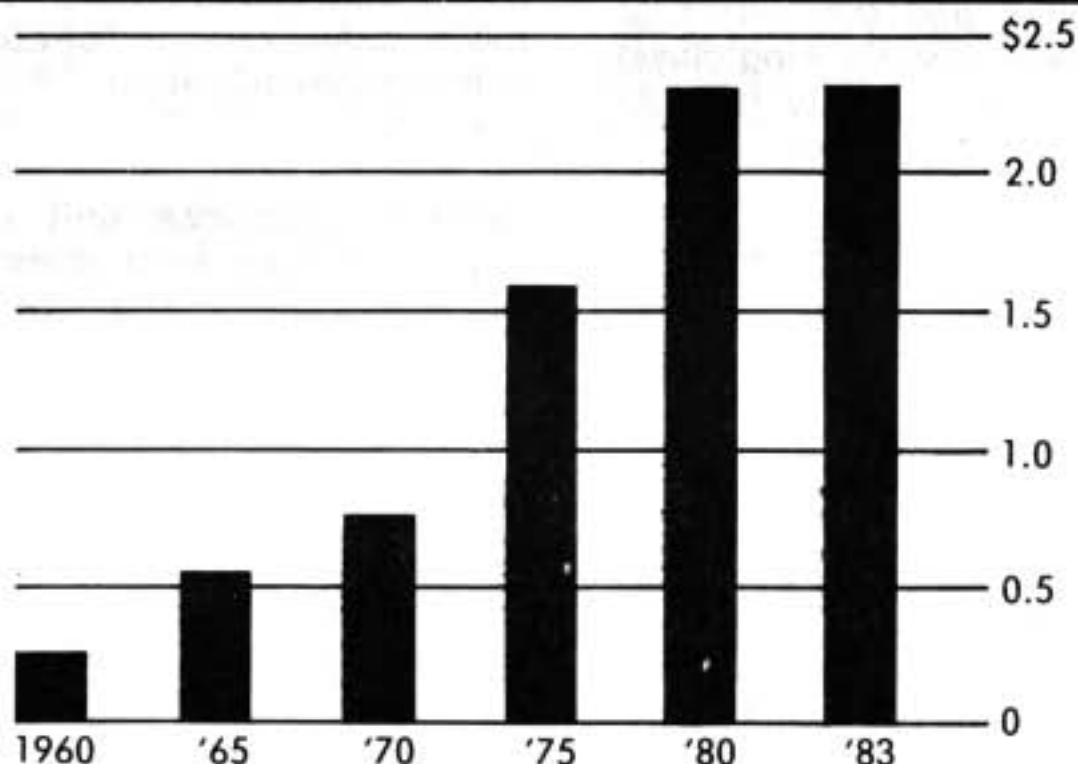
Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, *Survey of Current Business*, various issues

Chart A
FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA
Origin of foreign investment, 1983



Source, *The Economist*, 30 March, 1985

Chart B
U.S. DIRECT INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA
(in billions of dollars)



Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, *Survey of Current Business*, various issues

Chart C
FOREIGN CAPITAL AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME IN THE 1970s

South African Government	State Corporations	"Privately" Held Corporations
Administration	ARMSCOR (military)	Anglo-American Corporation, plus six other mining finance houses
Police	ISCOR (iron and steel)	Multinational corporations: 40 percent of South African manufacturing
Army	ESCOM (electricity and nuclear)	Multinational corporate banks: 60 percent of 20 largest South African banks
Airforce	SENTRACHEM (chemicals)	
Navy	SAH&RR (harbors and railways)	
	SASOL (oil from coal)	
	NATREF (state oil refinery)	
	IDC (state development corporation)	
	Etc.	

social conflict generated by the structural conditions of cheap wage labour all interpenetrated by the world economic crisis and mounting tensions between the USA and the Soviet Union.

By the 1970's, multinational corporations owned about 40% of South Africa's manufacturing industry.

South Africa is a veritable repository of strategic minerals: see *Table 2*. Fabulous profits have been reaped in the mining, smelting and refining of these resources. In the 1968-73 period, American investments in mining and smelting grew rapidly at an annual rate of 15% compared to 5% for the rest of Africa. *Table 3* provides some explanation for the robustness of this growth in the expansionist phase of the postwar spiral.

It is important to note that one of the specific features of the postwar alliance is its highly integrated economic character: thus *Table 4* understates the true level of US investment since some US capital is invested in South Africa via US capital in the UK, France and West Germany, amongst others.

Between 1978 and 1984 the South African economy grew by only 3% a year and there was an actual decline in gross domestic product in 1982-83.

South Africa depends heavily on the rest of Africa as a market for intermediate and advanced goods: over half of its chemical exports and about three-quarters of its machinery and equipment were sold to the rest of Africa during the 1970's. It goes without saying that the most advanced operations of foreign capital in Africa are concentrated in occupied Azania.

South Africa has subjugated Southern Africa by cross-border raids, assistance to counter-revolutionary groups, economic pressure, and the undermining of SADCC.¹³ The plan to construct a "constellation" of dependent black satellite states around the golden sun of white urban industrial centres cannot limit itself to the bantustans alone: it must incorporate all of Southern Africa.

Net foreign investment in South Africa fell by \$360 million between 1976 and 1984. This is because with the tempest of the black masses in revolt investments in South Africa bear a high risk premium.

Thus the Botha-Malan junta has to make a show of concessions while tightening up and clamping down.¹⁴

In this context, it is weird to read that American and Soviet analysts at a conference in Harare agreed that they have minimal interests in the Southern African region, the Americans attempting to suggest that their concern was a moral one dictated by a repugnance to apartheid!¹⁵

We believe that the system of apartheid-capitalism, far from being anachronistic or irrational, is an historically constituted form of superexploitation that is functional from the vantage point of capital accumulation and that for these and strategic reasons the Western imperialists have every interest in the maintenance of an oligarchy in occupied Azania.

The way that is being touted to break the impasse is a National Convention *a la* 1910. Hence the current whizz kid of Anglo American, a multinational corporation in its own right, says:

"... Just think that about 200 years ago, in the summer of 1787, there was a nation which was in danger of falling apart. Then fifty-five men assembled at a convention and drew up a document which has served as the basis of government for that nation ever since... The place was Philadelphia and the nation was America. That event was not predictable — it was made to happen by great men. *The same can be made to happen here...*"¹⁶

QUOTE!!!

We believe that the system of apartheid-capitalism, far from being anachronistic or irrational, is an historically constituted form of superexploitation that is functional from the vantage point of capital accumulation and that for these and strategic reasons the Western imperialists have every interest in the maintenance of an oligarchy in occupied Azania.

Race as a Class Determinant

The Black Consciousness Movement has had to battle consistently in the market place of ideas against the intellectual snobbery of the so-called "left" who rely on arid dogma, on economic formulations and on their own little hierarchies. In doing so, the BCM has emphasized the importance of race, class and gender in the development of apartheid-capitalism.

For the wilfully colourblind orthodox "left" the traditional fight is defined as one between the owners of the means of production (capital) and the sellers of labour power (the working class) which must, of necessity, have its site on the factory floor.

BC has eschewed the tendency to wish away the National Question or to insist, in the face of stubborn reality, that the struggle demands that "black-and-white" must "unite-and-fight".¹⁷

Nor has BC fallen into the trap of geographically dividing the life of the Black worker: the Black worker who is exploited on the factory floor is the very same Black worker who has to trudge home to inhuman living conditions.

BC does not divide and separate the economic and cultural aspects of the struggle but sees the need to struggle over both the *standard of living* and the *quality of life*.

At the AZAPO symposium in April 1981, Father Buti Tlhagale declared:

"... (T)o subsume the complexity of the South African socio-political and economic conditions under the rigid category of 'culture' is a hopelessly inadequate exercise. But ... (equally inadequate is) the 'new school' that

regards economic interests as the sole determinant of social relations as they exist in South Africa."¹⁸

This position heralded radical ruptures within the BCM in those early days.¹⁹ The position of the BCM that prevailed is that "race is a class determinant" and is a *race/class analysis* of the South African situation.

BC melds the Social Question and the National Question: it does *not* seek to subordinate one to the other.²⁰

In acknowledging the reality of an oppressed nation, the departure point of "BLACK SOLIDARITY" comes out forcefully.

BC is quite clear that "race" as a biological entity does not exist. But to say that race *per se* was a significant factor in the shaping of social forces which rapidly took on a life of their own is to refer to the way in which Europeans perceived people who were phenotypically and culturally different from themselves and used this to create relations of domination and subordination.

²¹*Racist practices and racist social systems were developed wherever countries were brought under colonialism. Racism has grown out of a relationship of exploitation between Black people and their colonial rulers.*

In areas such as North America, the white colonizers attempted to exterminate the indigenous people and succeeded in setting up white majorities. In areas such as India, the colonisers governed the area as their overseas colonial possession.

In occupied Azania, the settlers finally defeated and dispossessed the indigenous people and then used them as cheap labour. They set up a white oligarchy which uses brute force to maintain its privileged position.

As W.D. Jordan's study of American slavery shows, "blackness" was one element in the cluster of 'negative' qualities that pre-eminently fitted Blacks for slavery; by contrast the absence of these qualities in Europeans rendered them immune

from enslavement.²²

It is only a few days after he landed on the shores of the Cape that Jan van Riebeeck warned against the "wild tribes (who) are somewhat bold, thievish, and not at all to be trusted." What Van Riebeeck called "our Netherlanders" became increasingly confirmed in a sense of their own identity and separateness from other groups.

Race is a constant variable in the history of occupied Azania. Racism served purely economically exploitative goals and also "moral" and "cultural" goals: whites were concerned about cultural "debasement", moral "contamination" and racial "hybridization" that might flow in the absence of racial barriers. Racism also provided psychic gratification to those who relished lording it over dominated groups.

Tlhagale's words also hint at a clash between those in the BCM who refused to apply class analysis and insisted that the struggle was one for the repossession of land *simpliciter*. We have had occasion to describe this clash in the BCM in the first *Frank Talk*.²³

Walter Rodney²⁴ describes how Nkrumah denied the existence of classes in Ghana until the petit bourgeoisie as a class overthrew him. He says that Nkrumah had wandered for years with the assumption that he must disassociate himself from scientific socialism because it originated outside the boundaries of his own society and he was afraid of its cultural implications. This is due to the fact that he made a distinction between *social* theory and *scientific* theory which is not a necessary distinction but is one which grows out of the history of bourgeois thought.²⁵

Naturally any ideology when applied must be applied with a thorough grasp of the internal realities of a given African society, says Rodney. People have no difficulty in relating to electricity and do not ask 'Was Edison a racist?' But they ask 'Was Marx a racist?' The natural sciences are not to be separated from the social sciences. An interpretation of the social reality can derive a certain historical law and hence scientific law of society which can

be applied irrespective of its origins or its originators."

Of course, Walter Rodney warns that scientific socialism must not be taken as a finished product: "to take it as a finished product is to take the easy route."

Rodney maintains that the nationalist struggle will be won under the rubric of scientific socialism.

A writer in the *New Nation*²⁶ suggests that the formulation "Black" working class tries to project a socialist analysis of South Africa while at the same time trying to emphasize the nationalist dimension of oppression. He suggests that the BCM wants to "leapfrog" over the national democratic struggle to socialism.

We must emphasize that we reject a particular variant of the two stage theory of revolution only, the one so succinctly put forward by Dr Victor Goncharov, a leading Soviet analyst on South Africa:

"*Firstly* it is necessary to settle the problems of the (national) liberation struggle, and *then* to come to the next stage of the socialist revolution in South Africa ..."²⁷

This position was criticised by a leading COSATU and UDF activist as "... a waste of time, a waste of energy, and a waste of people's blood."²⁸ We agree!

However, we fully emphasize the struggle for national self-determination and have no intention to leapfrog over any of the democratic demands of the revolution.

Within the oppressed nation, the BCM has insisted on the *hegemony* of the Black working class. By "hegemony" we mean the successful mobilization and reproduction of the "active consent" of other oppressed social forces as a result of the exercise of the intellectual, moral and political leadership of the Black working class.

We refer to the Black working class as the "universal class" because it is the only class capable of leading a thoroughgoing revolution which will benefit *all* Azanians.

It is not simply because of their numerical strength that the Black working class constitutes the universal class. It is because they have no stake in maintaining or reinforcing the system of apartheid-capitalism and almost literally have nothing to lose but their chains and a whole world to gain in a free Azania.

It is up to the more advanced sections of the Black working class to ensure that other classes in the oppressed nation do not derail the struggle in the direction of a new exploitation.

It is for these reasons that the BCM has elaborated its position in the 1980's as **BLACK SOLIDARITY UNDER THE HEGEMONY OF THE BLACK WORKING CLASS.**

Nolutshungu argues convincingly that "Blacks who actually own or control the means of production are few and are not represented in any one of the major industries of the country"²⁹ and that a "black middle class" would of necessity be in subordinate collaboration with the white ruling establishment.³⁰ He contends that it is "very doubtful" that such a weak class could "succeed in exercising effective hegemonic control over the working class... Hegemony does not depend on economic power alone and could not be secured by the modest advantages which a collaborating middle class may be allowed under the order of white domination. It depends also on culture and ideology and on the force of traditional bonds and sentiment."³¹

The attempt to create a national Black bourgeoisie is doomed to remain inchaote, says Nolutshungu: "Not all those who have benefited directly from government financial aid have assumed active positions in the politics of separate development, so that political *encadrement* may turn out not to be simply related to economic *embourgeoisement*. "Embourgeoisement" is used in this context to mean the creation of the economic, social and political conditions for the emergence of a bourgeoisie or for the large-scale entry into an existing bourgeoisie of categories of people previously excluded from it."³²



It remains true, however, that the Black petit bourgeoisie³³ is a vacillating class: it remains susceptible to the lures of capitalism and, if allowed either to lead the revolution as a class or in the name of the Black working class, they will simply reproduce the same or greater levels of human suffering.

The only relationship which the Black working class can have with other classes in the oppressed nation is on the basis of its own hegemony.

There is a tendency to shy away from the reality that the white working class is a part of the ruling class, almost as if it is sacrilege to acknowledge that supposed agents of revolution are not entirely without sin. This shines out in the following words:

"White workers in South Africa do not yet find it possible to struggle side by side with Black workers. Therefore it has to be stated quite clearly that it is the Black working class at this point in time which must lead the struggle."³⁴

Others have gone so far as to imply that the existence of a white working class was a "myth".³⁵

It is interesting to note that European immigrants came from

societies which were themselves highly stratified on a class basis. John X Merriman noted exactly this phenomenon in 1908 when he observed that white workmen who, "however unjustly", had been regarded as the "lower classes" were delighted on arrival here (in South Africa) to find themselves in a position as an aristocracy of labour."³⁶

It is the white working class which swells the ranks of the white right and Sivanandan tells us why:

"... South Africa is the one capitalist country ... where ideology and not production relations determines white working class consciousness... vis a vis the Black working class, the horizontal division of class assumes the vertical division of race: the horizontal is the vertical. Class is race, race class."³⁸

The white working class will only acquire revolutionary consciousness in the nightmare of social revolution and under the Dictatorship of the Black Proletariat.

"In effect", says Sivanandan, "there are two superstructures" to the same economic base in occupied Azania — the one white and the other Black. The white

superstructure exhibits all the "trappings of a capitalist democracy" while the Black superstructure is at "odds with the capitalist economy (and) sets the economy at odds with itself..."

We must say that those in the BCM who seek to propound ideas of a white working class which will find revolutionary consciousness in some never-never land are quite simply revisionists who seek to strip the universal class of its richest seam in occupied Azania — its **BLACKNESS**.

Once we accept Black working class hegemony, we must guard against the dangers of economic reductionism or trade unionism. Steven Friedman in *Building Tomorrow Today*³⁹ argues:

"It is because they have won rights in the factories that workers are demanding them in the townships. It is because they have controlled their own organisations that they are demanding that community groups also allow their members to control decisions."

This is manifestly untrue: to take but one instance, the trade unions were compelled to align themselves with their members' moods gained from experiences and organisations in the townships to participate in the Witwatersrand Stayaway in November 1984.

The Black working class has to be infused with political education that affects it in all facets of life. The trade union, although potentially a progressive class instrument in the hands of the Black working class, is nevertheless limited and actually potentially reactionary. That is why Harold Pakendorf could write so enthusiastically about the recent mineworkers' strike:

"Far from looking with distaste on NUM, we need to compliment it. There may be doubts as to its bargaining methods... but it is still working within the system.

"Whatever else may be said, the mine strike is not part of the revolutionary onslaught. It is part of the orderly, normal process of change."⁴⁰

The trade union merely deals with

the relations between Black workers in a given trade or industry and their employers. What is achieved at the end is that the workers acquire trade union consciousness which might mean better living and working conditions (within the system) but which hardly develops the consciousness required to abolish the entire exploitative social system.

The Black working class has to transcend trade union consciousness in order to acquire revolutionary consciousness. As Comrade Julie Vedan put it:

“Unionism is a capitalist trap. Can the liberation movement use the trap to trap the trapper?”⁴¹

In short, the Black working class must be armed with BC so as to incorporate an holistic world view which reveals the political content of the social relations of production.

The Nature of the South African State

As long as society is divided into classes, there will be a state apparatus. Marx remarked in the Communist Manifesto that “The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie”.

The state apparatus is essentially a machine for keeping down the oppressed and exploited. The essential parts of this machinery are not legislatures and other similar vehicles of public discussion and nominal decision-making (these are dispensable) but are the executive power and the bureaucracy, the courts and, in particular, the armed forces. These forces are the concentration of the power of one class over another; they represent a monopoly of force by the ruling class and their purpose is to forcefully guarantee its interests.

All these things — the armed forces, the courts and laws, the executive, the bureaucracy, the legislature, the political institutions in general — belong to the superstructure which in any society rests upon and reinforces the capitalist base.

The state is not and cannot be neutral: it is an instrument of class

rule and enforces the dictatorship of the ruling class over the oppressed classes. It is an objective structure of society whose character is determined not by the class origin of its leading personnel but by the specific social division of labour of which it is an extension and the production relations which it must ultimately serve and reproduce.

In reality and essence bourgeois democracy means democracy in the ranks of the ruling class and dictatorship over the oppressed.

There is a structural problem for the state and its apparatuses in occupied Azania — and it is precisely the colonial one of the close integration of racial (national) domination and exploitation — the interlocking of racial and class places in the social division of labour — and its effects on order and security.

Nolutshungu argues that for Blacks, petit bourgeois or bourgeois, the interest they may have in the reproduction of capitalism does not easily synch with an interest in the reproduction of the state system through which it is defended and maintained. The incongruence of political and economic division which makes class alliance possible is very effective here in view of the ineffectiveness, so far as Blacks are concerned, of the state’s legitimating ideologies.

The ruling class in occupied Azania is made up of foreign capital, monopoly capital (English, Afrikaner, state), the white middle class and the white labour aristocracy. The South African state is a dictatorship of the white ruling class and its reactionary sidekicks

The 1983 Tricameral Constitution merely buttressed the power of this ruling oligarchy.

A process of militarism is occurring: the State Security Council is at the apex of the national security management system with joint management committees fulfilling its role at the regional and local level.

There is close State-capital linkage via the Economic Advisory Council. As six monopolies effectively control over half the private

sector in South Africa,⁴² the Economic Advisory Council was re-structured in 1985 to include only these monopolies.

The South African state is really a deformed bourgeois state: a capitalist democracy for whites and a dictatorship over the oppressed and exploited Black people (see above).

The hegemony of the white ruling class exercised through its Repressive State Apparatus (army and police) and Ideological State Apparatus (Educational system, law, religion, etc.) can only be challenged and dismantled by the hegemony of the Black working class.

“Black Solidarity” is the key to a revolution against imperialism, precapitalist social relations, and the domestic forces that represent and uphold all this and it will lead to the Dictatorship of the Black Proletariat. It involves a broad class alliance very firmly led by the Black working class.

The Dictatorship of the Black Proletariat

With socialism victorious, the South African state must be completely abolished and upon its ashes the Azanian state will be born.

The Azanian state will take the form of the revolutionary dictatorship of the Black Proletariat. As the National Forum puts it:

“...(T)he outcome of the struggle should not be viewed in isolation from the fact that the Black working class is the vanguard of the revolution. And therefore the Black working class should control the outcome of what they have struggled for and guard the future developments of socialism.”⁴³

The Azanian state is the central social institution in the transitional phase of socialist reconstruction, and itself will cease to be a class state and will be purely administrative in a classless society. The Dictatorship of the Black Proletariat is above all else transitional to a higher form of society, colourless, fearless and hence stateless.

The Dictatorship of the Black pro-

letariat differs fundamentally from other forms of the state in that it is the dictatorship of the non-exploiting majority over the exploiting minority. It exists not to perpetuate indefinitely the rule of one class, but to eliminate all classes, races and all states; it is a means to the end of wiping out all oppressive machinery and the state itself.

Apologists for apartheid-capitalism needs must assail us for openly proclaiming the necessity for the Dictatorship of the Black proletariat. Our answer is simple: better us than you — far better, infinitely better, the dictatorship of the Black proletariat than the present dictatorship.

The Dictatorship of the Black Proletariat will represent the recognition of Black working class hegemony by all other class forces in the South African social formation. This stage of the Black working class as the ruling class in the state is necessary for the political consolidation of socialist transformation and for providing the administrative base upon which to mobilise all social forces under the hegemony of the Black working class for building a socialist society.

The necessity for a vanguard party to lead the revolution is rooted in the material contradictions of apartheid-capitalism, which create a gap between the more advanced minority of the Black

proletariat and the rest of the class. To bridge the gap requires a vanguard party.

By allowing mass-based participation at all levels of political activity and decision-making the Azanian state under the leadership of its vanguard party will acquire the legitimacy it needs from all supportive social forces.

At the heart of the Azanian state will be democracy among the masses and dictatorship over the exploiters: these are in dialectical relationship to one another.

At all times we need to guard against any form of bureaucracy emerging with its own privileges and interests. Even after ownership of the decisive means of production have, in the main, been socialised, there will remain classes and class struggle: not only members of the old exploiting classes but *new* bourgeois elements (headquartered within the vanguard party itself) engendered out of the basic contradictions of socialist society itself.

After all, the anti-racist, socialist society will emerge from the womb of a racist and capitalist society and will thus be in every respect — economically, morally and intellectually — still stamped with its birthmarks. And the bourgeoisie retain the upper hand internationally.

We must never make the error of

regarding the ownership system and the socialist economic base as a whole as a machine with a button to grind out socialism; it is a very fluid and contradictory ensemble of social relations which can be transformed into its opposite if not constantly and continually revolutionized by the masses.

The Black working class raising itself to the position of the ruling class does not mean their taking power over the existing state apparatus and utilizing it in their interests. The state apparatus must be smashed, broken up and replaced by a new state, radically different from all previous states and serving as the transitional form to the abolition of classes, races and the state itself.

The struggle is dialectical in a twofold sense: it involves the dialectical relationship between dictatorship and democracy in socialist society and it involves the dialectical relation — the unity and opposition — between strengthening the Dictatorship of the Black Proletariat and at the same time, by the same means, creating step by step, but also through a series of revolutionary leaps, the conditions whereby the Dictatorship of the Black Proletariat will no longer be necessary ... or possible.

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Position paper on the Kwa Natal Bill of Rights and the new liberalism

(A group of revolutionaries met at Durban on the 1st and 2nd August 1987 to investigate the revival of liberalism in South Africa. This Position Paper was the result of their deliberations. A Report including Papers delivered at the Symposium is available at a cost of R10 (R20 for overseas readers) via the Internal Secretary, Frank Talk Editorial Collective)

Realizing that the Kwa Natal Bill of Rights aims:

- (a) to retain a haven for capitalism and white supremacy in the Natal area;
- (b) to divert the oppressed masses into demanding bourgeois rights whilst leaving the exploitation of the Black working class intact;
- (c) to prepare the ground for a "negotiated solution" in the form of a National Convention;
- (d) to entrench collaborationist and tribal interests in the Natal area as caretakers for settler-colonialism;

And Realizing Further that the Kwa Natal Bill of Rights:

- (a) entrenches ethnicity;
- (b) is unenforceable because it does not seek to interfere with the powers of the Central Government;
- (c) seductively employs the language of "civil liberties" whilst disregarding fundamental human needs ie freedom from want, hunger, oppression and exploitation;

And noting the striking similarity between the Kwa Natal Bill of Rights and the Kliptown "Freedom" Charter;

And Noting Further with the Deepest Concern that:

- (a) There is a concerted campaign to portray the Charter as a sacred text to be accepted on blind faith by all and sundry including sections

of the Black working class represented by the CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS (COSATU);

- (b) This campaign is assuming virulent dimensions which make a mockery of democracy and worker control;
- (c) The Kliptown Charter belongs firmly within the family of liberal democratic documents such as the American Bill of Rights and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man;
- (d) Ideas of a Bill of Rights as a panacea are vigorously being propounded as part and parcel of the National Convention strategy;
- (e) Until now, the Kliptown Charter was being touted as an alternative programme: it has suddenly been transformed into a "programme of minimum demands";
- (f) The variant of the "two stage theory" of struggle which separates the struggle for national democratic rights from the struggle for socialism has been revived from the limbo to which it was rightly consigned by the Azanian People's Manifesto;
- (g) Liberalism has mushroomed in various organisational forms such as LIBERALS FOR DEMOCRACY and the FIVE FREEDOMS FORUM while the INSTITUTE FOR A DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVE FOR SOUTH AFRICA (IDASA) which puts forward a form of liberalism known as "social democracy" has tentacles reaching deep into sections of the liberation movement;
- (h) Liberalism has the facility to snuggle into any movement by adapting itself but it remains the handmaiden of capitalism;
- (i) IDASA was formed after the failure of the National Convention Movement and its pilgrimage to Dakar vividly illustrates that its aim is to broker a negotiated settlement between the Pretoria

regime and the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA (ANC);

Do Hereby Resolve that:

1. The exercise of fiddling with Bills of Rights and mouthing "rights talk" can only derail our struggle on the flip side of socialism;
2. Only scientific socialism provides the answer to liberal democracy in its various forms;
3. Constant critical enquiry within the liberation movement is necessary to prevent "socialism" from becoming a mere catchword;
4. The variant of the "two stage theory" which clinically separates the national democratic struggle from the struggle for socialism must be debunked as it aims to create a new ruling elite which will never move beyond the "national democratic" stage;
5. The Kliptown Charter can never even be a set of minimum demands because it perverts the aspirations of the oppressed and the exploited and distorts the Azanian reality;
6. The Azanian People's Manifesto must continually be subjected to review to prevent it becoming enshrined as a dogma;
7. The "free enterprise" thrust of the Kwa Natal Bill of Rights and the "social democratic" thrust of the Kliptown Charter have inexorably placed the alternative of scientific socialism on the political agenda: it is our duty to maximize discussion on scientific socialism;
8. Liberalism in all its forms has to be crushed and organisations like IDASA purged from the body fabric of the liberation movement;
9. The "Death to the National Convention" campaign be accelerated and the position adopted by the National Forum Summit at Edendale on 21-22 April 1984 be emphasized and developed;
10. Extreme vigilance is necessary to ensure the ushering in of the Dictatorship of the Black Proletariat.



A state born of our people's struggle



Mozambican women, Mozambican men, workers, peasants and fighters, Compatriots:

At 00 hours today the People's Republic of Mozambique was born, a State born of our people's struggle for freedom and independence, which spanned many centuries, a State in which the power of the alliance of working people is being established in our country for the first time.

The profound historical significance of this moment in the life of our people cannot escape any Mozambican, nor any citizen of any other country, whether free or still oppressed, and neither can the international dimension of this fact in relation to the community of nations, of which we are now becoming a full and integral part.

But it is not so much about the present we are living through, though exalting, which can be seen in our faces, houses and streets, and which exists even more profoundly in our consciousness, it is not so much about the present of happiness, enthusiasm and euphoria that we are going to speak. We wish, above all, to recall the past, so as to foresee and plan the future better...

The People's Republic of Mozambique is being born as the fruit of the Mozambican people's unshakable will and iron determination to win back their freedom and enjoy the supreme and inalienable right of all peoples-national independence.

At this time when we are winning this independence, we must reflect on the reality which prevailed in the previous situation, under colonial domination.

Why did colonialism kill? Why did it seize, deport and massacre people? Why were our mothers



Machel

and wives raped, our traditions humiliated, our civilization negated and Mozambicans arrested for the slightest show of patriotism? Why was alcoholism made widespread and prostitution and the disintegration of the family encouraged, and why were whole families removed from their home regions and forced to abandon their ancestral lands, their cattle, houses and few possessions? Why did all this happen in many places in our country, as the unmistakable mark of the Portuguese colonialists? Could this have been a sadistic manifestation of the evil genius of a people, the result of the bestial wickedness of a man or group of men?

Let us not deceive ourselves about this. Portuguese colonialism was the form that imperialist domination assumed in our country, the exploitation of a whole people and their resources by foreign capitalism, both Portuguese and from other countries. It was in order to exploit our labour power that thousands of Mozambicans were enslaved and taken to the coasts of the Americas, where the few who arrived were sold as commodities. It was in order to exploit our sweat that the colonial administrators seized us and sent us into forced labour.

It was in order to appropriate the wealth of our soil that entire regions were set aside for certain

crops, such as cotton, which the people were forced to grow, dying of hunger while the big concessionary companies accumulated fabulous profits.

It was in order to plunder our subsoil that the big multi-nationals were granted concessions and mining facilities which they used to drain our country of its wealth.

It was in order to keep our people subjected to its domination that colonialism tried - in some cases, particularly in urban areas, with some success - to destroy our personality, sow division and create a slave mentality towards the foreigner. Assimilation was not merely the fascist caprice of a senile dictator, but was in fact mental enslavement to the foreigner in its purest form, a deliberate process of negating all the culture, history and traditions of our people. A man thus spiritually destroyed became a living corpse, a docile receptacle for the colonisers' way of thinking, acting and living.

Religion, and especially the Catholic church, was a powerful factor in the cultural and human alienation of the Mozambican, to make him a docile instrument and object of exploitation, and smash any display of resistance in the name of Christian resignation.

This is the heritage we are reaping today. A heritage of poverty and social and economic backwardness which the superficial beauty of the skyscrapers and grassy hills can never hide. One need only travel the length and breadth of our country, one need only know that the expression 'from the Rovuma to the Maputo' is not a mere slogan for us, but a reality we feel in our flesh and blood, to understand that the age-old backwardness, disease, nakedness, hunger and ignorance are the bountiful fruit of

the very tree that sprouted, grew and thrived together with colonialism, and which is known as exploitation...

We are not going to trace here the history of the national liberation process through the events which took place in it. But a recapitulation of the political process involved, albeit brief, is needed in order to understand the birth today of the People's Republic of Mozambique and the line that guides it. In Mozambican history, the fight for a revolutionary political line has been intrinsically bound up with the fight for unity.

The struggle to defend and consolidate unity, the driving force of the liberation struggle, demanded permanent vigilance and action to neutralize and eliminate the manoeuvres of the enemy and of national opportunist and reactionary forces. This same struggle required a constant fight to clarify and develop FRELIMO's political line, especially as regards the definition of who is the enemy and the nature, methods and objectives of the fight.

The successive dividing lines that were drawn within FRELIMO and the process of cleansing our ranks which was established, revealed in practice that the contradictions which arose reflected antagonistic interests, the contradiction between the working masses and a handful of new exploiters who wanted to take the place of the colonial bourgeoisie as an exploiting class.

By defining racism, regionalism and tribalism as enemies to be fought against, just like colonialism, the Central Committee meeting held in October 1966 deprived the opportunists of the chief instruments of their anti-people manoeuvres. The same meeting put an end to the contradiction between political militants and military militants by defining the struggle as a politico-military one, thus enabling the most vanguard elements to free themselves from the control of marginal reactionary elements. The historic decision to entrust the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique with creating the Women's Detachment, women's instruments in their historic struggle for emancipation, broadened the base of mass support for our struggle and brought

new decisive forces into the revolutionary fight.

These ideological victories permitted the impetuous advance of the liberation struggle, the destruction of substantial enemy forces, the expansion of the armed struggle to Tete Province, the transformation of the semi-liberated areas into areas free from the system of exploitation and the beginning of the process of creating operational bases.

Our politico-military victories having made Portuguese colonialism more desperate and increased the isolation of the strata among us with exploitative designs, the contradiction between the masses and the exploitative system became more marked.

In a desperate attempt to stave off their inevitable defeat, the colonialist and reactionary forces joined forces and launched an offensive of manoeuvres and crimes against the correct political line headed by Comrade Eduardo Mondlane.

The Second Congress of FRELIMO, which was held in the liberated areas of Niassa Province in June 1968, exposed and neutralised the reactionary forces and their ideas, enabling the broad masses to consolidate their unity behind FRELIMO's just and clear objectives.

This fresh victory unleashed a wave of reactionary violence in which new national exploiters, now openly allied with the colonial-imperialist forces, started a process of physical liquidation of revolutionary militants and leaders, a process which culminated in the barbarous assassination of Comrade Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane on 3 February 1969.

The assassination of the leader who embodied the national and revolutionary dimension of our struggle and the actual implementation of FRELIMO's line and practice, was aimed at decapitating the Mozambican Revolution and enabling representatives of the new exploiting classes, faithful servants of the bourgeoisies and imperialism, to seize power.

Assuming the heritage of Com-

rade Eduardo Mondlane, closely integrated with the masses of the people and resolutely supported by the fighters of the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique, the most dedicated sons of the people, the revolutionary vanguard of FRELIMO stood up against the forces of opportunism and reaction during the historic Central Committee meetings held in April 1969 and May 1970, and exposed, isolated, neutralised and eliminated the erroneous political line of the new exploiters.

This victory, which led to the cleansing of our ranks and the deepening of FRELIMO's ideology, created the conditions for transforming the armed struggle into a people's war, for going over from a liberation struggle to the higher phase of a people's democratic revolution.

The ideological transformations which took place led to a new impetuous development of the liberation struggle: the strategic defeat of colonialism in the period from May to September 1970 during Operation Gordian Knot, the smashing of the blockade of the Zambezi by the expansion of the armed struggle to south of the Zambezi in November 1970, and the opening of the Manica e Sofala front in June 1972.

It was from the time of the failure of the big Gordian Knot enemy operation that the irreversible deep-rooted and profoundly popular nature of the revolutionary process led by FRELIMO was affirmed, and it was from that time that the disintegration of squalid Portuguese colonialism started to be hastened at a giddy pace.

Neither the transformation of the colonial war into a colonial-imperialist war through the internationalisation of the aggression against our people nor the intensification of the plunder of our resources by the monopolies, the most criminal strategic plans like the Cabora Bassa one, could halt progress of our struggle and its progressive expansion to the whole country.

The attempt to terrorise our people by widespread terrorism, the systematic bombing of villages, schools, hospitals, cultivated

fields, the use of chemical agents and, finally, massacres like those at Wiriyamu, Joao, Chawola and Inhaminga, sharpened the contradictions and strengthened the people's determination to destroy the enemy.

At the international level, Portuguese colonial-fascism, which still had some room for manoeuvre, thanks to the active complicity of the capitalist countries, and particularly some members at NATO, started to be denounced with renewed vigour and was isolated abroad, as shown by the expulsion of Portugal from one international organisation after another.

The watchword issued by the Central Committee in December 1972, calling for a general offensive on all fronts, hastened the collapse of the enemy.

It is obvious that the general offensive was not confined simply to stepping up large-scale battles, and neither could it have been successful, even militarily, had it been reduced to this. In issuing the watchword calling for a general offensive on all fronts, the 1972 Central Committee Meeting affirmed first and foremost, the need for ideological unity. In other words, actual practice had shown that unity based on the negation of the enemy and on just the demand for independence was not enough. It was essential that unity be achieved on the basis of a clear and unequivocal definition of the principles of what we want to do, how we want to do it, and what kind of society we want to build, and above all, the principles asserted must be lived by and developed through consistent practice.

The struggle therefore spread, new fronts were opened and the ideological line gained strength in the liberated areas, establishing a clear dividing line in relation to the enemy-controlled zone. Sound foundations were laid for people's democratic power.

It was a correct line combined with correct practice which led to the destruction and defeat of Portuguese colonialism and opened up a new phase in the Mozambican people's independence process which started with the

Lusaka Agreement and has just ended with the proclamation of the complete national independence of Mozambique.

The task of the Transitional Government was essentially that of consolidating the power so arduously won, especially by extending popular mobilisation and making it more far-reaching. We congratulate the Transitional Government for the success it has achieved in its task, for the conditions it created for people's power to be really extended and consolidated in our country.

We need to be conscious of the great difficulties we shall have to face as a result of the colonial situation, which the Transitional Government could obviously only partially tackle.

With the proclamation of the People's Republic of Mozambique we are starting a new phase of our history in which we are going to put into practice everywhere in the country the political, ideological, economic, social and cultural gains won during the struggle.

To say the People's Republic is not to voice an empty and demagogic formula. To say the People's Republic means to give substance to the aspirations of millions of dominated and exploited Mozambicans for whom independence is a precondition for the end of exploitation and the establishment of a people's regime.

To say the People's Republic is to say Independence, to say the People's Republic is to say Revolution.

The State is not an eternal and immutable structure; the State is not the bureaucratic machinery of civil servants, nor something abstract or a mere technical apparatus. The State is always the organised form through which a class takes power in order to fulfil its interests. The colonial State, an instrument of domination and exploitation by a foreign bourgeoisie and imperialism which has already been partially destroyed by the struggle, must be replaced by a People's State, forged through an alliance of workers and peasants, guided by FRELIMO and defended by the

People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique, a State which wipes out exploitation and releases the creative initiative of the masses and the productive forces.

In the phase of people's democracy in which we are now engaged as a phase of the Mozambican revolutionary process, our aim is to lay the material, ideological, administrative and social foundations of our State.

We need to be aware that the apparatus we are now inheriting is, in its nature, composition and methods, a profoundly retrograde and reactionary structure which has to be completely revolutionised in order to put it at the service of the masses.

There are other realities we also need to be profoundly conscious of: the fact that we are winning political power but do not yet have economic power, that the administrative, educational, health, judicial and other machinery still escaped our control.

The new battle is only beginning.

Against us are the exploiters and privileged, who will try to impede the revolutionary process with all the means available to them. We must not be deceived by the fact that the enemy are not now resorting to direct action. They are only weakened, not dead. Their methods will therefore become more treacherous. Right now we already have proof of this action, of infiltration, attempts to distort our line and political opportunism.

Our unity will be an essential target of enemy activity. Unity, we continue to repeat, is not just a feeling or something abstract. Vital unity is sustained by a clear concept of our objectives and a precise understanding of the tasks for each moment. Unity implies drawing an ever firmer dividing line between us and the enemy, regardless of the form he may take.

Through practice and its action, FRELIMO has asserted itself as the leading force in our society. For this very reason, the broad masses, from the Rovuma to the

Maputo, have quite spontaneously fully identified with FRELIMO's principles and fight...

It is primarily a matter of carrying out an ideological offensive to wipe out the colonial and capitalist mentality which is deeply rooted in the urban areas, as well as the feudal traditional mentality which is predominant in the rural areas. An ideological offensive will enable the working masses to understand their historic role, their leading role in the process of transformation which is now underway. This task must be preceded by the consistent heightening of the political and ideological level of cadres seasoned and forged in the process of the people's liberation war. It was for this very reason that the last Central Committee meeting decided to give priority to the setting up of a Party School.

The task of mobilising and organising the masses in the tough class struggle which is approaching can be entrusted only to cadres who have been put to the test of practice. One of the main bastions of the system of exploitation of man is the complex machinery we are inheriting as regards administration, the judiciary, education, health, etc.

Irrespective of the goodwill and honesty of the people who make it up, this machinery was designed solely to serve foreign domination and the system of exploitation of man. It is therefore imperative for us to create a new mentality and way of seeing things, and to instill new methods in the people who are in it. This work can be done only if authentic representatives of the labouring classes are in a position to assume their leading role.

These factors explain the reasons, some of the main reasons, why FRELIMO must remain the leading force in State structures.

In the present battle, the people have a most valuable instrument: the Mozambique People's Liberation Forces, forged and seasoned in the tough fight against colonial-imperialist aggression, and also in the fight against both old and new exploiters. The historical circumstances experienced by our people over the past decade have made the Mozambique People's Liberation Forces a great and inex-

haustible store of revolutionary cadres.

By consistently raising the political and class consciousness of the fighters, consistently raising their educational, cultural and technical level, strengthening discipline in our ranks, reinforcing the feeling of internationalist duty and educating the new generation of fighters in the glorious revolutionary tradition of the Mozambique People's Liberation Forces, we shall always have a decisive force to defend our country, the Revolution and the interests of the masses of the people.

Now as in the past, the Mozambique People's Liberation Forces are also a combat detachment on the fundamental fronts of production, study and mass mobilisation. Active participation on these fronts will enable the fighters to internalise the political dimension which will prepare them always to perform their patriotic and revolutionary duty.

The participation of women in the Mozambique People's Liberation Forces within the framework of the Women's Detachment, is imperative to the battle for women's emancipation, in the fight to involve women in the revolutionary process. Women's participation in work traditionally regarded as exclusively for men is a profoundly mobilising factor, a decisive factor establishing sexual equality in practice.

The Organisation of Mozambican Women (OMM) is called upon to develop its activities everywhere in the country, dealing with the crying problems faced by women.

In order to fulfil its task, OMM must rely firmly and surely on the Women's Detachment, which is in practice the Mozambican women's vanguard.

The battle for women's emancipation is also an ideological battle against ideas which stem from decadent traditions and against the multiple attempts by the bourgeoisie to destroy the value of the fight for freedom. The fight is also an organisational one, a fight to establish structure among the least organised and most oppressed, humiliated and exploited women.

A greater number of democratic mass organisations, particularly for the youth and workers, need to come into being, after prior work by FRELIMO to organise those sectors.

At this time when we are proclaiming our independence, we must carefully avoid being carried away by emotional feelings of euphoria, especially in analysing our economic and social situation. It in no way diminishes the greatness of our struggle and of our people and country to have to acknowledge that the economic and financial situation is catastrophic, as a result of unbridled plunder, the financial conditions imposed by colonialism and the disorganised exploitation of our potentials.

It is therefore necessary to undertake a cool-headed analysis, sector by sector of economic, social, educational, cultural and health conditions in our country, so as to arrive at better methods of fighting. This will be the first task of our Government. Some of the problems to which priority will be given are solving the problems of unemployment, poverty, illiteracy, abandoned children, prostitution and banditry.

We must therefore draw up a national development policy, a correct policy on the use of our resources. The definition of the policy to be pursued is essential to establishing the priorities to be observed.

In establishing our development strategy, we must attach special value to what is our chief strength, the mobilisation and organisation of the people. Here too, we must seek inspiration from our own experience, in particular in the liberated areas. One need only compare the successes in the work of reconstruction in the liberated areas, which are now apparent to everyone, with the misery in which people lived in the enemy concentration camps, despite the large sums spent on them. Therefore, we shall not seek solutions to our problems in miraculous palliatives coming from abroad, but we shall rely above all on our own forces, getting down to work with determination, with a clear programme and clear objectives.

In this respect, we should like to emphasise the role we continue to ascribe to the liberated areas, to FRELIMO's bases and centres, as a store and source of inspiration for our Revolution. It is in these areas that the population has already been living long years outside colonial society and its vices, defects and corrosive influence. It is in our centres and bases that a new and truly free generation is growing up, one which really deserves the name of continuadores (the continuers of the revolution).

Clearly, the creation of a new life in the liberated areas was not an accident or the automatic result of breaking of contact with colonial society. Far-reaching political, ideological and organisational efforts had to be made to overcome the influence of the past, and attempts of traditional forms to reassert themselves and the new exploiters.

It is important to remember this experience in order to prepare for the new phase. Anyone who visits our whole country can note the big problem posed by the scattered population and the difficulty, under these circumstances, for the Government to organise social, educational and health services, in short, to improve the living conditions of these people. Hence, under the leadership of FRELIMO, the scattered population in the rural areas will be structured in revolutionary societies, in the final analysis in communal villages where the people will have an organised life, developing production collectively, on the basis of their traditions, and promoting the exchange of knowledge.

In accordance with available means and observing the principle of self-reliance, the State will give all possible help to these communal societies, encouraging them to multiply and develop. In this way, it will be possible to provide the people with services which will really enable them to enjoy greater well-being, especially by raising their technical and educational level, and by supplying water, electricity, health care and cultural activities.

Organising communal societies must be a priority in our activity, for both the Party and the State.



A poster in Maputo. It reads: "Apartheid is responsible for the death of our president. We will never allow our nation to fall into the hands of the South African fascists and racists. Let the struggle continue."

The Party must launch a big campaign to mobilise and explain, at the best living and production conditions.

The fulfilment of the giant tasks that lie ahead of us implies achieving and consolidating unity. To be united it is not enough to state that one is united. It is necessary to wage a constant battle against all divisive situations and tendencies.

It is necessary to understand the grandeur, diversity and complexity of our country. Knowing this complexity means studying the divisiveness in our country and the ways of combating it.

Among the various vestiges of colonialism, Mozambican society has to a very high degree one typical form of discrimination,

that based on racial and social groups.

In Mozambique we see parallel societies, taking the form of clubs, set up on the basis of race or of greater or lesser pigmentation, which have no contact with one another apart from compulsory and superficial contact during their working hours.

This kind of social organisation abounds with superiority and inferiority complexes, with respersions and tensions.

It is imperative that all these specific peculiarities give way to real unity between Mozambicans. We do not know tribes, regions, races or religious beliefs. We know only Mozambicans who are

equally exploited and equally desirous of freedom and revolution..

We should like also to devote our attention to the problem of the relations which have traditionally existed between the church, religion and the State and to state very clearly what these relations will be in the People's Republic of Mozambique.

In the society we want to build, the State will be based on the principle that all change in society is a result of man's struggle on the fronts of class struggle, the fight for production and scientific innovation, and also the contradictions in natural phenomena.

Colonialism, capitalism, the different systems of exploitation of man in our society, have always been associated with religious institutions. The colonial State transformed the faith of believers into a tool for neutralising the people's legitimate rebellion.

It is the duty of the State to guarantee freedom of conscience for its citizens which implies especially the protection of children against indoctrination within State institutions, as happened in the colonial schools which subjected children of differing religious origins to the evangelising of the Catholic church.

In order to respect freedom of conscience, the State cannot be connected with any religions or appear to have links with any of them...

The Mozambican people did not struggle alone. Throughout the tough armed fight for national liberation FRELIMO established relations of friendship, solidarity and mutual help with peoples and countries sharing the same aspirations of freedom, independence and social progress.

This assertion does not stem only from feelings of gratitude although, on this day of happiness, we cannot fail to say how much the Mozambican people appreciate and esteem the fraternal and disinterested help they received from peoples, countries, organisations and individuals who made their efforts and sacrifices effective and victorious.

In the first lines of this combat front we find the national liberation movements, fighters in the same fight and the same trench, comrades in arms who struggled alongside us and with whom we have established fraternal and indestructible relations of solidarity. To them we wish to affirm, above all, in this liberated African land, that the People's Republic of Mozambique fully assumes the internationalist dimension of the fight for the liberation of Africa and mankind and that our common struggle continues...

We wish, in particular, to hail our brothers, from Tanzania and Zambia who, without any hesitation or calculation of any kind, accepted all the risks involved in their position as our strategic rear, who suffered loss of life and property because they did not compromise with colonialism and made their contribution to Africa's liberation.

Because our struggle was, correctly, a part of the common anti-imperialist fight, the Mozambican people, under the leadership of FRELIMO, took up their posts in the great world front of revolutionary forces. It is within this context of political and ideological solidarity that we see our relations with the socialist countries, a liberated area of mankind where a new society is being built free from the exploitation of man by man.

The People's Republic of Mozambique will develop and intensify its militant relations with all socialist countries, seeking to benefit from their experience, in so far as it is the common patrimony of mankind in the political, ideological, organisational, economic, social and cultural spheres.

In hailing the progressive forces we cannot fail to salute the Portuguese people, who were always our allies in the fight against colonial-fascism and with whom we have bonds of fraternal solidarity forged through our mutual help and reciprocal contribution in the struggle for the liberation of our two peoples.

Because our struggle never took on a racial character and because our people were always able to

distinguish between the colonial-fascist regime and the Portuguese people, today we can extend a friendly hand to the Portuguese people, without any complexes of any kind, so that we can build a future of friendship together, without hatred or feelings of revenge, on the basis of mutual respect for the personality of each people...

We are prepared to assume our responsibilities within the African and international community and, within this context, we shall apply for membership of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations Organisation, both international organisations which have served the cause of national liberation and peace.

Mozambican women, Mozambican men.

We have won our independence by dint of our struggle, our sacrifices and our revolutionary consciousness.

We marched, struggled and died to defend the interests of the masses of the working people.

In starting out on this new path, illuminated by the heroism of our martyrs and guided by FRELIMO's political line, we have one unshakable certainty:

WE SHALL MAKE REVOLUTION TRIUMPH! LONG LIVE FRELIMO! LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE! THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES...
Independence Day, 25 June 1971



On being powerless in power

Mubashir Hasan



Mr President, members of the Bangladesh Economic Association, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen.

I am not competent to speak on the technical aspects of planning. Those rightly belong to the domain of economists. My interests lie more in the political objectives of economic plans, their feasibility, their successes and failures. In the circumstances, I shall try to relate some of our government's experiences of plans and planners and of the forces acting upon them.

The principal lesson we learnt during the tenure of our government can be stated in one sentence. It is that preparation of plans and their implementation is more akin to waging a war rather than smoothly carrying out a mission for which a political government wins a people-oriented mandate from the electorate. It is an unending series of battles fought simultaneously on many fronts and at many levels. The principal contenders are the following:

1. *The people:* The overwhelming majority of the people of Pakistan are ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-educated, poor and backward. The proclaimed objective of almost all economic plans is to raise the economic, social and cultural level of the people. It is the people who vote, or are expected to vote, to bring governments into power and it is in their name that governments are formed and run.

2. *The leadership:* Generally speaking, the economic, political, social, ideological and cultural interests of the leadership of the political party in power determines the character of the government. In a country like Pakistan,

these interests, depending upon the period, may tilt towards the interests of big land-owners, industrial or trading classes, or the custodians of the civil and the military apparatus of the state.

3. *The managers:* This group may consist of three or more sub-groups.

(a) At the apex of the administrative and intellectual organisation of the national planning commission are the planners. Highly educated, often at institutions of higher learning in the West, the planners are academic in their approach and generally out of touch with the problems of the people. They have little field experience, if any. Occasionally, members of this group have either served with, or have yearnings to serve with, international organisations such as the World Bank.

(b) The second sub-group may be designated as the implementers. In the former colonies of Britain, the implementers are generally members of the civil and the armed services. Among them are administrators, engineers, educationists, doctors and specialists in agriculture and other applied sciences.

(c) Industrial entrepreneurs, capitalists, agriculturists, real estate developers, big transporters, etc., constitute yet another sub-group which operates semi-independently and at a level subservient to that of the sub-groups (a) and (b).

4. *The developed countries:* To be included in this group are the industrial and financial houses of the developed countries and their governmental agencies, as well as the international agencies dominated by them, such as the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, the international

Finance Corporation, the International Monetary Fund, etc., etc. The US Agency for International Development and similar agencies created by the governments of other developed countries are also to be included in this group.

The clash of economic, political, social, cultural and ideological interests among the 'contenders' is of a fundamental nature. Take, for example, the interests of the developed countries. They want the markets of the undeveloped countries for their produce, products, low level technology, capital, communication networks, etc., at terms as highly profitable as possible. They want to grab the fruits of the labour and wealth of undeveloped countries at as little cost as possible. On the other hand, they want to sell what they wish to export at as high a price as possible. In other words, the interests of the developed countries are best served only when they can make as much profit out of the poor countries as possible. They do not wish that the primary exports of the poor countries should become dearer, 'or for these countries to become able to produce locally the goods they depend upon the developed countries to supply. As things stand today, our poverty, is their riches.

The apparent interest of the 'managers', as these exist in the former colonies of Britain, are to enhance their own wealth, influence and political power. Since their legitimacy as rulers, indispensability as a necessary adjunct to the process of production, and their loyalty to the institution of the nation state have never been established beyond

dispute, the managers are prone to connive and collude against the people either with the leadership or with developed countries or both to serve their own group interest. Simultaneously, they are also prone to intrigue and conspire both against the people and against the leadership. However, a small number of individuals among them may attempt to act in the national interest along genuine nationalist lines. But the members of this small group have little chance of keeping their jobs over a long period of time.

The foremost interest of the leadership is, of course, to remain in power. At times, such interest proves to be a highly corrupting factor by itself; in other words, the leadership can be swayed away from its electoral commitment to the people and move closer to the interests of the other contenders. A government dominated by big landlords would want to raise the level of the prices of agricultural produce, would like agricultural inputs to be subsidised by the state and would like a greater share of bank credit for big landlords. Naturally, this leadership is opposed to land reforms or taxes on agricultural income.

Pakistan's brief history is rich with the experience of several possible combinations among the contenders. The leadership dominated by landlords and managers joined hands with the developed countries and we saw what happened during a part of the pre-plan and the first five-year plan periods (1953-60). The managers joined hands with the developed countries and the history of the years of the second and the third five-year plans (1960-70) is also before us. It is about a few years in the early 1970's that I wish to talk in more detail. Very little comes out in public of the fierce battles which unceasingly rage behind the scenes among the contenders — to be more precise, among the contenders minus the people.

We came into power under most unenviable circumstances and ran into major problems from day one. Most of our problems arose out of our political stance, our election rhetoric and lack of proper political organisation. We had a

programme to nationalise major financial and industrial undertakings; we were against the bilateral and multinational security agreements of Pakistan; we wanted to improve our ties with the Soviet Union without damaging our relations with China; in our election campaign we had been very vocal against the United States; we wanted to curb the power of the bureaucracy; and we were known as socialists. The result was that the developed countries as well as the managers were totally hostile to us. We had also alienated the big landlords and big business. It was in such an environment that we entered Islamabad.

As a result, the legitimate government of a sovereign nation, the first ever elected on the basis of universal adult franchise in Pakistan, had to act as an 'outsider' in an environment that was hostile, to put it mildly. The nationalisation of major industrial units had to be called, in the first instance, 'taking over management' and the task had to be accomplished in the dead of night along the lines of a clandestine operation. When it came to nationalisation of the banks, no file was ever made of that operation. Not one person from the establishment, including the governor of the State Bank of Pakistan, was made privy to the implementation of the secret project. To avoid hostile international reaction against a state in such a weak position as Pakistan was in January 1972, foreign-owned firms such as Attock Oil, Esso Fertilisers and ICI undertakings had to be exempted from nationalisation. The compensation to be paid for nationalisation of the American Life insurance company had to be negotiated secretly in advance of the act of nationalisation. In addition to the economic, many more examples of this nature can be cited in political, social and administrative fields, in which the government considered it necessary to act as if it was a faction in opposition to the real custodians of power — the bureaucracy and its international allies. Time and again, we were obliged to adopt extra-ordinary courses of action to implement our policies.

Soon after we assumed office, Robert McNamara, President of

the World Bank, paid us a visit. His mission was that (1) we accept liability for all the debts Pakistan has incurred to date, irrespective of the geographical area for which they were meant, and (2) we devalue our currency. In our discussion I put to him that if the Bank was of the opinion that we had inherited a government or an administration, it was mistaken. We were sitting, I said on the 'ruins and shambles' of a country and a government. McNamara was in agreement. He was also asked to look back on the course of Pakistan's economic development. For almost two decades, Pakistan had depended upon the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for guidance. The advice of the two institutions was accepted in totality. No questions were ever raised. Pakistan's plans were prepared and economic policies were determined by foreign experts. Pakistan even went to the extent of preparing and implementing individual projects almost exclusively to foreign consultants, contractors and suppliers, and their output was put by the bank and other agencies to the highest possible scrutiny — namely, that of the borrower by a lender. I told McNamara, 'You described Pakistan as a model developing country.' Pakistan had accepted the Bank and the IMF and their foreign experts as its physicians and, as a good patient, took all the medicine they had prescribed. And now the patient lay dead before them. Were they prepared to accept any kind of responsibility for the tragedy? McNamara seemed moved, but did not answer.

The Reality

When we assumed power, there existed a fourth five-year plan to cover the period from 1970 to 1975. This plan, prepared by the previous regime, had been rightly criticised throughout the country, as it then existed. The kind of economic development it had aimed at would have served to exacerbate injustices among people and regions. It did not even attempt to do anything about what our party had termed the 'internal colonial structure' of Pakistan's economy. It was scrapped summarily by our government.

Ideas about starting afresh on preparing a formal five-year plan for economic development remained constantly in our minds, but for a variety of political, economic and administrative reasons we dared not embark upon them.

1. the constitution of the country had yet to be framed. The jurisdiction of the federation and the provinces had yet to be delineated, as also the powers of raising revenues.

2. Nationalisation of basic industries, banks, insurance, shipping and oil had to be carried out first, which took us more than two years.

3. Then we were hit by the spiral of rising oil prices and the severe worldwide recession of the 1970s. To add to our economic difficulties, we were hit by droughts as well as floods.

4. There were so many 'on-going' projects-and many more were to be added by us, like the steel mill, the power projects, heavy engineering and electrical complexes -that there was hardly any room for manoeuvre left.

By the time our government succeeded in giving the country a constitution with the unanimous approval of the Constituent Assembly, and by the time we had implemented the programme of nationalisation as envisaged in our election manifesto, it was 1974. Thoughts about the next elections began to occupy our minds and an international economic crisis began to take the world in its grip with extremely harmful consequences for us. Furthermore, we were disappointed with the ability and competence of our Planning Commission. The personnel in the Planning Commission was almost totally unacquainted with the conditions in the field. Unfortunately for Pakistan, its capital city has been so designed that foreign visitors are better able to adjust themselves in Islamabad than Pakistanis. For the citizens of Pakistan, visiting the capital to put forth a point of view is a nightmare. More painful, in practical terms, is the fact that the news of the country never seems to reach it. The majority of our *Sahib Bahadurs* of the Planning Commission live in the exclusive paper world of the secretariat. Not much could be done about them by us when we formed the

government. They were probably the best available in our country in those days. In order to acquaint them with the problems of development in the real world of Pakistan, I took a trainful from city to city and they were able to see, probably for the first time, how agriculture, industry, commerce, etc., operated in the country. They had a chance to meet and talk to working people, businessmen, administration officers, professionals and others.

Our experience with the developed countries and the international lending agencies educated us in yet another dimension. We had to pledge early devaluation of the Pakistani rupee. Only then were we able to resume normal financial and commercial intercourse with the western world. Prior to that, that is when we came into power, the financial houses of the West were not honouring our letters of credit or cheques. All our payments had to be made in cash. In fact, we were under constant threat of the seizure of our national assets in the western countries. Such was the truth, in the economic sphere, about the much touted 'tilt' towards Pakistan. Our depleting stocks of wheat and edible oil had crossed the danger mark. We had to find money to purchase food, and ships to deliver the food to Karachi. Even if all had gone expeditiously, we knew it would be too late to avoid grave shortages at the ration depots, and, as a consequence, urban unrest. Once we gave the pledge (I refer to the devaluation only), ships on the high seas loaded with grain were diverted to Karachi. We heaved a sigh of relief.

We were also to discover that the developed countries exercised great influence over the planning and implementation of development projects. We found that the practice of employing foreign consultants and contractors, sponsored by or acceptable to the developed countries or their lending agencies, to carry out feasibility studies, prepare plans and designs, supply goods and services and to supervise the execution of projects is a stupendous drain on, and a blatant plunder of, the wealth of Third World countries. Quite unjustifiably, we are made to pay through the nose-five, ten, twen-

ty times the real price-for goods supplied and services rendered. With the help of just one officer, an engineer by profession, I was able to save hundreds of millions of dollars from being looted away. But it was always a grim fight. The files bearing orders which adversely affected foreign interests tended to become untraceable. The high echelons of our administration and the top executives of corporations with foreign participation generally tended to side with foreign interests. Mr Bhutto's Minister of Finance Planning and Development soon became a very unpopular man indeed, and for good reason. Permit me to mention a few instances.

In 1971, Pakistani irrigation engineers pointed out that the design of the large Tarbela dam, under construction at that time, and costing \$600m (1971 prices) was defective, as it did not provide adequate capacity to release water for irrigation purposes in a particular period of the year. The foreign consultants responsible for the design vigorously rejected the Pakistani criticism. Rightly, as events were later to prove, the consultants were overruled and we ordered the construction of an additional tunnel in the dam. However, when the consultant and the contractor, big foreign firms both, came to know that I intended to assign the work of designing and constructing the additional tunnel to Pakistani firms a big storm broke out. The 'managers' and some forces from the elite joined hands with foreign interests to oppose my proposal. I barely managed to assign the design work to Pakistani engineers. Formidable problems arose when the time of awarding the contract arrived, as the managers continued to favour the foreign firm.

Two years later, as the dam was being commissioned, disaster struck. The tunnels designed and built by the foreigners, along with massive concrete works, were severely damaged, costing us hundreds of millions of additional dollars. But that was not all. Not a word appeared in the press about any lack of diligence shown by the foreigners in design or construction or both. The bureaucracy had connived with foreign interests. I had left the government by then,

and found myself totally helpless in getting the responsibility fixed where it belonged. The dam developed other troubles, and we have ended up by spending over \$1,300m, against the original estimate of \$600m.

Then there was the project to build a new pipeline from a gas field in Sind to Karachi over a distance of about 200km. I expressed my preference that the pipeline should be built by Pakistani engineers, for I did not believe it was so highly technical a job that Pakistanis could not do it. The 'managers' balked, saying that no Pakistani firm was capable of doing the job. Using the lever of the government's ownership of a part of the gas company, I hinted of my plan to change the management, the part-ownership of a multinational firm notwithstanding. The company relented, and in due course there was a request for approving foreign exchange expenditure of about \$40m to cover the cost of the pipe to be imported. I was staggered. Within minutes I got the length of the pipe multiplied by the weight of steel per unit length and the price of steel per unit weight. The answer was between \$6m and \$7m. Adding a certain percentage as the cost of fabrication, we concluded that the pipeline should not cost over \$9m to \$10m, against the \$40m being demanded of the government. Why? In their explanation, the company said that the government was in a hurry; the pipe was nowhere available on the shelf, hence the high quotation. But when would they actually need the pipe—in a week, a month, six months? Six months was their answer. So why did they not ask for a quotation for the supply to be made six months from now? They promised to do if forthwith. They did, and the price came down by between \$6m and \$10m, I do not remember the exact figure. But it was still much too high.

At the time the last discussion about the cost of the pipeline took place, an American gentleman was sitting in my office and he showed utter indignation and amazement at what he had heard. He was not a businessman, he said, but he had friends and if only he could talk to them over the telex, he could be helpful, he

would try. He did and the price came down to about \$23m to \$25m. But his gambit did not last long. Unfortunately for him, the telex operator was a sympathiser of the Pakistan People's Party and he supplied my resourceful private secretary with the transcript of the American's conversation with his 'friends'. The transcript revealed that within a period of three days all the four manufacturers of oil and gas pipelines in the world had agreed among themselves on how to share the extra profits any one of them would make out of the Pakistani deal. And they vowed not to quote below an agreed figure. As I pondered over the course to be adopted, an executive of our state enterprise called on me in some other connection. Upon learning that he was on his way to Japan, I requested him to say the right things to the Japanese steel manufacturers. He did and the price came down - to \$19m, if I remember correctly. Ultimately, we bought the pipe for between \$12m and \$13m as against \$40m. In country after country, government after government, the Third World is robbed every working day of the year. Almost every project that came to the executive committee of the National Economic Council for approval had either an unnecessary or an inflated tag of foreign exchange expenditure attached to it. In every meeting we would save scores of millions of dollars for the country.

There is a provision in the 1973

Constitution of Pakistan that the amount of compensation paid by the state in lieu of any land acquired by it for housing projects could not be challenged in a court of law. Having being so permitted by the constitution, the Punjab government passed a law, in the same year, assuming powers to acquire land at less than Rs.5 per square metre for developing residential areas. In the same law, the government also assumed the authority to declare a committee or any other body as an 'official development agency' for the purpose of developing or owning a particular housing colony. This was a wonderful law which had cleared the major hurdle in the way of tackling the housing problem—that of availability of land. As a result, the slum-dwellers of Lahore were able to organise themselves through an institution they called the People's Planning Project. Nearly 120 *katchi abadis* proceeded, in accordance with the law, to rebuild or develop in Lahore one slum colony after another into proper habitations for human beings. They were even able to build brand new; architecturally innovative neighbourhoods at a price a majority of the poor people were willing and able to afford. But the honeymoon between the organisation of the slum-dwellers of Lahore and the leadership of the Pakistan People's Party lasted hardly a year. The feudal interests in the party and the urban landowners joined forces. The work of turning the slums into reasonably well developed living



Pakistani workers constructing Islamabad, now Pakistani's permanent capital.

areas was halted in 1975. Today, there is a bill before the Punjab Assembly to repeal this particular law.

Following the Tarbela dam disaster in 1974 which I alluded to earlier, the consultants and contractors, their bankers and insurers, along with the international lending agencies, all from the developed countries, got together with the managers and some ministers of the government and no investigation was held to fix the responsibility for the disaster. During 1974 and 1975, serious attempts by nationalist-minded Pakistani engineers and their organisations to point unambiguously to where the blame lay were blatantly ignored. In 1976, any public discussion of the technical issues in the engineering and design of the construction of the Tarbela dam was prohibited. In the case of the purchase of pipeline, the managers did their best to connive and collude with suppliers from the developed countries against the best national interests. In both these cases, powerful foreign interests were involved. In both cases, they were helped by the managers. In the Tarbela case, some ministers also colluded. However, in the case of efforts to provide better housing facilities to the slum-dwellers of Lahore the leadership pitted itself against the interests of the people. Foreign interests were not involved. With the change of the chief minister, the character of the leadership of the Punjab Province had changed. After all, it was the government of the same political party that had started the project for redevelopment of the slum areas in 1973.

A five-year plan for the economic development of a nation may consist of hundreds of projects costing thousands of millions of dollars. Development requires that the concept of every project has to be elaborated into a working proposition. The project has to be planned and designed in detail. The project cost has to be worked out and arrangements have to be made for funds for its implementation. The project has to be executed on the ground and, finally, it has to benefit one or more sections of the population in one or more geographical location. Every stage, from the elaboration of the concept to that of deriving

plementation, involves solid material and other gains. Open to beg for, claim or grab are jobs for managers, fees for consultants, payments to contractors and suppliers, royalties for owners of processes and patents, profits for providers of loans and credits, goodwill and often material benefits for the leadership.

It is only natural that, for every project, a clash of interests should give rise to fierce battles for patronage, money and power among the contenders. All aspects of a project can be a matter of economic, political and, occasionally, strategic interest to the contenders.

Apart from being a generator of projects, a plan of economic development of a Third World country is an object of deep interest among the contenders for its political content. In what manner will the balance of economic, social and political power among the various classes and regions change in the country, as the plan is implemented? In what manner will the plan influence the pattern of financial and commercial intercourse with foreign countries after its implementation? In what manner will the implementation of the plan affect the contention among the superpowers in the country and the region? These questions go to the heart of the problems of development in general, and the planning and implementation of five-year plans in particular. These can turn out to be questions of high economic and political stakes. That is why interest in plans of economic development is so deep, not only within the nation but among its foreign patrons.



Would global dinosaurs take the Third World with them to extinction?

Allow me to illustrate my point by describing what the developed countries did not like in the policies pursued by Mr Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's government. I quote from the Report and Recommendations made by A.W. Clausen, President of the World Bank, to his Executive Directors on 11 May 1982:

8. "A series of major political disruptions took place from 1969 leading up to the separation of Bangladesh at the end of 1971. The new government which came to power in Pakistan in 1971 reversed many of the policies of the 1960s. Most large industries, domestic banks and life insurance companies were nationalised, with adverse effects on private investment and confidence. Difficulty was experienced in absorbing these nationalised enterprises into the public sector, leading to a general decline in industrial sector productivity. At the same time the government embarked on massive, long gestation public investments in industry (notably the Pakistan Steel Mill) and by 1977 public sector investment accounted for three quarters of the total industrial investment. The system of five-year plans was discontinued. From the mid-1970s, public investments were allocated through annual development plans which did not provide a framework for programming the future phasing of development expenditures.

9. In several respects, govern-

ment policies in the early part of the 1970's were biased towards the improvement of welfare for urban wage earners. Substantial wage increases took place as well as over-staffing of the newly acquired public sector enterprises, while consumer interests were protected by a combination of price controls and subsidies. The agricultural sector bore some of the burden of these policies...

10. In addition, to large-scale investments in the public sector industry and the associated needs for infrastructure, there were continuing large outlays on the major Indus Basin irrigation projects which had been commenced in the 1960s. However, these investments were not accompanied by adequate efforts to utilise the irrigation water provided by these projects...The government became committed to a policy of increasing subsidisation of agricultural inputs as the principal means of promoting agricultural productivity.

11. During the mid-1970's ... there was extensive reliance on significantly increased external borrowing, largely from OPEC sources, as well as excessive domestic borrowing, in order to maintain the pace of public investment. The relaxation of fiscal discipline led to an upsurge in domestic inflation and a depletion of foreign exchange reserves."

The foregoing is indicative of what the developed countries and their lending agencies did not like in the policies adopted by our government. They wanted the government they were negotiating with at that moment to change those policies. What they wanted to be changed was the substance of the so-called 'structural adjustment'. It was quite irrelevant for the developed countries and their lending agencies that the policies they wanted to be reversed represented the mandate given by the electorate to the Pakistan People's Party in the general elections of 1970 and 1977. The parliament of Pakistan, elected on the basis of adult franchise, had approved the measures our government had taken, the very same measures which Clausen and his patrons wanted repealed by a martial law government.

I shall not narrate the measures adopted by the developed countries to bring about political changes in Pakistan, partly in order to clear the way for the reversal of the policies of the government of the Pakistan Peoples Party. Let me confine myself to the realm of the economy, especially its planning aspect. Our Prime Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, was executed on 4 April 1979. Two days later, we read in the papers that the United States had cut off all economic aid to Pakistan. The World Bank and the IMF did not lag far behind and an economic squeeze was put on General Zia ul Haq's government. I am told that the Pakistanis did offer resistance but their political position was much too weak. One team after another from Washington visited Islamabad, and by the autumn of 1980 the IMF and the World Bank had broken through the Pakistani resistance. Finding itself in dire economic straits, Pakistan agreed to avail itself of an Extended Fund Facility of US \$1,500m in lieu of agreement to change its economic policies.

In the report cited above Clausen further disclosed:

"Over the past 18-24 months, there has been an intensive and fruitful dialogue between GOP (Government of Pakistan) officials and Bank as well as IMF staff on necessary reform measures to support access to the IMF's Extended Fund Facility and the proposed first phase of a program of structural adjustment lending. Bank staff participated in drawing up the sectorial policy measures of the EFF program; the SAL (Structural Adjustment Loan) program is designed to reinforce and build on those initiatives."

Now structural adjustment is a euphemism for basic changes of national economic policy. Change your policy about ownership of means of production and distribution, prices, savings, investment, industry, agriculture, energy and the priorities of your plan and you have carried out 'structural adjustments'. The agreement to the Extended Fund Facility signed with the IMF in 1980 and the Structural Adjustment Loan signed with the World Bank in 1982, together with some other loan agreements, sealed the fate of the direction of Pakistan's economy

well into the 1990's. These are highly instructive documents for students of national economy and national economic planning. The Structural Loan Agreement binds the government of Pakistan in the following sector and policy issues and I quote from Clausen's report cited earlier:

Macro-economic management and resource mobilisation

1. Economic growth
2. Domestic resource mobilisation
3. Monetary/credit policies
4. Balance of payment/exchange rate policies
5. Revised planning framework
6. Plan priorities
7. Planning procedures

Agriculture and water sector

8. Reorientation of public expenditure
9. Agricultural pricing policies
10. Diversification of agriculture

Energy sector

11. Petroleum exploration
12. Development of domestic oil and gas fields and producer pricing policies
13. Oil and gas consumer pricing policies
14. Role of public sector oil and gas development (Oil and Gas Development Corporation of Pakistan)
15. Long-term energy planning

Industrial policies

16. Public/private sector balance
17. Public sector efficiency
18. Export promotion
19. Import liberalisation
20. Restructuring of industrial incentives

In much greater detail than the list, the agreement specifies the objectives, lists the 'Recent actions and performance' and details 'Further steps to be taken'.

The specifications of the Structural Reform Program cover six pages in extra fine print. Actions are specified in detail, such as: fertiliser subsidy to be reduced from 9.2 per cent of total expenditure in the year 1980/81 to 2.9 per cent in 1983/84. The sector share of public industry to decline from 15.6 per cent to 4.9 per cent of total expenditure. Expenditure in the agriculture and water sector to be increased from 19.1 per cent in 1980/81 to 24.2 per cent in 1983/84. Water charges

to be increased to cover an increasing proportion of operation and maintenance expenditure in accordance with an agreed schedule. Fertiliser subsidies to be eliminated by mid-1985. All pesticide subsidies to be eliminated by the end of 1983. An agreed programme of import liberalisation to be completed by the end of the present Extended Fund Facility Program.

Mr President, the measures outlined in the Bank's report are so exhaustive that every facet of planning and controlling the economic life of Pakistan has been completely covered in the agreements I have referred to above. No flexibility is allowed to the nation state. The fate of the people is sealed to suit the interests of the overlords, not merely in terms of policies, priorities and objectives but also in terms of the day-to-day operations of the planning and implementing organisations. Clausen, in the same report, goes on to say:

"A highly regarded and experienced economist has already been appointed to the previously vacant post of Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission... More high-level staff are expected to be appointed shortly and various forms of technical assistance are being sought. In addition, GOP has taken steps to safeguard planned priorities by requiring the active involvement of the Planning Commission at all stages of the project selection process. The project selection and approval process was reviewed by the Bank."

The developed countries are keen to place their men in the key posts of development planning, monitoring and implementing

machinery. They want to bind the target nation not only in the strait-jacket of the plans they like to dictate, but also in the supervision and control of, the day-to-day work of their planning and implementation. The political counterpart of this conspiracy against small nations is that, in order to achieve their economic objectives, they have to prefer weak and highly centralised governments. Blinded by an unbounded sense of economic greed and, in some cases, by geopolitical considerations, they do not care about the consequences of their policies in the target nations, which are often comprised of more than one nationality or ethnic group, at differing stages of socio-economic, cultural and political development. As a result, class and regional disparities grow unchecked, breed all kinds of antagonism which, with the passage of time, become unresolvable, bringing misery, death and disaster for countless millions.

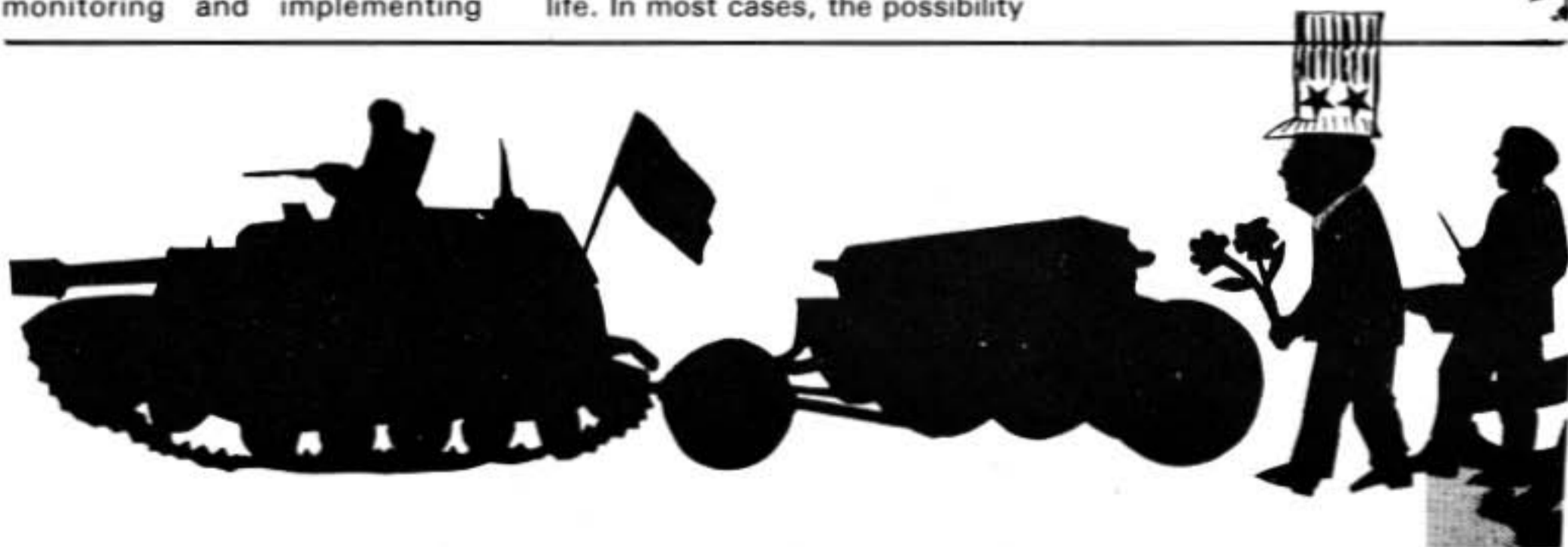
The dominance-dependance relationship of Third World countries with big powers poses extremely complex and difficult problems in the realm of preparing and implementing plans of economic development. No country having such a relationship can ever be in a position to serve genuine national interests, in whatever way the term national interests may be defined. Thus, one of the most important prerequisites for planned national economic development lies in the sphere of the foreign policy of the nation, and it is that the country should be genuinely non-aligned in the struggle between the superpowers. However, that may not suffice in some cases. For small countries can have big neighbours who may attempt to dominate their economic life. In most cases, the possibility

of such dominance can be countered by developing friendly economic and political relations with other nations. Relations among nations in any part of the world are never merely bilateral. Nations can have friends or groupings which come to each other's economic and political help in times of need. Unfortunately, all this is more easily said than done.

When a superpower or a big neighbour acquires a position of dominance that is detrimental to the national economic interests of a small or poor nation, it does so through the help and in partnership with leadership in the dominated country. Thus, the prerequisite for genuine and planned national economic development is that the developing country must not have a leadership that is so weak within its own country that it requires help from abroad to remain in power.

Assume, for a moment, that we have a developing nation which is genuinely non-aligned and which is blessed with a leadership that is not dependent on outside help to remain in power. Will that ensure national economic development in its true sense? The answer is in the negative because the economic interests of the leadership may not be identical with the economic interests of the people. In all its efforts to prepare and implement plans of economic development for the people, the leadership is sure to reserve such a big proportion of developmental effort for itself that the development of the people will remain quite wanting.

The general proposition I have come to believe is that only a people can, and will, develop itself.



* *Musical Interval* *

The Reformist-Armchair Revolutionaires and The Flying Question

(Modern Latin American operetta in one scene).

CHORUS OF REFORMIST-ARMCHAIR REVOLUTIONARIES

(walking and singing).

*We are for the masses rising up
but only when all the masses rise up.*

*We are for the future popular army
but against guerilla training
foquista or no foquista
militarist or massist
rural or urban.*

*We are for armed struggle
but against starting it.*

*It is stupid and tiring to go
from the small to the big
why not start out with the big?*

REFORMIST-ARMCHAIR REVOLUTIONARY SOLOIST (Baritone):

*I propose to start the revolution
in Brazil or El Salvador
with bands of no less than ten thousand
armed men...*

CHORUS:

*No need to be specific.
The enemy listens!
But you are right:
without thousands and thousands of men
every dream is useless.*

*In the meantime,
let's take care of the principles:
armed struggle shines very beautifully*

*in our program
why expose it to the onslaughts
of hard reality?*

*To hope
without losing hope.*

*To wait
for the opportunity.*

(THE QUESTION appears, spinning through the air, wrapped in bright red tutus as though reflecting the sun. As it turns, it sings.)

THE QUESTION:

*And if
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t
y
comes?

*What will you have in your hands
when the o-p-p-o-r-t-u-n-i-t-y comes?
Will you be able to even recognise it?
The "opportunity"
takes its name
from Lenin:
it is called
"revolutionary situation".*

(The chorus responds with a confused racket, each one of its members singing a letter to a different tune.)

CURTAIN

Black Theology: opiate or material force?



TUTU



"BOTH A IS MY BROTHER
WHETHER HE LIKES IT OR NOT"



BOESAK

The struggle for Azania is contextualised by settler-colonialism, as a form of imperialist domination and accompanied by a capitalist mode of production which, contrary to what its apologists have wanted us to believe, has not been blind as to the colour of whom it exploits. At the ideological level the domination of the Black people has taken the form of christianisation and education, among others, as forms of 'civilisation'. We do not need to retrace the history of missionary enterprise in this country in order to appreciate the validity of our conviction, suffice it to sum up the situation in the words of Dr Takatso Mofokeng;

"The introduction of Christian religion at gun point by these European colonizers and settlers determined the history of the Christian church in South Africa"
(1)

This is not surprising nor is it peculiar to our situation. In all situations of class/racial domination religion and other institutions of 'socialisation' serve the ideological function of reproducing or facilitating the reproduction of the current social relations in the minds of the oppressed. The basic doctrines of the church would thus serve as 'theological safes' that render it morally im-

possible for the underprivileged of that society to develop an ideological suspicion to current social relations.

In occupied Azania christianity has thus served the ideological interests of the white settler-colonialists and their imperialist sponsors and it is in this context that Marx's analysis of religion as an opiate of the people becomes relevant.

However, the rise of Black Consciousness - as an expression of proletarian ideology - spearheaded the rise of Black Theology - an ideological response to the contribution of the Christian church to racial domination. The era of BC exposed the effects of imperialist ideology on the minds of the oppressed and carried out a calculated attack on and conscious departure from the settler-colonialist value-system that had served to foster a docile self-image among the oppressed.

For Black Theology this meant the realisation of religious fanaticism among the masses, resulting in an internalisation of their condition on the one hand, and a concerted effort to "interpret religion as a liberatory philosophy" on the other. The latter has become pertinent especially with the realisation that the struggle for Azania

will reach its efficacious end only with the establishment of a Black proletarian dictatorship.

The question facing Black theologians in this context would thus be: how can the Christian faith, which has obviously reached a large section of the proletariat, be used as a positive force contributory to the revolutionary consciousness necessary to guide our liberatory project?

The Position of Black Theology

Dr I. Mosala is one Black theologian who has come close to answering the above question when he raises his concern for ideological captivity of Black Theology to white theology as he concludes:

"It cannot be contested that although Black Theology had developed and is well and alive, it has not yet as a weapon of theory, become the property of the struggling masses. To this extent it is a theory that has not yet become a material force because it has not gripped the masses" (2)

In a different context William R Jones raises the same concern with regards to Black Theology in the US. He explores three theories of social change that have influenced Black theology. These are:

1. The Maoist "eye-for-an-eye" approach. This derives from Mao Tse Tung's thought that "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun...It is only by the use of the gun that the working class and the labouring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and landlords". The ruling class will never negotiate its power away.

2. The "any-means-necessary" approach of Malcolm X, deriving from Malcolm's thought that the context and extent of repression will determine the means the oppressed will use in their liberation. "Don't die alone. Let your dying be reciprocal. That is what is meant by equality." However, the guiding principle for Malcolm is that the first option open to the masses is the ballot, only if this is not successful should the gun be considered. Malcolm's theory is also called "ballot or bullet".

3. Martin Luther King Jr's "other-cheek" approach, deriving from King's non-violent strategy. King, following Gandhi, taught that to fight the oppressor violently is not helpful to either side and that the sight of the undeserved suffering of the oppressed will challenge the conscience of the oppressors and lead them to change their minds.

William Jones takes issue with the King approach and concludes that it did no more than promoting white arrogance which led to him being sanctified as a hero in the US. Thus we see three positions from which Black Theology could derive theoretical tools: Mao's 'Bullet for a Bullet', Malcolm's 'Ballot or Bullet' and King's 'No Bullet at all'. Jones leaves the question open for Black theologians to choose an appropriate model. (3)

In our context we wish to argue that Black theology as it is now, has not been able to break with the imperialist Christian values. It's tendency to use the same models and principles of articulation as white theology has led to it reproducing the dominant ideological forms. In this way Black theology has become an opiate of the masses. This is notable especially with the writings and sayings of such theologians as Dr Allan Boesak, Bishop Tutu and others. This will become clear as we take the following arguments on Black

theology:

1. It lost sight of its material context:

As is said above, the context of Black theology was a realisation of a need for self-affirmation by Blacks. At the ideological level this meant a conscious and deliberate rejection of the whole value-system of the racist regime on the one hand, and a development and infusion on the minds of the masses of a revolutionary consciousness necessary for them to carry out their historical task of establishing a new order characterised by the dictatorship of the Black proletariat.

The presupposition this has for Black theology of liberation is that its point of departure should not be an abstract universalism that would end summing up both the oppressor and oppressed under

material reality of class/racial conflicts. Dr Boesak is thus sacrificing the struggle of the masses by subjecting it to the judgement of an ideological tool of domination which he calls 'Christian faith'. There is no neutral faith in the world of class/racial domination -Christian faith must either be a gun for the oppressor or a gun for the oppressed.

The logical ethical conclusion Boesak's tendency has had has been to view with suspicion all attempts by the oppressed to utilise their faith as a positive force to advance their struggle, as Bishop Zulu's sentiment shows:

"Some proponents of Black theology give the impression that theology should be the hand-maid of the Black revolution and that this revolution necessarily must be violent" (5)

Once the ethical agenda for Black



the same fate. The Christian faith as it came to us has to be seen as both an ideological product of the imperialist society and as a weapon of domination over the masses. We can therefore not view the Christian faith as an ideologically innocent entity. Allan Boesak, an avowed Black Theologian, says:

"Christian faith transcends all ideologies and all nationalistic ideals. It transcends specific groups and nations with their specific ideals and interests" (4)

What we hear Dr Boesak saying here is that Christian faith as a human reflection on God and nature operates above the

Theology is set by another theology, Black theology will lose sight of its enemy and might end up fighting against the masses. If Black theologians have seen a need for a Black theology then they must begin to see a need to do it on Black terms. The reality of our society is that there is no common ground for both the oppressor and the oppressed and no amount of piety on the part of Black theologians will help bridge that gap at the ethico-ideological level. As long as Black theologians maintain a 'non-ideological' appropriation of the Christian faith, they are operating at a level different from where the masses are.

2. Interclassism.

By this we mean the interpretation of the Christian faith in such a way that both the oppressor and oppressed are seen equally as sinners, and the view that the Bible is a record of a single history - God's revelation in history.

Mosala tackles this problem when he questions the blind conception of the Bible as the "Word of God" in Black theology. Black theologians seem to see one God in the Bible and their view of the Bible is that it is an unfolding whole. Thus the Bible as a site of class/race struggles is absolutised as an instrument of obedience. This is interclassist in that the problems of one class are universalised and made human problems: the needs of one class, always those of the ruling class, are generalised as normal human needs. This is what another Black theologian says;

"The Black man shares in the basic humanity of all men. He has the same basic longings, hopes, ambitions as anybody else....like all men the Black man is a fallen creature" (6)

What material experience of the oppressor forms the basis for the oppressed to see any convergence of longing or needs between them?

"This line of thought", protests Rostagno "placed the exploited and the exploiter, the revolutionary and the imperialist, who were in need of pardon, under the same heading" (7)

Again this interclassism, this absoluteness of scriptures over and above material reality leads to yet another tragedy for Black Theology — INCLUSIONISM (qualitative alliance of the oppressor and oppressed as one in the struggle). Alan Boesak demonstrates this ideological weakness when dealing with the question of liberal whites:

"I speak of...those whites who have clearly committed themselves to the struggle for liberation and who, through their commitment have taken upon themselves the condition of Blackness...In a real sense they bear the marks of Christ. They are part of the Black Church." (8)

Bishop Tutu has maintained his position on the conviction that "Botha is my brother whether he

likes it or not". This sums up our scepticism. These people are known by the world not only as our leaders but also as representatives of Black thought both at the theological and secular levels and this makes it important for us to scrutinize their points of departure and conclusions over and against our struggle.

We say that the theology they develop is an opiate because it seeks allies with the oppressors. It poses a moral dilemma for the revolutionary struggle and the moral questions it raises do not unfold out of the dynamics of the struggle itself but from the fears and concerns of the white community. In promoting an appropriation of faith above the limits of our situation it is putting the masses at the mercy of the oppressors.

3. Ethical Revisionism

themselves that they can salvage theology. The fact that Western theology has been racist, sexist, capitalist, colonialist and imperialist has not been a mistake on the part of its proponents. To claim that white Christians have used theology for their economic interests must not make us feel sorry for theology - it is their theology. Our major project is how do we deal with this theological onslaught, how do we theologise our own interests.

Black theologians have thus unfairly accused white theologians for not taking into consideration the experiences of the Black people when theologising (as if white theologians had any choice). Black theologians seem scared to be seen to start something new. As another Black theologian puts it:

"In its focus on the poor and the oppressed the theology of liberation is not a new theology; it is simply the proclamation of the age-old Gospel but now liberated from the deadly hold of the mighty" (9)

Rather than incontextualising theology by snatching it from white manipulators and making it relevant to a different situation, should we not first see it for what it is — an instrument of imperial control — and then reject it by doing a completely new theology - the one whose historical develop-

ment is shaped by the Azanian praxis. It is to be unpardonably revisionist for Black theologians to assume the ability to seize the ideological weapon of the imperialists and unleash with the same the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed.

In conclusion we wish to make the following assumptions on what we consider to be important points for an agenda of a Black theology of liberation:

1. The masses in occupied Azania are in the midst of a revolutionary upsurge against the system. We recognise that most of them are Christians and that to wish that away would be unhelpful to our struggle. Therefore Black theology is a necessity. However, for this theology to be a supporting theory in our struggle it has to continually reflect on its priorities and methodology in terms of emerging issues in the struggle.

2. The ideological assault on the masses in this country has taken, among others, a theological form. For Black theology to be blind on this basic fact is to wage the struggle within the limits of the ruling class ideology. Black theology should reconsider its position on the following;

a) approach to the Bible
b) ethical assumptions of the Christian faith.
c) ideological undertones of theology

3. New models of scriptural interpretation and appropriation of the Christian faith have to be developed. In this regard we wish to applaud the works of such Black theologians as Itumeleng Jerry Mosala, Takatso Mofokeng and a few others for applying materialist sociological tools in the study of Black theology. This attempt, though relatively very new in occupied Azania, has laid the basis for a true Black theology for the first time. Unless developed with more vigour and urgency, Black theology will not reach the stage of being a material force for the toiling masses of Black people in occupied Azania.

The church as seen by a young layman

Steve Biko



I am aware that today I am addressing myself to a group of people with whom I differ in two respects:

Firstly, I am a layman talking to a group of religious ministers. Secondly, I am a young man talking to fairly elderly people.

These are perhaps the two aspects that brought me here. An attempt to close the generation gap is always fundamental in the re-examination of any hitherto orthodox situation which seems to be fast becoming obsolete in the minds of young people. Also important, is the need to make common the concept of religion, especially Christianity, understanding of which is fast becoming the monopoly of so-called theologians. For this reason I am going to deal with the topic in a lay fashion.

To my mind religion can be defined as an attempt by man to relate to a supreme being or force to which he ascribes all creation. Our particular model at this moment is Christianity. It is not quite clear

just how important it is for the various religions that exist in this world to be uniform. One thing is certain though, that all religions have got similar characteristics:

1. They form man's moral conscience; in other words, embodied within each religion is a set of moral stipulations that govern the spiritual well-being of a particular people within a given context.
2. They all attempt to explain the origin and destiny of man. All are agreed that man in the human form is a transient being in the world; all agree about man's origin as being from some force, the precise nature of which is defined differently. Where religions tend to differ is in the enunciation of the destiny of men.
3. All religions claim or almost claim a monopoly on truth about the nature of the supreme being and about the way to identify with his original intention about men.

Each religion is highly ritualistic. Through years of practice, the religion develops a certain pattern and procedure that in later years becomes inseparable from the central message of that religion.

If one takes religion as nothing else but what it is-i.e. a social institution attempting to explain what cannot be scientifically known about the origin and destiny of man, then from the beginning we can see the necessity of religion. All societies and indeed all individuals, ancient or modern, young or old, identify themselves with a particular religion and when none is existent, they develop one. In most cases religion is intricately intertwined with the rest of cultural traits of society. In a sense this makes the religion part and parcel of the behavioural pattern of that society and makes the people bound by the limits of that religion through a strong identification with it. Where people are subjected to a religion that is removed from their cultural make-up, then elements of disgruntlement begin

to be noted and sometimes open defiance is soon displayed. Hence one can make the claim that most religions are specific and where they fail to observe the requirements of specificity then they must be sufficiently adaptable to convey relevant messages to different people in different situations. For indeed, each religion has a message for the people amongst whom it is operative.

These are perhaps some of the things that never were uppermost in the minds of the people who brought Christianity into South Africa. Whereas Christianity had gone through rigorous cultural adaptation from ancient Judea through Rome, through London, through Brussels and Lisbon, somehow when it landed in the Cape, it was made to look fairly rigid. Christianity was made the central point of a culture which brought with it new styles of clothing, new customs, new forms of etiquette, new medical approaches, and perhaps new armaments. The people amongst whom Christianity was spread had to cast away their indigenous clothing, their customs, their beliefs which were all described as being pagan and barbaric.

Usage of the spear became a hallmark of savagery. All too soon the people were divided into two camps-the converted (*amagqobhoka*) and the pagans (*amaqaba*). The difference in clothing between these two groups made what otherwise could have been merely a religious difference actually become at times internecine warfare. Stripped of the core of their being and estranged from each other because of their differences the African people became a playground for colonialists. It has always been the pattern throughout history that whosoever brings the new order knows it best and is therefore the perpetual teacher of those to whom the new order is being brought. If the white missionaries were "right" about their God in

the eyes of the people, then the African people could only accept whatever these new know-all tutors had to say about life. The acceptance of the colonialist-tainted version of Christianity marked the turning point in the resistance of African people.

The Church and its operation in modern-day South Africa has therefore to be looked at in terms of the way it was introduced in this country. Even at this late stage, one notes the appalling irrelevance of the interpretation given to the Scriptures. In a country teeming with injustice and fanatically committed to the practice of oppression, intolerance and blatant cruelty because of racial bigotry; in a country where all black people are made to feel the unwanted step-children of a God whose presence they cannot feel; in a country where father and son, mother and daughter alike develop daily into neurotics through sheer inability to relate the present to the future because of a completely engulfing sense of destitution, the Church further adds to their insecurity by its inward-directed definition of the concept of sin and its encouragement of the "mea culpa" attitude.

Stern-faced ministers stand on pulpits every Sunday to heap loads of blame on black people in townships for their thieving, house-breaking, stabbing, murdering, adultery etc. No-one ever attempts to relate all these vices to poverty, unemployment, overcrowding, lack of schooling and migratory labour. No one wants to completely condone abhorrent behaviour, but it frequently is necessary for us to analyse situations a little bit deeper than the surface suggests.

Because the white missionary described black people as thieves, lazy, sex-hungry etc., and because he equated all that was valuable with whiteness, our Churches through our ministers see all these vices I have mentioned above not as manifestations of the cruelty and injustice which we are subjected to by the white man but inevitable proof that after all the white man was right when he described us as savages. Thus if Christianity in its *introduction* was corrupted by the inclusion of aspects which made it the ideal religion for the *colonisation* of

people, nowadays in its *interpretation* it is the ideal religion for the maintenance of the *subjugation* of the same people.

It must also be noted that the Church in South Africa as everywhere else has been spoilt by bureaucracy. No more is it just only an expression of the sum total of people's religious feelings, it has become in fact highly institutionalised not as one unit but as several powerful units, differing perhaps not so much on scriptural interpretations as in institutional aims. It has become inconceivable to think of South Africa without a Roman Catholic church or a Methodist Church or an Anglican Church etc. in spite of the fact that the average Methodist from the street hardly knows how he differs from an Anglican or Congregationalist. This bureaucracy and institutionalisation tends to make the Church removed from important priorities and to concentrate on secondary and tertiary functions like structures and finance etc. And because of this, the Church has become very irrelevant and in fact an "ivory tower" as some people refer to it.

Going hand in hand with the bureaucratization and institutionalisation of the Church is a special brand of a problem which also makes the Church extremely irrelevant - the concentration of that bureaucracy and institutionalisation in the hands of white people. It is a known fact that, barring the Afrikaans Churches, most of the Churches have 70, 80 or 90% of their membership within the black world. It is also a known fact that most of the Churches have 70, 80 90% of controlling power in white hands. It is still a known fact that white people simply don't know black people, and in most cases do not have the interests of black people at heart.

Therefore it can be reasonably concluded that either the black people's Churches are governed by a small non-sympathetic foreign minority or that too many black people are patronising foreign Churches. Which of these two it is, is not quite clear, but let us assume that it is the former, since the majority of the people in this country are black people.

In that case therefore, black people who are Christians are not only conniving at the hitherto irrelevant nature of Christianity as spelt out by the Churches, but they also allow a non-sympathetic minority which is not interested in making Christianity relevant to people remain in control of the workings of the Churches. This is an untenable situation which if allowed to continue much longer will deplete from the already thinning crowds that go to Church on Sunday.

Then too, the tendency by Christians to make interpretation of religion a specialist job, results in general apathy in a world which is fast departing from identification with mysticism. Young people nowadays would like to feel that they can interpret Christianity and extract from it messages relevant to them and their situation without being stopped by orthodox limitations. This is why the Catholic Church with its dozens of dogmas either has to adjust fast to a changing world or risk the chance of losing the young constituency. In various aspects, this applies to all Churches in the Christian world.

Before looking at suggested changes within the Church, let me then summarise what I regard as my major criticisms of it:

1. It makes Christianity too much of a "turn the other cheek" religion whilst addressing itself to a destitute people.
2. It is stunted with bureaucracy and institutionalisation.
3. It manifests in its structures a tacit acceptance of the system i.e. "white equals value".
4. It is limited by too much specialisation.

The most important area to which we should perhaps direct ourselves is gaining the control that is rightfully ours within these Churches. In order to do this, we must agree that in fact we have a common purpose, a common goal, a common problem. Equally we should agree that through living in a privileged society, and through being socialised in a corrupt system, our white Christian counterparts though brothers in Christ have not proved themselves brothers in South Africa. We must agree also that

tacitly or overtly, deliberately or unawares, white Christians within the Churches are preventing the Church from assuming its natural character in the South African context, and therefore preventing it from being relevant to the black man's situation.

It has been said by many a black church man, that whites are in power within the Churches, because the Churches are modelled on Western lines which white people know best. In order to be able therefore to change the Churches, we have first to gain ascendance over them in that white model, then thereafter turn that model into one we cherish, we love, we understand, and one that is relevant to us. I can only point out here that it cannot be conceivable that all the white people in controlling positions within the Church are elected by other white people. Obviously some get into their positions because they caucus vote-wielding blacks to put them in those positions. It is high time that black people learn the highly tried method of *caucusing* to put other black people in control of Churches in which black people have something at stake. Such elected blacks will obviously have to function accor-

ding to a mandate clearly outlined by the same black caucus that put them in power.

The second area in which we must focus our attention is a thorough understanding of what many people have hitherto scorned, namely Black Theology. There is a truth in the statement that many people can say one thing differently because they look at it from different angles. Christianity can never hope to remain abstract and removed from the people's environmental problems. In order to be applicable to people, it must have meaning for them in their given situation. If they are an oppressed people, it must have something to say about their oppression.

Black Theology therefore is a situational interpretation of Christianity. It seeks to relate the present-day black man to God within the given context of the black man's suffering and his attempts to get out of it. It shifts the emphasis of man's moral obligations from avoiding wronging false authorities by not losing his Reference Book, not stealing food when hungry and not cheating police when he is caught, to being committed to eradicating all cause

for suffering as represented in the death of children from starvation, outbreaks of epidemics in poor areas, or the existence of thuggery and vandalism in townships. In other words it shifts the emphasis from petty sins to major sins in a society, thereby ceasing to teach the people to "suffer peacefully".

These are topics that black ministers of religion must begin to talk about seriously if they are to save Christianity from falling foul with black people particularly young black people. The time has come for our own theologians to take up the cudgels of the fight by restoring a meaning and direction in the black man's understanding of God. No nation can win a battle without faith, and if our faith in our God is spoilt by our having to see Him through the eyes of the same people we are fighting against then there obviously begins to be something wrong in that relationship.

Finally, I would like to remind the black ministry, and indeed all black people that God is not in the habit of coming down from heaven to solve people's problems on earth.

Black consciousness and the quest for a true humanity

Steve Biko

It is perhaps fitting to start by examining why it is necessary for us to think collectively about a problem we never created. In doing so, I do not wish to concern myself unnecessarily with the white people of South Africa, but to get to the right answers, we must ask the right questions; we have to find out what went wrong -where and when; and we have to find out whether our position is a deliberate creation of God or an artificial fabrication of the truth by power-hungry people whose motive is authority, security, wealth and comfort. In other words, the "Black Consciousness" approach would be irrelevant in a colourless and non-exploitative egalitarian society. It is relevant here because we



believe that an anomalous situation is a deliberate creation of man.

There is no doubt that the colour question in South African politics was originally introduced for economic reasons. The leaders of the white community had to create some kind of barrier between blacks and whites so that the whites could enjoy privileges at the expense of blacks and still feel free to give a moral justification for the obvious exploitation that pricked even the hardest of white consciences. However, tradition has it that whenever a group of people has tasted the lovely fruits of wealth, security and prestige it begins to find it more comfortable to believe in the

obvious lie and to accept it as normal that it alone is entitled to privilege. In order to believe this seriously, it needs to convince itself of all the arguments that support the lie. It is not surprising, therefore, that in South Africa, after generations of exploitation, white people on the whole have come to believe in the inferiority of the black man, so much so that while the race problem started as an offshoot of the economic greed exhibited by white people, it has now become a serious problem on its own. White people now despise black people, not because they need to reinforce their attitude and so justify their position of privilege but simply because they actually believe that black is inferior and bad. This is the basis upon which whites are working in South Africa, and it is what makes South African society racist.

The racism we meet does not only exist on an individual basis: it is also institutionalized to make it look like the South African way of life. Although of late there has been a feeble attempt to gloss over the overt racist elements in the system, it is still true that the system derives its nourishment from the existence of anti-black attitudes in society. To make the lie live even longer, blacks have to be denied any chance of accidentally proving their equality with white men. For this reason there is job reservation, lack of training in skilled work, and a tight orbit around professional possibilities for blacks. Stupidly enough, the system turns back to say that blacks are inferior because they have no economists, no engineers, etc... although it is made impossible for blacks to acquire these skills.

To give authenticity to their lie and to show the righteousness of their claim, whites have further worked out detailed schemes to "solve" the racial situation in this country. Thus, a pseudo-parliament has been created for "Coloureds", and several "Bantu states" are in the process of being set up. So independent and fortunate are they that they do not have to spend a cent on their defence because they have nothing to fear from white South Africa which will always come to their assistance in times of need. One does not, of course, fail to see the arrogance of whites and

their contempt for blacks, even in their well-considered modern schemes for subjugation.

The overall success of the white power structure has been in managing to bind the whites together in defence of the *status quo*. By skillfully playing on that imaginary bogey - *swart gevaar* - they have managed to convince even diehard liberals that there is something to fear in the idea of the black man assuming his rightful place at the helm of the South African ship. Thus after years of silence we are able to hear the familiar voice of Alan Paton saying, as far away as London: "Perhaps apartheid is worth a try". "At whose expense, Dr. Paton?", asks an intelligent black journalist. Hence whites in general reinforce each other even though they allow some moderate disagreements on the details of subjugation schemes. There is no doubt that they do not question the validity of white values. They see nothing anomalous in the fact that they alone are arguing about the future of 17 million blacks-in a land which is the natural backyard of the black people. Any proposals for change emanating from the black world are viewed with great indignation. Even the so-called opposition, the United Party, has the nerve to tell the Coloured people that they are asking for too much. A journalist from a liberal newspaper like *The Sunday Times* of Johannesburg describes a black student-who is only telling the truth-as a militant, impatient young man.

It is not enough for whites to be on the offensive. So immersed are they in prejudice that they do not believe that blacks can formulate their thoughts without white guidance and trusteeship. Thus, even those whites who see much wrong with the system make it their business to control the response of the blacks to the provocation. No one is suggesting that it is not the business of liberal whites to oppose what is wrong. However, it appears to us as too much of a coincidence that liberals-few as they are-should not only be determining the *modus operandi* of those blacks who oppose the system, but also leading it, in spite of their involvement in the system. To us it seems that their role spells out the totality of the white power struc-

ture - the fact that though whites are our problem, it is still other whites who want to tell us how to deal with that problem. They do so by dragging all sorts of red herrings across our paths. They tell us that the situation is a class struggle rather than a racial one. Let them go to van Tonder in the Free State and tell him this. We believe we know what the problem is, and we will stick by our findings.

I want to go a little deeper in this discussion because it is time we killed this false political coalition between blacks and whites as long as it is set up on a wrong analysis of our situation. I want to kill it for another reason-namely that it forms at present the greatest stumbling block to our unity. It dangles before freedom-hungry blacks promises of a great future for which no one in these groups seems to be working particularly hard.

The basic problem in South Africa has been analysed by liberal whites as being apartheid. They argue that in order to oppose it we have to form non-racial groups. Between these two extremes, they claim, lies the land of milk and honey for which we are working. The *thesis*, the *anti-thesis* and the *synthesis* have been mentioned by some great philosophers as the cardinal points around which any social revolution revolves. For the liberals, the *thesis* is apartheid, the *anti-thesis* is non-racialism, but the *synthesis* is very feebly defined. They want to tell the blacks that they see integration as the ideal solution. Black Consciousness defines the situation differently. The *thesis* is in fact a strong white racism and therefore, the *antithesis* to this must, *ipso facto*, be a strong solidarity amongst the blacks on whom this white racism seeks to prey. Out of these two situations we can therefore hope to reach some kind of balance - a true humanity where power politics will have no place. This analysis spells out the difference between the old and new approaches. The failure of the liberals is in the fact that their *antithesis* is already a watered-down version of the truth whose close proximity to the *thesis* will nullify the purported balance. This accounts for the failure of the Sprocas commissions to make any real headway, for they are already looking for an

'alternative' acceptable to the white man. Everybody in the commissions knows what is right but all are looking for the most seemly way of dodging the responsibility of saying what is right.

It is much more important for blacks to see this difference than it is for whites. We must learn to accept that no group, however benevolent, can ever hand power to the vanquished on a plate. We must accept that the limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they oppress. As long as we go to Whitey begging cap in hand for our own emancipation, we are giving him further sanction to continue with his racist and oppressive system. We must realise that our situation is not a mistake on the part of whites but a deliberate act, and that no amount of moral lecturing will persuade the white man to "correct" the situation. The system concedes nothing without demand, for it formulates its very method of operation on the basis that the ignorant will learn to know, the child will grow into an adult and therefore demands will begin to be made. It gears itself to resist demands in whatever way it sees fit. When you refuse to make these demands and choose to come to a round table to beg for your deliverance, you are asking for the contempt of those who have power over you. This is why we must reject the beggar tactics that are being forced on us by those who wish to appease our cruel masters. This is where the SASO message and cry "*Black man, you are on your own!*" becomes relevant.

The concept of integration, whose virtues are often extolled in white liberal circles, is full of unquestioned assumptions that embrace white values. It is a concept long defined by whites and never examined by blacks. It is based on the assumption that all is well with the system apart from some degree of mismanagement by irrational conservatives at the top. Even the people who argue for integration often forget to veil it in its supposedly beautiful covering. They tell each other that, were it not for job reservation, there would be a beautiful market to exploit. They forget they are talking about people. They see blacks as additional levers to some complicated industrial

machines. This is white man's integration-an integration based on exploitative values. It is an integration in which black will compete with black, using each other as rungs up a step ladder leading them to white values. It is an integration in which the black man will have to prove himself in terms of these values before meriting acceptance and ultimate assimilation, and in which the poor will grow poorer and the rich richer in a country where the poor have always been black. We do not want to be reminded that it is we, the indigenous people, who are poor and exploited in the land of our birth. These are concepts which the Black Consciousness approach wishes to eradicate from the black man's mind before our society is driven to chaos by irresponsible people from Coca-cola and hamburger cultural backgrounds.



Black Consciousness is an attitude of mind and a way of life, the most positive call to emanate from the black world for a long time. Its essence is the realisation by the black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of their oppression-the blackness of their skin-and to operate as a group to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude. It is based on a self-examination which has ultimately led them to believe that by seeking to run away from themselves

and emulate the white man, they are insulting the intelligence of whoever created them black. The philosophy of Black Consciousness therefore expresses group pride and the determination of the black to rise and attain the envisaged self. Freedom is the ability to define oneself with one's possibilities held back not by the power of other people over one but only by one's relationship to God and to natural surroundings. On his own, therefore, the black man wishes to explore his surroundings, and test his possibilities-in other words to make his freedom real by whatever means he deems fit. At the heart of this kind of thinking is the realisation by blacks that the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed. If one is free at heart, no man-made chains can bind one to servitude, but if one's mind is so manipulated and controlled by the oppressor as to make the oppressed believe that he is a liability to the white man, then there will be nothing the oppressed can do to scare his powerful masters. Hence thinking along lines of Black Consciousness makes the black man see himself as a being complete in himself. It makes him less dependent and more free to express his manhood. At the end of it all he cannot tolerate attempts by anybody to dwarf the significance of his manhood.

In order that Black Consciousness can be used to advantage as a philosophy to apply to people in a position like ours, a number of points have to be observed. As people existing in a continuous struggle for truth, we have to examine and question old concepts, values and systems. Having found the right answers we shall then work for consciousness among all people to make it possible for us to proceed towards putting these answers into effect. In this process, we have to evolve our own schemes, forms and strategies to suit the need and situation, always keeping in mind our fundamental beliefs and values.

In all aspects of the black-white relationship, now and in the past, we see a constant tendency by whites to depict blacks as of an inferior status. Our culture, our history and indeed all aspects of the black man's life have been battered nearly out of shape in the

great collision between the indigenous values and the Anglo-Boer culture.

The first people to come and relate to blacks in a human way in South Africa were the missionaries. They were in the vanguard of the colonisation movement to "civilise and educate" the savages and introduce the Christian message to them. The religion they brought was quite foreign to the black indigenous people. African religion in its essence was not radically different from Christianity. We also believed in one God, we had our community of saints through whom we related to our God, and we did not find it compatible with our way of life to worship God in isolation from the various aspects of our lives. Hence worship was not a specialised function that found expression once a week in a secluded building, but rather it featured in our wars, our beer-drinking, our dances and our customs in general. Whenever Africans drank they would first relate to God by giving a portion of their beer away as a token of thanks. When anything went wrong at home they would offer sacrifice to God to appease him and atone for their sins. There was no hell in our religion. We believed in the inherent goodness of man -hence we took it for granted that all people at death joined the community of saints and therefore merited our respect.

It was the missionaries who confused the people with their new religion. They scared our people with stories of hell. They painted their God as a demanding God who wanted worship "or else". People had to discard their clothes and their customs in order to be accepted in this new religion. Knowing how religious the African people were, the missionaries stepped up their terror campaign on the emotions of the people with their detailed accounts of eternal burning, tearing of hair and gnashing of teeth. By some strange and twisted logic, they argued that theirs was a scientific religion and ours a superstition-all this in spite of the biological discrepancy which is at the base of their religion. This cold and cruel religion was strange to the indigenous people and caused frequent strife between the con-

verted and the "pagans", for the former, having imbibed the false values from white society, were taught to ridicule and despise those who defended the truth of their indigenous religion. With the ultimate acceptance of the western religion down went our cultural values!

While I do not wish to question the basic truth at the heart of the Christian message, there is a strong case for a re-examination of Christianity. It has proved a very adaptable religion which does not seek to supplement existing orders but-like any universal truth-to find application within a particular situation. More than anyone else, the missionaries knew that not all they did was essential to the spread of the message. But the basic intention went much further than merely spreading the word. Their arrogance and their monopoly on truth, beauty and moral judgement taught them to despise native customs and traditions and to seek to infuse their own new values into these societies.

Here then we have the case for Black Theology. While not wishing to discuss Black Theology at length, let it suffice to say that it seeks to relate God and Christ once more to the black man and his daily problems. It wants to describe Christ as a fighting God, not a passive God who allows a lie to rest unchallenged. It grapples with existential problems and does not claim to be a theology of absolutes. It seeks to bring back God to the black man and to the truth and reality of his situation. This is an important aspect of Black Consciousness, for quite a large proportion of black people in South Africa are Christians still swimming in a mire of confusion-the aftermath of the missionary approach. It is the duty therefore of all black priests and ministers of religion to save Christianity by adopting Black Theology's approach and thereby once more uniting the black man with his God.

A long look should also be taken at the educational system for blacks. The same tense situation was found as long ago as the arrival of the missionaries. Children were taught, under the pretext of hygiene, good manners and other such vague concepts, to despise

their mode of upbringing at home and to question the values and customs of their society. The result was the expected one-children and parents saw life differently and the former lost respect for the latter. Now in African society it is a cardinal sin for a child to lose respect for his parent. Yet how can one prevent the loss of respect between child and parent when the child is taught by his know-all white tutors to disregard his family teachings? Who can resist losing respect for his tradition? Who can resist losing respect for his tradition when in school his whole cultural background is summed up in one word-barbarism?

Thus we can immediately see the logic of placing the missionaries in the forefront of the colonisation process. A man who succeeds in making a group of people accept a foreign concept in which he is expert makes them perpetual students whose progress in the particular field can only be evaluated by him; the student must constantly turn to him for guidance and promotion. In being forced to accept the Anglo-Boer culture, the blacks have allowed themselves to be at the mercy of the white man and to have him as their eternal supervisor. Only he can tell us how good our performance is and instinctively each of us is at pains to please this powerful, all-knowing master. This is what Black Consciousness seeks to eradicate.

As one black writer says, colonialism is never satisfied with having the native in its grip but, by some strange logic, it must turn to his past and disfigure and distort it. Hence the history of the black man in this country is most disappointing to read. It is presented merely as a long succession of defeats. The Xhosas were thieves who went to war for stolen property; the Boers never provoked the Xhosas but merely went on "punitive expeditions" to teach the thieves a lesson. Heroes like Makana* who were essentially revolutionaries are painted as

* Early nineteenth-century Xhosa prophet, sentenced to life imprisonment on Robben Island and drowned while escaping in a boat. Refusal by blacks to accept the truth of his death led to the mythical hope of his eventual return. — EC.

superstitious trouble-makers who lied to the people about bullets turning into water. Great nation-builders like Shaka are cruel tyrants who frequently attacked smaller tribes for no reason but for some sadistic purpose. Not only is

demonstrate a historical evolution of the modern black man. There is a tendency to think of our culture as a static culture that was arrested in 1652 and has never developed since the "return to the bush" concept suggests that we

These are essential features of our black culture to which we must cling. Black culture above all implies freedom on our part to innovate without recourse to white values. This innovation is part of the natural development of any culture. A culture is essentially the society's composite answer to the varied problems of life. We are experiencing new problems every day and whatever we do adds to the richness of our cultural heritage as long as it has man as its centre. The adoption of black theatre and drama is one such important innovation which we need to encourage and to develop. We know that our love of music and rhythm has relevance even in this day.

Being part of an exploitative society in which we are often the direct objects of exploitation, we need to evolve a strategy towards our economic situation. We are aware that the Blacks are still colonised even within the borders of South Africa. Their cheap labour has helped to make South Africa what it is today. Our money from the townships takes a one-way journey to white shops and white banks, and all we do in our lives is pay the white man either with labour or in coin. Capitalistic exploitative tendencies, coupled with the overt arrogance of white racism, have conspired against us. Thus in South Africa now it is very expensive to be poor. It is the poor people who stay furthest from town and therefore have to spend more money on transport to come and work for white people; it is the poor people who use uneconomic and inconvenient fuel like paraffin and coal because of the refusal of the white man to install electricity in black areas; it is the poor people who are governed by many ill-defined restrictive laws and therefore have to spend money on fines for "technical" offences; it is the poor people who have no hospitals and are therefore exposed to exorbitant charges by private doctors; it is the poor people who use untarred roads, have to walk long distances, and therefore experience the greatest wear and tear on commodities like shoes: it is the poor people who have to pay for their children's books while whites get them free. It does not need to be said that it is the black people who are poor.



Mtubatuba, May 1957: White Magistrate sits arrogantly in Judgement over a 'Tribal Dispute' between Chiefs.

there no objectivity in the history taught us but there is frequently an appalling misrepresentation of facts that sicken even the uninformed student.

Thus a lot of attention has to be paid to our history if we as blacks want to aid each other in our coming into consciousness. We have to rewrite our history and produce in it the heroes that formed the core of our resistance to the white invaders. More has to be revealed, and stress has to be laid on the successful nation-building attempts of men such as Shaka, Moshoeshoe and Hinsta. These areas call for intense research to provide some sorely needed missing links. We would be too naive to expect our conquerors to write unbiased histories about us but we have to destroy the myth that our history starts in 1652, the year Van Riebeeck landed at the Cape.

Our culture must be defined in concrete terms. We must relate the past to the present and

have nothing to boast of except ifons, sex and drink. We accept that when colonisation sets in it devours the indigenous culture and leaves behind a bastard culture that may thrive at the pace allowed it by the dominant culture. But we also have to realise that the basic tenets of our culture have largely succeeded in withstanding the process of bastardisation and that even at this moment we can still demonstrate that we appreciate a man for himself. Ours is a true man-centred society whose sacred tradition is that of sharing. We must reject, as we have been doing, the individualistic cold approach to life that is the cornerstone of the Anglo-Boer culture. We must seek to restore to the black man the great importance we used to give to human relations, the high regard for people and their property and for life in general; to reduce the triumph of technology over man and the materialistic element that is slowly creeping into our society.

We therefore need to take another look at how best to use our economic power, little as it may seem to be. We must seriously examine the possibilities of establishing business co-operatives whose interest will be ploughed back into community development Programmes. We should think along such lines as the "buy black" campaign once suggested in Johannesburg and establish our own banks for the benefit of the community. Organisational development amongst blacks has only been low because we have allowed it to be. Now that we know we are on our own, it is an absolute duty for us to fulfil these needs.

The last step in Black Consciousness is to broaden the base of our operation. One of the basic tenets of Black Consciousness is totality of involvement. This means that all Blacks must sit as one big unit, and no fragmentation and distraction from the mainstream of events be allowed. Hence we must resist the attempts by protagonists of the bantustan theory to fragment our approach. We are oppressed not as individuals, not as Zulus, Xhosas, Vendas or Indians. We

are oppressed because we are black. We must use that very concept to unite ourselves and to respond as a cohesive group. We must cling to each other with a tenacity that will shock the perpetrators of evil.

Our preparedness to take upon ourselves the cudgels of the struggle will see us through. We must remove from our vocabulary completely the concept of fear. Truth must ultimately triumph over evil, and the white man has always nourished his greed on this basic fear that shows itself in the black community. Special Branch agents will not turn the lie into truth, and one must ignore them. In a true bid for change we have to take off our coats, be prepared to lose our comfort and security, our jobs and positions of prestige, and our families, for just as it is true that "leadership and security are basically incompatible", a struggle without casualties is no struggle. We must realise that prophetic cry of black students: "Black man, you are on your own!"

Some will charge that we are racist but these people are using exactly the values we reject. We

do not have the power to subjugate anyone. We are merely responding to provocation in the most realistic possible way. Racism does not only imply exclusion of one race by another-it always presupposes that the exclusion is for the purposes of subjugation. Blacks have had enough experience as objects of racism not to wish to turn the tables. While it may be relevant now to talk about black in relation to white, we must not make this our preoccupation, for it can be a negative exercise. As we proceed further towards the achievements of our goals let us talk more about ourselves and our struggle and less about whites.

We have set out on a quest for true humanity, and somewhere on the distant horizon we can see the glittering prize. Let us march forth with courage and determination, drawing strength from our common plight and our brotherhood. In time we shall be in a position to bestow upon South Africa the greatest gift possible-a more human face.

Fear — an important determinant in South African politics

Steve Biko

It would seem that the greatest waste of time in South Africa is to try and find logic in why the white government does certain things. If anything else, the constant inroads into the freedom of the black people illustrates a complete contempt for this section of the community.

My premise has always been that black people should not at any one stage be surprised at some of the atrocities committed by the government. This to me follows logically after their initial assumption that they, being a settler minority, can have the right to be supreme masters. If they could be cruel enough to cow the natives down with brutal force and install themselves as perpetual rulers in a foreign land, then anything else they do to the same black people

becomes logical in terms of the initial cruelty. To expect justice from them at any stage is to be naive. They almost have a duty to themselves and to their "electorate" to show that they still have the upper hand over the black people. There is only one way of showing that upper-hand — by ruthlessly breaking down the back of resistance amongst the blacks, however petty that resistance is.

One must look at the huge security force that South Africa has in order to realise this. These men must always report something to their masters in order to justify their employment. It is not enough to report that "I have been to Pondoland and the natives are behaving well and are

peaceful and content." This is not satisfactory for the perpetrators of evil are aware of the cruelty of their system and hence do not expect the natives to be satisfied. So the security boys are sent back to Pondoland to find out who the spokesman is who claims that the people are satisfied and to beat him until he admits that he is not satisfied. At that point he is either banned or brought forward to be tried under one of the many Acts. The absolutely infantile evidence upon which the State builds up its cases in some of the trials does suggest to me that they are quite capable of arresting a group of boys playing hide and seek and charging them with high treason.

This is the background against

which one must see the many political trials that are held in this country. To them it looks as if something would be dangerously wrong if no major political trial was held for a period of one year. It looks as if someone will be accused by his superior for not doing his work. The strangest thing is that people are hauled in for almost nothing to be tried under the most vicious of Acts — like the Terrorism Act.

It is also against this background that one must view the recent banning and house arrest imposed on Mr Mewa Ramgobin. No amount of persuasion by anyone can convince me that Ramgobin had something sinister up his sleeve. To all those who know him, Mewa was the last man to be considered a serious threat to anyone—let alone a powerful State with an army of perhaps 10,000 security men and informers. But then, as we said, logic is a strange word to these people.

Aimé Césaire once said: "When I turn on my radio, when I hear that Negroes have been lynched in America, I say that we have been lied to: Hitler is not dead: when I turn on my radio and hear that in Africa, forced labour has been inaugurated and legislated, I say that we have certainly been lied to: Hitler is not dead".

Perhaps one need add only the following in order to make the picture complete:

"When I turn on my radio, when I hear that someone in the Pondoland forest was beaten and tortured, I say that we have been lied to: Hitler is not dead, when I turn on my radio, when I hear that someone in jail slipped off a piece of soap, fell and died I say that we have been lied to: Hitler is not dead, he is likely to be found in Pretoria".

To look for instances of cruelty directed at those who fall into disfavour with the security police is perhaps to look too far. One need not try to establish the truth of the claim that black people in South Africa have to struggle for survival. It presents itself in ever so many facets of our lives. Township life alone makes it a miracle for anyone to live up to adulthood. There we see a situation of absolute want in which



Fear conquered: Youth in Duduza dancing joyously around the burning car of a suspected informer, 1985.

black will kill black to be able to survive. This is the basis of the vandalism, murder, rape and plunder that goes on while the real sources of the evil - white society - are suntanning on exclusive beaches or relaxing in their bourgeois homes.

While those amongst blacks who do bother to open their mouths in feeble protest against what is going on are periodically intimidated with security visits and occasional banning orders and house arrests, the rest of the black community lives in absolute fear of the police. No average black man can ever at any moment be absolutely sure that he is not breaking a law. There are so many laws governing the lives and behaviour of black people that sometimes one feels that the police only need to page at random through their statute book to be able to get a law under which to charge a victim.

The philosophy behind police action in this country seems to be "harass them! harass them!". And one needs to add that they interpret the word in a very extravagant sense. Thus even young traffic policemen, people generally known for their grace, occasionally find it proper to slap adult black people. It sometimes looks obvious here that the great plan is to keep the black people thoroughly intimidated and to perpetuate the "super-race" image of the white man, if not intellectually, at least in terms of force. White people, working

through their vanguard — the South African Police — have come to realise the truth of that golden maxim — if you cannot make a man respect you, then make him fear you.

Clearly black people cannot respect white people, at least not in this country. There is such an obvious aura of immorality and naked cruelty in all that is done in the name of white people that no black man, no matter how intimidated, can ever be made to respect white society. However, in spite of their obvious contempt for the values cherished by whites and the price at which white comfort and security is purchased, blacks seem to me to have been successfully cowed down by the type of brutality that emanates from this section of the community.

It is this fear that erodes the soul of black people in South Africa—a fear obviously built up deliberately by the system through a myriad of civil agents, be they post office attendants, police, CID officials, army men in uniform, security police or even the occasional trigger-happy white farmer or store owner. It is a fear so basic in the considered actions of black people as to make it impossible for them to behave like people—let alone free people. From the attitude of a servant to his employer, to that of a black man being served by a white attendant at a shop, one sees this fear clearly showing through. How can people be prepared to put up a

resistance against their overall oppression if in their individual situations, they cannot insist on the observance of their manhood? This is a question that often occurs to overseas visitors who are perceptive enough to realise that all is not well in the land of sunshine and milk.

Yet this is a dangerous type of fear, for it only goes skin deep. It hides underneath it an immeasurable rage that often threatens to erupt. Beneath it lies naked hatred for a group that deserves absolutely no respect. Unlike in the rest of the French or Spanish former colonies where chances of assimilation made it not impossible for blacks to aspire towards being white, in South Africa whiteness has always been associated with police brutality and intimidation, early morning pass raids, general harassment in and out of townships and hence no black really aspires to being white. The claim by whites of monopoly on comfort and security has always been so exclusive that blacks see whites as the major obstacle in their progress towards peace, prosperity and a sane society. Through its association with all these negative aspects, whiteness has thus been soiled beyond recognition. At best therefore blacks see whiteness as a concept that warrants being despised, hated, destroyed and replaced by an aspiration with more human content in it. At worst blacks envy white society for the comfort it has usurped and at the centre of this envy is the wish-nay, the secret determination-in the innermost minds of most blacks who think like this, to kick whites off those comfortable garden chairs that one sees as he rides in a bus, out of town, and to claim them for themselves. Day by day, one gets more convinced that Aimé Césaire could not have been right when he said "no race possesses the monopoly on truth, intelligence, force and there is room for all of us at the rendezvous of victory."

It may, perhaps, surprise some people that I should talk of whites in a collective sense when in fact it is a particular section i.e. the government - that carries out this unwarranted vendetta against blacks.

There are those whites who will

completely disclaim responsibility for the country's inhumanity to the black man. These are the people who are governed by logic for 4 1/2 years but by fear at election time. The Nationalist party has perhaps many more English votes than one imagines. All whites collectively recognise in it a strong bastion against the highly played-up *swart gevaar*. One must not underestimate the deeply imbedded fear of the black man so prevalent in white society. Whites know only too well what exactly they have been doing to blacks and logically find reason for the black man to be angry. Their state of insecurity however does not outweigh their greed for power and wealth, hence they brace themselves to react against this rage rather than to dispel it with openmindedness and fair play. This interaction between fear and reaction then sets on a vicious cycle that multiplies both the fear and the reaction. This is what makes meaningful coalitions between the black and white totally impossible. Also this is what makes whites act as a group and hence become culpable as a group.

In any case, even if there was a real fundamental difference in thinking amongst whites *vis-à-vis* blacks, the very fact that those disgruntled whites remain to enjoy the fruits of the system would alone be enough to condemn them at Nuremburg. Listen to Karl Jaspers writing on the concept of metaphysical guilt:

"There exists amongst men, because they are men, a solidarity through which each shares responsibility for every injustice and every wrong committed in the world and especially for crimes that are committed in his presence or of which he cannot be ignorant. If I do not do whatever I can to prevent them, I am an accomplice in them. If I have risked my life in order to prevent the murder of other men, if I have stood silent, I feel guilty in a sense that cannot in any adequate fashion be understood juridically or politically or morally... That I am still alive after such things have been done weighs on me as a guilt that cannot be expiated.

Somewhere in the heart of human relations, an absolute command imposes itself: in case of criminal

attack or of living conditions that threaten physical being, accept life for all together or not at all."

Thus if whites in general do not like what is happening to the black people, they have the power in them to stop it here and now. We, on the other hand, have every reason to bundle them together and blame them jointly.

One can of course say that blacks too are to blame for allowing the situation to exist. Or to drive the point even further, one may point out that there are black policemen and black special branch agents. To take the last point first, I must state categorically that there is no such thing as a black policeman. Any black man who props the system up actively has lost the right to being considered part of the black world: he has sold his soul for 30 pieces of silver and finds that he is in fact not acceptable to the white society he sought to join. These are colourless white lackeys who live in a marginal world of unhappiness. They are extensions of the enemy into our ranks. On the other hand, the rest of the black world is kept in check purely because of powerlessness.

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.

This concept of fear has now taken a different dimension. One frequently hears people say of someone who has just been arrested or banned - "there is no smoke without fire" or if the guy was outspoken - "he asked for it, I am not surprised". In a sense this is almost deifying the security police; they cannot be wrong; if they could break the Rivonia plot, what makes them afraid of an individual to the point of banning him unless there is something - which we do not know? This kind of logic, found to varying degrees in the Afrikaner, the English and the black communities, is dangerous for it completely misses the point and reinforces irrational action on the part of the security police.

The fact of the matter is that the government and its security forces are also ruled by fear, in spite of their immense power. Like anyone living in mortal fear, they occasionally resort to irrational actions in the hope that a show of strength rather than proper intelligence might scare the resistors satisfactorily. This is the basis of security operations in South Africa most of the time. If they know that there are some three missionaries who are dangerous to their interest but whose identity is unknown, they would rather deport about 80 missionaries and hope that the three are among them than use some brains and find out who the three are. This was also the basis of the

arrest of about 5,000 during the so-called "Poqo" raids of 1963. And of course the laws from which security police derive their power are so vague and sweeping as to allow for all this. Hence one concludes that the South African security system is force-oriented rather than intelligence-oriented. One may of course add that this type of mentality, in this country, stretches all the way from State security to the style of rugby whites adopt. It has become their way of life.

One will therefore not be surprised if it proves very difficult to accept that "there is room for all of us at the rendezvous of victory". The tripartate system of fear-that

of white fearing the blacks, blacks fearing whites and the government fearing blacks and wishing to allay the fear amongst whites—makes it difficult to establish rapport amongst the two segments of the community. The fact of living apart adds a different dimension and perhaps a more serious one—it makes the aspirations of the two groups diametrically opposed. The white strategy so far has been to systematically break down the resistance of the blacks to the point where the latter would accept crumbs from the white table. This we have shown we reject unequivocally; and now the stage is therefore set for a very interesting turn of events.

Frankly Speaking



Brickbats and Bouquets

Frank Talk, please remember that we are not all philosophers. Some of your articles sound very interesting and I suppose that they are. But we ordinary mortals cannot understand the esoteric jargon they are phrased in. Your writers seem to inhabit ethereal zones of the intellect while leaving us in the mud. Can't you compromise?

Ray Naidoo
Chatsworth, Durban

My wife and I have been greatly impressed by the high quality of *Frank Talk* and its articles. Of all the issues we have read, the first issue still stands out as the best. I am sure that many other readers would like to see the first issue reprinted. For the uninitiated, Volume 1 Number 1 is an excellent introduction to Black Consciousness. We love your magazine and wish you all the success in the future.

Xolisilie Nguna
Galeshewe, Kimberley

When *Frank Talk* first appeared, we all hoped for a magazine that would not fall into the legendary error of ideological sectarianism and would be a forum for all the Black people of South Africa. Alas, *Frank Talk* has failed to live up to expectations: it hammers home the viewpoints of the Black

Consciousness Movement and simply does not provide for the exchange of ideas.

Thembi Soga
Kwa Xuma, Soweto

Maynardism

I enjoyed the paper by Dr Herbert Ushewokunze in *Frank Talk* (Volume 1 Number 5 at 22ff — EC), Dr Ushewokunze keeps on referring to Maynard and Maynardism. Could you explain what he means?

Vusi Gweva
Ngangelizwe Township
Umtata, Transkei.

(Mr Maynard is a cynical but sophisticated member of "Rhodesia's" establishment in Doris Lessing's novel, A Proper Marriage, London, Panther, 1966). The heroine, Martha Quest asks Maynard "Why not abolish passes altogether?" at pages 220-221:

"Why not? I suggest you put pressure on your parliamentary representatives to that effect." Martha laughed again (Mr Maynard continued); "I am firmly of the opinion that the sooner a middle class with privileges is created among the Africans the better it will be for everyone. Unfortunately, the majority of the

whites are so bogged down in intelligent considerations such as that they wouldn't have their sisters marrying black men, that they are too stupefied to see the advantages of such a course."

The setting was in the 1930's, hence Lessing wrote: "Martha was several years from understanding this remark." Maynardism is, therefore, the white-cum-bourgeois strategy: Mr Maynard, self-evidently, had learnt his dialectics! — EC)

National Convention

The most comforting thing to learn from the visit of the imperialist Teddy Kennedy is who exactly in the Black community consorts with the CIA. I am not at all surprised that the Kennedy fan clubs were the ones most vociferous about genuine people's organisations being bankrolled by the CIA. What a revelation!

Rosemary Mzamane
Matatiele, Transkei

When Mandela made the call for a National Convention in 1961, he did so from a position of weakness — he did not expect the rulers to respond to it. Mandela utilized the "National Convention" label as a Call for Action.

I suggest that the call of the liberation movement should be for a Congress of the People. The Congress of the People was the most democratic gathering ever held in South Africa and it fires the imagination of the oppressed. The term "Constituent Assembly" is a relatively unknown term in South Africa and it is what Renamo purports to call for in Mozambique.

The Congress Movement has correctly made a class alliance at this point in the struggle. Middle class opportunists in the UDF naturally jump for the "National Convention" option offered by the rulers — a majority rule solution which in no way threatens the capitalist social order.

The socialist militants within the UDF must not give the liberal bourgeoisie an edge. Power to the Congress of the People!

Jabu Mahabane
Gugulethu, Cape Town

The ANC and the UDF have rightly called for a National Convention and will achieve it, despite AZAPO's platitudinous "Death to the National Convention" call.

An All-in Conference of the people was called in 1961 and demanded the immediate calling of a National Convention. The Convention had to be sovereign, and made up of elected representatives. Since the government did not respond to the call, South Africa saw the biggest national stay-at-home there has ever been.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the popular call for a National Convention is the target of both right-wing co-option (witness the Inkatha and PFP calls) and ultra-leftist vitriol.

The National Convention has to be elected on the basis of unlimited, non-racial, adult franchise and be sovereign (ie. having the power to put into practice the constitution it draws up). It must have its meetings in public.

There are several non-negotiable pre-conditions to the National Convention:

a. The suspension and demobilisation of the police and army;

- b. The unbanning of political organisations;
- c. The unconditional release of Nelson Mandela;
- d. The immediate suspension of all racist and unjust laws;
- e. The suspension of the present Constitution.

The National Convention call is not the call for a sit-down with the PW Bothas and the Openheimers. This is the figment of the vivid imaginations of troublemakers like yourselves.

Shiraz Abdulla
Malabar, Port Elizabeth



BAMBATA

The formation of the Native National Congress (now known as the ANC) in 1912 occurred while Bambata's body was not yet cold in his grave. This was a manifestation of a false indication of defeat on the part of the fighting masses of Azania and tried to nullify our gallant efforts at Isandlwana and at Thaba Bosiu, to name but two, and spat on the graves of Geronimo, Makana the left-handed, Shaka ka Zulu and Mgobozi amongst others.

This deliberate white-anting of the liberation struggle continues today. *Frank Talk*, we salute you for your courage in loudly declaring: "DEATH to the National Convention!"

Papela Ntlabati
Bethlehem, Orange Free State

The role of imperialist apologists such as Bishop Tutu, Reverend Allan Boesak and Father Patrick

Smangaliso Mkhathshwa has consistently been to sell the idea of a National Convention and try to foist Yankee values on the Azanian people.

Tutu and Boesak were the front men for the Kennedy extravaganza. They were given as much money, personnel and media backing as Sol Kerzner breaking the cultural boycott in order to foist the "civil rights champion" on the Azanian people and they came unstuck.

A weakness of the Azanian struggle is that we do not keep a record of earlier events. Thus, the fact that Tutu called for a National Convention in 1980 and had a meeting with the Pretoria regime has been forgotten. The fact that Boesak and Mkhathshwa fought hard to create a moderate American-orientated structure called the Black Renaissance Convention in December 1974 when the bulk of the leadership of the Black Consciousness Movement were in detention or banned, has also been obscured.

This classical example of political harlotry in 1974 had this in common with the Kennedy visit: Teddy Kennedy was the first person to send a solidarity message to the Black Renaissance Convention!

We need to be vigilant and to record these and other events in the struggle, for posterity. If we store and circulate this material in our communities, people whose actions amount to outright treason — specifically this unholy trio of clerics — will never be allowed to resurface unscathed after short cycles of disgrace.

John Mbeki
Atteridgeville, Pretoria

National Question

Your article on the National Question *Frank Talk Volume 1 Numbers 2 and 3 at 8ff — EC* does not clarify who constitutes the nation in Azania. The liberation of all the people in Azania is obviously contingent upon the emancipation of the indigenous African. The "Indian" and "Coloured" minorities are merely organic units, appendaged as they are to the indigenous core. They can never be part of white society

nor can they perpetually remain in the vacuous "no-man's land". Therefore, they are neither nations in themselves nor are they capable of becoming nations.

Edgar Calata
Ginsberg, King William's Town

Azania

If Delia Laing (see *Frank Talk* Volume 1 Number 6 — EC) can call "Azania" a slave state, what does she call South Africa?

Shafiek Abrahams
Reiger Park, Boksburg

With regard to the unliberated thinking of one of your readers that Azania is a "slave-name", I am really amused. There are many such people who are proud to be "South Africans", just as some Africans were proud of being "Rhodesians" not so very long ago. Those who oppose the name "Azania" display their own slave mentality. "South Africa" is an imperialist, colonialist settler name stained with the blood of the dispossessed.

Azania is a liberatory name. It is a revolutionary name. It is a patriotic name. It is a name which distinguishes those who are liberated mentally from those who are manipulated by the oppressors and capitalists. The name "Azania" was first used in 60 AD. It has never had a slave connotation either among the ancient Egyptians (who were Black), Greeks or Persians. It is false that "Azania" is a slave-name. Africans were not always slaves — they built such cities as Egyptian Thebes, Nineveh and the Kingdoms of Kush and Nubia and great empires. The humiliation of the African people is of recent times.

The Afro-American scholar Chancellor William, author of *The Destruction of Black Civilisation* hit the nail on the head when he wrote: "What, indeed are Black institutions of learning waiting for ... The young people to show the way? The simple truth is that what is needed ... is active pioneering initiatives ... Black inertia is the main problem. There is still too much dependence on white scholars to do our work for us ... White historians write from the Caucasian viewpoint, and we are naive indeed if we expect

them to do otherwise — all the ballyhoo about their "scientific objectivity" to the contrary notwithstanding."

The ancient Egyptians (They were Black. They were Africans. See *The African Origin of Civilisation — Myth or Reality?* by Professor Cheik Anta Diop) many years ago, described the southern extremities of the continent of Africa as Azania. Azania has enough historical respectability to be officially assumed in the place of the slave racist settler and imperialist name "South Africa" and as someone observed: "Starting as it (Azania) does with the first letter of the alphabet, it would get us up on the roll call list at the United Nations."

It is significant that the name "Azania" is opposed by the so-called "multi-racial" organisations or "progressive" white elements and the racists themselves who do not want us to rediscover ourselves and move rapidly to our national and socialist destiny.

David Dube
Lusaka, Zambia

White Participation

With reference to the letter by Margaret Molete in *Frank Talk* (February/March 1985), I wish to air some views in support of her main thesis.

I will be very brief: to cause disunity among the Black oppressed over a few sympathetic whites is criminal. On the other hand, it may be strategically suicidal to exclude these "sympathetic whites" *per se* in our programme.

In an article entitled "A Cry from the Heart: What Should I Do?", a white South African who, we suspect, is today one of the main gurus in the ANC-SACP, poses the following question:

"Given the facts, the hard facts, of the racial situation as it is, what does the Non-European think an individual European should do about it?" (*Golden City Post* 24 June 1956).

This is a reply which the *Post* never published. It was penned by one of the first generation of political activists in our country, John Gomas. His biography

(which is nearing completion) clearly demonstrates the futility, to put it mildly, of Black-white co-operation (leave alone unity). It took him almost his whole life to realise that the ANC-SACP of which he was a leading member since 1919, could never free us. He died a member of the PAC. His life should be a shining example to liberal, so-called "Black" organisations, particularly here in the Cape. The reply reads:

1. He must study and learn to understand that the white man's government in South Africa since its inception over 300 years ago was, to the Africans and subsequently to all non-whites, a nightmare of destruction to their human dignity and aspirations and that there can be no moral justification whatsoever for its continuance.
2. He must work among the white people to persuade them of the sacred justness of the black man's cause and to convince them that their display or acceptance of the practice of racial hatred against the non-whites are (sic!) irrevocably inhuman;
3. He must not join non-white organisations for history shows in South Africa, without a single exception, that a white man's presence in the same organisation with non-whites propagates and advances the interests and point of view of the whites, destroys the initiative and self-confidence of non-whites and prevents the development of militant black leadership, free from the white man's interests and domination.
4. He must render whatever support and assistance that lies in his power to the non-whites in their struggle towards progress and to the achievement of democracy without seeking any personal aggrandisement or expecting rewards.
5. He must learn to honour and respect the black man of Africa, for he is the harbinger of democracy, progress and peace. The white man's rule in Africa has proved the reverse.

Veronica Weich
Athlone, Cape Town

(*The Black Consciousness Movement did away with the*

derogatory terminology "Non-European" or "non-white" which has the connotation of placing white as the value against which humanity must be tested. The tendency to regard the struggle as a masculine terrain through words such as "Black man" still persists, but with concerted struggle will definitely be weeded out. (EC.)

For the Record

● "... I do not have any regrets about the role I played either at university or later overseas. The one possible exception is that I regret that I could not perhaps have done more."

— Craig Williamson,
Sunday Times 27/1/80

Craig Williamson, a police agent and former higher ranking ANC official, masterminded the International University Exchange Fund's 1978 withdrawal of funds to Black Consciousness groups inside South Africa and a declaration by the IUEF that the ANC was the leader of the struggle for liberation in South Africa (*Voice* 12-19/3/80).

The parcel bomb which killed BCM leader Abraham Tiro in Gaborone, Botswana purportedly came from the IUEF offices in Switzerland. It was sent in the name of Mr Lars-Gunner Eriksson, the then director of the IUEF. Eriksson used to be a member of the International Council of Students, a body which was dissolved when it was exposed to be a CIA creation and front before he joined the IUEF (*Rand Daily Mail* 23/1/80).

Williamson's wife Ingrid, known as "Comrade Ingrid" to the ANC, spoke to the *Rand Daily Mail* of her double life as a secret agent beside her husband. She monitored the activities of the ANC Health Department: the ANC had asked her to specialise in war and disaster medicine and told her that they desperately needed medical people. (*Rand Daily Mail* 6/3/80).

● "The ANC was founded by my uncle, you know. The man who founded it, Dr Prixley ka Seme, was married to my mother's sister. He is not a legend to me."

"I was close to Chief Luthuli right up to the end. I told you earlier that even when he was banned he

used to come to my home at night. Even when he died the ANC abroad asked me to deliver the oration on behalf of Black people.

"When some of you BC people tried to kill me at Sobukwe's funeral, I was not trying to make any mileage out of Sobukwe. I was requested by A.B. Ngcobo, Nana Mahomo and others who were with Sobukwe."

"I don't need to make mileage out of the ANC. I think that the Black people judge me on my own performance."

— Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi in an interview with Joe Thloloe *Post* 19/3/80.

Ag, Shame!

● At an AZAPO mass meeting to commemorate the Uitenhage shootings on 21 March 1985, Mrs Wauchope (now deceased), the mother of AZAPO Secretary General George Wauchope and a leader of Black Women Unite commented on the deaths of about 48 white school children in a bus accident at Westdene: "If it was a soccer match I would say it's a draw!"

● The strategy, said an ANC official, is not yet to attempt a mass arming of the people. "The degree of popular anger is so high", he explained, "that if you armed the people indiscriminately and they took to the streets to avenge months of daily repression, you would create a Frankenstein, because until our movement is unbanned, we will not have all the facilities for sufficient political education."

— *Guardian* 9/10/85

So much for the vanguard leadership of the masses!

● "We, the PFP, have got to push the government in the direction of civilised values and Western thinking... (Parliament) is the institution which will ultimately give franchise rights to blacks."

— Helen Suzman in conversation with Hugh Murray *Leadership* Vol. 5 No. 1, 1986 at 34.

More civilised values and Western thinking will kill us!

● "Yes, I believe COSATU is a socialist organisation and I would like to see a socialist state in

South Africa. I speak of socialism as practised by the Labour Party in England. This country is in a crisis because of capitalism, if we at least nationalised the big firms, then the government could look after its people and the people could look after the government."

"If you read COSATU's preamble it contains five principles. One of them is non-racialism. I would be pleased to see South Africa run by white, green, black, yellow, it makes no difference. That is, I would be pleased to see blacks involved in the administration of the country. I favour a multi-party democracy. I don't want a one-party state. I believe that is dictatorship of the worst kind."

"... I believe in three to four years the South African government is going to collapse. The majority of whites seem to be sick and tired of the National Party and some are beginning to say: 'Please sit down with the black people and negotiate.' This is why I say three to four, maybe five years before the government collapses."

— Elijah Barayi, President of COSATU in conversation with Philip van Niekerk *Leadership* 1986 Vol. 5 No. 1 at 82.

Don't you mean bourgeois democracy?

● "Schools are a site of struggle. We must not surrender this area to the enemy without a fight. If we boycott indefinitely, we'll be giving the schools which belong to us to the enemy."

— *Arise Vukanil*
Vol. 1 No. 6, March 1986

Did we miss something — when did we gain ownership of the schools?

● (A)t Soweto on 27-28 September 1986, a resolution rejecting necklacing as barbaric and counter revolutionary was adopted.

— *Arise Vukanil*
Vol. 2 No. 1 January 1987

Who sets moral standards for the revolution?

● "In South Africa the black education gap was beginning to narrow. Never mind that for years people have been screaming that the education is inferior to that of the whites."

"The fact of the matter is, inferior as it is, the blacks who took advantage of it have not burnt their certificates and folded their arms in despair. Nor do we see them as generals of the 'liberation-now-and-education-later' infantry.

"Instead, they have carried their heads high, using black education as a launching pad to acquire more. We have them as doctors, lawyers and scientists — both inside and outside the country ...

"... (I)t is national suicide to deny youth education, hence the divisions and killings we're experiencing."

— Nomavenda Mathiane "The gathering Tragedy" in *Frontline* Vol. 6 No. 5 September-October 1986 at 12.

"Liberation without education isn't going to be of much use to anyone."

— Helen Suzman in conversation with Hugh Murray *Leadership* Vol. 5 No. 1 at 40.

Surely liberation educates.

● "It is time that ordinary, caring citizens decided to be more forthright in their criticism of what is happening in their name and vigorously *petitioned* the various community and national leaders to put a stop to the chaos before it is too late, before their children become the hopeless lost generation."

— Saths Cooper, ex-President of AZAPO in "The Beirut Option: What sort of madness is this?" *Frontline* September-October '86 Vol. 6 No. 1 at 41.

At the height of the freedom struggle in South Africa, the president of the Azanian People's Organisation resigns from the powerful black consciousness organisation to take up a study grant in America.

— *Leader* 24/10/86

● "We must help to free our women."

— Neville Alexander at the CCAWUSA AGM, 21st September 1986, *Arise Vukani!* Vol. 2 No. 1 January 1987.

Black women can free themselves without your help, thank you, sir.

● Gleb Starushenko, a member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, makes proposals in a report to the Second Soviet-African Conference on Peace, Co-operation and Social Progress which come close to the views of P.W. Botha and his advisors:

1. not to encourage the nationalisation of capitalist property as an indispensable condition;
2. the ANC must work out comprehensive guarantees for the white people;
3. Parliament should consist of two chambers — one formed on the basis of proportional representation and the other possessing the right of veto on the basis of equal representation for all four major racial communities;
4. the post-apartheid state should take the form of a unitary system with autonomous components;
5. the peaceful resolution of conflict may be expedited by resorting to constitutional guarantees.

— Colin Legum "Russian echoes Nat thought" *Sunday Star Review* 25/1/87.

● "IDASA is not competing with any existing democratic organisation or movement. It does not mobilize for support or protest. It is a facilitating institution."

— *IDASA Eastern Cape Perspectives* May 1987 page 2.

Yes, it is facilitating a massive betrayal!

● "Just imagine what will happen if all the seats in the House of Delegates and the House of Representatives are taken over by UDF people. We will then introduce the Freedom Charter and consequently bring about our goal of a free, non-racial, united and democratic society for all South Africans."

— Archibald Jacob Gumede, President of the UDF, *South* July 9-14 1987.

"One of two reasons can make us think in terms of participation in future tricameral elections. Either a total misunderstanding of the role of the tricameral system or a paving of the way for a deal or sell-out."

— Dullah Omar, Chairperson of

the UDF's Western Cape Region in *South* July 16-21 1987.

At NUM's Congress the Witwatersrand Region moved that the Union should take a clear political stand. The Witbank Region proposed an amendment that the Union should adopt the Freedom Charter as the guiding document for the struggle. Before the person who had made the original motion was asked whether he accepted the amendment or not the President (from the chair) sang praises of the Charter. Thereafter he asked whether the amendment was acceptable. The original mover agreed. The Vice President sang further praises of the Charter. He indicated that Nelson Mandela would be unhappy if NUM fails to adopt the Charter and that it would be reactionary to oppose its adoption. He also spoke about the manner in which those who reject the document had been "necklaced". The President noted that many people in the meeting did not know what the Freedom Charter says. He promised that a copy would be made available the following day. He promised further that the Education Department of the Union would teach the workers about the document. People were then asked to vote. Result: an overwhelming majority voted for the adoption of the Freedom Charter.

— from a pamphlet issued by the Azanian Labour Monitoring Group

● "It was all right to do whatever you wanted to detainees as long as you did not unnecessarily kill them."

— Officer in COIN, the Namibian counter-insurgency unit testifying in the trial of Andreas Heita and others.

In an earlier case in which four South African soldiers were accused of torturing a Namibian to death, the South African State President intervened to prevent a trial, on the grounds that the soldiers responsible had acted "in good faith".

— *Amnesty International Newsletter* July 1987 at 8.

**DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING
FOR THE RECORD?
PLEASE DROP US A LINE!**

Footnotes:

Black Solidarity for a Socialist Azania: An Introduction

1. See Quraish Patel "Black Consciousness and the Class Struggle" (April 1981) *Frank Talk* Volume 1 Number 1, page 12. Imrann Moosa in "Workers, Students and the Popular Movement" (5 May 1983) *FTCI* says: "... (I)deology is a complex unity which is produced under specific conditions and which is moulded and remoulded in the process of struggle: indeed, ideology is grounded in *material reality* and is itself a material force. A revolutionary ideology has to emanate from the experiences of the oppressed and the exploited in a society and the kind of oppression and exploitation which they undergo. A revolutionary ideology is, by definition, a dynamic ideology: it must encapsulate the continuous process of change and conflict."
 2. Poled Lectures No. 1: Poled Secretariat, Durban Branch of AZAPO: *FTC IV*: June 1986.
 3. *National Forum* June 1983: page 66.
 4. *Our Urgent Tasks* adopted at Brixton, England on 12th April 1980.
 5. The formulation "scientific socialism" was first used at the National Forum Summit in April 1984. See Michael Tissong, *The Struggle for a Socialist Azania*, AZAPO Council, Houtbosdorp, May 1985: *FTC II*.
 6. Bearing in mind that the BPC operated under conditions making it impossible for it to spell this out.
 7. Adopted in 1975.
 8. See the *Position Paper* on page 22 of this issue.
 9. This subject deserves detailed treatment on its own. Aubrey Mokwena, a former SASO leader and UDF executive member, suggests that the UDF is the true inheritor of the SASO tradition: see *Black Consciousness in Perspective* (1983) *FTC VII*. Frank Chikane maintains that BC is merely a means to the end of a non-racial society, and a necessary "stage of development" for Black people: see Jeremy Cronin and Raymond Suttner (eds): *30 Years of the Freedom Charter*: (1986) Ravan at 235 ff and also the views of Mosiuoa Patrick "Terror" Lekota at 196 ff. Mokgethi Motlhabi *Black Resistance to Apartheid* (1984) Skotaville at 276 states that the general tendency in the UDF is to say that BC has "served its purpose".
 10. Duncan Innes: *Anglo American and the Rise of Modern South Africa* (1984) Ravan at 70.
 11. The defining characteristics of the labour process under conditions of superexploitation are:
 - a. Lower wages, substantially longer working hours and a significantly higher intensity of work per hour than prevail for comparable activities in the advanced countries.
 - b. Part of the costs of sustaining and reproducing this capitalist wage labour is borne by pre- or non-capitalist relations of production.
 - c. The workforce is subjected to extra-economic coercion which enhances the appropriation of surplus value.
 12. David Kaplan: "The Current 'Upswing' in the South African Economy and the International Capitalist Crisis: A Re-Interpretation of South African Development": 16 *WIP Supplement* (February 1981) at 6.
 13. In the Southern African Development Co-Ordination Conference. South Africa produces 77% of the total gross domestic product in Southern Africa, 90% of the energy, three quarters of the coal, iron, wheat, maize and electricity and controls 90% of the military network.
 14. The South African economy has moved into a recovery phase comparable to "the 1977-81 period" where "the scenario was similar": *Takeover Talk* (July 1987) Comment at 14.
 15. Howard Barrell: "Soviet Policy in Southern Africa" 48 *WIP* 3 (July 1987) at 4. See also "Soviet academic wants a 'pink South Africa'" *Natal Mercury* August 31, 1987.
 16. Clem Sunter: *The World and South Africa in the 1990's* (1987) Human & Rousseau at 111. See also Leon Louw and Frances Kendall: *South Africa: the Solution* (1986) Amagi at 200 ff. Heribert Adam and Kogila Moodley *South Africa without Apartheid: Dismantling Racial Discrimination* (1986) Maskew Miller submit at 263 that the dismantling of apartheid "will have to be followed by the creation of a true social democracy if South African capitalism does not want to drown in the wake of the inevitable post-apartheid aspirations."
- In our view, a National Convention is a *last resort* for the white ruling class and its imperialist masters.
17. "The National Question" *Frank Talk* Volume 1 Numbers 2 & 3 at 8ff. Paper delivered by Imrann Moosa: Lenasia: 1984: *FTC I*.
 18. Buti Thlagale: "BC in the Labour Force": April 1981: *FTC I*.
 19. See note 17 above.
 20. *Frank Talk* Volume 1 Number 1 at 23.
 21. *Racialism* refers to attitudes, behaviour and "race relations"; "racism" is the systematization of these into an explicit ideology of racial superiority and their institutionalisation in the state apparatus.
 22. W.D. Jordan: *White over Black: American Attitudes towards the Negro 1550-1812*: Penguin Books: Baltimore: 1969 at 20.
 23. See note 19 above.
 24. Walter Rodney: "Marxism in Africa" *FTC II*.
 25. In *Ujamaa - Essays on Socialism* Dar es Salaam 1969 President Nyerere, erstwhile President of Tanzania, wrote:

"African socialism did not start from the existence of conflicting 'classes' in society... The foundation and the objective of African socialism is the extended family. The true African socialist does not look at one class of men as his brethren and another as his natural enemy. He does not form an alliance with the 'brethren' for the extermination of the non-brethren"
 26. 'A Look at the Manifesto' *New Nation*: 1987.
 27. See note 15 above. Cf Alec Erwin "The Question of Unity in the Struggle" (September 1985) *SALB* Volume 11 No. 1 at 51ff and Jeremy Cronin "The Question of Unity: A Reply" (January 1986) *SALB* Volume 11 No. 3 at 31ff.
 28. *News and Letters* 22 May 1987.
 29. S.C. Nolutshungu: *Changing South Africa: Political Considerations*: (1983) David Philip at 116.
 30. *Op cit* 123.
 31. *Op cit* 124.
 32. *Op cit* 82.
 33. The Black petit bourgeoisie can be broken up into:
 - a) Bureaucratic petit bourgeoisie ie. government employees;
 - b) Upper traditional petit bourgeoisie ie. big traders and professionals;
 - c) Lower traditional petit bourgeoisie ie. small traders;
 - d) Upper new petit bourgeoisie ie. managers in big businesses;
 - e) Lower new petit bourgeoisie ie. nurses, teachers, laboratory assistants, trade union organisers, etc.See Tissong *op cit* 3 and Khangale Makhado "Black Consciousness as a Driving Force" (January 1981) *FTC I*.
 34. Pamphlet issued by the Azanian Labour Monitoring Group: (July 1987) *FTC II*.
 35. H. Simson "The Myth of the White Working Class in South Africa": *African Review* Volume 4 Number 2 (Summer 1974).
 36. Quoted in E.N. Katz *A Trade Union Aristocracy* (1976) African Studies Institute, University of the Witwatersrand at 77.
 37. Andrew Kenny "White Revolution" in *Frontline* (June 1987) at 33. See also Tissong *op cit* 5.
 38. A. Sivanandan "Race, Caste and Class in South Africa" *Frank Talk* Volume 1 Number 5 at 27ff.
 39. Steven Friedman: *Building Tomorrow Today*: (1987) Ravan at 8.
 40. Harald Pakendorf: "Yes, we should be applauding this strike, not regretting it!" *Sunday Times* 16th August 1987. In the end, NUM settled for the Chamber of Mine's pre-strike offer, and described the three week walkout as a "dress rehearsal for further action": see "Miners go back as massive strike ends" *Daily News* 31 August 1987.
 41. Julie Vedan: "Trade Union Unity" (June 1984) *FTC V*. See also Don Ncube *Black Trade Unions in South Africa* (1985) Skotaville and Merle Lipton *Capitalism and Apartheid* (1986) David Philip.
 42. ie. Anglo American, Sanlam, Volkskas, Rembrandt, S.A. Mutual and Anglovaal. Mc Gregor's *Who Owns Whom* (Juta) 1987. *Takeover Talk* July 1987 (Activity) records that Rembrandt has paid R32,5m to make its shareholding in Volkskas stand at 25,4%.
 43. See note 3 above.
- ### Black Theology: Opiate or Material Force
1. Dr. Takatso Mofokeng: "The Evolution of the Black Struggle and the Role of Black Theology" in *The Unquestionable Right to be Free*: I. Mosala and B. Tihagale (eds.) (Skotaville) Page 114.
 2. Dr. Itumeleng Mosala: "The Use of the Bible in Black Theology" *op cit* page 176.
 3. William R. Jones: "Liberation Strategies in Black Theology: Mao, Martin or Malcolm?" in *The Chicago Theological Seminary Register* Volume LXXXIII Number 1.
 4. Dr. Alan Boesak: *Farewell to Innocence*: Orbis Books: 1977.
 5. Bishop A. Zulu.
 6. Dr. Simon Gqubule: "What is Black Theology" in *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* No. 8 September 1978 page 22.
 7. Sergio Rostagno: "The Bible: Is an Interclass Reading Legitimate?" in *The Bible and Liberation* Norman K. Gottwald page 63.
 8. Dr. A. Boesak: *Black and Reformed*: (Skotaville): 1984 page 24.
 9. Dr. A. Boesak: *Farewell to Innocence*: (Orbis): 1977 page 10.

The Revolutionary Upsurge





Steve Biko . . . a typical expression . . . a good listener . . . a marvellous sense of humor . . . a dedicated political leader.

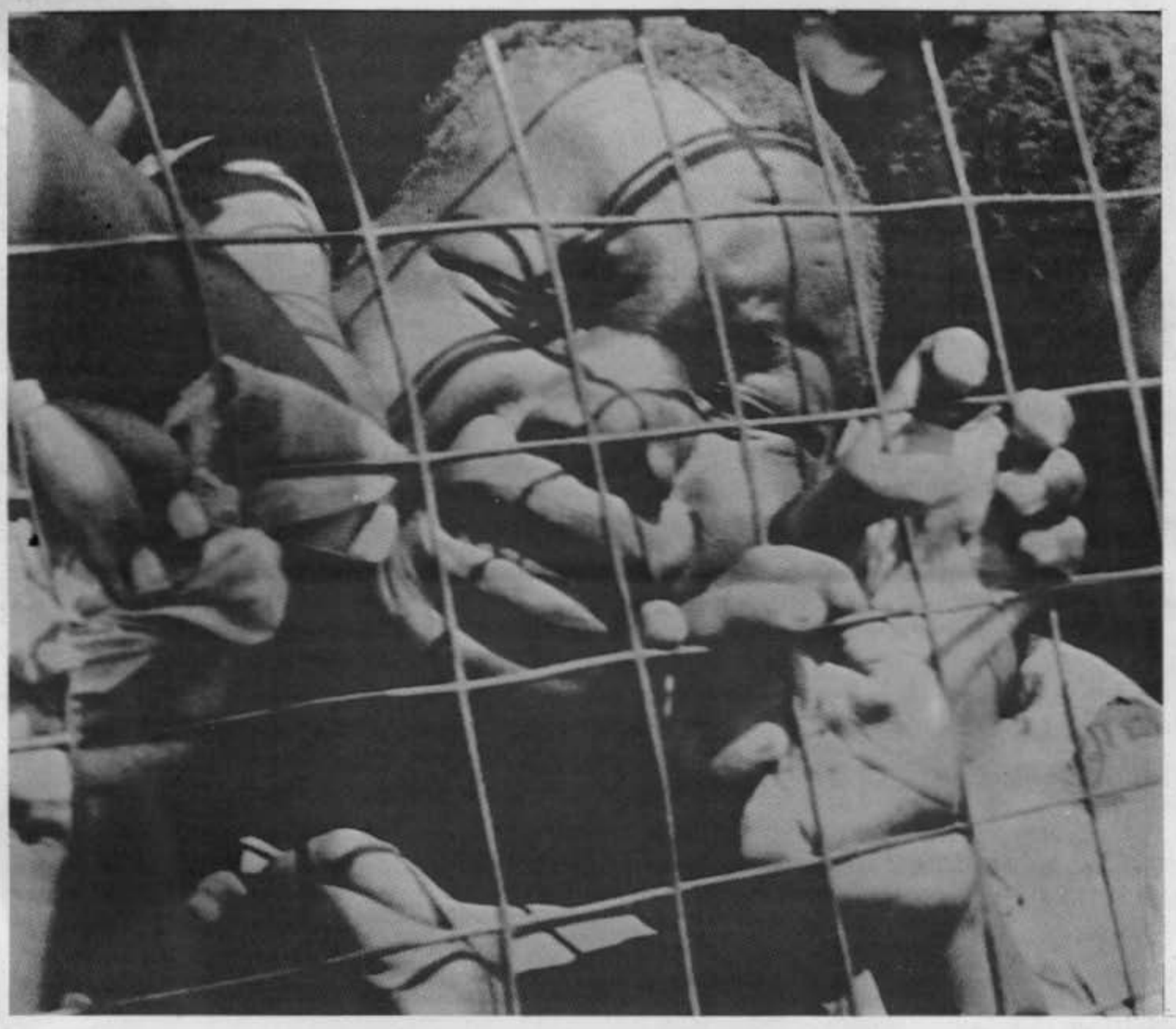
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VOLUME 3

1989/90

PRETORIASTROIKA



Monday 12 February 1990: A child screams in pain as he is crushed against the fence at Orlando Stadium Soweto by the crowd which had gathered to wait for Nelson Mandela to address them.

Who Benefits?

DEDICATION

This issue is dedicated to Comrade Sonwabo "Paper" Ngxale, 1985-86 Regional Chairperson of AZAPO (Eastern Cape). Comrade Ngxale wrote as follows to *Frank Talk* on 7 July 1985 about the AZAPO-UDF clashes:

"The gravity of the situation cannot be recorded with a pencil but can only be understood when you live in constant fear of being executed. It can only be understood when one takes into account the loss of life and property accompanying the feud. What is left for you and I is to make the sacrifices of all those who paid the supreme price to see AZAPO surviving worthwhile."

"DEATH TO THE NATIONAL CONFUSION MOVEMENT!!!"

On 5 August 1986, Comrade Ngxale joined the ranks of those who paid that supreme price. While the circumstances of his death are a mad commentary on our imperial times, in his death he bequeaths a legacy to the living: we should never do to ourselves what the enemy would do to us. Death to the National Confusion Movement!!!

FRANK TALK is an annual journal published by the **FRANK TALK EDITORIAL COLLECTIVE** ("the EC")

is open to all those on the same side of the ramparts against settler colonialism, imperialism and reaction and who are committed to the realisation of an antiracist, socialist Azania.

promises to be the most ruthless dissector of the records of the Azanian people and their struggle for liberation.

is a forum for the exchange of views amongst the oppressed people in Azania.

makes known the views of the oppressed and exploited on matters affecting them in Azania.

contributes to the development of the **BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS (BC)** ideology in Azania.

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LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER

26 August 1989

Frank Talk has not appeared since September 1987 *inter alia* due to severe media restrictions, lack of financial support and lack of co-operation from numerous contributors. This publication, bumper issue though it is, has only been made financially feasible by our comrades in the Fingerprint Co-operative.

It is because of the very real problems that *Frank Talk* has experienced that the EC has agonized on the frequency of the publication and has decided to publish annually. We are quite sure that, after reading this issue of *Frank Talk*, you will agree that the publication is worth the wait!

The EC has been gratified by the tremendous response to the last issue in the form of letters to our "Frankly Speaking" column. Keep those letters rolling in – we enjoy the feedback!

The response to our request for financial aid was less than overwhelming. Comrades, we depend on you to keep the publication alive: we believe that you agree that it is worth keeping alive.

Flowing from the last Letter we wrote to you (12 September 1987), we wish to report that Comrade Patrick Moodly, our Resources Director, succeeded in his claim for damages against Vlok as a result of his unlawful arrest and detention. Our argument for the unbanning of *Azanian Focus* Volume 1 Number 5 was less successful, however: it was rejected by the Publications Appeal Board.

We are writing to you on Namibia Day, a day commemorated by Namibians ever since the burial of Chief Samuel Maharero – who led the Herero people during the Battle of Hamakari against the German colonialists – on 26 August 1923. By sheer historical coincidence, the first armed encounter between SWAPO and the South African colonialists took place at Omgulumbashe on Namibia Day 1966.

On 30 January 1976 (Resolution 385) and 29 September 1978 (Resolution 435), the UN adopted a neo-colonial recipe for the "resolution" of the Namibian problem. This was amplified by the "Principles concerning the Constituent Assembly and the Constitution of an Independent Namibia" adopted on 12 July 1982 and the "Agreement on the Electoral System" adopted on 29 November 1985. The 1982 agreement provides that "the primary responsibility for maintaining law and order in Namibia during the transition period shall rest with the existing police forces." The Resolutions and agreements are notoriously silent about the murderous SWATF and Koevoet forces, the status of Walvis Bay and South Africa's economic domination of Namibia.

In early 1981 a secret meeting was held between US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker and South Africa's foreign minister, Pik Botha together with its defence minister, Magnus Malan. A US government "Memorandum of Conversation" was leaked to an anti-apartheid organisation a short while later.

It reads:

"Top US priority is to stop Soviet encroachment in Africa. US wants to work with SAG (South African Government), but ability to deal with Soviet presence severely impeded by Namibia . . ."

"Crocker addressed Botha's fears and concerns by first accepting the premise that Soviet domination is the danger. But US believes best way to avoid that danger is to get Namibia issue behind us. As long as issue subsists, we cannot reach a situation where US can engage with South Africa in security framework. If Namibia continues, it will open south/central Africa to the Soviets. Simmering conflict in Namibia is not acceptable. The ideas US has in mind don't include Soviets in Windhoek. We believe we can get the Soviets out of Angola, and provide a guarantee of security whether Nujoma wins or not."

Between October 1987 and June 1988, Africa witnessed the fiercest conventional battles fought on her soil since Erwin Rommel was defeated at El Amien.

During August 1987, MPLA forces launched a major assault against the city of Mavinga, a UNITA stronghold. Only a massive intervention by SADF saved UNITA. The MPLA forces retreated to Cuito Cuanavale. When SADF and UNITA launched a major assault on Cuito, Cuban forces intervened to save the MPLA from defeat. The attack on Cuito Cuanavale developed into a long siege. But SADF lost the battle and, for the first time ever, reported large numbers of casualties among its white troops. SADF was in such a desperate position that State President P W Botha had to fly to the war zone when its operational command broke down. The mystique of white superiority, interwoven as it is with South Africa's fetishism with weapons, received a crushing contemporary defeat.

In May 1988 a Soviet diplomat stationed in Angola said "We want to clean house. In the area of regional conflicts, we are in favour of political solutions." On 15 November 1988, South African, Angolan and Cuban officials meeting in Geneva reached agreement on the conditions for the withdrawal of Cuban soldiers from Namibia in the "Principles for a Peaceful Settlement in South-western Africa". The people of Namibia were excluded from agreements reached about their future.

Soviet moves in Angola and Namibia are part of the overall political and military adjustments that Gorbachev has been pushing internationally. This does *not* mean that the Soviets are pulling out of all the drawn-out conflicts they are involved in. Rather, they are trying to "clean house" in Angola and make a few tactical adjustments in order to strengthen their ability to contend with the rival Western empire.

For South Africa and the USA, Mavinga and Cuito Cuanavale also highlighted Napoleon's warning: "One can do anything with bayonets but sit on them." Erich Leistner in a paper presented at the Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung on the topic "Namibia between the need for development and independence" (28-30 November 1988) names some of these considerations:

- * a growing restiveness among white South Africans about the lengthening casualty lists from a distant war;
- * the costs of the conflict in Namibia at a time when fiscal constraints are imposing an ever-mounting burden on the South African public;
- * the South African Air Force's loss of air superiority over Angola;
- * the indications that the interim government of Namibia would probably not win the political fight against SWAPO;
- * the approaching end of the Reagan Administration in the USA, and the prospects of tighter sanctions under any possible successor; and
- * the Soviet Union's declared desire to settle regional conflicts through negotiations.

The US/South African manoeuvres are based on an attempt to take advantage of the Soviet Union's adjustments in order to push Western interests forward. They are giving nothing away in adopting the UN Plan: even if SWAPO manages to get a two thirds majority, Namibia will remain under firm Western control.

It is only the masses of people united in action and clear on their goal of creating a world without oppression and exploitation who can change the direction of history, who can rise above imperialist "deals" and "negotiated settlements" to real freedom!

Yours for Azania
THE PUBLISHER

ABBREVIATIONS USED

AIDS Acquired Immuno-Deficiency Syndrome
 ANC African National Congress of South Africa
 ARDs Asbestos Related Diseases
 AWB Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging
 AZACCO Azanian Co-ordinating Committee
 AZANLA Azanian National Liberation Army
 AZANYU Azanian National Youth Unity
 AZAPO Azanian People's Organisation
 AZASM Azanian Student Movement
 AZASO Azanian Student's Organisation
 BAMCWU Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers' Union
 BAWU Black Allied Workers' Union
 BC Black Consciousness
 BCM Black Consciousness Movement
 BCM(A) Black Consciousness Movement of Azania
 BCP Black Community Programmes
 BGM Biennial General Meeting
 BLA Black Lawyer's Association
 BPC Black People's Convention
 BSS Black Student's Society
 BT Black Theology
 CAL Cape Action League
 CDF Conference for a Democratic Future
 CCAWUSA Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union of South Africa
 CIA Central Intelligence Agency
 COMECON Council for Mutual economic Aid
 COSATU Congress of South African Trade Unions
 CP Conservative Party
 CPP Convention People's Party
 DCs Developing Countries
 DKG Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft für Südwestafrika
 DP Democratic Party
 DTA Democratic Turnhalle Alliance
 EC Editorial Collective
 ECC End Conscription Campaign
 FFF Five Freedoms Forum

FRELIMO Front for the Liberation of Mozambique
 GATT General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs
 GEFCOR Griqualand Exploration and Finance Company
 GNP Gross National Product
 HNP Herstigte Nasionale Party
 ICJ International Commission of Jurists
 IDASA Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa
 IMF International Monetary Fund
 JLP Jamaican Labour Party
 KOMSOMOL Communist Youth
 LCDs Less Developed Countries
 LRA Labour Relations Act
 LRAA Labour Relations Amendment Act
 MPLA Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola
 MRC Medical Research Council
 NACTU National Council of Trade Unions
 Nadel National Association of Democratic Lawyers
 NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
 NAYO National Youth Organisation
 NDM National Democratic Movement
 NEP New Economic Policy
 NF National Forum
 NNF Namibia National Front
 NP Nationalist Party
 NPSL National Professional Soccer League
 NSC National Sports Congress
 NUSAS National Union of South African Students
 OAU Organisation of African Unity
 OPEC Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Companies
 OPO Ovamboland People's Organisation
 PAC Pan Africanist Congress of Azania
 PAIGC African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde
 P.F. Patriotic Front
 PCP Communist Party of Peru
 PLAN People's Liberation Army of Namibia

PLO Palestine Liberation Organisation
 PNC People's National Congress
 PNP People's National Party
 RTC Rio Tinto Zinc
 SACC South African Council of Churches
 SACOS South African Council on Sport
 SADF South African Defence Force
 SAIRR South African Institute of Race Relations
 SALDRU South African Labour Development Research Unit
 SALT Strategic Arms Limitations Talks
 SANSCO South African National Students Congress
 SARU South African Rugby Union
 SASO South African Student's Organisation
 SDI Strategic Defence Initiative
 SWAPO South West African People's Organisation
 SWATF South West African Territory Force
 TB Tuberculosis
 TUC Trade Union Congress
 TLV Threshold Limitation Value
 UDF United Democratic Front
 UN United Nations
 UNIA Universal Negro Improvement Association
 UNTAG United Nations Transitional Assistance Group
 UNITA National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
 US(A) United States (of America)
 USSR Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
 UWCO United Womens' Congress
 WPCOS Western Province Council on Sport
 ZANLA Zimbabwean National Liberation Army
 ZANU Zimbabwe African National Union
 ZAPU Zimbabwe Africa People's Union
 ZIPA Zimbabwe People's Army
 ZIPRA Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army



**Chief Samuel Maharero
(1854 - 1923)**



October 1987. Plan Commander spells out details of South African Military vehicle captured at Okanghudi, northern Namibia.



Sweating it out: Martti Ahtisaari, UN special representative on Namibia arrives at Windhoek on March 31, 1989.

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Jay Naidoo, September 1989



Durban March, 22 September 1989

Friday 22 September 1989: A crowd of some 20 000 people marched through the streets of Durban and converged on the City Hall. Amongst the many flags, placards and banners displayed, one could not miss the backdrop when Jay Naidoo, the Secretary General of COSATU exhorted people to imbibe the new spirit of *glasnost* that "Comrade" Gorbachev has bequeathed to humanity. Unfurled there was a flag displaying the green, black and gold of the ANC and yet another flag which stood proudly yet silently, a flag whose simple message spells death to the forces of reaction. With a gold background and a five pointed red star, the words "REVOLUTION – THE HOPE OF THE HOPELESS" were emblazoned in black. Needless to say, this flag emanated from the BCM.

The "marches to freedom" mark the debut of the new South African State President, F W de Klerk. Somewhere amongst the flowers being handed out by the police force during the Johannesburg march (15 September 1989), people began to forget that

the occasion for the initial march in Cape Town (13 September 1989) was the cold-blooded murder of an unknown tally of Azanians on 6 September 1989. But it was not long before F W de Klerk brought everyone back to reality – with a jolt! At Pretoria on 23 September 1989, the fascist AWB held a rally chanting slogans such as "Hang Mandela!" and responded to a call to attack "baboons" ie Black onlookers. Instead of any action being taken against the AWB, hundreds of Black activists were arrested and a march by Black women to the Union Building was aborted by the police.

Buzzwords like "negotiations", "reconciliation", "justice", "dialogue", "minority rights", "guarantees" and "peace" abound in occupied Azania today – as also in occupied Palestine and occupied Eritrea. These buzzwords are uttered by agents of the ruling class, yet they attempt to obscure the simple truth that Azania was lost ON THE BATTLEFIELD and to divert our struggle in the direction that Chissano (now President of Mozam-

bique) announced that it belonged at the time the Nkomati Accords were signed – the direction of civil rights.

At a massive "Viva Namibia" Rally held on Namibia Day, 1989 (YMCA, Durban) Dr Aubrey Mokoape gave his working definition of "negotiated settlement" viz "to tie the oppressed people in knots until we don't know whether we are coming or going." He emphasized that talk of negotiated settlements only starts when "people's power is rising".

Mokoape said that while good leadership is necessary, leadership must at all times be accountable. Thus "if a leader makes an about turn, he turns alone." The two basic tenets for real struggle are to "banish fear" and to "learn what the other side is doing".

While the OAU, the UN and the Frontline States are quite free to give advice to the liberation movement in Azania, they must never be allowed to "dictate to us about our struggle."

In defining under what conditions it might be possible to talk to an

enemy, Mokoape spelt them out as follows:

1. the morale of the enemy must be at a low ebb with no motivation on their part to continue the fight,
2. there must be significant divisions in the ranks of the enemy (while there are superficial divisions between the HNP, AWB, CP, NP and DP, "one pities the poor white voter" because all these groupings are to the "right of centre", indeed "on the outer half of the right spectrum"),
3. the economy must be collapsing or must have collapsed,
4. the enemy's war machinery must be exhausted,
5. the enemy must be unable to govern in certain significant portions of the land which constitute "liberated zones" or "no go areas" and.
6. The initiative must rest decisively with the oppressed people.

Similarly, Mokoape defined the objective conditions which must exist amongst the oppressed people as well. These include:

1. the people must be highly organized, politicized and conscientized such that they are able to operate as single units,
2. there must be a significant amount of unity amongst the oppressed people such that they can act with purpose and act together. Work must be done now to prevent the tribal schisms and post-independence fratricide of tomorrow and
3. there must be a unified and *militant* political agenda which is fully publicized and well-known. No pussyfooting set of demands must be allowed.

Mokoape garnered two vital lessons from the Namibian experience: one is the determination of the masses to wage unrelenting struggle while the

other is that the imperialists will do their utmost to muddle up the path to genuine liberation.

We in *Frank Talk* wish to add that the position of the BCM on the National Convention is well documented, having been re-assessed after the signing of the Nkomati Accords. (see *National Forum* July 1984) The original AZAPO position (arrived at in 1980) was jettisoned at the 1984 Edendale Conference. Interestingly enough, the 1980 AZAPO position was eagerly snatched up by the Charterist Movement and barring the demand for the return of all occupied soil, it was adopted by them.

We also wish to place it on record that we do not accept the right of any component of the liberation movement to arrogate to itself the title of the sole and authentic "mass democratic movement."

Having said this, we commend the BCM for participating both in the various marches and in other initiatives. Some comrades do not like to dwell on difficulties, they prefer the luxury of "armchairology" thinly disguised as a policy of "non-collaboration" and "non-recognition". But difficulties are facts: we must recognize difficulties, analyze them and combat them. There are few straight roads in the world; we must be prepared to follow a road which twists and turns and not get things on the cheap. It must not be imagined that one glorious morning all the reactionaries will go down on their knees of their own accord. By uniting with the people in a common effort, we can certainly overcome all difficulties and win victory.

The greatest danger for a revolutionary movement - which was vividly illustrated by the 1984 Rand Revolt in Azania - is the failure to grasp and even recognize that a revolutionary situation is developing or has developed. Lenin's statement is still the beacon in this regard. A revolutionary situation exists, remarked Lenin, when:

1. the masses of people are unable and unwilling to go on living in



Dr. Aubrey Mokoape

the same old way,

2. the ruling classes find themselves unable to go on *ruling* in the same old way and
3. there is a *vanguard* with the ability, with the programme, with the ties with the masses and with the organisational as well as the ideological basis for making revolution.

What Azania is presently going through is intense imperialist manoeuvring. The article by Jeff Dumo Baqwa entitled "Containment of the Azanian Revolution" (pg. 15) exposes the grand scheme behind the promotion of the "negotiated settlement" idea. Our "For the Record" column brings you two documents, the one being the AZACCO Open Letter to the "Congress of the People" called by COSATU, while the other is the speech the BCM intended to deliver at the Workers' Summit which was restricted by Pretoria (26 Aug. 1989).

On 3 February 1985, *City Press* quoted an ANC spokesperson as saying "We have always been prepared to talk. Our willingness to talk is history itself. We only resorted to the armed struggle because we had nobody to talk to." The hoopla about the release of ANC political prisoners and the promotion of F W de Klerk as South Africa's Gorbachev fit into

QUOTE

Daring – the daring to seize the future out of the most tumultuous and wrenching conditions – must always be our credo.

the general project of containment of the revolution.

Talking about Gorbachev, Makhaye's article "Gorbachev – Soul of Capital Personified" contains many interesting insights and is particularly noteworthy for its analysis of the Soviet Union as a social-imperialist country. It comes as no surprise that Steven Friedman and Monty Narsoo report in *A New Mood in Moscow: Soviet Attitudes to South Africa* (SAIRR: 1989) that Soviet policies towards Pretoria "are no longer cast in stone" as "Moscow would support a settlement which did not install a socialist government, and which might well include guarantees for minorities". (pgs 26f)

Of course, the "new political thinking" in the Soviet Union is that Lenin's classification of wars for national liberation as "just wars" was "misleading" in the words of Dr Victor Kremenyuk, section head of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the US and Canada. Soviet policy now concentrates on Eastern Europe's integration into Western Europe to form "our common European home" extending from the "Atlantic to the Ural Mountains."

Challenging this pan-Europeanism, Pedro Hospital of Angola wrote as follows to the Soviet magazine *New Times*: "Why is it that the security of Europe – 'from the Atlantic to the Urals' – gets most of your attention? What about the rest of the world? Doesn't it exist at all? Or is it that the need for security in Asia, Africa and Latin America is less than in Europe? I do not think that the situation in these regions is any better. Who, for example, suffers and dies in the Iran-Iraq war? The citizens of NATO or the Warsaw Pact countries? But people are being killed there. Or doesn't the war industry of racist South Africa or Brazil play any role at all in the balance

of forces in the world?"

The waves of unrest in the Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Latvia, Nagorno-Karabakh, Armenia, Lithuania, Moldavia, Estonia and Uzbekistan amongst others underline Russian chauvinism and domination over the Soviet Union and put *perestroika* into irreversible crisis.

Our analysis "Black Solidarity for a Socialist Azania – an Introduction" provoked intense debate, as is evident from our letters column and from Nkrumah's "Rejoinder to Rodney". We have pleasure in publishing Walter Rodney's piece "Marxism in Africa" and a refurbished version of Imrann Moosa's speech "One Base, Two Superstructures". Both articles seem to be undergirded by the belief that "There is no socialism after liberation: socialism is the process through which liberation is won" in Sivanandan's haunting phrase.

We are certain that you will agree that this issue contains a veritable treasure trove of ideas which ought to fuel debate for some time to come. There is Robert Fatton's Gramscian analysis of the pre-1977 BCM (pg. 39), Siphon Buthelezi's argument that Resolution 435 guarantees that Namibia will remain a colony of South Africa and the

West (pg. 10), Gomolemo Mokae's analysis of the anti-asbestos campaign (pg. 62), Fatima Meer's outline of the role of so-called "Indians" within the oppressed community, Patrick Moodly's "Welcome to the *Shabab!*" and very provocative analyses which accompany various Position Papers: on BT (pg. 95), on the Azanian sports scene (pg. 85) and on Pan Africanism and BC (pg. 89). Our Bookshelf column is no less provocative: we have Nyide's analysis of ZANLA and Maoism (pg. 96), Thusi's analysis of Language Policy in a Free Azania (pg. 104) and Mafora's views on the new look *Staffrider* (pg. 110). On language policy, Nomavenda Mathiane in *Frontline* Volume 9 Number 1 (September 1989) believes that "Whatever the rights and wrongs, the war is already won. English will be the undisputed *lingua franca* in South Africa within a few years, and many of us may still see the day when it becomes the home language of most of the population." (pg. 9)

A treat for our readers is the tribute to Martyr Peter Gabriel Tosh. Peter showed us that there is movement forward, but every step requires negotiating a minefield of contradictions. Peter's preferred mode of transportation was rather precarious – a tall unicycle! Peter rode it expertly – on stage, down hotel corridors and across bridges.

Above all, Peter taught us that daring – the daring to seize the future out of the most tumultuous and wrenching conditions – must always be our credo. ■



Constable David Botha: Johannesburg

VIVA NAMIBIA

by Siphon Buthelezi

Siphon Buthelezi; a member of the BCM(A) and a lecturer at the University of Zimbabwe analyzes the "independence" offered by UN Resolution 435 and concludes that Namibia remains a colony of South Africa and the West.

By 1903, more than half the herds previously owned by the Herero people, who lived in the central areas of Namibia, had passed into the hands of the settlers. Many Afri-

cans, whose traditional means of production and livelihood had been ruthlessly undermined, were forced to take up wage labour for the colonists, usually on a temporary or migrant basis.



GENOCIDE

In January 1904, provoked by the continuing expropriation of their land – the principal means of production – the Herero rose against German colonialism. Lacking sophisticated and modern weaponry and unable to move quickly because of their large herds of cattle, the Namibians were defeated and driven eastwards into the waterless Kgalagadi desert.

In August, the Nama, who lived mainly in the south of the country, joined the anti-colonial war under the

ministration itself to take a commanding role in creating a colonial economy. In a series of military campaigns (1890-96) it set up a network of army and police posts throughout the south and centre of the country up to the border of Ovamboland. It seized every possible pretext to expropriate land for settler farms. The colonial forces of repression were on hand to enforce every fraudulent land or trading deal as a motley collection of immigrants – subsidised settlers, ex-soldiers, traders and Boers – siphoned the economic lifeblood from the Herero and Nama people. In order to service its economic and military objectives, the German colonial administration built a network of roads, railways, harbours and communications.

The overall strategy of the German colonial regime was to reproduce German society in Africa by creating a colony of European settlement. Paul Rohrbach, chairperson of the Settlement in Commission, spelt out with brutal frankness its implications for the Namibian people:

"The decision to colonise in Southern Africa means nothing else than that the native tribes must withdraw from the lands on which they have pastured their cattle and so let the white man pasture his cattle on these self-same lands. If the moral rights of this standpoint are questioned the answer is that for people of the cultural standard of the Southern African natives, the loss of their natural barbarism and the development of a class of workers in the service of and dependent on whites is above all a law of survival of the highest order."

"... The mass of the petty bourgeoisie will as long as possible remain hesitant, undecided and inactive, and then as soon as the issue has been decided, will seize victory for themselves, will call upon the workers to maintain tranquility and return to their work, will guard against so-called excesses and bar the Proletariat from the fruits of victory." [MARX AND ENGELS, London, 1850]

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The occupation of Namibia at the end of the 19th century took place at the threshold of a new epoch of monopoly capitalism, imperialism. Historically, German imperialism was a late-comer in the scramble for colonies. For a considerable period of time after imperialist Germany had formally declared a Protectorate (euphemism for 'colony') over Namibia in 1884, German capitalists displayed little interest in the new territory which their government had secured for them to exploit.

At first, the German imperialists left Namibia entirely in the hands of a monopoly company, the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft für Südwestafrika (DKG). The DKG, a joint stock company, was one of the early tools of primitive accumulation of capital, characterised by conquest, plunder and dispossession as well as the exploitation of the colonized population. In the case of Namibia this monopoly concern remained virtually inactive, as did the multitude of speculative 'concession' companies which mushroomed in the 1890s when the imperialist authorities lost patience and broke the DKG's monopoly.

The inactivity of the 'concession' companies prompted the colonial ad-

leadership of Hendrik Witbooi. By adopting guerilla tactics, a Nama commando under Jacob Morenga was able to continue fighting until 1906.

The German colonial authorities, determined to wipe out resistance, resorted to genocide, poisoning waterholes and machine-gunning displaced people. Through such barbaric methods they reduced the population of central and southern Namibia by more than half. Survivors were forced into prison labour camps on the coast, where thousands more died. The societies in central and southern Namibia were devastated. Legislation was introduced depriving Africans of the right to own land or cattle.



COLONIAL EXPLOITATION

It nevertheless took the considerable resources of German colonialism in Namibia to subjugate the Herero and Nama, and the densely populated north was never conquered but left under the control of independent African kingdoms. Through economic coercion, the German colonialists were able to secure migrant labour from these areas. Between 1907 and 1910, the migrant labour force stood at 6 000.

Migrant workers were kept under severe control and isolated in barrack-like compounds. The exploitation of their labour power was maximised by keeping wages very low – in 1913 the wage bill of the diamond companies amounted to a mere 2 percent of the value of diamonds mined.

Workers on settler farms were kept in conditions of virtual slavery. They were unpaid, and a survey conducted in 1912 revealed that on most farms the food rationed to workers was inadequate to sustain them and their families. Settlers were legally empowered to administer corporal punishment to workers, who were often flogged to the point of death.

In 1913 the authorities began to set up 'reserves' on state-owned farms in order to restrict Namibians to small areas and to ensure a supply of labour.

By the time the imperialist war of 1914 to 1918 broke out, the basic structure of what has been called the 'apartheid system' in Namibia was already well established. The basic features of this harsh colonial system were to change little in the following decades.

SOUTH AFRICAN INVASION: THE NEW COLONIALISTS

In 1915 the South African colonial army invaded German South West Africa (Namibia) at the behest of British imperialism and the territory was placed under the control of a South African military governor.

At the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, the colonies of defeated imperialist Germany were placed under the authority of Britain, France or their allies, under a mandate system administered by the League of Nations. "Full powers of administration and legislation" over Namibia, were conferred on the British crown, "for and on behalf of the Union of South Africa."

As German imperialist rule collapsed, South African colonization was opposed by Namibians. African leaders sent messages to the UN detailing

oppressive conditions and demanding that their country be granted its independence or placed under international control. In the 1950s the first Namibian representatives were able to speak to the UN and messages were smuggled out of the country by Andimba Toivo ja Toivo and other young leaders. In 1960 alone the UN received 120 messages and petitions.

To oppose South African colonialism and to advance the cause for independence, Namibians formed a number of political, cultural and student organisations, including the Ovamboland People's Organisation (OPO), which in 1960 was transformed into a fully fledged nationalist movement, SWAPO.

Membership of OPO grew rapidly when it launched a campaign against the new bantustan authorities. In Windhoek there were protests and boycotts against the forced removal of the African population to the ghetto townships of Katutura. These protests met with the wrath of the colonial police, who opened fire on demonstrators on 10 December 1959, killing at least 11 people and wounding 54.

THE ROAD TO ARMED STRUGGLE

This atrocity was a turning point in the Namibian independence struggle, galvanising the people into a wider unity and more militant action. In the face of continued South African repression and the Windhoek Massacre – Namibia's 'Sharpeville' – the leaders of the liberation movement like Sam Nujoma left the country to prepare for an armed struggle.

Meanwhile in 1960, in an effort to add pressure to UN demands to place Namibia under its trusteeship until its independence, the independent states of Ethiopia and Liberia took the issue of Namibia's independence to the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in the Hague. After six years of argument the ICJ arrogantly declared that the two African countries had no legal basis to bring the case to it, and declined to rule on the issue.

The UN General Assembly, strengthened in its opposition to colonialism by the new membership of dozens of African and Asian states, also responded swiftly to the ICJ's failure to make a ruling. In October 1966 it passed a resolution terminating South Africa's mandate on the grounds that it had violated its provisions by imposing apartheid repression on the Namibian people. To administer Namibia and to prepare it for nationhood, the UN General Assembly established the Council for Namibia at its headquarters in New York.

In 1969 the UN Security Council affirmed the termination of South Africa's mandate and demanded its withdrawal from Namibia. In June 1971, the ICJ confirmed the UN's direct responsibility for Namibia. It also confirmed that South Africa's presence in Namibia was illegal and that it was obliged to end its occupation of the country. It stated that UN member states should refrain from any acts which would imply recognition of South Africa's administration or presence in Namibia.

The Court's decision precipitated mass resistance inside Namibia, leading to a general strike of contract workers at the end of 1971, and subsequent peasant uprisings in the north. These militant actions opened a new chapter in the history of the Namibian independence struggle.

THE INDEPENDENCE STRUGGLE

For more than a century the gallant people of Namibia have struggled for their independence through various means: diplomatic, political and military. Initially SWAPO and other components of the liberation movement concentrated on diplomatic pressure and political mobilisation, but the armed liberation struggle was launched in 1966 to end South African colonial occupation.

The Namibian workers played the most significant part in the constitution of the liberation movement. The massive general strike of Namibian contract workers, launched in mid-

December 1971, consolidated the gains of this period of mass upsurge and propelled the liberation struggle irrevocably to a new and higher phase. This period of mass resistance transformed the character of the liberation movement in Namibia from sectional and localised resistance to sustained mass action on a national scale.

The guerilla struggle escalated rapidly during the 1970s, as a result of the workers' general strike and continued militant resistance and the peasant youth uprisings, which were a prominent feature of the period between 1971-2. The triumph of the Angolan revolution in 1974-5 opened up new possibilities for the armed struggle in Namibia, and the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) intensified its military actions in the northern parts of the country.

The South African regime responded with a campaign of terror in the north, and thousands of Namibians fled into Angola, and this in turn swelled the ranks of PLAN. Vastly outnumbered by the South African occupation forces and unable to establish major bases inside Namibia, PLAN was however able to expand its military campaign by using guerilla tactics and through local support from the people who supplied food, information and shelter.

Nonetheless, an assessment by South African military-intelligence officers in 1984 noted that SWAPO "has an intensive intelligence gathering network whereby the public, especially the hundreds of the *cuca* shops (trading stores) in Ovambo and Kavango, are involved and keep it informed as to the movement of the security forces."

Increased support for SWAPO inside Namibia in the 1970s and 1980s, when SWAPO openly operated inside the country, was paralleled by growing international pressure, with the UN pressing strongly for Namibian independence. In a pre-emptive move in September 1977 Pretoria installed an Administrator-General in Windhoek to supervise a Pretoria-controlled election. The Turnhalle Conference was dissolved, the par-

ticipating groups forming the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) for electoral purposes.

By the end of 1978 the DTA was installed in Windhoek, backed by the army, police and substantial funding by capitalist enterprises. It is this coalition of reactionary forces that the South African regime and its imperialist backers hoped to instal as a neo-colonial regime in November. This coalition has changed its robes many times since then but in essence remains a tool for neo-colonialism in Namibia.

NEO-COLONIAL RECIPE

It has taken ten full years for the UN to implement Resolution 435 of 1978. This Security Council Resolution specified a year-long independence process to be supervised by a specially established UN monitoring force known as the UN Transitional Assistance Group (UNTAG). This involved a process that is now well advanced:

- A ceasefire, the partial demobilisation of South African armed forces and restriction to base of both SWAPO and South African military forces;
- The repeal of all discrimination and politically restrictive legislation, the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles and refugees;
- National elections to a Constituent Assembly after a campaigning period;
- The adoption of an independent constitution.

South African military defeats in Angola by the combined forces of Angola, Cuba and SWAPO (PLAN), coupled with international pressures, led to a series of talks during 1988 between the Angolan and South African governments, with US and Cuban participation and the political support of the Soviet Union. Under discussion was the current process in which the withdrawal of

Cuban internationalist forces from the People's Republic of Angola would follow the implementation of Resolution 435 and the end of South African aggression. Agreement on these principles was reached in November 1988 and the UN plan for Namibian independence process was set in motion during 1989.

The conception, adoption and implementation of UN Resolution 435 has ushered in a wide ranging debate within the liberation movement in Southern Africa. The proletarian tendency in the movement considers Resolution 435 as a recipe for neo-colonialism in Namibia. *Neocolonialism can be defined as a system of economic, political, ideological, juridical, military, and other relations imposed by imperialism on the developing countries (DCs) in order to keep them within the framework of the international capitalist economic system.*

It is important to note here that there is no basic distinction between the "traditional" and "new" colonialism, for, as in the past, so today the leading role belongs to the capitalist monopolies; their basic strategic goals remain unchanged: *the imperialist exploitation of the developing countries and the urge to keep them within the world capitalist system!*

The urge to keep Namibia within the world capitalist system is evidenced by events which took place in the British imperialist capital, London, in June 1989. According to a London *Times* report, SWAPO leader Sam Nujoma held talks with British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe in London on 28 June. *The Times* diplomatic editor Andrew McEwen wrote: "Sir Geoffrey and Mr Christopher Patten, the Minister for Overseas Development, made it clear in separate talks that Britain wants close links with the Namibian Government he is expected to form." The report continues, "(Britain) also hopes Namibia will join the Commonwealth, and is ready to give it (SWAPO Government) development aid without pre-conditions."

As we all know, foreign monopoly

capital is the most important weapon for subordinating many developing countries to imperialist exploitation. The export of capital to these countries has increased as the export of state capital has assumed prime importance in the form of 'aid' and loans on specific conditions dictated by imperialism.

Imperialist 'aid' shows some division of functions between the imperialist states and the capitalist monopolies. Government funds, the bulk of which made up the 'aid' go to the DCs mainly for building up the production and social infrastructure: roads, ports, means of communication, schools, hospitals, and so on; thereby improving the conditions for subsequent activity by private capital. Consequently, the capitalist countries government 'aid' is in the nature of a battering-ram which creates a breach for profitable investments by private capitalist monopolies in the DCs. Hence, a 'mixed' economy in Namibia which allows the participation of private capital will open the floodgates for imperialist capital in the form of monopoly capital.

In political terms, neo-colonialism with its 'aid' system is designed to enhance imperialist influence in the DCs' domestic political life and in the sphere of international relations as a whole. Hence the wooing of Sir Geoffrey of imperialist Britain for an independent Namibia as part of the Commonwealth. As McEwen reported: "In short, Britain sees the country (Namibia) as a potential regional friend."

Indeed, if an independent Namibia becomes a "regional friend" of Britain, the British multinational corporation, Rio Tinto Zinc (RTZ) which dominates uranium mining in Namibia stands to gain more and more superprofits from its operations. So does Consolidated Goldfields which mines base metals, chiefly copper, lead and zinc, and is a British capitalist conglomerate.

The superprofits of South African and transnational corporation in Namibia and the prosperity of white farmers, businessmen and professionals all de-

pend on the exploitation of African labour power. It is this section of the population that bears the burden of capitalist exploitation. As was said earlier, the Namibian workers have played a vital role in the struggle against oppression and exploitation. In the Namibian political economy, the workers have always been potentially the most powerful of the revolutionary forces ranged against the form of exploitation which colonialism has safeguarded in Namibia, and there is widespread consciousness of this amongst the rank-and-file in the final analysis. Dialectically speaking, it is the proletariat in Namibia which has the potential of becoming a vanguard force against neo-colonialism in an independent Namibia. At a branch meeting in 1977, contract workers from Windhoek summed up the view of the working class in Namibia in these apt words:

"We, the workers of Namibia, we have to unite - all the workers in the country have to unite . . . If we cannot unite, then we will just continue to be exploited and oppressed.

"We also want to teach other workers that the capitalists are busy robbing our country of its resources. All the workers should know that foreign investors are taking what we are producing to their countries overseas. Because when those foreign investors-monopolies - came to our country, they didn't come with anything! The wealth they are taking they found here in Namibia. We are dissatisfied with the fact that our mineral resources and other wealth are being exported. They are squeezing our country dry . . . Therefore we workers feel that we have to unite so that we can take action to end the exploitation of man by man!" ■

STOP PRESS

On November 15, 1989 SWAPO won 384 567 of the total 670 830 votes, giving it 57,3% of the vote and 41 seats in the 72-seat Constituent Assembly. The Pretoria-backed DTA won 121 seats in the Constituent Assembly with its 191 532 votes.

Part 1

I am Azania
 Land of black folks
 Grain grown
 When stones were still
 as soft as butter
 I am Azania
 Land of Zanj
 Truth made redundant
 By the tyrant's Gag

I am Azania
 I ran wild and free
 When dawns were young
 I mastered iron
 and I tamed iron
 Long before
 The steel-eyed plunderers came

Palabora
 Bambadymnalo
 And Mapungubwe
 Are my living testimony

I am Azania
 I've seen kingdoms rise
 And I have seen kingdoms fall
 I have seen Black Memphis
 not far away
 Carthage too
 And Meroe
 Kush
 Monomotapa
 Benin Ghana
 Timbuctu Songhai
 I have seen them all

I am Azania
 Land of black folks
 From the Persian Gulf
 Suleiman the trader
 Brought me his greetings
 "The land of Zanj is vast"
 Said he

My name entombed
 I once lived in
 The land of the Mau Mau
 Tanzania
 I nurtured
 When I waded knee deep
 In the islands of
 Pemba and Zanzibar
 Mozambique
 Also heard my freedom songs
 Songs only the free can sing

Part 2

I am Azania
 Once land of hospitality
 I flung my arms wide open
 To Captain Diaz and
 Vasco Da Gama
 For I thought them lost
 We sang and ate
 And danced and laughed
 for I had plenty to give
 And I knew not their designs

Then one day
 One infamous day 1652
 The treacherous seas
 belched forth
 Three drunken ships at
 Table Bay
 Three drunken ships
 Which stunk of gunpowder
 and holy water
 Dromedaris
 Goede Hoop
 Dreiger
 Three drunken ships

As dusk was inching in
 We met
 bare as poverty
 Into our assegais
 My sons and daughters
 Fell too
 Bitten in the neck
 By the settlers' bullets
 Battles of yesteryear
 Are engraved in my memory
 I praise you
 Sons and daughters
 of Thaba Bosiu
 Isandalhwana
 Sandile's Kop
 Keisikama Hoek
 Blood River
 I praise you all

I am Azania
 Land of Black folks
 Grain grown
 When stones were still
 as soft as butter
 I am Azania
 Land of Zanj
 Truth made redundant
 By the tyrant's Gag

I am Azania
 I bend but do not break
 Cecil Rhodes
 Thought otherwise the
 bastard
 When he took my land
 My Gold

Part 3

I am Azania
 My name itself
 A platform, a programme
 I scatter the white mist
 over Kliptown
 I am Azania
 Mangaliso Sobukwe
 Heard my call
 It was at Sharpeville
 Sharpeville
 A name that blossoms
 Into the fervent hearts
 Of black folks

I am Azania
 The name reconciled
 With itself
 In the deeds of
 Bantu Biko
 Uncle Zeph Mothopeng

I am Azania
 The name wrapped
 in Soweto
 A forest of black fists
 Hammering
 The sultry air
 In Krugersdorp

I am Azania
 The name
 That rang loud and clear
 In Nyanga, Langa
 Guguletu

I am Azania
 Land of black folks
 Grain grown
 when stones were still
 as soft as butter

I am Azania
 Land of Zanj
 Truth made
 redundant

By the
 tyrant's Gag

I am Azania
 Battered flesh
 Of Bantustans
 Sturdy voices
 Of Robben Island

I am Azania
 The mine
 That ventilates back
 Its own breath
 Sweat
 Tears
 And Blood
 Trapped in gold particles

I am Azania
 Moan made murmur
 Murmur made cry
 Cry made Shriek
 Shriek drilling
 The settler's ear

I am Azania
 The fierce black bull

I am the black dot
 On the Boer's history
 books

I am Azania
 Land of black folks
 Grain grown
 when stones were still
 as soft as butter

I am Azania
 Land of Zanj
 Truth made redundant
 By the tyrant's Gag

I am Azania
 The pregnant woman
 Laid bare
 On a cold
 Concrete slab

I am Azania
 Black consciousness
 unbound
 Only the pure I take
 For I have no time
 For liberal hypocritical minds

I am Azania
 The meeting point of
 Gun, Pen
 Chisel, Brush
 Hammer and Hoe

Boer,
 I am Azania
 The land
 I am the whole land

I am Azania
 Land of black folks
 Grain grown
 When stones were still
 as soft as butter

I am Azania
 Land of Zanj
 Burning truth
 Charring the
 tyrant's gag

I am Azania
 The truth made
 dream
 The dream made
 true

Izwe letu!

A. Sheikh

CONTAINMENT OF THE AZANIAN REVOLUTION



by DR JEFF DUMO BAQWA

Jeff Baqwa, once SASO's Director of Literary Projects and in exile, analyses the strategies being used to co-opt sections of the broad liberation movement into a massive betrayal of the Cause.

It is a known fact that in quite a few situations people have been involved in struggles for change with quite specific aims in terms of what they want to achieve. However, what has turned up in the end in these situations is something quite divorced from what was aimed at. In some cases "the something achieved" turned out to run decidedly counter to the interests of the broad struggling masses.

It is our fundamental duty to engage in a continued examination and analysis of the forces at play as we continue with our struggle. It is only in this manner that we can avoid whatever pitfalls crop up on the way.

PRESSURE

The significance of Azania to the international community is without question. To cite an aspect, the abundant presence of essential raw materials which are of vital importance for the advance of technology puts Azania at the centre in terms of relations with the international community. It is important to note that these relations have been determined through a very deliberate plan by the powers-that-be in Azania and the imperialist community. It is also important to note that the imperialist community brings immense pressure to bear towards the maintenance of these relations. The reason is simple: the advancement of technology has come to mean everything in terms of the advancement of western society.

The significance referred to here in relation to essential raw materials holds for large parts of Africa. Let us examine how relations have been maintained with those parts of Africa that are now independent. Through

this we want to show the form and the nature of pressure that has been brought to bear on independent Africa by imperialism.

DOLLAR IMPERIALISM

The turn in terms of relations to most parts of independent Africa came with World War II. Apart from the rumblings that had begun in Africa itself, we must look at the role of the United States of America in the whole scheme of things. After World War II, the USA emerged as the leading and most powerful country within the imperialist community. The country abounded in capital that it sought to invest elsewhere. The country desperately sought markets where it could dispose of its surplus wares. At this point, all colonised parts of the world were under strict control by their colonisers. Britain put up protective tariff barriers around its colonies to prevent the infusion of capital from other imperialist countries. France did the same: it was the order of the day. But then, World War II had depleted France and Britain of resources to maintain their colonies to a point where they had to turn to the USA for assistance. The USA was reluctant to help because it wanted the tariff barriers around the colonies to be broken.

This would open the colonies to USA capital. The USA was motivated by its own economic interests when it refused to help the colonising powers. However, when the USA took a stand that was pro-decolonisation to a point where the then Presi-

dent of the USA, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, was projected as championing the rights of the colonised, some confusion was caused in the circles of those that were struggling for change in the colonies in relation to the interpretation of the stand of the USA vis-a-vis decolonisation.

DECOLONISATION

The political effort exerted by political organisations and liberation movements in Africa, the incursions carried out by guerilla units in a number of countries in Africa and the role of the USA in the decolonisation programme were the combination of forces that led to decolonisation. This is without doubt a very interesting combination!

The one crucial point that arose after the war was the control of finances. The Bretton Woods System gave the answer to this. According to the stated intention, this System would work towards the control of the world economy. The Bretton Woods System embodies the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. These were, and still are, the organs that control the flow of finances between the former colonies and the imperialist community. It was this control that, in its very essence, ushered in the concept of neo-colonialism. This control does not only stop at finances. Its immediate corollary is the control of the distribution of technological know-how. Technological expertise is extended to the neo-colonies to enhance the produc-



De Klerk, Chikane, Tutu, Boesak: the open agenda

tive capacity of a given country, only to the point where production meets the interests of the country being given technological knowledge. The methods used in this control are multifarious. As an example, the imperialists send their trained manpower to the colonies and then employ a multitude of tricks and excuses to make it impossible to train an adequate number from the indigenous masses to take over and run any of the projects they operate in the neo-colonies. The control exerted by the Bretton Woods System and the vicious and strict control of technological know-how define and determine the extent and the nature of the hold the imperialist world has on the neo-colonies.

The October 1917 Revolution in the Soviet Union has had a deep and continuing impact on relations in the international community. This Revolution heralded the emergence of Socialism. This has led to conditions whereby the imperialist bloc has made it its duty to work out an elaborate strategy to fight the survival and any further emergence of socialism.

POST VIETNAM

The defeat of the USA in Vietnam had such an impact on the imperialist community that there was a significant change in the strategy towards containment of revolution. Declarations were heard at the Pentagon to the effect that the experience of Viet-

nam had proved the theory of "limited wars" untenable. It was through the tenets embodied in this theory that the USA reserved the right to intervene in any area where US interests were said to be threatened. Then the Pentagon set about working on a new approach. The strategy that emerged was as follows:-

* The USA should not be seen to intervene in troubled areas any more. It should project its image as the leader of the "New Economic Order". It should be seen to be acting in "partnership" with all those it entered into agreements with. It should actively encourage "co-operation" with the "Third World". For this reason, it was decided that the USA must arm nations so that, inter alia, the nations concerned shall have the capability to protect the interests of the USA on its behalf in their specific areas. (Let it be stated that a given neo-colonial government would have to use these arms against its own people!)

* The USA would have to develop its war machinery to a point where, if it became absolutely necessary for it to intervene, it would conduct a lightning operation: that means, it would strike and "destabilize" the concerned area and be back at base before anyone has time to react.

* The USA would identify areas which it considers of strategic importance to it. *The USA declared that it would not move from these areas even if it meant World War III!* These areas

would be under special consideration in a sense where, among other things, they would be intensively armed and they would be under continued surveillance by the USA. Among the areas identified were Azania and Palestine ("Israel"). It should be noted that these two areas form the gateways into Africa and their control gives the controller immense possibilities in terms of access into Africa.

* The USA would identify those areas which were of no serious strategic importance to it. In these areas, the USA would yield to the pressure of the Soviet Union if and when the Soviet Union chose to move into them. These areas would be considered "selective gifts" to the Soviet Union.

TAR BABY

Apart from the schemes worked out after Vietnam, there is a programme that has been worked out, independent of the Vietnam experience, for the spread of US influence. This was dubbed "Operation Tar Baby". This strategy was aimed at the control of the lives of the people in the neo-colonies. It was directed at political structures where politicians were bribed and bought. For governments that were considered important for this strategy but remained intransigent and did not yield to it, coups d'etat were arranged. The cases of Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah and the former US President, Lyndon B Johnson are cases in point. Politicians who stood up in opposition in governments that were prepared to move along with the USA were eliminated. The strategy was aimed, quite decidedly, at the elimination of all opposition.

It was also directed at the educational structures and the media which influenced forms of behaviour, social patterns, cultural norms and value systems. The Peace Corps would be used as a bridgehead in the onslaught on educational structures. Students would be taught, among other things, about the greatness of the USA. The newspapers, radio stations and television networks would be brought

under the influence of this programme. This would be done simply by staffing them with manpower that identifies itself with the USA. This programme was also designed to use those areas where the USA was felt to be well-entrenched as forward bases, launching pads for further and continued onslaughts into neo-colonies. Our land, Azania, was one such area. It would be used to launch further inroads into the rest of Africa.

The shifts and changes in the imperialist strategy have taken very interesting forms. Whereas the imperialist community adopted a hostile attitude towards socialist organizations, there is very clear evidence of a shift in their approach. This came after the victories of FRELIMO, the MPLA and PAIGC. During the struggles of the courageous masses in these countries, the imperialists sent in their armies to "fight and destroy" the efforts of the people. They are still involved in programmes intended to "destabilise" the People's governments in these countries. However, a new dimension has emerged. The imperialists are no more waging wars of destruction only and in the single-minded fashion of the past. *There is an intensive drive to get socialist movements and parties to sit at the same table with imperialist governments.* This was evidenced in Zimbabwe and is being evidenced by the present approach to the liberation movements in Namibia and Azania.

The imperialists have also realized that through the hostilities that they have displayed heretofore, they removed the possibility of interacting with the People's governments when they took over. The idea now is to make friends and create an atmosphere that would make it possible to maintain their interests in the People's Republics, and also open the way to further negotiation and agreement.

These are the main areas to which the imperialist schemes direct themselves. They are the factors that lie at the root of these invitations. These invitations also serve the purpose of giving the imperialists a chance of studying the areas where liberation

struggles are going on. This they do by examining the various delegations they receive from the various movements and parties and scrutinising the information they give. Then they move on to use their findings in identifying the force that would best suit their schemes.

ANOINTED FORCES

The next stage is to create the kind of conditions that would make it most conducive for the chosen force to operate unhindered and unfettered. This assumes various forms. An intensive propaganda campaign is mounted to get the chosen force to be accepted by the international community as the only "authentic" force. All the organs under the control of imperialism are employed to orchestrate this phenomenon.

From this point, the imperialists move to eliminate or neutralise all other patriotic forces that are rightly involved in the struggle. Even the fascist regimes, against whom the people are engaged in battle, are made to work on preparing the ground for the ultimate negotiation with the "chosen ones."

PRINCIPLES

Let us draw our attention to some fundamental principles that guide the struggle. The right of the people to get involved in and contribute, in whatever manner, to the advancement of the struggle is inalienable. Further, as the struggle continues, it throws up new conditions from one phase to the other. These conditions do, from time to time, lead to the emergence of new leadership and organisational structures. Even during one specific phase, most of the time various organisational forms and multiple actions are manifest. The idea is to get them co-ordinated. It is in this co-ordination that efforts should be made to resolve political and ideological differences. One of the major factors in the development of organisations derives from their capability to involve themselves in ideological struggle to resolve the contradictions amongst the people

and refine programmes, strategy and tactics.

Organisations and structures are set up for the implementation of specific programmes. The structures are in themselves meaningless without these programmes. *Any fetishism that manifests itself in terms of the worship of an organisational structure resulting in a failure to criticize, shape and direct the organisation shows the backwardness and utter bankruptcy of that organisation.* An organisation shall always serve the people and not become the master of the people. An organisation shall, as a primary condition, reflect the conditions under which it operates. It shall emerge from the masses of the people, embody their interests and be accepted by the people as being of service to them, to their ultimate goals and aims. When an organisation does not rise to these conditions, it loses its legitimacy and meaningfulness.

IDEOLOGICAL DISTORTION

We shall now raise an issue which we believe is of utmost significance in this programme. The issue concerns the dilution of the militancy of the people and the distortion of their ideological foundation. We have already cited the fact that imperialists receive information from liberation movements. It must be pointed out that they also receive information about these movements from their own sources. This information is carefully doctored for two purposes. The first purpose is to further influence all and sundry to accept "the chosen force". The second is to dilute and distort the ideological foundation of the people.

The church plays a role in this scheme for reasons that should be quite clear in view of the role of the church in the whole programme of colonialism. A very pointed example is the case of the Justice and Reconciliation Committee of the South African Council of Churches (SACC). This Committee has found it its duty to set up a discussion group which examines nuances of the struggle including the

ideological base. This Committee has gone on an extensive examination of socialism in countries where it is practised. It has found that socialism is not the way to liberation because, as it states, socialism takes the freedom of the people away. This Committee puts up experts to deal with these questions and these come from liberal circles. The Committee keeps in touch with other church bodies in Europe and, we believe, elsewhere for the purpose, among other things, of exchanging information with these church groups about its "good work" among the people. For the work of this Committee to be properly understood it must be seen, and this is where it belongs, in the context of the dilution of the militancy of the patriotic forces and the distortion of the ideological questions.

We must develop a capability to cut through the nebulous facades that are presented to us. We must have an acute sense of detecting snares and threats that are laid in our way. We must break the manipulation of language apart. For instance the enemy substitutes the term "oppression" with the term "co-operation". He refers to the "exploited" as "partners". Regarding the neo-colonies, he has moved from "underdeveloped" to "developing countries" and then "Third World" and finally, at least for now, to "less developed countries" (LDC's). We must not stop at identifying the terms as wrong. The whole plot behind their promotion must be thoroughly exposed.

CULTURE

It is essential to cast a brief glance at our own historical experience in order to emphasize the consistency of imperialism. The operations of imperialism base themselves on physical conquests and the capture of the mind. The experience of colonialism demonstrates this quite apparently. When people were colonised, the first stage was military conquest. Then followed the rather subtle and rather pervasive phase. Here the enemy gets to work systematically destroying and distorting the historical roots and the cultural foundation of the people. The church and the school did and still do play a major role in this. When the

people shall have lost what is normally used as a yardstick for advancement and projection into the future, their historical experience; when a people shall have lost the norms, mores and value systems that guide them and serve as a basis for their identity, then the people shall be ready for the offering.

The emasculation relating to history and culture expresses itself in terms of a lack of confidence and a loss of a sense of self. People become reflections of foreign value systems. And added to this the insecurity caused among other things, by the lack of the barest means of subsistence and the absence of the opportunity to acquire these: add to this the fear caused by constant harassment in all forms imaginable and the equally constant parade of police and military might, then the picture of a caricature of Being living at the mercy of an uncompromising avarice of imperialism is complete. The removal of these factors forms an essential part of the struggle for liberation. This shall be done with a view to opening the Azanian community to the total forces that influence the development of man. It shall not be done such that the process turns into a worship of the vestiges of the past in a manner where the forces of advancement are closed off.

CONSCIOUSNESS

Consciousness is the motive force that determines the involvement of the people in a struggle for change. Consciousness bases itself on the conditions under which the people live. It derives from the total experience of the people. Alienation from the actual objective condition and from the experience of the people removes the basis for the correct direction to liberation. Consciousness must, and this is a revolutionary imperative, derive from the factors cited. This opens latitude for the movement towards the laying down of a proper ideological foundation that will serve as a guide in the programme for change.

The involvement of the masses of the people is a fundamental factor in the programme for change. What we

need to examine closely is the nature of this involvement. Our struggle has gone through very interesting phases. When the enemy first arrived our forefathers engaged the invader in battle in defence of the land. Then came the phase of negotiation which passed over to protest politics. The adoption of armed struggle was the highest point in the movement through the phases. In the development of the struggle, we notice that there were phases where the masses of the people operated through instructions from the leadership. When the leadership was no more available, the masses could not move. The masses were not motivated by the kind of consciousness that derives from internalised revolutionary principles. The motivating factor was an external agency, in the absence of which no action could be undertaken. Let it be stated that the objective conditions themselves do create a basic awareness in the people in terms of the situation that confronts them. It is precisely on this phenomenon that movements must concentrate their energies by way of developing, shaping, channeling and transforming this awareness into consciousness.

SOCIALISM

In colonialism, settler-colonialism and neo-colonialism the essential characteristic of imperialism expresses itself in two forms. It is the negation of the



historical process and the cultural development of the dominated people. It is the usurpation of the freedom of development of the national productive forces. Our struggle, therefore, seeks to return the people to their own historical process and in this manner to history as such.

Our struggle is an effort to lay out the tenets that shall form the foundation for the development of the people's culture. It is an endeavour to free the productive forces from domination by imperialism. It embodies, at the same time, national liberation and social revolution. The analysis of history and the development of man has shown that freedom from imperialism leaves only one option. We shall free ourselves from imperialist domination only by following the road to socialism.

The colonial situation offers the petit bourgeoisie an opportunity of leading the struggle against foreign domination since by the nature of the objective and subjective condition of this

class (high level of education, political awareness, etc), it is the stratum which most rapidly becomes aware of the need for freedom from foreign domination. However, the petit bourgeoisie as a class that is not directly involved in the process of production, can never possess political control since this is based on the economic capacity of the ruling class. This assertion does not seek to undermine the revolutionary role played and still being played by individuals that come from the petit bourgeois class. It seeks to expose the fact that, and this has been proven historically, the petit bourgeoisie as a class does not and shall never have the capability to possess political control. In order to fulfil their role in the liberation struggle, the revolutionary petit bourgeoisie must be capable of committing suicide as a class in order to be reborn as a vanguard of the revolution identifying completely with the deepest aspirations of the people. To this extent the revolutionary petit bourgeoisie must strengthen revolutionary

consciousness. The revolutionary petit bourgeoisie must identify itself with the working class and promote the normal development of the revolutionary process. Our organisational structures must adapt themselves to this process. They must provide room for movement towards the establishment of a true vanguard of the revolution.

The emergence and survival of socialism demands the consolidation of the solidarity of all socialist and progressive forces. It is through this solidarity that we shall be able to defeat imperialism and thwart its schemes to destroy socialism. It is through this solidarity that we shall be able to create platforms and occasions where we shall examine and learn from the experiences and mistakes of comrades that have trodden this path. It is through this solidarity that we shall attain complete and genuine freedom and also contribute towards the closure of this historical phase where man exploits man. ■

KE BANA BA BO MANG?*

Black faces twisted with pain
Rosy red eyes fighting for protruberance
Through razor blade incisions
Dwarfed by swollen cheeks
Swollen brows
And extra large heads
And my question
KE BANA BA BO MANG?*

Their tongues glued to granite pallets
Awaiting efficient interrogators to dislodge
Who egocentrically grin with satisfaction as
'n Bietjie blood flows here
En 'n handjie vol tande also lost
And I want to know
KE BANA BA BO MANG?

Why allow them so much suffering
Their treason or blasphemy unknown
Meting out punishment in anticipation
Or is it retrospective uteristic victimisation
Which their persecution so urgently warrants?

Ke bana ba bo mang tragically facing harsh fate
Like little puppies born of a bitch

In this wealthy citadel of injustice
Let them suffer, let them take it
Being a fate of their own choice
Opting for the devilish and subservient black
Rejecting the privileged white
Whereas they could also have been yellow
Like the East

You insulted their dead bodies in Sharpeville
With your snobbish un-African capitalism
And still when Soweto spat fire
"Good shot" your drunken spirit shouted
Intrigued by the marksman's accuracy
Sies . . .

Every minute that they suffer
Your pre-occupation is gulping one more beer
Every day that they cry
Your concern is making it in time to the disco.
And I ask you

Ke bana ba bo mang
Who must be opposed, exiled discriminated against
Banned, banished, detained, tortured

And insulted . . . ?

Ke bana ba bo mang
Who must carry the nation's lot?
The world's evils
My poverty and your existence
Whilst you sit on your bloody warm buttocks
But now I know who they are
Having seen the bowels of Mother Afrika
Ripped apart with lightning fury
Exulting from the cracks and crevices

All ancestral greats
Makana, Chaka, Sekhukhuni, Moshoeshe,
Lembede, Biko, Sobukwe, Tiro, Mohapi, Pokela

All in unison crying
You are Afrika
Kill poverty and drown sufferings
Destroy oppression
and save the Nation
and save Afrika
and bring Azania
KE BANA BA AFRIKA! **

Anonymous

* Whose children are they?

** They are the children of Afrika.

PRETORIASTROIKA: WHO BENEFITS?

"It's not easy for us to sit down to negotiate. The problem is many of the youngsters are not really interested in the negotiations. In fact they've become a little bit angry. That is why I say that this chap De Klerk is moving too fast and can create problems for us. We want to educate our people. We want to have time to discuss this matter with them".

The speaker is Walter Sisulu, one of the ANC Seven who were released on October 15, 1989, in an interview reported by the Weekly Mail newspaper on January 26, 1990. His words assumed the ring of prophecy when De Klerk decisively terminated the protracted shadow-boxing between Pretoria and the ANC at 11h00 on Friday February 2, 1990.

Pre-Conditions

De Klerk went as far as meeting most of the "pre-conditions for negotiations" contained in the Harare Declaration: he legalized over 30 formerly banned and restricted organisations including the PAC, the ANC, the BPC and the SACP; he all but lifted the state of emergency and suspended all executions pending revision of the laws on capital punishment. In short, De Klerk turned the political clock back to immediately prior to the Sharpeville Massacre of March 21, 1960.

At 16h15 on Sunday February 11, 1990 de Klerk released Rolihlahla Nelson Mandela, a mortal whose stature had been made to

assume superhuman dimensions. He thus adroitly maintained the political initiative in Pretoria's hands and made a firm bid to divert the struggle for power and liberation into the politics of negotiation under settler colonial overlordship.

The result was predictable: liberation movements (conspicuously the ANC) were caught flat-footed and began making contradictory statements on a daily basis. The Nation was gripped by Mandelamania and many euphorically exclaimed that inkuleleko had come!

On "Network", a news programme run by South African Television, Nelson Mandela stated that negotiations meant compromise not on peripheral issues but on fundamental issues (February 15, 1990). The message was clear: there were no non-negotiables, not even our ownership of Azania!

The mantra of "negotiation pre-conditions", recited so religiously and at the cost of so many Black lives, sounded completely hollow as the pre-conditions were being met. As ANC Secretary-General Alfred Nzo announced on February 16, 1990 that the phase of "talks about talks" with Pretoria had begun (when, in fact, this process had begun as long ago as at least 1984), the "struggle" for a negotiated settlement stood exposed for what it is; capitulation, a sellout of our hopes, dreams and aspirations.

Nzo had already confessed that the ANC's position at any nego-

tiating table was a hopeless one at the ANC National Executive Committee meeting in Lusaka on 18 January 1990: "We must admit that we do not have the capacity within our country in fact to intensify the armed struggle in any meaningful way." So much for Mandela's "threat" in his letter to P W Botha: "The renunciation of violence by either the government or the ANC should not be a precondition but the result of negotiations." (circa January 1989)

Gorbachevism

Responding to the crowns falling in Eastern European state capitalist regimes- which lost the ANC and the SACP its major supporters- the SACP made its revisionism unmistakable in a draft position paper entitled "Has Socialism Failed?" by Joe Slovo. This pathetic paper repeats the tired position that the Eastern European revolts were revolts against Stalinism, (a position supported by F W de Klerk) and touts capitalism in the name of "thorough-going democratic socialism."

The Eastern European governments which have been toppled or reformed wore all fiercely anti-Stalinist and were all capitalist regimes. The crisis in Eastern Europe is really the crisis of Brezhnevism.

The so-called "demise of communism" is really revisionism becoming more openly bourgeois. "Democratic socialism" is a calculatingly eclectic rubric aimed at negating revolution and justifying

a "safe and peaceful" slide into counterfeit socialism- in reality, into capitalism. The SACP wants new faces, new forces in power along with the old ones but no revolutionary overturning of all existing relations and conditions. They want a socialism, even a Communism, with no mass revolutionary upheaval, no overturning of the bourgeoisie by the Proletariat, of the old by the new.

The SACP's "two-stage theory of revolution" has been supplanted by Gorbachev's "new thinking": no revolution at all! As Gorbachevism successfully disorients liberation movements, let us remember that the Rand Revolt of 1984 and its aftermath saw the Black masses establishing their **own** mass movement and self-governing structures. The masses have given such an earthly quality to the idea of liberation that established political organisations have found themselves inadequate to the task of providing proper revolutionary leadership.

The East European revolts were **fine** for the Black Proletariat in Azania: we could only be elated at the magnificent rebellion against a stifling life under state-capitalism calling itself Socialism/Communism. We know that Gorbachev's "reforms" were designed to defuse the revolt, and we sincerely hope that the East European masses will complete the task of totally uprooting the oppressive and exploitative relations of the state-capitalist world.

The pull of Gorbachevism has thus far been successful in diverting the forces opposing state capitalism with disastrous consequences: witness how Solidamosc has assumed responsibility for the very Polish state it has been in revolt against for over three decades, how the Hungarian Federation of Young Demo-

crats (FIDESX) puts its stress on "parliamentary democracy predicated on a market economy", how the National Salvation government in Rumania tries to conceal its complicity in the atrocities of the pro-Western Ceausescu regime and how the Rumanian masses had again to storm the corridors of power on February 18, 1990, how East Germans who realized that the new Krenz regime was protecting and reorganizing Stasis (the State-Security Police) spontaneously took over the Stasis headquarters on January 15, 1990 and how the Czechoslovakian Communist Party's First Secretary Vasil Moko-vita boasts that the Party stands for "a multi-party system, democracy, free enterprise and progressive human values."

At the same time, Gorbachevism has fueled and intensified struggles for national self-determination dating back to the days of Tsarism- notably in the Baltic states and Soviet Central Asia- creating a very real prospect of the break-up of the USSR. With every passing day, Soviet social-imperialism sheds more of its "socialist" disguise and the nomenklatura reveal themselves to be no more than an upbeat version of the old, decrepit Russian Tsars.

Even as "Perestroika I" has failed and "Perestroika II" began with the surrender of the Soviet Communist Party's monopoly of power on February 5, 1990 it is manifest that Gorbachevism represents a worldwide retrogression whose most avid disciple is the fascist F W de Klerk with his policy of pretoriastroika.

The Road Ahead

As the Azanian masses create liberation with their own calloused hands, they must not shrink from venturing into untrodden paths.

They must not look for crutches simply because a new epigone is using the word "democracy" to mean more than one party and another is using the word "unity" to mean absorption into the ANC. We have seen how rapidly the world can change in the space of a month and how quickly power can shatter.

Pretoriastroika is an attempt to give the ghoul of apartheid-capitalism a human face: it is of benefit only to the ruling class and its imperialist backers. It has already succeeded in co-opting significant sections of the broad liberation movement who are terminally infected by the bug of capitulation.

We take inspiration from Joseph Stalin's words: "This cannot go on any longer! And only revolution can put a stop to it!" in his manifesto to the masses (October 1905). We believe that there is a revolutionary current with support and initiative among broad sections of the Azanian masses- in other words, that we have a revolutionary people.

It is in this context that the following response by a Weekly Mail reader to Sisulu's sentiments (quoted above) are remarkable apposite:

"Murphy Morobe is under the illusion that his organisation is responsible for 'generating' the 'mobilisation' which now needs to be converted into 'education' and is afraid that the UDF may not be able to control the Frankenstein which it has created. He should be worrying about something else."

"Even if the Frankenstein is controlled for now, it may spring back to life if material 'reality' does not change. And it may turn out to be as much trouble for an ANC government as it is for the present one, education or not."

- Weekly Mail February 9, 1990

GORBACHEV: SOUL OF CAPITAL PERSONIFIED

by Philani Socrates Makhaye

Mrs. Margret Thatcher, the British Prime Minister, enthused when she saw Mikhail Gorbachev in London, December 1984: "I like him. We can do business together." The British press hailed Gorbachev as a "golden boy". *Sunday Times* extolled him to the skies: "A red star rises in the East." French President Mitterrand was equally impressed. He saw a Gorbachev with "a relaxed, resolute mind ...totally unpolemical". George Bush, now President of the United States of America, gave a rather ambiguous view of the Kremlin leader when he warned a West German politician in the White House about Gorbachev being an "impressive ideas salesman".

Maybe the Western world has finally found "a smart man in Moscow" with whom they can do business.

HIS BACKGROUND

In the Caucasus, in the District of Krasnogvardeysk lies the village of Privolnoye. Here, on March 2 1931, Sergei Andreevich Gorbachev and Maria Panteleeva gave birth to Mikhail Sergeevich Gorbachev. The father, Sergei Andreevich was an agricultural mechanic and later a frontline soldier in the Second World War. Unfortunately for the still sapling Gorbachev, his father could not live long enough to see his political career. He, like 20 million fellow soviet citizens, did not survive the Great Patriotic War.

The Gorbachev family is of Russian origin, having lived for an unknown period in the northern Caucasus, which was not part of old Russia. The people of Caucasus have preserved their traditional individuality and their opposition to being absorbed into the Russian fold. The

Philani Socrates Makhaye, a member of the BCM (Durban & Districts), explores why Mikhail Gorbachev is at once a mortal adversary and a blood brother of the West.

Germans briefly occupied Stavropol in 1942, dissolved a few collective farms and permitted private ownership of land, shops and cafes. However, this was to be reversed when Stalin led the Soviet Union to victory against the German fascists. By this time, Gorbachev was in his early teens.

He completed his upper school with a silver medal. At the age of 18 he received a "Red Banner of Labour Group" decoration.

At 19, on the recommendation of his municipality, he was sent to study law at the Lomonov State University in Moscow. Zdenek Mlynar, Gorbachev's fellow-student reminisces: "The day when we were studying collective farm law, Gorbachev explained to me how insignificant collective farm legislation was in day to day life and how important, on the other hand, was brute force, which alone secured working discipline on the collective farms". Perhaps Gorbachev had this in mind; "Socialism is not brute, it only becomes so when it is ensured".

In October 1952, he joined the Communist Party. Having graduated, he left Moscow in 1955 in the company of his wife Raisa Maksimovna Titorenko, an attractive graduate of Marxism-Leninism, for his rural village. He began his Party career in the Komsomol, the "communist" youth organisation. From this time onwards, Gorbachev, with the help of Raisa "the philosopher" experienced a dramatic upward trend of his politi-

cal career and experience. Khrushchev's "Secret Speech" cited at the Party Congress on February 25 1956, in which he pilloried Stalin's "crimes" found Gorbachev back in his native Stavropol, with his widowed mother.

THE PATH TO POWER

In July 1978 Gorbachev's patron, Fedor Kulakov committed suicide. At his funeral on July 19, 1978, Mikhail Gorbachev delivered his first speech in Red Square. Exciting speech indeed! He had to return to Moscow, four months later, to succeed Kulakov as Central Committee Secretary for Agriculture.

Who called Gorbachev to Moscow?—The names of two pundits come up—Mikhail Suslov and Yuri Andropov.

Suslov, the chief ideologist, who died in 1982, might have been attracted to young Gorbachev in as far as he could be an effective counterweight to Brezhnev's corrupt clique.

Andropov, a highly educated KGB chief, had personal contacts with both Gorbachev and his wife. They shared significant political ventures when Gorbachev was still Regional Party chief. Much more significant is that they both shared an interest in the "modernisation" of the Soviet Union. In this young man, Andropov saw a Soviet Union leader who will lead the country into the 21st century. It was this Gorbachev who was to say later, "Today they say, some with admiration and others with open

hostility, that we are a superpower!"

After Andropov's death on February 9, 1984 there were two candidates contending for office. There was young, bucolic Gorbachev, representing radical change in the Soviet system and there was also Brezhnev's old friend-Chernenko. After a considerably feeble reign by Chernenko, at 19:20 hours on March 10, 1985 ill Chernenko died. The next day, at the Plenum of the Central Committee meeting to elect the new General Secretary, only some 200 of the 300 representatives arrived in time. Some did not care to come. With enormous support from the KGB, Gorbachev was elected new General Secretary, unanimously indeed! In trying to persuade certain groups to support the election of Gorbachev, Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko told them, "Comrades, this man has a nice smile but he has teeth of iron". Of course these teeth were soon to be seen in action when Gorbachev started securing his position silencing his opponents by massive purges, dismissals and "retirements."

BACKWARD MOBILITY IN THE SOVIET UNION

In chronicling the genesis of revisionism in the Soviet Union, let us cast our memories back to that "Secret Speech" by Nikita Khrushchev at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held in Moscow on 14-25 February 1956. Khrushchev, as part of his "contributions to the development of Marxism" (sic!) maintained that socialism could be achieved through a "parliamentary road". This road had to prove itself in the lessons of history. This happened in the south-western part of South America.

In 1970, on the eve of the election of the Popular Unity government in Chile, headed by Salvador Allende, Fidel Castro wrote an article in a Chilean journal consecrating Chile as an example of the possibility of the electoral path to socialism. Although the Chilean masses were in a position to unleash their revolutionary

potential and to expose and depose comprador bourgeois rule in Chile, the revisionist Communist Party of Chile restrained them and even supported the armed forces in disarming the masses, and appealed to them not to use arms against the reactionary coup organisers who brought about a bloody end to Allende's rule. Allende's heed for this "theory" by Khrushchev resulted in his own rule being drowned in a pool of blood.

In the same address, Khrushchev declared a new policy of "peaceful-coexistence" with capitalist countries. The Communist Party was to seize to be the party of the proletariat and become the party of the "whole people". The dictatorship of the proletariat was attacked and castigated as "unnecessary" since the Soviet Union "no longer had antagonistic classes". The profitability index was reinstated as the major indicator in the planning of production in the Soviet Union. As Aleksei Nikolayevich Kosygin, when he was still General Secretary (1964-1980), noted in his 1965 speech,

...(T)o orientate the enterprise towards efficiency, it would appear to be better to use profit index".

Classical bourgeois accounting! The Soviet new ruling class, from Khrushchev to Gorbachev, share the myth that profit is the best means of achieving maximum social good coupled with the illusion that the profitability index is necessarily incumbent as an indicator in any institution at the enterprise level, especially if the institution is "efficient".

One of the main ideological weapons



Gorbachev and Reagan at the 1987 Washington Summit.

used by Khrushchev to demoralize, demobilize and divide the masses was that much vaunted "goulash communism". By this Khrushchev meant that socialist countries were essentially highly developed "consumer societies" even exceeding such capitalist countries as the USA in this regard. The quest of the Soviet people to have more and better washing machines, refrigerators, television sets and blue jeans was put forward as a reason for the abandonment of class struggle. The ruling class promised to make these abundant and they predicted a USSR with a "good life". This would serve as proof that capitalism should be substituted by this "superior" system, "goulash communism".

PERESTROIKA: An exposé

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union saw Mikhail Gorbachev outlining the key elements of his policy of *perestroika* (restructuring) and *oruskoneriye* (acceleration) shortly after becoming General Secretary. The major target of *perestroika* is economic instability in the Soviet Union. "Basic Provisions for the Radical Restructuring of Economic Management" ratified by the June 1987

Plenum of the Central Committee is a drastic endeavour by Gorbachev and Co. to reshape the economy but it also touches on social and political matters as well. The meaning and objectives of *perestroika* could best be learnt from Gorbachev's own words and the actions of the whole ruling class. Changes that come with *perestroika* can be seen here:

"Many things are unusual in our country now: election of managers at enterprises and offices, multiple candidates for elections in some districts, joint ventures with foreign firms, self-financed factories and plants, state and collective farms, the lifting of restrictions on farms producing food products for enterprises and run by them, closure of non-paying plants and factories operating at a loss..."

With the same spirit he continues,

..."(E)nterprises must be put in such conditions as to encourage competition for the best satisfaction of consumer demands and employee's incomes must strictly depend on end production, on profits".

The profit index objectively unifies the results of sales efforts and cost reduction into a single indicator that can be compared across industries. This indicator can be applied if, and only if, it yields results compatible with the net laws of profitability.

Presently a large section of all investments in the Soviet Union come out of retained profits at the enterprise level. As long as capitalism reigns, Lenin pointed out, emphasizing particularly the features of capitalism in its imperialist stage, surplus profit will not be utilized to raise the standards of living of the masses or to overcome the gap between agriculture and industry but instead will be exported abroad, especially in backward countries, to gain superprofits. And this is precisely what the Soviet Union is doing, though its export of capital and wringing of superprofits often revolves around the sale of arms and /or takes the appearance of unequal trade (eg. India) and of "aid" (eg. Angola) and loans whose terms require the recipient to purchase Soviet goods at prices *well above* the world

market price. Capital is driven, in search of profits, to produce and reproduce itself as a social relation and does so as if it has no boundaries. It only tolerates production that is commensurate with the profitable employment of existing capital.

Surplus value, the product of capitalist production, regulates and dominates production in the Soviet Union. This is to show that there is a direct link between the profitability index and investment criteria. The overall thrust of all these various reforms in the Soviet Union has been to bring profit-and-loss accounting to the centre stage at the enterprise, production, associations and ministerial level.

Gorbachev has another target in mind, the management system. He says, "The management system which took shape in the forties and thirties began gradually to contradict the demands and conditions of economic progress. Its positive potential was exhausted. It became more and more of a hindrance, and gave rise to the braking mechanism which did us so much harm later."

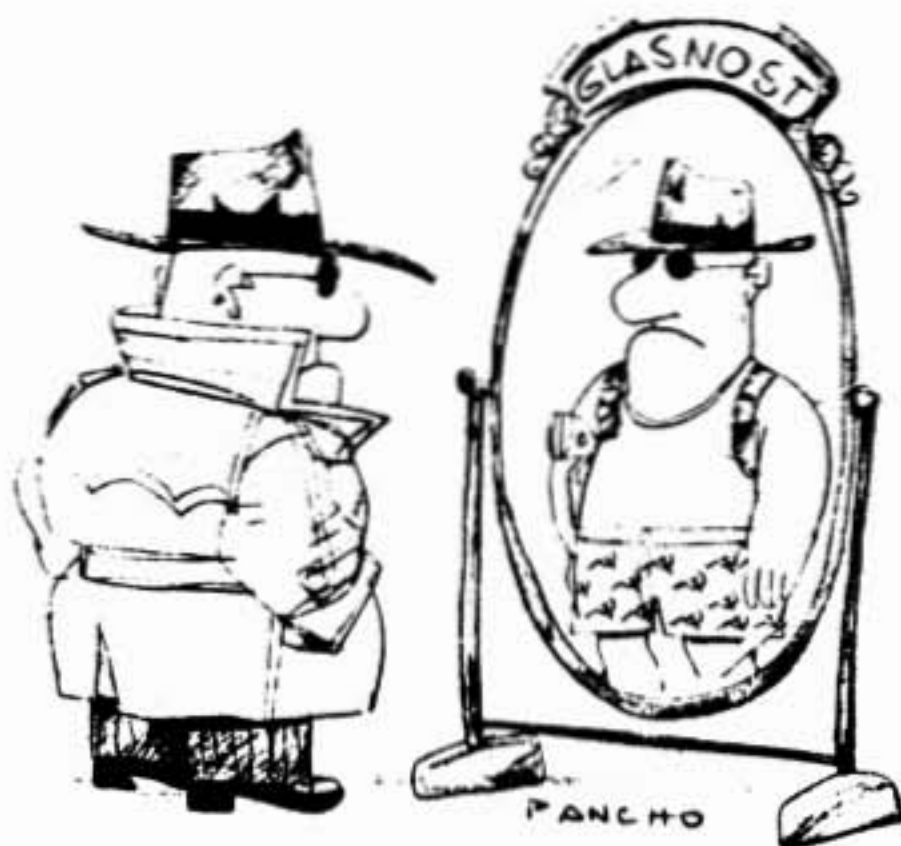
"It was in these conditions that a prejudiced attitude to the role of commodity-money relations and the law of value under socialism developed and the claim was often made that they were opposite and alien to socialism. All this was combined with an underestimation of profit and loss accounting, and produced disarray in pricing, and a disregard for the circulation of money".

Of course, people *must* develop a prejudiced attitude towards commodity-money relations, and *must* have a disdain for profit and loss accounting. These are opposite and alien to the end goal of socialism. Supremacy of commodity-money relation means supremacy of the bour-

geoisie. The law of value basically presupposes profit as the motive force of production. A stand against these bourgeois determinants must be encouraged and strengthened. Why then is Gorbachev sobbing over this socialist stand of the Soviet masses? Isn't this a revelation?

Gorbachev insists that he has been helped by "Lenin's works, especially his last". He does not consider Lenin's analysis of imperialism, the state, the party, tasks of a revolution and Marxism as a whole. What he singles out is "Lenin's valuable ideas on management and self-management, profit and loss accounting, and the linking of public and personal interests". Gorbachev therefore tells us that he is a "Leninist". In fact Gorbachev kills Leninism in embrace.

During the early 1920's, after a revolution and three years of civil war and battles against 14 invading powers, at a time when large scale industry in the USSR had seized to exist, when peasants could not be persuaded to sell their crops because there was nothing for them to spend their money on, at a time when the only way of keeping everyone from starving was for the Red Army to go to the countryside and haul away the peasant's surplus food whether they liked it or not, Lenin, seeing the danger of a possible uprising, came



up with what became known as the New Economic Policy (NEP). He called this policy a "strategic retreat", a "reverting to capitalism to a certain extent". This was the only choice facing the ruling proletariat if it was to secure and strengthen its political power. NEP allowed a certain level of private ownership and unrestricted production in peasant families. The proletariat had to hire some former bourgeois factory owners and experts and functionaries because it had not yet had practical experience in certain fields of industry and government. The NEP was meant to curb a socio-economic sickness and was to be discouraged once the sickness was cured. What Lenin saw as a "retreat", Gorbachev sees as an absolute, a way to be followed by the Soviet Union, a "positive change".

GORBACHEV'S TARNISHED SOCIALISM

Shortly after Mikhail Gorbachev attained supreme authority as General Secretary, he made a symbolic choice. He set February 25 as the date for the opening of the 27th Party Congress in 1986. February 25 was the date on which Nikita Khrushchev poured slop on Stalin's political career, at the 20th Party Congress.

In his speech to the 2nd November 1987 meeting of the Central Committee, Gorbachev declared that the "guilt of Stalin and his entourage" is "enormous and unforgivable". What does Gorbachev consider Stalin guilty of? His criticism of Stalin in the realm of theory could not be more telling. In the same speech Gorbachev attacks what he terms Stalin's "erroneous theory of an aggravation of class struggle in the course of socialist construction." Gorbachev sees no need to sweep away the bourgeoisie under socialism. He is under no illusion:

"Socialism has a different criterion for distribution of social benefits: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work". There is no exploitation of man by man, no division into rich and poor, into millio-

naire and pauper, all nations are equal among equals, all people are guaranteed jobs. This is the embodiment of social justice under socialism".

Stalin started by committing the same mistake when in 1936 in his report "On the Draft Constitution of the USSR" he stated, "Thus the complete victory of the socialist system in all spheres of the national economy is now a fact --- It means that the exploitation of man by man has been abolished, eliminated ----- thus all the exploiting classes have now been eliminated". This led Stalin to the wrong conclusion as witnessed in his report to the 18th Congress in 1935:

"The feature that distinguishes Soviet society today from any capitalist society is that it no longer contains antagonistic hostile classes, that the exploiting classes have been eliminated while the workers, peasants and intellectuals who make up the Soviet society live and work in friendly collaboration".

In essence, Stalin one-sidedly emphasized the ownership system and failed to deal sufficiently and correctly with other aspects of the relations of production and the superstructure and their reaction to the ownership system. Stalin concluded that since ownership was well socialized, antagonistic classes and the internal basis for capitalist restoration had been eliminated. This Stalinist theory reduced capitalism to little more than the system of private ownership and the existence of antagonistic classes. Once political power is seized and a system of public ownership of the means of production applied, no thought is then given to a thorough-going socialist revolution (a revolution within a revolution) on the political and ideological fronts. Attention is only given to production and more production.

This theory of the productive forces seriously hampers the genuine tasks facing the proletariat in that it confines the proletariat to production and production alone. As a result whatever struggle the proletariat can wage, it will be nothing more than for

economic demands. Economism is therefore entrenched.

The other major weakness of this theory is that it is preoccupied with the economic base at the expense of the superstructure. There are a host of closely related positions that flow from this preoccupation: disregard for the masses as makers of history, reliance on planners, preoccupation with technology and expertise, confidence in hierarchy and one-man management, reliance on material incentives, and a total lack of interest in the transformation of an individual's world view. The end result becomes the growth of a powerful bureaucratic apparatus completely alienated from the masses.

During the latter part of his life, Stalin did begin to attempt to analyze some of the contradictions that still exist under socialism. This is especially so in his last work, "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR". Stalin here does lay stress on the fact that contradictions between the forces and relations of production *continue* to exist under socialism and that if not properly handled these contradictions could become antagonistic and even provide a basis for capitalist restoration or for bourgeois elements finding a breathing space to disturb socialist programmes. But still, he did not deal with the continuing contradiction between the base and the superstructure and did not point out that this contradiction constitutes a basic contradiction in a socialist society and also finds expression throughout socialism principally in the existence of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and the struggle between them.

It is only during the last part of his reign that Stalin unleashed class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Mr Gorbachev attacks this very class struggle under socialism. He sees it as anarchic and unnecessary. We in the Black Consciousness Movement criticize Stalin for:-

1. failing to grasp and apply dialectical materialism in the understanding of the laws of class

struggle in a socialist society,

2. failing to recognize that after extensive collectivization of agriculture class struggle and the contradiction between the socialist and capitalist roads continues,
3. seeing no material base for capitalist restoration *inside* the Soviet Union but only seeing a threat of invasion by international capitalism,
4. seriously neglecting agriculture and peasant life and lopsidedly stressing heavy industry,
5. having a cynical internationalist policy (as can be seen in his attitude towards the Chinese Revolution),
6. giving supremacy to production rather than class/ideological struggle,
7. unrealistically prioritizing the economic base rather than the superstructure,
8. being a technocrat,
9. excessively suppressing and liquidating opponents in the purges of the 1930s

but nevertheless uphold Stalin from the slanders of Trotsky, Khrushchev and Gorbachev.

Gorbachev intends to model the most rancid features of capitalist societies. He says,

"The essence of what we plan to do throughout the country is to replace predominantly administrative methods with predominantly economic methods".

"If personal interests are disregarded, nothing will come of the effort, and society will only stand to loose"

"There are benefits for people in the sphere of production and culture. For instance, we take special care of our eminent scientists, academicians and writers."

Not surprisingly, *perestroika* has its greatest emphasis on the principle "From each according to his ability,

to each according to his work". This is sometimes called "bourgeois right". Gorbachev sees this principle as something whose scope is to be widened, entrenched and strengthened, not to be restricted bit by bit until the attainment of that supreme goal, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs". The latter is completely pushed under the carpet!

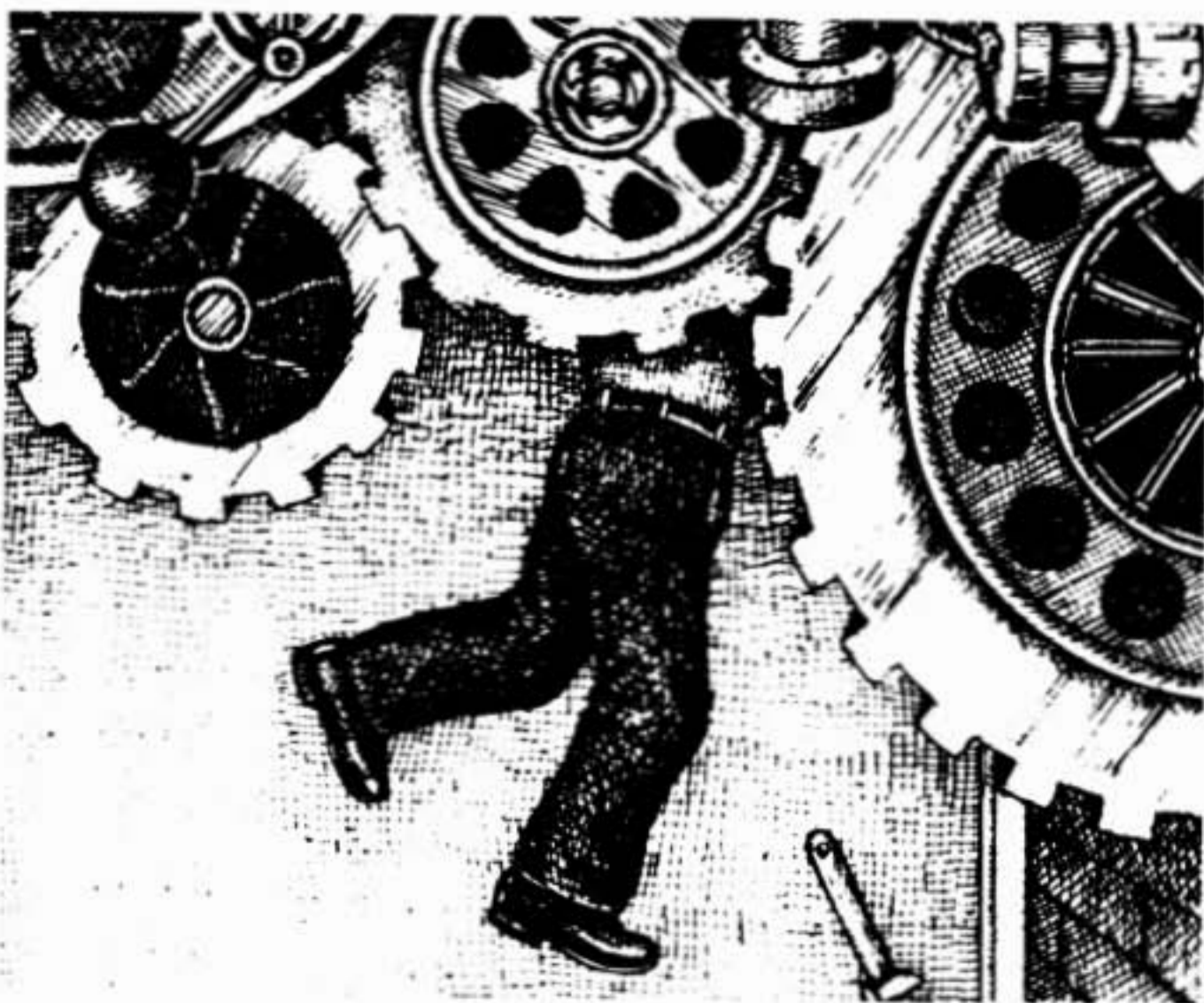
No wonder he complains so much about "wage-levelling". He sees pay according to work as supreme social justice.

That conservative shibboleth, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work" serves as a watchword for Gorbachev's labour policy. Like all other capitalists Gorbachev claims that labour is paid according to work performed. (Gorbachev earns 1500 roubles a month which is about R5 834, about seven times the average pay of a Soviet worker).

"What is the main short-coming of the old economic machinery?" Gorbachev asks. He then provides an answer, "It is above all the lack of inner stimuli for self-development". This inner stimulus is profits. He therefore concludes that this stimulus must become "a powerful lever, a motivating force for resourceful

quality performance". For the country not to "stand to loose" its people need "deserved" material incentives. No capitalist could say it better!

The idea of worker participation in the management of production occupies an important place in the new law on state enterprises adopted during June 1987 in the Soviet Union, which provides for the election of the managerial personnel by the members of the labour collective. Revisionists hail this as a broader campaign for *glasnost* (openness) and "democratization" throughout the Soviet society. In a further move to increase participation of the workers, a new institution called the labour collective council (*soviet trudonovo kollektiva*) has in the main been established. However, as should be expected, Soviet productive units were not transformed into centres of class struggle and relations between these units were not transformed in order to break down the relative separation of the workers from direct access to the means of production, distribution and exchange. Labour is still subordinated to strict hierarchical forms of authority, given incentives which amount to profit-sharing and the workers are consciously starved of information about national and world issues. Gor-



bachev boasts about this worker participation and also the existence of production committees in the Soviet Union. We hear much talk about labour enjoying rights of "having a say" in the affairs of production but no discussion of its right to run the whole state, enterprises, education, media and culture and transforming the whole world into its image! In fact this is its greatest right under revolutionary socialism.

No matter how cosy the new management system is, the point is once the production of surplus-value dominates social production, wage labour becomes a commodity. Once the urge to produce more becomes the requirement for maximization of profits with a minimum of capital invested in a particular labour process, once this characterizes planning, the producers become alienated, oppressed. Wage-labour thus become a *very dependent* commodity. This means that this labour power is controlled and utilized on an expanded basis to produce and reproduce relations which are alien to the working class. In your country, Mr. Gorbachev, labour is socially useful (and employable) only in so far as it is capable of producing surplus-value and meeting the demands of profitability. Worker participation in the echelons of management is perfunctory if the shop-floor worker is reduced to a propertyless proletarian-competing in the sale of his only commodity - his labour power - to keep life going.

What makes a society socialist is the fact that a proletarian line is overall in command, that society is on the socialist road, overcoming bourgeois relations, exposing and destroying capitalist roaders within it, and most important, functioning as a springboard for socialist revolutions in other parts of the world.

On the question of women, Gorbachev sees the role of women in the society almost the same way as did the Tsars years before him. He says "... that is why we are now holding heated debates in the press, in public organisations, at work and at home, about the question of what we

should do to make it possible for women to return to their purely womanly mission". This "mission" is their role as mothers and homemakers. The heroic image of the Soviet women who gave their lives during the October Revolution in 1917 and were actively involved in the armed struggle and the revolution must now give way to Gorbachev's philistine "womanly mission!"

"... WE ARE A SUPERPOWER"

One of the reasons why Gorbachev cannot allow class struggle in a socialist society is that it will cause "lawlessness". He wants "peace" and "mutual understanding" between "groups". Substitute "classes" for groups. He writes, "There is no democracy, nor can there be, without *glasnost*. And there is no present-day socialism, nor can there be, without democracy. "More socialism means a more dynamic pace and creative endeavour, more organisation, law and order, more scientific methods and initiative in economic management, efficiency in administration, and a better and richer material life for the people".

What then is the definition of capitalism if this typifies socialism? Gorbachev seems to have a belief that whatever the USSR does merits being said to be in the name of socialism. Socialism is imbibed like high school civics and has been transformed from a philosophy of rebellion and conscious struggle for emancipation of the proletariat into a religion of the Soviet status quo. Gorbachev sees Hungary where enterprise targets are not even set centrally anymore -- or Rumania -- where even the pretence of a monopoly on foreign trade has been discarded -- and China post 1976 -- where private ownership and capitalist relations of production have been reintroduced on a grand scale -- as all "socialist" countries. Now that we have found the Rossetta stone for Gorbachev's language we may conclude that Hungary, Rumania and others are "socialist" because they are loyal members of the Soviet dominated COMECON and WARSAW

PACT.

Gorbachev, dispirited by the military's low key response to *perestroika* met senior military officers at Minsk and told them,

"We need energetic leaders who can command and communicate, people with initiative who are competent in their work".

Dmitriy Yazov replaced the aging Sergey Sokolov as USSR defence minister in May 1987. Not only is Yazov a nimble-minded militarist, he is an ardent supporter of *perestroika*.

Marshal Orgakov, a leading Soviet military spokesperson who is close to Gorbachev politically, argued that: "Nothing is more dependent on the state of the economy than the army. Weapons, supplies, tactics and even strategy depend on the level of production and the means of communication".

Again the same Orgakov confesses:

" In order to increase the military preparedness of the country, today as never before, it is necessary to co-ordinate mobilization and deployment of the armed forces".

The USSR has an undying revolutionary legacy. Gorbachev knows this very well. He therefore seeks to wear this legacy to serve his reactionary interests. He talks about goodness in Soviet history in that it "brought formerly backward Russia to the right place- the place the Soviet Union occupies in human progress". What place is that? Gorbachev enjoys this question. He arrogantly says: "Today they say, some with admiration and others with open hostility, that we are a superpower". He therefore leads the USSR in *behaving* like one. This takes him beyond Soviet borders to look for " areas of influence".

So desperate are the Soviets they now challenge America even in places long regarded as sacrosanct arenas of American influence. The Pacific has long been regarded as "an American lake". In the summer of 1986 Gorbachev announced in a speech given at the USSR's largest Pacific port, Vladivostok, that, "The

Soviet Union is also an Asian and Pacific country". This message was not lost to the ears of the rival US imperialists.

Soviet warships are teeming in the war-torn Persian Gulf with Gorbachev proclaiming the Soviet Union "the guarantor of Gulf security". The US is claiming the same status. The Soviets increased their military aid to North Korea and Vietnam, inaugurated diplomatic and commercial relations with certain Polynesian island states, moved to secure commercial ties with Saudi-Arabia and even ran Kuwaiti oil tankers under Soviet flags.

HOW NOT TO FREE THE LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES . . .

Gorbachev notes that the whole world needs restructuring. But this is not what he really means.

The first thing to point out is that the division of the world into oppressor and oppressed nations is not objectionable to Gorbachev. He only complains about a "widening rather than narrowing" gap between the two.

He declares that the USSR recognizes how important "the Middle East, Asia, Latin America, other Third World regions and also South Africa are for American and Western European economies, in particular as *raw material sources*. To cut those links is the *last thing* we want to do, and we have no desire to provoke ruptures in historically formed, mutual economic interests". He goes on to say they (the Soviets) "do not pursue goals inimical to Western interests". His sheer apologia is revealed here:

"While we do not approve the character of the current *relations* between the West and the developing countries, we do *not* urge that they be disrupted".

He therefore suggests "a new world economic order" that, he says, came out of a conversation with French President Mitterand: "If the enterprise is to function effectively, it is imperative that the employees incomes are

guaranteed, and, despite their low level, are able to enable them to restore their production capacities, maintain their health, upgrade their qualifications, and raise their children". He accuses the West of failing to understand this "simple truth".

Soviet dealings with dependant countries are by no means dissimilar. Soviet trade with LDCs expands Soviet industry in two ways:

1. By providing a market for Soviet machinery, and,
2. By providing (imported) raw materials for industry (including foodstuff for its workers in industry).

When the USSR imports raw materials from LDCs, it is able to reduce the more expensive expansion of domestic output of these raw materials. For instance the import of long staple cotton from Egypt and Sudan is less expensive than the construction of extensive irrigation systems in Soviet Central Asia. By exporting manufactured goods in return for raw material imports, the USSR is able to increase its rate of industrialization. A rapid pace of capital accumulation allows for the constant introduction of new technology. All these factors enable the USSR to become a world power while preserving (if not reinforcing) the subordinate role of the LDCs.

From 1956 on, the USSR has been extending credits on a large scale. According to US estimates, from 1955 through 1976 the USSR extended 11.8 billion dollars, over 95 percent of which was loans. Eastern European countries extended 6.4 billion dollars. 28 percent of Soviet aid has gone to Egypt and India. Another 43 per cent has gone to the Middle East, broadly defined (Afghanistan, Algeria, Iraq, Syria and Turkey). 10



per cent has gone to sub-Saharan Africa, and 20 per cent to the rest of the world. The credits authorized in an aid agreement cannot be used until further agreements are signed. The Soviets must approve of each project for which the funds are to be used. The credits must be spent on goods purchased in the Soviet Union.

The above figures on Soviet "aid" do not include military aid. Soviet arms shipments to LDCs from 1967 until 1976 are estimated at 13 460 million dollars. From 1965 to 1974 Egypt purchased 2 400 million dollars, Syria and Iraq together bought 2 000 million dollars, and India purchased 1 300 million dollars. Soviet arms sales - often called Soviet military "aid" - are generally financed by ten-year credits (with at most a three year grace period) at 2 to 2 1/2 per cent interest. The prices paid by LDCs for Soviet arms are 40 to 50 per cent below Western prices. The USSR can import more valuable goods than it exports because the LDCs must pay interest demanded by Soviet loans



(aid). Soviet arms shipments have been a large portion of total Soviet exports to the LDCs. The Soviet Union is exploiting the dependent countries need for defence for its own economic advantages. Most arms sales by both the West and the Soviets to the Third World countries are usually of older equipment and of old-fashioned calibre. As they accumulate profits from this trade, the Soviet leadership is able to purchase Western technology.

Some revisionists argue that since the Soviets do not export capital the way the West does, then it means the USSR is not imperialist. Let us look at this difference even more closely.

It is true that the Soviet Union does not follow the Western style of direct investment abroad, or at least, not as massively as the West does. Soviet "aid" could be repaid in kind through barter arrangements. In other words, the Soviet Union will lend money to help construct a factory and part of the output of that factory will then

have to return to the Soviet Union. There is no fundamental difference between payment in commodities and payment in money. In both cases value is being generated abroad and transferred back to the imperialist country in another form, but it is still extracted value, materialized as a commodity. However, this is not to say that the Soviet Union's overseas profits represent a large share of total profits. This is to say these profits play a prominent role within the operations of the decisive and leading units of Soviet finance capital. Some of the Soviet Union's major economic transactions depend on these overseas profits.

We must remember that the act of exporting capital always remains, in essence, exportation of a social relation. In the "Third World" countries this social relation plays a dual role:

1. it ensures continued relations between the imperialist and the dependent country,
2. it ossifies the ruling class of the dependent country.

Soviet-financed industrialization in the Third World serves in fact to expand capitalist relations of production: Soviet built factories expand wage labour employment (under conditions of intense exploitation) at the expense of sometimes preferable pre-capitalist modes of production. The aid that goes to the Third World governments goes straight to the coffers of the ruling class, never to the working classes. The governments of India, Egypt, Syria and other Soviet "aid" recipients are in the hands of the comprador bourgeoisie. Neo-colonialism therefore is the control of the economies of the "Third World" countries by imperialist powers, the tying of the comprador bourgeois classes to the apron strings of the international bourgeoisie.

Imperialism therefore is not an anachronistic government policy nor a cynical conspiracy against less developed countries by monopoly-capitalists nor is it a search of markets beyond one's borders. *Imperialism is rooted in the laws of motion of capital, in the nature of capital as a*

self-expanding value. It is that system of capital exportation which reinforces an unequal international division of labour in which a few countries dominate the world economy and the rest assume the role of being mere subordinates. Imperialism is capital in maximum mobility, swiftest production and reproduction of its family, emphasis and re-emphasis on itself as an expanding social relation, a relation that, through its own contradictions extends, reinforces and reveals itself to the proletariat as enemy number one, at home and abroad. In most cases, capital conditions behavioral patterns of the proletariat in the mother country and that of the dependent country (successfully or unsuccessfully). The proletariat of the mother country is largely embourgeoisified. Their standard of living is considerably higher than that of the dependent country. This split creates contradictions between members of the same family (the proletarian family). Capital, ever looking for more areas of influence, expands on an unlimited scale thereby heightening contradictions and crises in the whole world, giving fresh possibilities of world war. Gorbachev is very aware of this.

"We would not beg for peace"

"The fundamental principle of the new political outlook is very simple: nuclear war cannot be a means of achieving political, economic, ideological or any other goals." Gorbachev therefore calls for peaceful-coexistence between countries. Yet even in Gorbachev's noisiest calls for peace the rivalry and tension between the American and Soviet imperialist blocs is audible.

Gorbachev accuses the US as prime perpetrators of armed conflict. He recalls the Tripoli incident: "In April 1986 American war planes bombed Tripoli, Benghazi and other facilities in Libyan territory." He accuses the government of the NATO countries for silently watching the developments and not doing anything to oppose this US action. Even worse is the fact that in the attack, "American war

planes took off from bases in Britain and flew through the air space of Western Europe." He then uses this attack as a yardstick, "And what if the American military takes a notion to punish one of the Warsaw Treaty countries by bombing it? What then? Act as if nothing happened? But this is war!" Should the US think the SOVIET UNION is powerless, this would be "wishful thinking." If the Soviet Union, when it was much weaker than now, was in a position to meet the challenges that it faced, then indeed "only a blind person would be unable to see that our capacity to maintain strong defences and simultaneously resolve social and other tasks has enormously increased."

A nuclear war would be a US fault. The US sets the tone for the arms race. The Soviet Union and the US are both signatories to the treaty banning nuclear tests. But the US "went on with a series of nuclear tests. Its spokesmen officially declared that it is Moscow's business whether to test nuclear charges or not. As far as the US was concerned the tests would continue without any let-up." Soviet strategists, Gorbachev included, consider the incineration of scores of millions through nuclear strikes and the use of other millions as cannon-fodder in the field as decisive. Soviet strategy implies a rearranged *imperialist* order.

It is true that in a world where socialist countries are threatened by nuclear-armed imperialist states, nuclear weapons would be a necessity. But the Soviet armed forces are guided by a weapons-first doctrine built around nuclear warheads. In fact, this doctrine alone is reason enough to condemn the Soviet military as imperialist.

What we are presented with is this: Bush and his NATO allies toy with grotesque notions of "limited" nuclear war and seek ways to surgically use their nuclear arsenals against their rivals, while limiting damage to their own imperialist homelands. Gorbachev and his Warsaw Pact allies announce that they will not play by such rules and insist that *their* preparations are to meet *any* nuclear exchange with all out and general nuclear bombardment of the planet!

It is the United States that started to pull out of the SALT-II Treaty, argues Gorbachev. This treaty was declared "dead". Then the Americans started to brainwash their citizens and the world's public in order to destroy the unlimited Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. It is the US government administration that sees it fit to continue with the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI). Gorbachev therefore says: "Yes, we are against SDI, because we are for complete elimination of nu-

clear weapons and because SDI makes the world ever more unstable". This parts the smile.

"They (the West) think that if the USSR is afraid of SDI it should be intimidated morally, economically, politically and militarily. This explains the great stress on SDI, the aim being to exhaust us".

Then comes the teeth. "We would not beg for peace. We had more than once responded to challenges and would do so again". What else can "respond to challenges" mean except waging and winning a war, coldly calculating how many millions of people can and must be incinerated and how much of the world must be laid to waste in order to grab a bigger share of the plunder?

He recalls: "The Soviet Union emerged from the Second World War in a very difficult condition. Nevertheless, we succeeded in restoring what had been destroyed, in building up our economic potential and in confidently tackling our defensive tasks. Is this not the lesson for the future?" Yes, it is Gorbachev. It is also a challenge to the international proletariat and the oppressed nations to rise up against both your imperialist bloc and the US bloc in order to free humanity from threats of nuclear war attacks and the destruction of every living soul on the planet, earth. ■



Welcome To The Shabab!

by Patrick Moody

Danger and opportunity are inseparable. When the seas are turbulent, it is possible for a vessel seemingly vanished in the wave's trough to emerge at the crest of the next great swell.

While noting the overall international situation, the last conclusion for one to draw is that nothing remains but to wait for one's own small craft to be buffeted, swamped and sunk in the inevitable global storm.

The revolutionary struggle of the Palestinian people defies the attempts by armchair intellectuals to achieve a "realistic two-state" solution.

The historic role of the Palestinian and Azanian revolutions, both against settler-colonial states controlled by the USA, will vastly influence the whole world for decades to come.

From The River Jordan To The Sinai

About two years ago, the settler-colonial state of Israel seemed all powerful, and some dared say that the Palestinian "wild card" had been discarded from the Middle Eastern deck. Reactionary vultures of all stripes cackled over "the corpse of the Palestinian movement." Today Israel's godfathers in the USA openly worry about the stability and survival of this indispensable link in their empire!

About two years ago, the USA was congratulating itself that its Persian Gulf policy had brought success: long-sought open alliances with the Arab gulf states were jelling, and its expanded armada had established a

firm foothold in the area. The *intifaada* (uprising) has sent all the Arab states who work closely with the United States scrambling to establish their "anti-Israeli" credentials as they worry about the sparks from Palestine jumping to ignite the masses within their own borders.

About two years ago, the goal of liberating *all* of Palestine from Zionism and imperialism seemed like an old dream that was fading amidst cynical "realism". December 9, 1987 saw the Palestinian people rising up together in unprecedented unity.

The spectre of national liberation has re-emerged and it walks a flesh and blood- in the fiery new generation of the shabab (the Palesinian youth). It is breath-taking to see how much the shabab have accomplished in the struggle and sacrifice of the *intifaada* which blankets the whole ancient land of Palestine: from the River Jordan to the edges of Sinai's desert, throughout the impoverished towns and refugee camps of the Gaza Strip, in the crowded farm villages of the West Bank, in the Arab districts of East Jerusalem and amongst the so-called "Israeli Arabs" – those Palestinians who live within the "Green Line."

Concentration Point

The Middle East is the concentration point of complex and volatile contradictions. If the knot of contradictions in the Middle East point to World War III, the *intifaada* has put an exclamation mark on the revolutionary potential of the masses. It has demonstrated that Israel and its US

master are not omnipotent, they are giants with feet of clay.

History will record that the most important political victory won by the *shabab* is to show that revolution has a genuine chance of defeating imperialism and settler-colonialism.

An Israeli colonel, on patrol in a Gaza Strip refugee camp, finds himself shaken by Palestinian eyes: "Their eyes show hatred – no doubt. And it is a deep hatred. All the things they cannot say and all the things they feel inside of them, they put into their eyes and in how they look at you. You feel a hatred from them ..." To this soldier, armed to the teeth and backed by all the modern weaponry of a Western power, the fearlessness of the *shabab* is unnatural, unsettling and foreboding: "They are not afraid to look right at you," he complains to a reporter, as his patrol approaches a group of glaring Palestinian youths. "Sometimes you pass a school, and stone-throwing kids come out and you give them a daring, intimidating look. They stare right back at you and they give you the feeling that they have self-confidence." He adds that the *shabab* do not look at his automatic rifle with hatred but with covetousness. This too makes him uneasy.

Israel and the US have thrown everything at the *shabab* including genocidal military assaults on civilians, illegal detentions, demolitions of homes and deportations. Israeli Prime Minister Shamir vowed: "Israel will prevent in the most determined way any attempt to carry out any idea- to the extent that there are madmen who raise it – of establishing a Palestinian government. Such people will be met with an iron fist that will leave no

trace of their attempts.

But the situation "on the ground" is still being shaped by the Palestinian masses, meeting in the slums and fighting defiantly through the crooked streets.

Negotiated settlement

The Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) has attempted to use the power of the *intifaada* to force the world powers towards an international conference, in the hope that Israeli occupation can come to a negotiated end. What this means is to install *another* form of reactionary armed control over Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza: either Jordan serving as the new gendarme or some collaborators ruling a mini-state bantustan on Israel's behalf.

On July 31, 1988 King Hussein of Jordan, an American puppet, announced that he would cut the "legal and administrative links" that have bound the Palestinian people in the West Bank and Gaza Strip to his government. As a US State Department official explained: "Hussein is putting the PLO on the spot ... Eventually, he figures, the West Bank Palestinians will come to their senses and may decide that the ultimate solution is a confederation of the West Bank with Jordan."

A two-day general strike shut down the West Bank beginning on August 1, 1988 and an even bigger strike spread through the "occupied territories" on August 8, 1988 and again on August 14. Hussein's move fueled the determination and resolve of the *shabab*.

As the Gaza Strip shook with rebellion against the Israeli occupiers, the Palestine National Council, the "parliament in exile" of the PLO issued a symbolic "declaration of independence" for a Palestinian state (September 1988). This declaration is based on the 1947 UN Partition Plan, which divided Palestine into a Jewish state and an Arab state. The PNC calls for "peace negotiations"



based on UN resolutions on Palestine, specifically naming UN Resolution 242. Passed after the 1967 War, UN Resolution 242 implies the recognition of Israel as a legitimate state.

The PLO thus openly recognized Israel's "legitimacy" and called for a "mini-state" made up only of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Such a mini-state can mean no more than a *bantustan a la Transkei or Venda*. It would be stripped of any real political, economic and military independence and surrounded by armies from Israel and /or pro-West Arab states like Jordan and Egypt. The Soviet Union has indicated support for the recognition of Israel and the "mini-state" solution.

Boasted a high-ranking PLO official: "We are now concerned with gaining world support, and we cannot ignore international facts that have become realities." This talk of realism is PLO doublespeak for counter-revolution and defeatism.

The Battle of Karameh

During March 1968, the Battle of Karameh erupted when a small band of *fedayeen* successfully defended the guerrilla base of PLO at Karameh, Jordan against a vastly superior Israeli force. Karameh marked a phoenix-like rebirth of the Palestinian cause. In the weeks following March 21 1968 hundreds of thousands of people took down their posters of Nasser and replaced them with posters of the *fedayeen*, wrapped in *kaffiyehs*, guns in hand.

By 1974, however, official PLO policy (represented by Arafat's speech to the UN) had gone from an erroneous though in many respects still revolutionary-line, to a consolidated orientation of subordinating the armed struggle to deals and diplomatic manoeuvring with one or another imperialist. The role of armed action in PLO strategy was reduced to that of an "irritant" designed to constantly remind the Zionists that

"the Palestinian question will not go away" and that "a negotiated solution is unavoidable."

The impotence of this overall PLO strategy was never more starkly evident than in the decision to surrender and leave the city of Beirut under the "protection" of a US multinational task force rather than fighting the Battle of Beirut through (July 1982).

Welcome to The Shabab

In September 1988, a thirteen year old Palestinian girl at a summer camp in Libya told a reporter: "We must fight for all of Palestine." Her fifteen year old companion nodded in agreement: "Up to now, everything Chairman Arafat has done has been right. But the day he recognizes Israel is the day I will oppose him. I will win my state by fighting, not by recognition." Indeed, illusory schemes of a relatively cheap and painless road to liberation through brokered deals with "enlightened" or pragmatic great powers lead, not to victory, but to paralysis and disaster.

Welcome to this fierce new generation! With incredible courage and sacrifice, the *shabab* have placed themselves in the front ranks of the struggle against settler-colonialism and imperialism. Much will be demanded of them as we free Palestine ... and Azania!!! ■

REPORT OF A BANKRUPT

**If you blow out the candles in my eyes,
If you freeze all the kisses on my lips,
If you fill my native air with lispng curses,
Or silence my anguish,
Forge my coin,
Uproot the smile from my children's faces.
If you raise a thousand walls,
And nail my eyes to humiliation,
Enemy of man,
I shall not compromise
And to the end
I shall fight.**

**Enemy of man
The signals are raised at the forts,
The air
Is thronged with beckonings,
I see the sails at the horizon
Striving,
Defying,
The sails of Ulysses are veering home
From the seas of the lost
The sun is rising,
Man is advancing,
And for his sake,
I swear
I shall not compromise
And to the end
I shall fight
I shall fight.**

- Samir Al-Qassem

One Base, Two Superstructures

by IMRANN MOOSA

It may be assumed that the central point of BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS (BC) ideology is the hegemony of the Black working class but this is simply not true, and from this misconception, an opportunist distortion of BC might very easily arise.

Those who recognize *only* the hegemony of the Black working class are not yet thoroughgoing revolutionaries. They may well be found to be still within the straight-jacket of bourgeois ideology.

Only she or he is a thoroughgoing revolutionary who *extends* the recognition of the race/class struggle to the recognition of the Dictatorship of the Black Proletariat and of the necessity to continue the revolution under this Dictatorship through the long socialist transition period.

Revolutionary Consciousness

The fundamental right of the Black Proletariat is to rule. Without this, any prattle about the "rights of labour" is absolutely meaningless.

The crucial point, comrades, is that the struggle for scientific socialism is a struggle for the *conscious* control of society by the Black working class. The Black Proletariat *must* be aware and conscious of just what it is doing and the fact that its own rule is, from an historical standpoint, merely transitory. This is why socialism can never grow up spontaneously within capitalism as did capitalism within the bowels of feudal society.

And this is precisely why the gains of a socialist revolution can be so completely reversed that a capitalist restoration can be effected. We have seen this happen under Khrushchev in the Soviet Union: we have seen it recur under Deng Xiaoping in China.

This contribution is based on an address delivered to students at the University of the Western Cape on 27 July 1988 under the rubric "Black Solidarity for a Socialist Azania."



Today we see the capitalist road being faithfully followed in Gorbachev's *perestroika* and *glasnost* and Deng's much-vaunted "economic reforms."

And the fact that the distance between capitalist roaders and fascist dictators is more apparent than real is forcefully illustrated in the 4 June 1989 massacre and its aftermath in Deng's China as also in Gorbachev's bloody suppression of revolt in the Soviet republics.

It is poetic justice that the Tiananmen Square Revolt in China occurred almost simultaneously with the Sino-Soviet summit and quite thoroughly eclipsed it.

In Tiananmen Square in 1966 Deng Xiaoping was paraded wearing a dunce cap by students as a result of his capitalist line expressed in his words "It doesn't matter if it's a white cat or a black cat, as long as it catches mice."

Until his death, Mao Tse Tung led the struggle against Deng and Co.'s attempts at capitalist restoration. Mao called Deng out: "This person does not grasp class struggle; he has never referred to this key link. Still his theme of 'white cat, black cat', making no distinction between imperialism and Marxism."

"He knows nothing of Marxism-Leninism; he represents the bourgeoisie. He said he would 'never reverse the verdict'. It can't be counted on." Prophetic words indeed!

Democracy

In many ways socialist society is not much different from capitalist society, especially as regards inequality among the people, the contradiction between mental and manual labour, between workers and peasants and between women and men, wage differentials, etc. This provides the basis for capitalist relations and bourgeois elements representing them to constantly emerge.

Under socialism, there can and must be full democracy for and increasing broad participation of the masses in all spheres of political, economic and social life. But the guarantee of such democracy is the exercise of dictatorship over the old exploiters and any new exploiters who arise from within socialist society and the ranks of the revolution itself.

Such a Dictatorship must, perforce, be an *all-round* one. The Black Proletariat needs must occupy the commanding heights of society. It must not only wield political power but must also control the economy, education, literature and art, the sciences, medicine – in short, all aspects of social life. Wherever the power of the Black Proletariat fails to reach, there the power of the oppressors will remain and thrive.

In dealing with the question of democracy, any purely formalistic approach can only end in promoting bourgeois democracy. The broad category "the masses" includes different classes; the masses are at all times divided into advanced, intermediate

and backward sections. Democracy has a definite class character!

Base and Superstructure

We know that the "superstructure" refers to all the factors that decide a people's idea of their social reality including the laws and the courts, the police and the army, the bureaucracy and the whole apparatus of government, ideology, values and morals, religion, philosophy, education, culture, etc. The superstructure generally rests upon and reinforces the economic base of a society.

Our starting point is the material world and the economic activity of people. Material conditions determine the activities, development and products of the human mind, and not the other way around. As Marx pointed out:

"In the social production of their existence, men enter into definite, necessary relations, which are independent of their will, namely, relations of production corresponding to a determinate stage of development of their material forces of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation on which there arises a legal and political superstructure and to which there correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life-process in general."

- *Preface and Introduction to the Critique of Political Economy*

Society and nature are in a constant process of change – not a cyclical change, coming out of the same way it began, but a process of spiral-like change progressing from the lower to the higher level and marked by leaps.

The development of human society is ultimately determined by the development of the basic forces which human beings have built up in their interaction with nature to produce what they need and want – in other words by the *productive forces* of society. The

productive forces consist of tools and human beings. But human beings are the principal factor: tools are created, used and renovated by people, science and technology are discovered by people.

In order to use the productive forces, people have to enter into certain relations with regard to the overall process of production in society. These are referred to as the *production relations* of a society.

As Marx said in the quotation above, these production relations constitute the economic structure of society or the *economic base*. Political power and dominant ideology, belonging as they do to the superstructure, are ultimately determined by the nature of the economic base which in turn is determined by the level of development of the productive forces.

To be sure, the superstructure reacts upon the base and influences it enormously. The relationship between the base and the superstructure may be seen as one in which the base is the principal or *determining factor* and the superstructure is the *initiating one* – they interpenetrate dialectically and are interdependent and retroactive.

The relationship between the superstructure and base is never rigid, static or one-way. The superstructure is not a passive effect of the base; there is a constant and dialectical interaction between them. It can – and does – happen that the superstructure becomes principal and decisive in determining the nature and development of the economic base.

Engels forcefully addressed this point:

"According to the materialist conception of history, the *ultimately determining factor* in history is the production and reproduction of real life. Neither Marx nor I have ever asserted more than this. Hence if somebody twists this into saying that the economic factor is the *only determining one*, he transforms the proposition into a meaningless, abstract, absurd phrase. The economic situation is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure – political forms of the class struggle and

its results, such as constitutions established by the victorious class after a successful battle, etc., juridical forms, and especially the reflections of all these real struggles in the brains of the participants, political, legal, philosophical theories, religious views and their further development into systems of dogmas – also exercise their influence upon the course of the historical struggles and in many cases determine their *form* in particular. There is an interaction of all these elements in which, amid all the endless host of accidents (that is, of things and events whose inner interconnection is so remote or so impossible of proof that we can regard it as non-existent and neglect it), the economic movement is bound to assert itself."

- "Engels to Joseph Bloch in Koningsberg"

It was Mao Tse Tung who showed the decisive importance of continuously revolutionizing the superstructure as well as the economic base. He emphasized that under socialism the role of the superstructure assumes even greater importance and the struggle in the superstructure becomes even more acute and complex.

Mao underlined that transformation of the economic base does not *automatically* transform the superstructure: where the broom does not touch, the dust never vanishes of itself! He said: "Ideological and political work are the guarantee for accomplishing economic work and technical work, and they serve the economic base. Moreover, ideology and politics are the commander, the soul. If our ideological work and political work slacken just a little, economic work and technical work are bound to go astray."

Much as the bourgeoisie and petit bourgeoisie may retain or seize control in socialist society of certain units and departments in the economy, so also may they retain and seize control of certain parts of the superstructure, in particular of ideology.

It is in the superstructure that the counter-revolution by a new bourgeoisie under socialism is most likely to begin: here the superstructure

plays the decisive as well as the initiating role.

Occupied Azania

In occupied Azania, a corporate state maintained by surveillance and having all the trappings of capitalist democracy and capitalist culture co-exists with an authoritarian regime and gun law.

There are two superstructures to a single economic base in occupied Azania – one a Black superstructure and the other a white superstructure. This is brutally apparent in the large, airy buildings, well-kept gardens, tennis courts, golf courses, well-paved roads, lighted streets etc in the *herrenvolk* side of any South African city juxtaposed against the squalid hostels and matchbox houses, the dirt roads, the lack of sewerage disposal and other basic civic and civil amenities in the Black side.

The white superstructure undoubtedly exhibits all the trappings of capitalist democracy – including franchise, an elaborate network of rights and liberties, social and economic mobility and even a labour movement that represents the interests of the white labour aristocracy. The white working class, one third of whom are employed by the state, batters on the superexploitation of the Black workers: their standard of living and quality of life is comparable only to workers in the advanced capitalist countries of Europe and North America.

The Blacks, on the other hand, have no meaningful franchise (the franchise for the tri-racial Parliament or in various puppetstates amounts to nought), no representation, no real rights and liberties, no economic and social mobility (free settlement areas and open businesses in the Central Business District only underline this), no labour movement or political organisation that cannot be put down by the awesome power of the settler-colonial state, no education except gutter education, no law except naked police and judicial tyranny – no nothing!



Disorganic Development

The contradictions of the apartheid-capitalist system are sharpest where they exist in the raw – precisely in the Black superstructure. All the Gross National Product (GNP) the Black workers amass for this country leaves them poorer than before.

The Black working class produces what is of no real value to it and yet cannot buy what it produces – neither use value nor exchange value.

Unlike the white workers, how the Black workers produce bears no relation whatsoever to how they used to produce. They have not emerged into capitalist production but have been flung into it – into a technology and a labour process that reifies them and into social relations that violate their customs and their codes.

The Black workers toil in the factories, in town, to support their families, their extended families, in the bantustans – to contribute to the building of the local Zion Church "at home", to help get teachers for the school "at home", to sink a well there.

But the manner of toiling socializes the Black workers into individualism, nuclear families, consumer priorities, artefacts of capitalist culture. The two capitalist passions – *greed* for more and the *fear* of losing in the quest for more – obtrude the Black workers' consciousness.

The Black workers are caught between two modes, two sets of social relations, characterized by exchange value in the one and use value in the other – and the contradiction disorients them and removes them from the centre of their being. At each step they have to come to terms

with *their* alienation from the fruits of their labour and the parasitical character of the white ruling class.

Neither has the peasantry (there is no white peasantry at all in occupied Azania) escaped the capitalist mode. What it has done is to wrench them from their social relations and their relationship with the land. Within a single lifetime, they have had to exchange sons for tractors and tractors for petrochemicals. And these things too have taken them from themselves in space and in time.

Rural society in occupied Azania is characterized by a juxtaposition of modes of production undergoing complex mutations and possibly producing new totalities. Pre- and non-capitalist modes of production and the relations of exploitation which characterize such modes of production are vitally necessary for the apartheid-capitalist system. Apartheid-capitalism adapts various modes of production to its needs and even "refeudalizes" social relations. Overall apartheid-capitalism has a conserving as well as a dissolving effect on pre- and non-capitalist relations. Feudalism is most certainly a feature of both the base and the superstructures in occupied Azania.

The extended family in the bantustans (reserves) – by caring for the very young and very old, the sick and the labourer during times of rest, by providing education (for which Blacks must pay) to the young – relieves the capitalist sector and the state of some of the expense of carrying out and paying for these functions. At the same time, the reserves furnish capital with an optimal selection of workers to replenish a brutally driven and rapidly exhausted labour force.

Thus the reproduction of cheap labour power in occupied Azania depends on a symbiotic connection between capitalist forms on the one hand and pre- and non-capitalist forms on the other.

What happens to all the production from the land and from the factories?

Where does all the GNP go – except to the white settlers and their imper-

ialist backers?

What capitalist development has meant to the Black masses is production without any purpose but to eke out an existence, massive immiseration accompanied by a wholesale attack on their values, relationships and entire cultural fabric.

This development makes no sense at all for the masses, it has no bearing on their lives. It is not simply a distorted (incoherent) or disarticulated (extroverted) development – it is a *disorganic development* undergirded by the modalities of superexploitation. There is no doubt that the disorganic development spawned by apartheid-capitalism is in synch with the requirements of modern industrial growth and is an intergral and exacerbating element of the overall imperialist crisis.

For the white superstructure the economic, cultural and political aspects of capitalism have evolved gradually, organically and out of that superstructure's history.

Hence the white superstructure is modified with changes in the level of the productive forces and class struggle. It accords with the economic imperatives of imperialism: the economic network is overlaid by a vast structure of military, administrative and financial control.

The capitalist mode of production has been grafted on to the existing cultural and political order in the Black superstructure. Capitalism in the Black superstructure is not an organised body of connected, interdependent parts sharing a common life – it is not an organism.

Hence the Black superstructure is at odds with the capitalist economy, sets the economy at odds with itself and inhibits its free development. The economic system is at odds with the cultural and political institutions of the Black people: it is not mediated by culture or legitimated by politics as it is in white society.

In summary, then, although the South African economy is based on the capitalist mode, the superstructures bear no organic relationship to

it, they do not on the whole respond to the imperatives of the system.

The base and the superstructures do not complement and reinforce each other in occupied Azania. They are in fundamental conflict – and exploitation is naked, crude, unmediated, although fortified and prettified by the "happy products" of capitalist culture, capitalist homilies on "group and human rights" and on the "wonders" of Western civilization and increasingly desperate measures to "modernize" and "reform" the system of apartheid-capitalism while really intensifying superexploitation and plunder.

At a point, therefore, the political system – white racism – has to be extrapolated from the superstructures and made to serve as a cohesive and coercive – force to maintain the economic order of things. The contradiction between the base and the superstructures now resolves itself into one between the Pretoria regime and the Black people, with culture as a vital expression of the development from protest to resistance to rebellion to revolution.

Only changes in the Black superstructure are capable of releasing the economy into its own dynamic.

Mind you, the infrastructure (economic base) in occupied Azania is **secure**, *relatively speaking*. South Africa is definitely not a society in which ideology has ran amock and it is incredibly naïve to contend that the imperatives of capitalist industrialization will gobble up apartheid.

The economic, social and political control exercised over the Black majority flows from a specific model of capitalist accumulation which is inextricably bound up with the interests and imperatives of imperialist capital. In fact, the relationship between imperialism and racist South Africa is *itself a production relation*.

Culture in the Black superstructure differs as between the different modes of production but as Cabral says, it does have "a mass character." Cultural resistance takes on "new forms (political, economic, armed) in

order fully to contest foreign domination". (*Return to the Source*)

At the economic level, the different exploitations at the different modes confuse the formal lines of class struggle but the common denominators of political oppression make for a mass movement which in Marx's magnificent phrase will draw its poetry not from the past "but only from the future". (*The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*)

BC

Apartheid-capitalism has succeeded not only in dividing and separating the economic and cultural aspects of struggle – the standard of living and the quality of life – but also in concealing them from each other. In the process the economic aspect of struggle became the sole preserve of the working class while the cultural aspect became the preserve of the Black people – and the totality of struggle, its holism, was lost to view.

To build socialism the "lever" that makes possible the production, accumulation and utilization of the surplus cannot be commodity production and the law of value, but can only be ideological and political line – namely, BC!

While the march to the future is no unilinear advance, what is required in the first place is a revolution in the superstructures – which is the acquisition of state power by the Black working class. This constitutes only the very first step in its historic mission.

The Black working class must carry out a revolution in all spheres of the superstructures and the economic base to eradicate ideological influences, the force of habit and racist, racialist and ethnic practices. Its success will hinge on a radical break with imperialism.

The transformation of the superstructures will require patient, constant and intense effort. This kind of effort in turn requires BC, which is the only ideology capable of introducing a new rationality in Azania. To re-emphasize: it is precisely in the arena of ideology that there will be long and



tortuous struggle, especially under socialism. And the most important productive force liberated by socialism . . . is people.

BC uncovers the essence of social relations that underlie various appearances and forms. It stands completely opposed to the policy of seeking an accommodation with reaction, of stopping the revolution in return for a few reforms or for positions in government.

BC stands for thoroughgoing revolution and those who see the "liberation struggle" as a means to obtain their share in the exploitation of the masses will forever view it as their mortal enemy.

BC is knowledge, recognition, foresight, common experience and perception, sensibility, alertness, mindfulness. It stirs the senses, the blood; it exposes and suggests; it will objectify, enrage, direct – to ever greater leaps forward until the abolition of classes, races and the state itself.

Comrades, there is nothing hard in this

world, *if we dare to scale the heights.* We must satisfy our burning desire to retain the freedom, the life-style and the dignity that we have carved out from the mosaic of our lives, out of the rubble of our civilization, out of the wilderness of unlove. ■

A Big Question Sonnet

**If death has no dominion over our souls,
then who shall dare to dominate the indomitable spirit of our resistance
in our struggle to break the knot of bondage?**

**Who has a finger gigantic enough to snuff the fireflame on the glowing tail
of a relentless firefly,
a torch of freedom in the darkness, flashing
in the infernal prison cells
where wailing children have their loins torn
to shreds by the wanton beast?
Who will avenge the loss of their innocence,
the tenderness of their bodies
the purity of their brave hearts?**

Oswald Mtshali

DESTROYING THE TADPOLE PHILOSOPHY

by **ROBERT FATTON JR.**

In this piece, Dr Robert Fatton Jr – the author of *Black Consciousness in South Africa: The Dialectics of Ideological Resistance to White Supremacy* (Albany: State University of New York Press: 1986) – analyses the Black Consciousness Movement in occupied Azania during the 1968–1977 period. Dr Fatton's distinctly Gramscian analysis is offered to you for criticism and debate.

The repression unleashed by the white state in the early 1960s against the nationalist movements of African liberation created a political vacuum. The banning of the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) in 1960 left the African population without any viable means of protest and internal opposition. This absence of challenge to apartheid profoundly shaped the political development of the mid-1960s. It provoked the ascendancy of a small class of white liberals bent on defending what it perceived to be the interests of a defenceless African population. It induced an African political opportunism manifested in the rise of a bantustan administrative elite. Finally, it permitted the consolidation of the repressive machinery of white supremacy.

Birth of BC

Yet it was clear that neither white liberals nor Bantustan leaders obtained the support of the African masses. Not surprisingly new forms of resistance emerged and crystallized in the Black Consciousness Movement. Indeed, by the end of the 1960s a new generation of Black youth began to articulate the necessity of an intellectual and psychological liberation from white-bourgeois hegemony. Blacks had reached a stage of crisis by discovering a series of existential anomalies which deviated from the expectations generated by white liberal discourse. The existential anomalies had reached such massive and egregious proportions that Blacks abandoned liberalism altogether. It was in this context that the Black Consciousness Movement was born.

What I seek to do today is to analyze the ideological development and radi-

calization of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) of South Africa, which emerged during the late 1960s with the formation of the South African Student's Organization (SASO) and crystallized in the Black People's Convention (BPC). The whole movement was eventually banned by the white minority regime in 1977 in the aftermath of the Soweto Rebellion of 1976. Nonetheless, several organizations rooted in the tradition of Black Consciousness such as the Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO) and the National Forum (NF) crystallized in the late 1970s and early 1980s to fill the vacuum created by the banings.

Moral Anger

The ideological manifestations of the Black Consciousness Movement are essential to any understanding of contemporary South Africa, for the content of this consciousness will have a lasting and decisive impact on the unfolding political and revolutionary struggle, as well as on the institution of a racially liberated South Africa. Indeed, such consciousness is a source of moral anger and self-affirmation which embodies an ethical and political standard that condemns the existing social order and offers the vision of an alternative society. Without such consciousness the likelihood of a comprehensive and sustained African challenge to white supremacy is remote. Structural changes in South Africa hinge upon the erosion of the relative legitimacy of white

domination and on the defeat of the sense of inevitability supporting the exploitation of the Black people. For, as Barrington Moore has argued:

"People are evidently inclined to grant legitimacy to anything that is or seems inevitable no matter how painful it may be. Otherwise the pain might be intolerable. The conquest of this sense of inevitability is essential to the development of politically effective moral outrage. For this to happen, people must perceive and define their situation as the consequence of human injustice: a situation that they need not, cannot, and ought not to endure. By itself of course such a perception . . . is no guarantee of political and social changes to come. But without some very considerable surge of moral anger such changes do not occur."

The Black Consciousness Movement contributed to such a surge of moral anger; its radicalization became an indispensable spur to Black revolutionary activity. The development of Black Consciousness as a counter-consciousness, channeling the unified opposition of the Black population to the dominance of the white minority, became a fundamental and necessary ingredient in the process of challenging white supremacy. As long as the ideological terrain remains the uncontested territory of the racial myth, few if any structural transformations can be expected.


Prophetic Ideology

These structural transformations hinge upon the overall negation of the process of social reproduction. Initially such a negation assumes an ideological character which imparts a new moral and ethical vision of the feasible to the human subject. Hence, the importance of ideology cannot be minimized. While ideology may be functional to the exigencies of white supremacy, it need not be so. There may develop among the subordinate classes a counter-ideology, a prophetic ideology, which not only fails to correspond to these exigencies, but also contributes to the general dislocation of the social order. This general dislocation brought about by the convulsions of the ideological realm opens the avenues for profound structural transformation. This is not to say that white supremacy has no distinctive or limiting effect on the formation of this counter-ideology, but rather to maintain that in the revolutionizing of society, the counter-ideology of the subordinate classes weakens the power of the ruling class and propels society toward a revolutionary predicament.

Ideology in this sense must be considered as the expressive means through which men and women make their own history as conscious agents. This does not mean that ideology is completely independent from material conditions, but that it has an autonomy of its own which in turn conditions the historical transformation of society.

Developing Ideology

In this perspective, the study of Black Consciousness as a counter-ideology of resistance to white supremacy is essential to any understanding of contemporary South Africa. For this consciousness and the forms and shapes that it has assumed will eventually condition the future situation of Black women and men. The evolving nature of the Black Consciousness Movement will also impart a conciliatory or revolutionary, a peaceful or violent, a bourgeois or socialist dimension to the confrontation be-



tween Blacks and whites. By eschewing violence and emphasizing Black cultural and psychological emancipation from white hegemony – to the relative neglect of economic issues – the Black Consciousness Movement was *initially* the vehicle of a Black philosophy of pride and self-affirmation invigorated by an ethic of "Christian Liberation."

Thus, the Black Consciousness Movement embodied the ideals of Negritude and the Christian message of salvation – the beginnings of the Kingdom of God to be struggled for here on earth as well as enjoyed in Heaven. The Black Consciousness Movement opposed the white ascendancy of apartheid on a cultural plane and it stressed self-help and the encouragement of cultural organizations. However, it gradually developed an understanding of the material conditions of life, and as such the Movement became much more than a mere cultural renaissance. While Black Consciousness drew its early inspiration from both Negritude and Christianity, it came to recognize the phenomenon of class struggle and the fundamental role of man in abolishing oppressive social structures. While the degradation and dehumanization of the Black person by white racism generated a reactive African consciousness which asserted the intrinsic worth of Black people and Black culture, the social gospel of a radical Christianity – a theology of liberation – encouraged the tradition

of African communalism while identifying with the poor against the exploitative structures of apartheid.

Developing against both the structures of capitalist exploitation and the dehumanizing culture of white racism, the Black Consciousness Movement crystallized as a synthesis of class awareness and Black cultural assertiveness. The result was a revolutionary ideology deeply embedded in the prophetic Christian tradition. The ideology, however, with its emphasis on Black culture, identity and self-love, could not by itself destroy the system of entrenched white privilege. While psychological emancipation from white supremacy was a fundamental and necessary stage for political action, it could become an end in itself and develop into a poor substitute for revolutionary strategy.

Praxis

Black Consciousness, however, challenged the cultural hegemony of the white supremacist regime and it represented the ethico-political weapon of an oppressed class struggling to reaffirm its humanity through active participation in the demise of a racist and capitalist system. As such, Black Consciousness was a philosophy of praxis that attempted to eradicate from the Black intellect the inculcated submissiveness that contributed to its own enslavement. Not surprisingly, the Movement directed great attention to cultural and psychological is-

sues: it asserted that the liberation of the Black people would begin only when their mental constructs of their own inferiority ceased to guide their historical conduct. The Black revolution which the material structure made latent could only be activated by the transformation of the Black intellect. Thus, the revolution would occur only if the Black mind stripped itself from submission to white hegemony and erected on its own foundations the principles of the new moral order.

As Steve Biko, the father of the Black Consciousness Movement, explained:

"Black Consciousness is an attitude of mind and a way of life . . . Its essence is the realization by the Black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of their oppression – the blackness of their skin – and to operate as a group to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude. It is based on a self-examination which has ultimately led them to believe that by seeking to run away from themselves and emulate the white man, they are insulting the intelligence of whoever created them Black. This philosophy of Black Consciousness therefore expresses group pride and the determination of the Black to rise and attain the envisaged self . . . On his own . . . the Black man wishes to explore his surroundings and test his possibilities – in other words to make his freedom real by whatever means he deems fit. At the heart of this kind of thinking is the realization by Blacks that the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed."

From Biko's perspective then, Black Consciousness and Black morality meant the realization of an understanding that the emancipation of Blacks and the liberation of society as a whole required the mental renaissance of the Black intellect. This understanding also meant the development of a Black political will which, if necessary, would generate a massive insurrection culminating in

the overthrow of white supremacy and the ushering in of Black hegemony.

The Black Consciousness Movement effected therefore a massive process of intellectual and moral reform. Such reform represented a profound cultural transformation whose objective was to change the masses' conception of life, politics, and economics. Accordingly, it sought to usher in a new social and moral vision and to restructure the role and place of the hitherto subordinate and dominant classes. Such massive transformation embodies what the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci called in a different context the "cathartic moment" of liberation. This is the moment when the "structure ceases to be an external force which crushes man, assimilates him to itself and makes him passive; and is transformed into a means of freedom, an instrument to create a new ethico-political form and a source of new initiatives."

New Hegemony

The "cathartic moment," however, is neither spontaneous nor mechanical; it requires the dissemination of a new hegemony and hence the emergence of a new intellectual elite. This elite constitutes the thinking and organizing group of intellectuals who articulate the programmatic aspirations of one of the fundamental classes of society. Accordingly, these intellectuals clarify the ideas and objectives of the class to which they are organically linked. They contribute to the transition of a class in itself into a class for itself. Therefore, the organic intellectuals generate a new and potentially revolutionary self-consciousness. Again, let me quote Gramsci:

"Critical self-consciousness means, historically and politically, the creation of an "elite" of intellectuals. A human mass does not "distinguish" itself, does not become independent in its own right without in the widest sense, organising itself; and there is no organisation without intellectuals, that is without organisers and leaders, in other words, without the . . . existence of a group of people "specialised" in

conceptual and philosophical elaboration of ideas. But the process of creating intellectuals is long, difficult, full of contradictions, advances and retreats, dispersals and regroupings, in which the loyalty of the masses is often sorely tried."

It is this complex and difficult process of intellectual renewal and creativity which fundamentally characterized the Black Consciousness Movement. The youngsters who comprised the Movement represented the ascending organic intellectuals of the coming Black revolution.

Thus, it would be wrong to equate the Black Consciousness Movement with a mere cultural renaissance; it was indeed more than that. Black Consciousness recognized the centrality of the material conditions of existence and it was precisely because of these that it rejected collaboration with whites – however well intentioned they may have been. Because whites did not experience first-hand and could not 'feel' the predicament of being Black – not simply because of their pigmentation, but above all because of their exclusive and abusive bourgeois privileges – they could not join in the struggle of the Black masses. Being Black was not determined by colour alone; it was determined by the daily experience of enduring oppression as a class of exploited peasants and urban workers. A white could sympathize with a Black, yet economic advantages almost inexorably kept him white; as such, he remained at best a paternalistic reformer and at worst, a conscious exploiter.

In this perspective Black Consciousness rejected the multiracialist strategy advocated by the African National Congress. Black Consciousness perceived the idea of alliance and collaboration with whites as unrealistic and indeed impossible. Rejection of multiracialism, however, did not imply acceptance of the Africanism espoused by the Pan African Congress. Unlike Africanism which emphasized an exclusively African struggle against white supremacy, Black Consciousness went beyond the confines of race and Africanness.

The notion of 'Blackness' which decisively moulded the Movement's outlook, was embedded in both the consequences of being Black in a white supremacist state and the realities of material exploitation derived from a racial capitalism. As such, the concept 'Black' came to encompass all of the exploited, irrespective of their Africanness. Asians and "Coloureds" – people of mixed racial descent – were previously regarded with skepticism and ambiguity by the Africanists, but were fully integrated into the Black Consciousness Movement provided they accepted their Blackness. Moreover, the term 'Black' was not attributed to all Africans. In fact, the Movement reserved the pejorative term 'non-white' to define those Africans, Asians and "Coloureds" who collaborated with white authorities. Accordingly, the Black Consciousness Movement condemned the African bureaucratic elite of the bantustans for its incorporation into and acceptance of the political structure of apartheid.

Black Consciousness emphasized not merely race as a decisive factor in the struggle against white supremacy; it also stressed the interracial linkages preserving and enhancing the given racist reality. Thus, class as well as race occupied a privileged position in the BCM analysis of South African society. In this sense, the BCM departed from the purely racial attitude and strategy of Africanism. Being African was not a sufficient condition to qualify as a Black; to be Black implied a determined antagonism to apartheid and the political will to eradicate it.

Tadpole Philosophy

Thus, the economic structures of apartheid maintained white minority solidarity, and tended to divide Blacks into opposing but not necessarily antagonistic strata. In their endeavour to preserve their newly acquired status of wealth and power, Blacks of the urban petty bourgeoisie and especially those of the bantustan administrative elite, strove to become whites. Yet, always emasculated and rejected by white racists they degenerated into a particular hybrid – the 'non-white.' The non-whites emulated everything

white and repudiated everything Black. They were, to use Tawney's terminology, the "tadpoles" of history, for they thought that it was possible to:

"... reconcile themselves to the inconveniences of their position, by reflecting that, though most of them will live and die as tadpoles and nothing more, the more fortunate of the species will one day shed their tails, distend their mouths and stomachs, hop nimbly on to dry land, and croak addresses to their former friends on the virtues by means of which tadpoles of character and capacity can rise to be frogs ..."

Obviously this concept represented a false conception of apartheid society, for to become a frog in contemporary South Africa the tadpole would have to be born white. The tadpole philosophy, however, sustained the belief in the possibility of material advancement through unfettered personal achievement – though it offered little of either. For a small Black elite, it provided a way out of the misery engendered by a racist capitalism. It did not matter that few Africans escaped from poverty; those who failed to do so had only themselves to blame. Deeply etched in the Black intellect, these myths helped to support and even legitimize economic disparities and white supremacy. No wonder that, bent as it was on transforming the social awareness of Black men and Black women, the movement sought to destroy the hegemony of this bourgeois tadpole philosophy.

Black Consciousness aimed at transforming the stultifying white colonial theology into a Black theology of liberation and, therefore, it attempted to instill in the Black intellect a radical ideology of hope – an ideology without which the recovery of Black self-respect and humanhood was impossible.

Ideology of Hope

This preoccupation with the creation of an ideology of hope from which a new Black culture would spring, ex-

plains the emphasis that the Movement placed on the solidarity of the oppressed. For, economic and political liberation, indeed Black liberation itself, required Black cultural hegemony. Black Consciousness sought to create a social order in which the Black way of life and thought would be dominant, a social order in which the Black concept of reality would be diffused throughout society in all its institutional and private manifestations, informing with its spirit all taste, morality, customs, religious and political principles, and all social relations, particularly in their intellectual and moral connotation.

Hence, the goal of the Movement was the ultimate hegemony of Blackness as an ethico-political conception of liberation. As Biko recognized, the issue was not integration in the existing white-dominated system, but rather to revolutionize the system into a Black creation:

"Blacks no longer seek to reform the system because so doing implies acceptance of the major points around which the system revolves."

"Blacks are out to completely transform the system and to make of it what they wish. Such a major undertaking can only be realized in an atmosphere where people are convinced of the truth inherent in their stand. Liberation therefore, is of paramount importance in the concept of Black Consciousness, for we cannot be conscious of ourselves and yet remain in bondage."

Thus, Black Consciousness became a revolutionary theory. Its immediate task was to make possible the complete transformation of the white system and the liberation of the Black people. The problems involved in this restructuring of society as a whole were immensely complex, requiring much more than the mere negation of the negativities created by institutionalized racism. Black Consciousness was in fact the antithetical stage in the long and difficult process of dialectical liberation. As such it contradicted the thesis – white racism – and yet, it remained conditioned by white racism itself. This is why Bennie Khoapa understood the Movement

as a series of "transcendent negations":

"Paradoxically, a prerequisite for human solidarity is a feeling of non-solidarity with men who stand in the way of solidarity. Paradoxically, the oppressed can only bring about a future of universal brotherhood in proportion as they feel and exhibit group solidarity with the enemies of human solidarity . . . History has charged us with the cruel responsibility of going to the very gate of racism in order to destroy racism – to the gate not further."

Thus Black Consciousness was not merely an attempt at establishing a total cultural hegemony, it was also a radical cry for the transformation of the capitalist structures supporting apartheid. In addition, the Movement was a situational philosophy of praxis and as such subject to modification, progression, and retrogression. Finally, Black Consciousness entailed the necessary reaffirmation of the humanity of Black people and the indispensable rediscovery of the rich history of Africa.

Revolution

The hegemony of the white ruling class which installed into the Black mind a sense of inadequacy and inferiority had to be eliminated, and a new Black identity had to be constructed to take its place. A general political crisis had to be engineered to contest the foundation of white supremacy and ultimately to strip it of its aura of legitimacy. In this context, the first phase of the revolutionary emancipation of Black South Africans resided in the struggle for ideological hegemony; a struggle which had to erode the colonial mentality established by years of white domination and which had to usher in an entirely new system of beliefs. In a theoretical context, it is at this juncture that consciousness becomes a revolutionary force. In the words of Antonio Gramsci:

"Man is above all else mind, consciousness – that is, he is a product of history, not nature . . . Man has only been able to acquire a sense of

his worth bit by bit, in one sector of society after another . . . And such awareness was not generated out of brute physiological needs, but out of intelligent reasoning, first of all by a few and later by entire social classes who perceived the causes of certain social facts and understood that there might be ways of converting the structure of repression into one of rebellion and social reconstruction. This means that every revolution has been preceded by an intense labour of social criticism, of cultural penetration and diffusion."

Such an "intense labour of social criticism, of cultural penetration and diffusion" was precisely the task that the Black Consciousness Movement had set for itself. In doing so, it sparked the revolutionary awakening of the Black intellect and challenged the structures of apartheid. Accordingly, the rise of the Black Consciousness Movement indicated that white supremacy was showing signs of vulnerability and exhaustion, and it announced the coming emancipation and liberation of the African masses.

This coming liberation, however, will not constitute an easy process. On the contrary, in spite of its evident and mounting weaknesses, the white regime is still powerful enough to repress dissent and revolt. The future then appears to be full of promises of change, and drastic change, but it is also pregnant with danger and morbidity. Black forces, as of yet, lack the resources and organization to overthrow white supremacy, and simulta-

neously white supremacy no longer has the hegemony to impose its order on an increasingly militant Black opposition. This relative stalemate can only be temporary; in the not too distant future the stalemate will inevitably give way to some form of Black majority rule. Black South Africans will have to determine on their own whether such rule will be socialist or bourgeois, revolutionary or opportunistic, popular or elitist.

What seems certain, however, is that the travail of the BCM has contributed and continues to contribute to the awakening of a socialist, revolutionary, and popular consciousness. While there is no guarantee that such consciousness will result in the ultimate victory of socialism, there is the certainty that it will remain etched on the collective memory of Black South Africans, and thus that it will block the ascendancy of opportunistic and reactionary forces. There is also the certainty that Blacks are no longer prepared to stomach being the victims of apartheid, they are no longer prepared to remain passive, they have become angry and they seek with passion to end their misery. As William Butler Yeats put it: "All changed, changed utterly: A terrible beauty is born."

I am therefore afraid to conclude that violence will be the inevitable detour in the long and painful journey leading to African freedom. This is so because apartheid like slavery cannot be reformed, it can only be abolished, and abolished it will be. **Thank you.**



MARXISM IN AFRICA



by DR. WALTER RODNEY

INTRODUCTION

First of all we must understand the background for this kind of debate. When one is asked to speak on the relevance of Marxism to Africa at this particular point in time, one is being asked to involve oneself in a historical debate, an ongoing debate in this country, particularly among the Black population. It is a debate which has heightened over the last year and, from my own personal observations, is being waged in a large number of places across this country. Sometimes it appears in the guise of the so-called nationalist versus the marxist; sometimes it appears in the guise of those who claim to espouse a class position as opposed to those who claim to espouse a race position. Thus it would not be possible for us in a single session to enter into all the ramifications of that debate but it does form the background for our discussions.

It is an important debate, it is an important fact that such issues are being debated in this country today, just as they're being debated in Africa, in Asia, in Latin America and in many parts of the metropolitan world, in western Europe and in Japan, because the widespread nature of the debate and its intensity at this time is a reflection of the crisis in the capitalist-imperialist mode of production. Ideas and discussion do not just drop from the sky. It is not simply a plot on the part of certain individuals to engage others in a meaningless debate. Whatever the outcome of the debate, whatever the posture the different participants adopt, the very fact of the debate is representative of the crisis in capitalism and imperialism today and, as the crisis deepens,

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people find it more and more difficult to accept the old modes of thought which rationalize the system which is collapsing; hence the need to search for new directions and, quite clearly, Marxism and Scientific Socialism pose themselves as one of the most obvious of the available options.

The question is not new to Africa or to the Black people as a whole – that is perhaps essential to understand. Many of us have before raised the question of the relevance of Marxism to this or that. Its relevance to Europe; many European intellectuals debated its relevance to their own society. Its relevance to Asia was debated by Asians; and, to look at it geographically, its relevance to Latin America was debated by Latin Americans. Individuals have debated the relevance of Marxism to their own time. Was it relevant to the 19th century? If so, was it still relevant to the 20th century? One can debate its relevance to a given facet of the culture of a society, or to its law or culture as a whole. These are all issues that have been debated before and we should have some sense of history when we approach this question today, because with that sense of history we can ask, why is it that the question of the relevance of Marxism to society always crops up? And, a very brief answer. I would suggest that what is common to the abdication of the question is, first of all, a condition of crisis, a condition of struggle, a condition in which people are dissatisfied with the dominant mode of perceiving reality. At that point they ask about the relevance of Marxism.

More than that, the second condition is people do ask the question because of their own bourgeois framework. Because one starts out located within the dominant mode of reasoning, which is the mode of reasoning that supports capitalism and which we will call a bourgeois framework of perception, because one starts out that way, it becomes necessary to raise the question about the relevance of Marxism. After one is advanced, it is probably more accurate to raise the question of the relevance of bourgeois thought because the shoe would be on the other foot! But initially it is true that however much the bourgeoisie disagree, there is one common uniting strand to all bourgeois thought: they make common cause in questioning the relevance, the logic, and so on, of Marxist thought. And therefore, in a sense, unfortunately, when we ask that question, we are also fitting into that framework and pattern. We are also, in some way, still embedded to a greater or lesser extent in the framework of bourgeois thought, and from that framework we ask with a great degree of hesitancy and uncertainty, what is the relevance of Marxism.

It is particularly true in our parts of the world, that is, the English-speaking parts of the world, because the Anglo-American tradition is one of intense hostility philosophically speaking, towards Marxism, a hostility that manifests itself by trying to dissociate itself even from the study of Marxism. If you were to check on the continental tradition in Europe, you would find it is not the same. French, German and Belgian intellec-

tuals whatever their perspective, understand the importance of Marxism. They study it, they relate to it, they understand the body of thought which is called Marxism and they take a position vis-a-vis that body of thought. In the English tradition, which was also handed down to this part of the world, to the Caribbean, to many parts of Africa it is fashionable to disavow any knowledge of Marxism. It is fashionable to glory in one's ignorance, to say that we are against Marxism. When pressed about it one says but why bother to read it? It is obviously absurd. So one knows it is absurd without reading it and one doesn't read it because one knows it is absurd, and therefore one, as I said, glories in one's ignorance of the position. It is rather difficult to seriously address the question about the relevance of Marxism unless one does the basic minimum of accepting that one should attempt to enter into this full body of thought, because it is a tremendous body of literature and analysis, and from the outside as it were, it is extremely difficult, indeed, I would say it is pointless, strictly from the outside, without ever having moved towards trying to grapple with what it is, to ask what is its relevance is almost an unanswerable question, and I think in all modesty, those of us who come from a certain background, and we all come from that background, one of the first things we have to do is establish a basis of familiarity with the different intellectual traditions, and as we become familiar with them we can then be in a better position to evaluate Marxism's relevance or irrelevance as the case might be.

Now I will proceed on the assumption that what we are trying to discern in this discussion is whether the variants of time and place are relevant or, let me put it another way, whether the variants of time and place, make a difference to whether Marxism is relevant or not. In a sense we would almost have to assume its validity for the place in which it originated, western Europe. We don't have the time to deal with that in detail. But we can then ask, assuming that Marxism has a relevance, has a meaning, has an applicability to western Europe, or



had in the 19th century, to what extent does its validity extend geographically? To what extent does its validity extend across time? These are the two variables, time and place, and those can be translated to mean historical circumstances, time – and culture, which means the place, and what social and cultural conditions exist in each particular place. For us, to make it more precise, Black people, no doubt, well-meaning Black people, will ask the question whether an ideology which was historically generated within the culture of western Europe in the 19th century is, today, in the third quarter of the 20th century, still valid for another part of the world, namely Africa, or the Caribbean or Black people in this country; whether it is valid to other societies at other times? And this is the kind of formulation which I wish to present (for discussion).

THE METHODOLOGY OF MARXISM

I would suggest two basic reasons why I believe that Marxist thought, scientific socialist thought, would exist at different levels, at different times, in different places and retain its potential as a tool, as a set of conceptions which people should grasp. And the first is to look at Marxism as a methodology, because a methodology would, virtually by definition, be independent of time and place. You will use the methodology at any given time, at any given place. You may get different results, of course, but the methodology itself would be independent of time and place. And essentially, to engage in some rather truncated presentation of Marxism, inevitably oversimplifying, but nevertheless necessary in the context of limited time, I would suggest as one of the real bases of

Marxist thought that it starts from a perspective of man's relationship to the material world; and that Marxism, when it arose historically, consciously dissociated itself from and pitted itself against all other modes of perception which started with ideas, with concepts and with words (and adapted itself) to the material conditions and the social relations in society. This is the difference with which I will start. A methodology which begins its analysis of any society, of any situation, by seeking the relations which arise in production between men. There are a whole variety of things which flow from that: man's consciousness is formed in the intervention in nature; nature itself is humanized through its interaction with man's labour and man's labour produces a constant stream of technology which in turn creates other social changes. So this is the crux of the scientific socialist perception. A methodology that addresses itself to man's relationship in the process of production on the assumption, which I think is a valid assumption, that production is not merely the basis of man's existence, but the basis for defining man as a special kind of being with a certain consciousness. It is only through production that the human race differentiates itself from the rest of the primates and the rest of life.

What does it (Marxism) pose itself against? It poses itself against a number of hypotheses, a number of views of the world which start with words and concepts. For those who are familiar with Marx's own evolution, it is well known that he started by looking first at Hegel, a very plausible and perceptive analyst of the 19th century who was guilty in Marx's own estimation, of putting forward an entirely idealist position, one that placed ideas in the centre of the universe and saw the material world virtually deriving from those ideas. In thinking about this I felt that I wouldn't go into Hegel, I would go further than Hegel for a classic exposition of the idealist world view. I take it from the New Testament, the Book of John, where he stated: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God. And the Word was God." That is the classic exposition of the idealist posi-

tion. You take every other thing from there: the Word was God! But we are suggesting that the word is itself an emanation from people's activity as they attempt to communicate with each other, as they develop social relations out of production, and that we shouldn't be mystified with words. Oh, naturally enough we will have to deal with concepts and with the force of consciousness which is a very powerful force which even some Marxists have been tempted to underestimate.

Now Marx, taking that broad framework of methodology, tried to apply it to western Europe. He applied it to a range of societies in different places and at different times but, he concentrated his attention to western Europe. If you examine the body of literature produced by Marx and Engels, you will find that they speak about slavery, about communal society, about feudalism, but by and large, they concentrate on capitalism. They hardly even talk about socialism. Marx's great contribution was his fantastic critique of an existing society, capitalist society. How did it come into being in a particular part of the world? The vast proportion of their literature concerns this question.

But, as I said when I talked about pre-capitalist society, especially feudalism, they talked about some other parts of the world. Occasionally Marx mentions the Asiatic mode of production. Occasionally he came across to look at the data concerning the United States. So he had something of a geographical span and a long time span. But it was so minimal in comparison with the bulk of his work that it is true that a lot of people have taken Marx's method and his conclusions and have seen them as one and the same

thing, that Marxism is not merely a certain methodology applied to western Europe, but that Marxism is itself an ideology about western Europe, about capitalism in the 19th century, and it cannot transcend those boundaries. When clearly Marx was doing the job he had to do, he was looking at his own society, he was doing it under some of the most adverse conditions, he was doing it by mastering bourgeois knowledge and putting it to the service of change and revolution. I would suggest, then, that the method was independent of time and place. It is implicit in Marx and it becomes explicit in post-Marxian development, using Marxian in the literal sense of the life of Marx himself. After Marx's death you will get the evolution or the development of scientific socialist thought with other individuals recognizing that the methodology can be applied, must be applied to a different time, must be applied to a different place.

Again, presenting our history in a very abbreviated form, we can look at Lenin, at his application of Marxist theory to Russian society. That is one of his principal contributions. The young Lenin, the first major thesis which he wrote was the *Development of Capitalism in Russia*. He



Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, exponent of African Socialism

had to deal with his own society. He had to take those formulations out of the specific cultural and historical context of western Europe and look at eastern Europe, at Russia which was evolving differently, and to apply it to his own society. This he did. He had at the same time to consider the time dimension. That in the 19th century Marx was writing about what has now come to be called the classic period of capitalism, the entrepreneurial version of capitalism, and by the latter 19th century this had given way to monopoly capitalism. It had given way to imperialism.

So Lenin had to deal with method by applying it to a new dimension in time. So he wrote about capitalism in its imperialist stage. So those are the two variants operating: the ideology, the methodology of it (we'll stick to the methodology for the time being) being applied to different societies at different times. Having made the point for Lenin, I hope it becomes clear for a number of people: Mao Tse Tung applying it to Chinese society which was a different society from Russian society. Understanding the inner dynamics of Chinese society, relating to the question of the peasantry in a different and more profound way than any previous writer because that was the nature of Chinese society and he had addressed himself to that. And finally for our purposes, the most important example, the example of Amilcar Cabral because he was dealing with Africa. Cabral, in one of his essays, the one entitled *The Weapon of Theory*, if I recall correctly, one of his most important essays, began by making it clear that the best he could do was to return to the basic methodology of Marx and Engels. But it was not possible for Cabral to begin the analysis of the history of Guinea-Bissau by saying: "I am going to look for classes," for example. He said, "If I say this I will be denying that my people have any history because I do not perceive classes for a long period in the genesis of my own people." Then he referred back to Marx's and Engel's classic statement that "the history of all existing societies is the history of class struggle." To which Engels had appended a note saying

that by "all history" we mean "all previously recorded history." It so happens that the history of the people of Guinea-Bissau has not been recorded and Cabral says, "I want to record that history. We will use the Marxian method. We will not be tied by the concept which arose historically in western Europe when Marx was studying that society."

Marx uses the method and he discerned the evolution of classes and of the phenomenon of classes itself as being a major determinant, the major determinant in western European history at a particular point in time. Cabral says we will begin at the beginning. We will not even concern ourselves initially with classes. We will simply look at men in the process of production. We will look at modes of production in the history of Guinea, and we will see how our society evolved. So without much of a fanfare he was showing the relevance of that methodology to African society. If, and when, in the history of Guinea-Bissau the aspect of class appears to have historical importance then Cabral dealt with it. Until such time, he simply stuck to the basis of Marxian methodology which was to look at Guinean people in the process of production, social formations, cultural formations which arose historically and the direction in which the society was tending.

In many respects, when we today ask the question about the relevance of Marxism to Black people, we have already reached a minority position, as it were. Many of those engaged in the debate present the debate as through Marxism is a European phenomenon and Black people responding to it must of necessity be alienated because the alienation of race must enter into the discussion. They seem not to take into account that already that methodology and that ideology have been utilized, internalized, domesticated in large parts of the world that are not European. That it is already the ideology of eight hundred million Chinese people; that it is already the ideology which guided the Vietnamese people to successful struggle and defeat of imperialism. That it is already the ideology which

allows North Korea to transform itself from a backward quasi-feudal, quasi-colonial terrain into an independent, industrial power. That it is already the ideology which has been adopted on the Latin American continent and that serves as the basis for development in the Republic of Cuba. That it is already the ideology which was used by Cabral, which was used by Samora Machel, which is in use in the African continent itself to underline and underscore struggle and the construction of a new society.

It cannot therefore be termed a European phenomenon and the onus will certainly be on those who argue that this phenomenon which has already universalized itself somehow is inapplicable to some Black people. The onus will be on those individuals, I suggest, to show some reason, perhaps genetic, why the genes of Black people reject this ideological position.

When we investigate and try to concentrate or keep central the concept of relevance, we must ask ourselves questions about the present. What kind of society do we live in today? What kind of societies do Black people live in today in different parts of the world? And while of course we as Black people in this country, in the Caribbean and in different parts of Africa have our own independent historical experience, one of the central facts is that we are all in one way or another, located within the capitalist system of production. The society about which Marx wrote, through a process of outgrowth, dominated Africa and the Americas in the era of mercantilism which was the period that capitalism was growing to maturity. It dominated these parts of the world. It created slave society in the Americas. Subsequent to the slave era, capitalism, even more powerful, was able to incorporate the whole world into a global network of production which derived from western Europe and North America, a system which had a metropolitan centre or set of metropolitan centres, and a separate set of peripheries, colonies and semi-colonies. So that we have all, historically, been incorporated within the capitalist system of produc-

tion, and that is another dimension of the relevance of Marxism.

Even without the translation in terms of time and place, it seems to me that if we have become part of the capitalist-imperialist world, then we owe it to ourselves to relate to, to follow, to understand and, to hopefully adopt and adapt a critique of that capitalist system because that is essentially what Marx's writing is about. He was criticising that capitalist system. He did it more effectively than any bourgeois writer, and if we want to understand the world in which we live, which is a world dominated by capitalism, then we must understand the centre of that system, the motor within that system, types of exploitation which are to be found within the capitalist mode of production. So that is yet another factor.

MARXISM AS REVOLUTIONARY IDEOLOGY

My second (and I had originally suggested there were two basic things, and one was the methodology) consideration after methodology is to look at Marxism as a revolutionary ideology and as a class ideology. In class societies all ideologies are class ideologies. All ideologies derive from and support some particular class. So for all practical purposes we have grown up in capitalist society, and bourgeois ideology is dominant in our society. These institutions in which we function were created to serve the creation of ideas as commodities, ideas which will buttress the capitalist system. Now, I would suggest historically as Marx suggested himself, that the set of ideas we call scientific socialism arose within capitalist society to speak to the interest of the producers in that society, to speak to the interest of those who are exploited and expropriated, to speak to the interest of the oppressed, of the culturally alienated, and we must understand that of the two major sets of ideas before us, idealism and materialism, bourgeois philosophy and Marxist philosophy, that each of the two is representative of a particular class. I don't have the time to go into all the

historical roots of the formation of socialism, but, briefly, in the 19th century it was with the rise of capitalist society that conditions were created for the development of socialist ideas.

Out of the diverse and unsystematized socialist ideas, Marx was able to formulate a clear and systematic theory – scientific socialism. It had a particular class base and because it had this particular class base, it was revolutionary. It sought to transform and upend the relations in society. Bourgeois ideology is of necessity *status quo* preserving. It seeks to conserve, it seeks to buttress the given system of production, the relations which flow, the relations which flow from a certain system of production. A scientific socialist position remains revolutionary because it aims, consciously aims, at undermining that system of production and the political relations which flow from it. This is what I mean by revolutionary.

From time to time there are Marxists who have arisen, who have attempted to deny or denude Marxism of its revolutionary content. That is true. There are Marxists who have become legal or armchair Marxists, who would like to see Marxism as merely another variant of philosophy and who treat it in a very eclectic fashion as though one is free to draw from Marxism as one draws from Greek thought and its equivalents, without looking at the class base and without looking whether an ideology is supportive of the *status quo* or not.

Nevertheless, by and large, we can see Marxism and scientific socialism as subversive of and antithetical to the maintenance of the system of production in which we live. Because ideas, let me repeat, do not float in the sky, they do not float in the atmosphere, they are related to concrete relations of production. Bourgeois ideas derive



from bourgeois relations of production. They are intended to conserve and maintain those relations of production. Socialist ideas derive from the same production, but they derive from a different class interest and their aim is to overthrow that system of production.

AFRICA AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

There again I will suggest that African people, like other Third World people, have virtually a vested interest in scientific socialism because it offers itself to them as a weapon of theory. It offers itself to them as that tool, at the level of ideas, which will be utilized for dismantling the capitalist imperialist structure. This is its concern.

What I will attempt to deal with as best I can, are certain questions arising from individuals who might say yes to most of what I've said and then will ask the question, "Is there no other alternative? Is there no other ideological system which is neither capitalist nor socialist, but is anti-capitalist, but addresses itself more humanely, if you like, to the interest of African people wherever they are?" These questions are worth looking into because there are Black people asking these questions and we have

to try and resolve them. My own formulation will be to suggest that we look at concrete examples of African or Black people who have attempted to devise systems which they consider to be non-capitalist and non-socialist. Systems they consider are valid alternatives to scientific socialism for the emancipation of African people.

In this regard we have a number of pan-Africanists, a number of African nationalists in Africa, in the Caribbean and in this country, who have taken that road. George Padmore did this at the end of his life, and made a sort of distinction, not a sort, he made a distinction between scientific socialism and pan-Africanism. He said this is the road we will follow: pan-Africanism. We do not want to go that road which is capitalist; we do not want to go the socialist road, we will derive for ourselves something that is pan-African.

In a sense Nkrumah followed up upon this and although at one time he called himself a Marxist, he always was careful to qualify this by saying that he was also a Protestant. He believed in Protestantism at the same time. So simultaneously he was trying to straddle two worlds; the world which says in the beginning was matter and the world which says in the beginning there was the word. And inevitably he fell between these two. It's impossible to straddle these two. But there he was, and we must grant his honesty and we must grant the honesty of many people who have attempted to do this impossible task and follow them to find out why they failed. They failed because their conception of what a variant different from bourgeois thought and different from socialist thought inevitably turned out to be merely another branch of bourgeois thought. And this was the problem, that bourgeois thought and indeed socialist thought, when we get down to it, can have a variety of developments or roads and aspects or paths. Bourgeois thought because of its whimsical nature and because of the way in which it promotes eccentrics, you can have any road in bourgeois thought because, after all, when you are not going any place you can choose any road!

So for bourgeois thought it was possible for these individuals to make what I consider to be a genuine attempt to break with the dominance of bourgeois thought and yet find in the final analysis that they have merely embraced another manifestation of that which they themselves at the outset had suggested that they were confronting.

There are a number of examples, some more apt than others. Some of the examples actually are Africans who I think, were blatantly dishonest from the beginning. I do think that most of the ideologues of African socialism claiming to find a third path are actually just cheap tricksters who are attempting to hoodwink the majority of the population. I don't think they're out to develop anything that addresses itself to the interests of the African people. But, nevertheless, it is part of the necessity of our times that our people no longer are willing to accept anything that is not put to them in the guise of socialism.

And therefore I shan't in fact go on to African socialism. What I'll do is take examples of those who were, in my opinion, being serious, being honest. And certainly Kwame Nkrumah was one of these. Nkrumah spent a number of years during the fifties and right up to when he was overthrown – that would cover at least ten years – in which he was searching for an ideology. He started out with this mixture of Marxism and Protestantism, he talked about pan-Africanism, he went to consciencism and then Nkrumahism, and, there was everything other than a straight understanding of socialism.

What were the actual consequences of this perception? That is what matters to us. Let us assume that he was searching for something African and that he was trying to avoid the trap of adopting something alien. What were the practical consequences of his attempt to dissociate himself from an international socialist tradition? We saw in Ghana that Nkrumah steadfastly refused to accept that there were classes, that there were class contradictions in Ghana, that these class contradictions were fundamen-

tal. For years Nkrumah went along with this mish-mash of philosophy, which took some socialist premises but in which he refused to pursue it to its logical conclusion, in which he would accept that one either had a capitalist system based upon the private ownership of the means of production and the alienation of the product of people's labour or one had an alternative system which was completely different and that there was no way of juxtaposing and mixing these two to create anything that was new and viable.

A most significant test of this position was when Nkrumah himself was overthrown! After he was overthrown, he lived in Guinea-Konakry and before he died he wrote a small text, *Class Struggle in Africa*. It is not the greatest philosophical treatise but it is historically important, because it is there Nkrumah himself in effect admits the consequences, the misleading consequences of an ideology which espoused an African cause, but which felt, for reasons which he did not understand, a historical necessity to separate itself from scientific socialism. It indicated quite clearly the disastrous consequences of that position. Because Nkrumah denied the existence of classes in Ghana until the petty bourgeoisie as a class overthrew him. And then, in Guinea, he said it was a terrible mistake. Yes, the petty bourgeoisie is a class with interests fundamentally opposed to workers and peasants in Africa. Yes, the class interests of the petty bourgeoisie are the same or at least are tied in with the class interests of international monopoly capital and therefore we have in Africa a class struggle within the African continent and a struggle against imperialism. And if we are to aim at transcending these contradictions, of bringing victory and emancipation to the working peoples, the producers of Africa, we will have to grapple with that ideology, which first of all recognizes and, challenges the existence of exploiting and oppressing classes.

It's a very important historical document. It is the closest that Nkrumah comes to a self-critique. It is the record of a genuine nationalist, African

nationalist who wandered for years with this assumption and feeling that somehow he must dissociate himself in one way or another, from scientific socialism because it originated outside the boundaries of his own society and he was afraid of its cultural implications. That is putting it in the most charitable way. But the fear is due, in fact, to aspects of bourgeois ideology. Due to the fact that he made a distinction between social theory and scientific theory, which is not a necessary distinction. That is the distinction which comes out of the history of bourgeois thought.

People seem to have no difficulty in deciding that they are going to use facets of the material culture that originated in the West, whether it originated in capitalist or socialist society. People have no difficulty relating to electricity but they say: "Marx and Engels, that's European!" They don't ask the question, "Was Edison a racist?" but they ask the question, "Was Marx a racist?" They genuinely believe that they are making a fundamental distinction, whereas, in fact, this is obscuring the totality of social development. And the natural sciences are not to be separated from the social sciences. Our interpretation of the social reality can similarly derive a certain historical law and hence scientific law of society which can be applied irrespective of its origin or its originators. Of course, it is true, and this is the most appropri-

ate note on which to end, that any ideology, when applied, must be applied with a thorough grasp of the internal realities of a given African society.

Marxism comes to the world as a historical fact, and it comes in a cultural nexus. If, for instance, Africans or, let us go back to Asians; when the Chinese first picked up the Marxist texts, they were European texts. They came loaded with conceptions of the historical development of Europe itself. So that method and factual data were interwoven obviously and the conclusions were in fact in a specific historical and cultural setting. It was the task of the Chinese to deal with that and to adapt it and to scrutinize it and see how it was applicable to their society. First and foremost to be scientific it meant having due regard for the specifics of Chinese historical and social development.

I have already cited Cabral in another context and he reappears in this context. The way in which he is at all times looking at the particularities of class development in contemporary Guinea-Bissau. Looking at the potential of classes in Guinea-Bissau at this point in time. And therefore he is of course, making sure that Marxism does not simply appear as the summation of other people's history, but appears as a living force within one's history. and this is a difficult transformation. This is the task of anybody who considers himself or herself a

Marxist. However, because it is fraught with so many difficulties and obstacles, many people take the easy route, which is to take it as a finished product rather than an ongoing special product which has to be adapted to their own society.

One finds that in looking at this Marxist theory, at its relevance to race, looking at the relevance of Marxist theory to national emancipation, we come up with a very important paradox. And it is this: that the nationalist, in the strict sense of the word, that is the petty bourgeois nationalist, who aims merely at the recovery of national independence in our epoch, is incapable of giving the peoples of the Caribbean any participation in liberal democracy. The petty-bourgeoisie cannot fulfill these historical tasks. For national liberation requires a socialist ideology. We cannot separate the two. Even for national liberation in Africa, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique very clearly demonstrated the necessity for an ideological development, for consciencization, as they say in Latin America and, the nationalist struggle was won because it came under the rubric of a scientific socialist perspective.

As Cabral said, "There may be revolutions which have had a revolutionary theory and which have failed. But there have certainly been no revolutions which have succeeded without a revolutionary theory." ■



REJOINDER TO DR WALTER RODNEY'S CRITICISM OF DR KWAME NKRUMAH

by GORKEH A GAMAL NKRUMAH

Gorkeh Gamal Nkrumah is a Research Fellow at the Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies in Harare. He has penned this response to Walter Rodney's article "Marxism in Africa" (see page 44) which was quoted in *Frank Talk* Volume 2 at page 55.

"The immortal spirit of Nkrumah presides and will preside over the judgement of history in relation to this decisive stage in the lives of our people, in the lifelong struggle against imperialist domination for the true progress of our continent."¹ Amilcar Cabral.

"The most historic and dramatic political event . . . was Ghana's attainment of independence in 1957 under Dr Kwame Nkrumah, a champion of the total liberation of Africa, an ardent advocate of political unity and promoter of the African Personality . . . Nkrumah hosted in December 1958 the All-African People's Conference attended by several Heads of States and Government including leaders of nationalist organisations waging freedom struggles . . . AFRICA MUST BE FREE! said Nkrumah in 1957. AFRICA MUST BE TOTALLY FREE! We say in 1987".² Robert G. Mugabe.

Fitch Oppenheimer Scenario

Perhaps no personality in contemporary African history has ignited more contradictory judgements, and polarised observers and students of his career and works. Overlooking Kwame Nkrumah's attempt to replace the colonial relations of production in Ghana with socialism some critics of Nkrumah embarked on a path of distortion and peripheralisation of Ghana's first President's contribution to the African socialist revolutionary struggle.

Barely three months after the C.I.A. engineered coup d'etat which overthrew the Nkrumah government a book entitled "*Ghana: end of an illusion*" published in the U.S.A. and written by two American "leftists" namely Bob Fitch and Mary Oppenheimer, supposedly criticising Nkrumah from the standpoint of "historical

materialism" appeared on bookshops and university libraries' shelves. This book formed the basis of the criticism of Nkrumah subsequently espoused by a group of Western and African self-styled "Marxist" academics. I am not about to name these academic celebrities, nor am I to list why and how they sustained a character assassination campaign so cantankerously. This issue is beyond the scope of this paper and is peripheral, given the objective here. Suffice it to say, from the outset, that it pains me to mention Dr Walter Rodney as one who, perhaps unwittingly, reiterated the Fitch and Oppenheimer scenario.

Nkrumaism

The idiosyncratic criticism of the aforementioned academic celebrities revolves around the misconceptions of what they perceive to constitute "Nkrumaism", supported by a misrepresentation of the facts. What is "Nkrumaism"? Why is Nkrumaism an unsettling presence as far as certain segments of the West's and Africa's "leftist" circles are concerned? Why is it that these self-confessed "progressives" do not focus on the tragic mutilation of the political and ideological structures Nkrumah so painstakingly nurtured as he began dismantling in successive steps the capitalist economic basis and colonial totality of relations of production that determined Ghana's neo-colonial superstructure and as yet still does?

Nkrumaism represents the coalescence of pan-Africanism and scientific socialism. Nkrumaism is not African Socialism.

Nkrumaism is a developing ideology as opposed to a definitive one. The cornerstones of Nkrumaism, however, are uncompromisingly static. The recognisable essence of Nkrumaism is so constituted as to be potentially capable of supporting, even supplementing Kwame Nkrumah's own crucial theoretical premise. As these identifying conceptual cornerstones must organise clarification of the impending discussion, I should state them here. The first Nkrumaist premise is the total liberation of Africa and Africans. On the eve of Ghana's independence Kwame Nkrumah declared that, "The Independence of Ghana is meaningless, unless it is linked up with the total liberation of Africa." It is clear from subsequent writings of Nkrumah in books such as his *Consciencism* (1962) and *Neo colonialism: Last Stage of Imperialism* (1964) that African liberation in its wider context is not restricted to the confines of political independence but comprises of African economic liberation from the West's neo-colonial exploitative stranglehold as well as African cultural liberation from European or Western ideological hegemony.

The second crucial objective or premise of Nkrumaism is the political unification of Africa as a prelude to Africa's economic integration. "It is time that we planned our economic and political development on a continental scale . . . such maximum development would ensure a rational utilisation of the material resources and human potential of our continent along the lines of an integrated economy, and within complementary sectors of production, eliminating all unnecessary form of competition, economic alienation and duplication" wrote Kwame Nkrumah.

mah.⁴ The creation of an Africa free of frontiers entails the cultivation of a growing sense of African solidarity transcending contemporary "national" boundaries designated by the European colonial powers late last century.

Last and not least is a commitment to scientific socialism. Historically the relation of Pan-Africanism to socialism has been uncharted and confused. Kwame Nkrumah was the earliest theoritian to establish the categorical imperative of wedding pan-Africanism to scientific socialism. Said Nkrumah: "At the core of the concept of African unity lies socialism and the socialist definition of the new African society. Socialism and African Unity are organically complementary".⁵

Rodney

Scientific socialism is an integral premise of Nkrumaism. Much of what follows is to elaborate why this is so. Particular reference will be given to Dr Rodney's allegations, which, perhaps, could be attributed to the paucity of evidence available to him. Dr. Rodney "describes how Nkrumah denied the existence of classes in Ghana until the petit bourgeoisie as a class overthrew him." He (Rodney) says that Nkrumah had wandered for years "with the assumption that he must disassociate himself from scientific socialism because it originated outside the boundaries of his own society and he was afraid of its cultural implications".⁶ These accusations are without foundation.

Kwame Nkrumah understood that for a revolution to end in socialism it has to be initiated and executed by socialists. At independence over three decades ago Ghana hardly had a "class" of revolutionary progressives among the proletariat and intelligentsia who systematically embarked on a concrete programme for the implementation of scientific socialism. Nkrumah knew that a political party is not founded on the basis of its official declarations. "The Party (CPP) has always proclaimed socialism as its objective. But socialism cannot be achieved without socialists", said he.

To proceed further on the question of Nkrumah's implementation of socio-economic policies determined by the principles of scientific socialism it is proper that we pause to review certain

concepts basic to a scientific socialist socio-analysis. Two concepts in particular are crucial to this discussion. The first is what in Marxist terminology is referred to as the "basis" that is to say the material conditions on the totality of relations of production. The basis is the mode of production or economic infrastructure specific to a historically determined stage or phase of social development. This economic basis by and large conditions, even stipulates the superstructure. The superstructure in Marxist parlance is the sum total of legal, ideological even cultural expressions and relations which are in turn embodied in cultural and public institutions and organisations, the judiciary, the executive powers or government, the administrative structures and military establishment. The state is the crucial organ of the superstructure.

The Ghanaian Revolution

Kwame Nkrumah's revolutionary experiment in Ghana was three-fold. Firstly, Nkrumah embarked on a progressive, systematic dismantlement of the colonially inherited economic basis of Ghana. "Under colonial rule, foreign monopoly interests had tied up our whole economy to suit themselves. We had not a single industry. Our economy was dependent on one cash crop, cocoa. Although our output of cocoa is the largest in the world, there was not a single cocoa processing factory". wrote Nkrumah.⁷ This was coupled with the deliberate policy for acceleration of economic growth, infrastructural development, and the socialist transformation of the Ghanaian economy.

Secondly, Nkrumah laid the foundation for the revolutionary transformation of the social stratum. In other words a social and ideological revolution. "... Thorough going machinery had been established for the political education of the masses so that our socialist objectives, and Ghana's role in the wider African revolution might be clearly understood. This was the purpose of the Young Pioneers (the youth organisation), the TUC educational programmes (for the politicisation of the proletariat), and the ideological institute of Winneba where cadres were being trained. It was to make possible the unfolding of the next phase of the Ghanaian

Revolution: the establishment of a socialist republic, the principle of which was enshrined in the 1961 constitution of the Republic of Ghana."⁸

Thirdly, Nkrumah was dedicated to transformation in the superstructure. He Africanised the institutions of the superstructure such as the judiciary and the military. To reflect his pan-African perspective he founded the Africa Affairs Secretariat and the Bureau of African Affairs. African revolutionaries and Freedom Fighters flocked to Accra, the Ghanaian capital where material, military and technical assistance was freely provided to assist the liberation movements. Nkrumah established a political legacy for the entire African continent, with his realisation that aping the bourgeois democracy of the former colonial powers was an alien contraption particularly unsuitable to the African socio-economic and political realities. From practical experience and given the machinations of international imperialism and the neo-colonial state of Africa, Nkrumah recognised at an early stage that the foreign superstructures of the West can never be successfully imposed on Africa and Africans. "A multi-party system introduced into Africa results in the perpetuation of feudalism, tribalism and regionalism and an inordinate power struggle and rivalry... But let me emphasise that a one-party system of government is an effective and safe instrument only when it operates in a socialist society. In other words, it must be a political expression of the will of the people as a whole. On the other hand, a one-party system of government in a neo-colonialist client state, subject to external pressures and control, can quickly develop into the most dangerous form of tyranny, despotism and oppression".⁹ declared Kwame Nkrumah.

Ghana's Political Economy

The two antithetical and antagonistic classes of contemporary neo-colonial Africa are the exploiter or oppressor class allied to international capital and buttressed by the cultural, ideological and military hegemony of the West, on the one hand, and the exploited or oppressed classes on the other. The first includes in its ranks the European settler or expatriate bourgeoisie, the by and large "nou-

veau riche" African bourgeoisie and increasingly the upper echelons of the bureaucracy and comprador classes. Their ideology reflects European and especially American bourgeois ideological hegemony as well as their own class interests and class consciousness, namely elitism, individualism and liberalism. The exploited classes comprise the peasantry, the proletariat, the lumpen proletariat and the lower echelons of the urban salariat. The petty bourgeoisie while progressive during the independence and liberation struggles largely attempts to reconcile irreconcilable ideologies in contemporary Africa. Frustrated by racism and colonialism the African petty bourgeois class was one of the most vociferous anti-colonial classes and was therefore incorporated into the nationalist liberation movements. After independence its reactionary ideological essence revealed it as a comprador class.

The question then is did Nkrumah, either intentionally or inadvertently, hold back the course of revolutionary social development and the socialist transformation of Ghana? Was the Nkrumah Government an instrument of maintaining the domination of the exploiter and oppressor classes? It is my contention that he did not.

The Nkrumah Government was the first in sub-Saharan Africa to launch a nationalisation process. British mining enterprises were largely nationalised. The state monopoly on foreign trade, which was previously exclusively a domain of foreign concerns, was established. The decade of the 1950's from when Ghana became a self-governing colony in 1951 to the early 1960's when Ghana was a socialist-oriented republic, was characterised by rapid economic expansion. The overall development strategy was characterised by a major investment effort in manufacturing industry and infrastructure. The 10 percent of public expenditure devoted to productive investments in 1951-59 increased to 37 percent in 1963-64. The Volta dam in Akosombo to supply cheap energy, and a new deep-water harbour, the largest artificial harbour in Africa, were constructed. Roads and airports were also developed. Recorded employment grew at the high rate of 6.5 percent, during that time.



A conscious effort was made by the Nkrumah government to reduce dependence on the West. There was substantial import substitution of a wide range of consumer goods. The ratio of imported consumer goods to private consumption was 32.2 in 1960 and only 15.5 in 1966. The ratio of manufacturing value added to imports rose from 14.5 in 1960 to 32.2 in 1966. The Economic Surveys Industrial Statistics revealed that between 1958 and 1969 the percentage of consumer goods (durables and non-durables) in imports decreased from 54.5 percent to 30.2 percent. Similarly the percentage of consumer durables in the gross manufacturing output was increased from 0.8 in 1958 to 20.3 in 1969.

Socialist Transformation

One important feature of this rapid industrialisation strategy was the wide-ranging state participation in the development process. Most of the new factories were either state-run enterprises or co-operatives. Between 1962 and 1966 the per-

centage of gross manufacturing output dominated by foreign concerns dropped from 63.2 to 48.3. Similarly the percentage of industrial gross output controlled by Ghanaian private capital dropped from 13.0 to 9.7. The percentage of industrial gross output controlled by the Ghanaian state sector increased from 11.8 to 19.5 in the four years preceding the 1966 coup d'etat which overthrew the Nkrumah Government. The socialist orientation of the economic policies of the Nkrumah Government took a decisively anti-capitalist tenor.

This strategy of socialist transformation of the Ghanaian economy through the rapid development of both the state and co-operative sectors especially during the early 1960's meant that the closing years of the CPP government were a very difficult period for private sector development. Indeed in a speech delivered in 1964 by President Nkrumah to launch the seven year development plan (1963/64 to 1969/70) he stated that: "We would be hampering our advance to socialism if we were to encourage the growth of private capitalism in our midst".

Adhering to socialist transformation in all spheres the Nkrumah Government took the unprecedented step in Africa of making all education free from primary through secondary to university levels. Two more universities were created in addition to the expansion of the university college set up in the closing years of the colonial era. After independence Nkrumah made sure that all pupils in primary and students in secondary schools received textbooks supplied free of charge. In the ten years after independence the enrolment of primary school pupils, secondary school students and university students increased by 211.9 percent, 437.8 percent and 478.8 percent respectively. Similarly there were rapid improvements in health services and health infrastructure. The number of hospital beds rose by 160 percent between 1951 and 1961 while the number of doctors and dentists increased by 220.5 percent during that decade.

Pan Africanism and Scientific Socialism

It is clear therefore that Kwame Nkrumah, contrary to Dr Rodney's opinion, was not wandering in an ideological wilderness, "searching for an ideology", but that Nkrumah laid the foundation for economic and social reconstruction based on the principles of scientific socialism. He also initiated the revolutionary transformation of social relations. He nurtured the cultivation of a radical transformation of the economic basis and accordingly the corresponding transformation of the superstructure. When one considers Nkrumah's leadership one recollects Antonio Gramsci's (the pre World War Two Italian Communist leader) regarding another maligned leadership: "This leadership was not "abstract"; it neither consisted in mechanically repeating scientific or theoretical formulae, nor did it confuse politics, *real action*, with theoretical disquisition. It applied itself to real men, formed in specific historical relations, with specific feelings, outlooks, fragmentary conceptions of the world etc., which were the result of "spontaneous" combinations of a given situation of material production with the "fortuitous" agglomeration within it of disparate social elements".¹⁰

The works of Kwame Nkrumah repre-

sented a coalescence of certain premises the sum total of which is an ideology of Pan-African political, economic and cultural emancipation, African political unification and economic integration, and socialist transformation. His political career epitomised an ideology calculated to accelerate the historical processes common to all mankind, yet specific to the African neo-colonial capitalist socio-economic formation. Nkrumaism gave eloquent expression to the spontaneous sentiments, often passionately ingrained in the social psychology of Africans such as a conviction in the fundamental sanctity of the ideal of African unity, as opposed to nineteenth century European designated nationalisms, ethnic and linguistic even politico-religious loyalties. Nkrumah was the consolidator of aspirations instinctively discernible by the African masses as desirable, as progressive such as the still powerful rallying cry of AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS. This aspect of the African masses' social psychology is the legacy of years of European domination, exploitation and oppression, racialism, colonialism and contemporary neo-colonialism. It is almost a religiosity in its vehemence and cannot be ignored. There is no fundamental asymmetry between pan-Africanism and scientific socialism.

African Socialism

Kwame Nkrumah was the first pan-African activist and theoretician to denounce "African Socialism" which is a utopian socialism glorifying the African past. "The phrase African socialism seems to espouse the view that the traditional African society was a classless society imbued with the spirit of humanism and to express nostalgia for the spirit. Such a conception of socialism makes a fetish of communal African society . . . All available evidence from the history of Africa, up to the eve of European colonisation, shows that African society was neither classless nor devoid of a social hierarchy",¹¹ said Kwame Nkrumah. The major proponents of "African Socialism" were former Senegalese and Tanzanian Presidents Leopold Sedar Senghor and Mwalimu Julius Nyerere respectively. Kwame Nkrumah was never an advocate of African socialism. In his book *Consciencism* Nkrumah stated categorically the crucial importance of scientific socialism as the

essential and logical development from Africa's socio-political and neo-colonial economic heritage.

Kwame Nkrumah's political thought and career was characterised by continuity and consistency. It exemplified a progressive revolutionary continuum. In his book *Neo-colonialism: The Last State of Imperialism* Nkrumah exposed the workings of the multinational corporations and their efforts "to halt socialist advance" in Africa. This book was written in 1965 while Nkrumah was still in office. His exposure of the machinations of imperialism and international capital was far more systematic and in-depth than any other African leader at the time.

Nkrumah focussed attention on the Oppenheimer capitalist empire operating through its various components, the Anglo-American Corporation and De Beers. Is it a coincidence that that empire's namesake Mary Oppenheimer published with Bob Fitch the book that was to emerge as the "bible" of Nkrumah's allegedly "Marxian" critics? It is crucial for African Marxists to note who masterminded that blueprint for confusion. It is sad that Dr Walter Rodney's criticism of Kwame Nkrumah and the vilification of the West's gutter press and bogus "Marxists" appear analogous. ■

Footnotes

1. Amilcar Cabral *Unity and Struggle: Speeches and Writings* London, 1980 p.155
2. Robert G. Mugabe; *Africa Day Speech*, 1987
3. Kwame Nkrumah; *Midnight speech*; given at Ghana Independence, 5th-6th March, 1957, Accra, Ghana
4. Kwame Nkrumah; *Africa must unite*, London, 1963, p.52
5. Kwame Nkrumah; *Handbook of Revolutionary Welfare*, London, 1968, p.28
6. *Frank Talk*, September 1987 issue, p.55
7. Kwame Nkrumah; *Dark days in Ghana*, London, 1967 p.49
8. Kwame Nkrumah; *Revolutionary Path*, London, 1972, p.384
9. Kwame Nkrumah; *Revolutionary Path*, London, 1972, p.372
10. Alistair Davidson; *Antonio Gramsci: Towards an intellectual biography*, London, 1977, p.159
11. Kwame Nkrumah, "African socialism revisited:" *African forum* Vol 1, No 3, London, 1966

INDENTURED LABOUR AND GROUP FORMATIONS IN APARTHEID SOCIETY



By Fatima Meer

The vast majority of Indians in South Africa are landless, semi-skilled and unskilled workers and, as such, take their place alongside Africans and Coloureds, not only as the working class of the country, but also as the disenfranchised and oppressed. They have shared this position for over a hundred years; yet it is only in the last forty that they have moved towards some sense of "class" consciousness, and only in the last thirty engaged in common economic and political action. What are the factors that have delayed their coming together and continued, to some measure, to inhibit this solidarity? The answer, at the general level, lies within the mode of apartheid production, in the forces it generates to manipulate attitudes and control social formations; more specifically, it is contained in the resultant dynamics of Afro-Asian relations. An important and neglected feature of these dynamics is the system of indentured labour which spawned the Indian South African.

Indentured labour was introduced into Natal in 1860, a quarter of a century after it had been imported into Mauritius on almost the very day that the last slave, having completed the five-year apprenticeship which marked the transition from emancipation to slavery, fled the plantation. Why did Natal, teeming with an indigenous Black population, import labour? Why did the Indians succumb to being indentured?

The colonial explanation (reiterated by its scholars) for importing 'coolies' to Natal was the unwillingness of the 'kaffir' to work – he was regarded as spoilt, both by his polygamous habits and by the land settlement made upon him by a dotting British government. In fact, those reserves could only accommodate a third of the entire African population and were specially designed to push them on to the labour market. Sufficient evidence exists to show that when Natal was anxiously

Professor Meer addresses the rôle of "Indians" as part and parcel of the Black community.

negotiating for indentured labour, the African, pressurised by scarcity of land and by taxes, was being remarkably industrious in the white sector of the colony, performing all the required tasks, both menial and skilled. Thus a local magistrate observed in 1852:

"On a farm he does almost everything – he herds the cattle, milks the cows, churns the butter, loads it on the wagons, the oxen of which he inspans and leads. He cuts wood, and thatch, digs sluits, and cooks. There is little that I ever saw a farmer do, but ride about the country. In the town, there are some familiar cases in which kaffir labour is employed to a ridiculous extent: for in what quarter of the globe would male adults be found performing the offices of nurses to infants and children or as laundresses of female apparel."¹

So the problem was not a lack of labour, but a lack of abundant cheap labour, particularly in the labour-intensive area of industrial agriculture. The white colonists, accustomed to slaves and to semi-slave labour of the Blacks whose land they had appropriated, expected to pay virtually no wages. During

the middle of the last century, Africans still retained some land and some cattle. The mode of migrant labour was still in its embryonic stage – the bureaucracy which would control its movement and violate its value was yet to develop. Africans were relatively free to negotiate their terms, and rather than part with their labour for nothing, or lose most of its value to the hirer, preferred to live on what remained of their productive resources. However, indentured labour weakened the bargaining power of the Natal Africans in the mid-nineteenth century, accelerated their alienation from their means of production – particularly their livestock which, in the absence of wages, they were forced to transform into tax money and transfer to the white sector – stalled their industrial-



"Indian" workers. . . moving towards Black worker consciousness.

ization and urbanization and facilitated their conversion into a labour reserve.

Indentured labour became increasingly indispensable to the colonial economy of Natal in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The indentured could be worked up to fourteen hours a day, with the pitiful wages further reduced through excessive fines for minor transgressions. Well after the discovery of gold and diamonds and general industrial development in the country had pushed unskilled wage rates to £3-£4 per month, Natal continued to have cheap labour, still only paying between 10 shillings and £1 a month for men and 5 shillings for women, a fair proportion of whom were skilled. So precious was this favoured labour position that it was one of the factors that blocked Natal from moving towards Union in 1909.

Indenturing continued until 1911, when it was stopped by spirited Indian agitation, supported by enlightened British interest. By that time, 152 184 Indians had been imported to the country (62 per cent men, 25 per cent women and 13 per cent children) and the Indian population in the colony exceeded the white by 3.2 per cent.

The meaning of indenture for the Indian

INDIANS had been driven into indenture by the colonisation of their own country. Their world collapsed about 1837 when the *zamindaris*, upon whom they had leaned for respite from taxes in lean years, small loans and, above all, justice, disappeared and were replaced by the British, absentee landlords and prohibitive money-lenders. In Bihar, the United Province and Madras the position was further aggravated by massive famines. And these regions became the suppliers of indentured labour which mushroomed on the ashes of slavery. As far as tropical agriculture was concerned, the slaves had been emancipated at the wrong time, just when it was evolving a new phase in production and marketing. Had the system of indenture not come to the rescue, the planters would have been forced to meet the wage demands of the ex-slaves.

Instead – and unwittingly – *the indentured workers were forced into becoming the international scabs of the nineteenth century.*

From the point of view of the planter, indenture was even better than slavery because it was cheaper. Enthused the Company of Gillanders and Arbuthnot: "Their cost is not half that of the slaves".² And indeed it wasn't. The price of a slave at the time of emancipation was between £200-£250 for an average life span of ten years, the first three of which were of low productivity because the slave was put out to season to restore his strength. An indentured worker cost the planter £55 for ten years, inclusive of wages, commissions and passage.³

Some did manage to flee indenture and set themselves up on their own account – as small shopkeepers and hawkers, trading with the local Africans and supplying the planters with their coolie rations; as peasant farmers, cultivating small plots, for subsistence and sale, of the poorer lands, leased and sometimes bought from private white owners at three and four times the going price; as skilled artisans, setting up workshops, usually in carpentry, which in a few cases developed into factories. They were joined by the 'passengers', Gujerati peasants who, by paying their own passages, entered the country as free immigrants. They came mainly between 1875 and 1897, at which date their entry into the colony was restricted (to be finally abolished in 1913).

Thus, by 1885 the Indian occupational structure had become somewhat elaborated. While over 95% remained a working class of indentured and reindentured labourers, tightly controlled by laws which entitled their employers to exploit them to the hilt, there was a small but growing petit bourgeoisie, made up of both the 'passengers' and the ex-indentured. There was, however, no class divisions; the division was on the basis of the *jaati*, endogamy, which cut across economic and occupational lines.

The plantation, in fact, was not conducive to group formations. The planter was afraid that these would develop into labour solidarities, and workers were forbidden by law to be seen in corporate

bodies. But for all that, residential groupings on regional and linguistic bases occurred even on the 'coolie' lines, reconstructing the traditional *jaatis* – endogamies.

The relationship between these endogamies was friendly and co-operative, which is usually the case in *jaati* – structured societies. This interdependence was probably even more pronounced among the indentured due to the relatively high proportion of mixed marriages (ie. between endogamies), occasioned by the restrictive quota of women (25% of the men). In Natal, one-fifth of the marriages registered between 1873 and 1886 were mixed.¹² By the end of the century, however, exogamous marriages had declined considerably and the endogamy *jaati* had emerged as the fundamental social formation outside the family.

Nevertheless, a distinction of status emerged early on between the 'passengers' and the indentured workers, the residue of which exists to this day. There were substantial linguistic, religious, educational and economic differences between the two groups. The 'passengers' had independent means at home, had come to Natal of their own free will and were more used to business than the ex-indentured. Between 1870 and 1885, the number of shops owned by Gujeratis rose from one to forty in Durban, while the number of shops owned by the ex-indentured rose only from eleven to twenty-six.¹³

There were, of course, also differences within the indentured, as between North Indian and South Indian, but these did not take on a class form. The distinction between the Gujerati 'passengers' and the indentured workers teetered on the verge of doing so. This became particularly apparent when the Gujeratis attempted to distance themselves from the majority of the Indians, in an attempt to escape their indignities, by setting themselves up as 'Arab'. Had the white colonists accepted them as such, the Gujeratis may well have been co-opted into the white class; but, far from considering this, the whites saw them, above all, as the main threat to white domination: "We are convinced that much of the insecurity existing in the minds of European colonists against the whole Indian population of the

colony has been excited by the undoubted ability of the arab traders to compete with European merchants."¹⁴

The emergent Indian 'bourgeoisie' had to be curbed, and the position of the Indian fixed to that of the unskilled workers. This was the essence of white domination. It could not be shared with the colonised, either African, Asian, or those Blacks that the whites helped to procreate, the Coloureds. With this in view, white Natal united against the Indians as a class: "In no colony . . . in South Africa is the colour line drawn deeper than in the case of Natal . . . the Blacks are ten to one at least . . . and yet this vast native population is kept in order . . . why? Because the white rules by prestige."

The issue was economic, the dividing line race. All Indians, whatever their status, came in for simultaneous legislative attack. Immigration of free Indians and the issue of licences for trade purposes was restricted, and Indians of indentured origin because liable to a poll tax of £3 (males from the age of 16, females at 12) if they did not re-indenture or return to India. The Indian community responded as one. The two sectors coalesced and recognised their mutual interest. The 'passengers' had no option but to identify with the indentured. The indentured accepted the 'passengers' because they needed the capital and the expertise they brought to the 'struggle'. In claiming the 'passengers', the indentured claimed a share of their wealth and insisted that it be used to build the necessary infrastructure of educational, religious, welfare and other institutions necessary for Indian advancement. This came relatively easily to the Muslims, who were obliged by their religion to spend two-and-a-half per cent of their capital assets on charities.

There is little doubt that the 'bourgeoisie', drawn from both the 'passengers' and the ex-indentured, hastened the conflict between the Indians and their white masters. Their expectations were higher, and under the leadership of Gandhi the necessary ignition was effected. The resultant political formation of an 'Indian class', which occurred between 1894, with the founding of the Natal Indian Congress, and 1913, the launching of the second passive resistance movement and the massive strike of Indian workers

which virtually stopped industry in Natal, was remarkably strong. The technique was passive resistance, the aim to expose the injustice and immorality of the racist legislation against Indians; and in this, the struggle succeeded, even though few real changes occurred in objective conditions. Most important, the Indian workers had confronted their white masters on a political plane. The issue had not remained confined to small disputes about small modifications of highly exploitative wages. It had been pushed to a moral demand, for a moral share in the whole system. The 'indentured mentality' in the labour situation ended. From that point on, the Indian was no longer a preferential labour commodity and ceased, in that context, to threaten the African.

Jaati and caste

It has often been said that Indians are too caste-contained to be able to relate to other South Africans, and that they are as contemptuous of the Africans as the high castes among them are of the low castes. But the concept of caste as popularly understood in European circles is not that of the Indians – Indians remain proud

of their *jaati*, but *jaati* is not synonymous with caste. Nor does such a view take account of the aspects of *jaati* – the emphasis on communal support and solidarity – that came to the fore in the South African context. The indentured workers, brutally uprooted from their native land, were yet, in a sense, never utterly bereft. There was still *jaati*, the sacred repository of their culture, within which they could preserve a sense of self and community – a defence against their double colonisation.

Jaati has been distorted into caste by British administrators and European scholars and, as such, projected as a heredity trap, condemning its victims to social and occupational immobility. It has been rejected as anti-democracy, anti-Christianity and anti-all the fundamental tenets of the equality and brotherhood of man. It is highly unlikely that this distortion was a result of a colossal misunderstanding, but rather that it was motivated by the dominator's need to justify the exploitation of the dominated. It was the *jaati*, with its elements of local (village-based) and family-based solidarity, not the armies of the *maharajahs* and the *nawabs*, that



remained impregnable to British domination. And so the *jaati* became the target of a psychological war to relieve the guilt of racism itself, since the latter, by comparison, was so much more preferable, even liberatory.

The Indian experiences *jaati* as a personal and social identity, as the closest social formation holding person, family and community together. The *jaati* is the group within which marriages are arranged, wedding feasts shared, funerals attended, rituals performed. Others may be invited, *jaati* members have a right. Academics have distilled hierarchy out of *jaati* and transcribed that into caste.¹⁶ The Indian mind has almost a mythical notion of two extreme points, Brahmin and Harijan, within which thousands of *jaatis* are contained, but it resists attempts to place these in a sort of hierarchy.¹⁷ Such a placing would have little, if any, relevance in a feudal society where people have to do more or less the same work in order to subsist, or in an industrial economy where hundreds of *jaatis* coexisting in a common society bring their labour in common to a common market.

The components of a *jaati* constellation are neither political nor economic, nor do they exist for the exploitative gain of the one over the other. A *jaati* may have its preferred traditional occupation, but it does not constrain occupational choice or mobility – as is shown in British census data compiled since the eighteenth century, which record the highest caste, the 'Brahmins', plying occupations varying from trading to menial agricultural labour, incidentally explaining the fair proportion of Brahmins among the indentured. Ghurye explains that trading, agriculture, labouring and military service were regarded as everybody's occupations; that it was in officiating over rituals alone that the Brahmins had a monopoly, and even that was challenged in a part of Madras where artisans claimed ascendancy over the Brahmins.¹⁸

Jaati has also been deprecated as a divisive and anti-nationalistic force. Yet the records show that villages resisted powerful attacks upon them because of the facility with which their '*jaati*' components combined to offer common defence. Ghurye states:

'The various castes, in so far as they contributed their respective services towards the common life of the village, were welded together and interdependent for the purpose of civic life. Interdependence of caste was such a deep rooted principle that it prevented other exclusive aspects, inherent in the system, from getting the better of the idea of a common civic goal and human sympathy for co-residents and hardening into caste-spirit or caste-patriotism.'¹⁹

Jaati consciousness, thus, is not only mutually supportive but also prepares its members to co-ordinate with others in a community of interests.²⁰ Had it been personally and communally destructive, it would have been quickly shed by those degraded by it, particularly the indentured, who were drawn from a very depressed sector of Indian society. The very fact of its restructuring suggests its positive value.

Jaati is the web of privacy within which Indians learn and maintain their identity. Just as each has *jaati*-communal privacy, so have others, but the privacy of none is more precious or more fundamental than that of the other. Indians understand very well the need to maintain respectable and respecting distances, but at the same time they know the value and the necessity for forming larger fraternities when faced with a common danger. So *jaati* consciousness does not undercut 'class consciousness'; in fact, it facilitates such consciousness, having already laid the basis for it in its control of preoccupation with personal status problems.

It is not so-called caste that inhibits Indian assimilation or Afro-Indian solidarity – the inhibitor is white domination, which feeds on Black fragmentation.

Toward a Black class

WHATEVER the Africans' perception of Indian indentured workers was in 1860, included in it must have been the suspicion, if not the knowledge, that they had been brought in by the white colonist to replace the Africans and to be used against them in ways perhaps not immediately understood. It was in the interest of the white colonist to fan any hostility, for any consolidation of interest between

the two labour contingents would have been fatal in a situation where the ratio between white and Black was already in the region of 1:10. Consequently, *Indians and Africans were separated from each other, and in separation, projected as dangerous to each other.* They were at the same time kept within 'viewing' distance of each other, so that they could be constantly reminded of their strange and different ways. There was the use of African 'whipping boys' on the estates, and the sentencing of a transgressing 'coolie' to the 'kaffir' barracks where he could be terrorised and ridiculed as the master intended; there was the appointment of an Indian overseer over African mill-hands and the use of African police to suppress Indian strikes; and running through it all, constantly reinforced, was the use of stereotypes calculated to present each with an adverse image of the other. Such stereotypes were fabricated, in the first instance, for the peace of mind of the whites themselves, to relieve them of Christian guilt for the humanity they degraded. The degradation was intrinsic to the race – one did not provide latrines for 'coolies', 'because they had difficulty in carrying out the latrine systems,' it would 'only concentrate their filth which at present is diffused.'²¹ Even a liberal-minded white scholar, writing seventy years later, sympathised with the planters who had to contend with 'inveterate shirkers', with a people possessed with a high degree of 'stupidity, illiteracy, susceptibility to rumours and colossal ignorance.'²²

Up to the Second World War, Indians followed the political orientation established by Gandhi, which was that the South African government through its subsidiary, Natal, had a treaty obligation with the government of India to accord Indians full and equal citizenship rights in the country, and should be coerced into doing so through the moral pressure of passive resistance. Thus, politically, the issue of discrimination against the Indians was separated from that of the other two Black groups and there was a great reliance on India and on representatives of the two governments getting together and sorting things out. There was, however, progressive disillusionment with the role of the Indian Agent General, who represented India in South Africa, and a

growing awareness that the Indians did not in fact have a different case from other oppressed 'non-whites'. For example, when in 1932 the Natal Indian Congress resolved to launch a further passive resistance campaign, *Indian Views*, one of the then two Indian newspapers, commented in an editorial: "Success of passive resistance presupposes existence in the enemy of a measure of the milk of human love, of human decency . . . The Pirows, the Malans and the backveld, back-benchers are by no means handicapped with a superabundance of these commodities." Instead, it proposed Afro-Indian solidarity:

"To Britain we say may the curse of an oppressed people drag you to your doom. To India - spare us your sympathy, your delegations and your Round Table conferences, to ourselves - purge yourself of every iota of the snobbery that keeps you aloof from the native African - turn native. In this country you are nothing more and nothing less than the native. Thicker than ties of blood are the ties of slavery - one common destiny, one common tyrant, one common hell of tyranny ordains that the two of you shall merge and give battle to the oppressor as one."²³

There was considerable thinking along these lines in the Indian community. Student and worker talk shops had emerged - the Non-European United Front and the Communist Party began making radical incisions into traditional political thinking. The escalation of industry in Durban, where half the Indian population is concentrated, resulted in the rapid movement of Africans into the urban areas, and in the absence of housing or public squatting land, they began living with Indians, as tenants or sub-tenants, but effectively as neighbours. There were tensions, but above all, there was improved understanding and relationships. Most important of all, Africans, debarred from trade union rights, were being drawn into Indian trade unions and gaining from both their experience and the success of their negotiations with the employers. Many of the new trade union organisers were drawn from the radicalised Non-European United Front and the Nationalist Bloc within the Indian Congress.

In 1946, the Anti-Asiatic Land Act was passed, segregating Indians into ghettos. The Nationalist Bloc captured political leadership of the Indian Congress and launched the third massive passive resistance campaign against the United Party government. The timing was internationally opportune, and the campaign exploded racial discrimination in South Africa into a world problem. For all the strength and self-confidence it engendered, Indians realised that their 'class formation', to be truly effective, had to include the other Black oppressed groups.

The realisation had come none too soon. The whites had sustained a vicious campaign for the repatriation and, failing that,

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the segregation of the Indians for almost half a century. As early as 1896, whites had gathered together their "Zulu" domestics and employees and marched them to the docks to repel the new Indian arrivals, among whom was Gandhi. The campaign had been pushed to a new peak during the 1948 elections, when many candidates used extreme anti-Indian tirades to get into parliament. *The Indian was projected as the scapegoat in popular opinion and it was easy to unleash African frustrations - already at flash point due to intolerable slum conditions, scarcity, high prices and low wages - on to them.* And then, in January 1949, Africans carried out a violent attack against Indians on the streets of Durban.

At the same time, Africans and Indians were living cordially in mixed neighbourhoods and the attack came not from the Indians' African neighbours (who, indeed, as inquest records show, attempted to protect the Indians), but mainly from the dock workers. Single men, imprisoned in compounds at the end of each day's work and housed some eight miles away from the nearest Black neighbourhood, they had virtually no social contact with the

Indians. Armies of men, formed in the labour compounds, were allowed to leave their work and to march unrestrained through Durban, attacking and looting, while the police did little to hinder them. Was there, perhaps a connection between the police inactivity and one politician's (earlier) public statement? Said Senator Peterson: "Personally, I would like to solve the Indian problem by shooting them, but a man cannot lay himself open to a charge of murder . . ."²⁴ Had he, and others like him, taken advantage of the late afternoon scuffle and fanned it into a conflagration?

The Commission of Inquiry, subsequently established, was boycotted by the accredited African and Indian organisations - the Indian and African Congresses - represented jointly by a common council, the trade unions and the combined Native Location Advisory Board - they realised it would be racist in orientation. Not unexpectedly, the commission did not confirm the organised nature of the violence - but it did recognise the relations between the two groups had been cordial before the outburst. That cordiality continued as the Indian and African congresses reaffirmed, in joint statements, that "There was no movement afoot of Africans against Indians, that Africans as a whole were not hostile against Indians as a whole," that there were Africans who had in fact "sacrificed their lives for Indians."²⁵

The riots brought the two Congresses to a sharp realisation that matters had been left to run an unguided course for too long. And it was with the fourth and largest passive resistance campaign that the alliances which already had been forged between the African and Indian congresses took a far more meaningful momentum. In January 1952, Dr Moroka and Walter Sisulu agreed to inaugurate a campaign for the repeal of six unjust laws - the Pass Laws, the Stock Limitation Acts, the Bantu Authorities Act, the Group Areas Act, the Voters Representative Act and the Suppression of Communism Act. In June 1952, the Port Elizabeth Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign began, in which 52 people were arrested, among them Nelson Mandela. Some three years later, (March 1955) the

South African Congress of Trade Unions came into existence, with around 20 000 members. Durban became one of its strongholds, with joint Indian and African involvement. The Nationalist Government responded quickly to the Congress Alliance and by 1960 had banned both the political and trade union congresses.

In the '70s, Black Consciousness which partnered the Congress in formal opposition politics outside the system of apartheid emerged as the most powerful challenge to white domination and had a significant effect on consolidating a Black class consciousness. Unlike the Congress Movement, which had worked through "racially" affiliated organisations, the Black Consciousness bodies – the South African Students Organisation (SASO), the Black People's Convention (BPC), the Black Allied Workers Union (BAWU), the Black Community Programmes (BCP) – were completely integrated. A large number of other supportive bodies, youth, women, cultural, church, theatre, etc., intensified and spread Black solidarity throughout the country. *The massive Durban strikes of the '70s' were reported as African strikes; in fact, they involved a high level of Indian participation, reflecting a Black rather than an African consciousness.*²⁶

Today, the bulwarks of white domination are the homelands and the group areas, and they are also its nemesis. Created to fragment Black solidarity, they are concentrations of irrepressible Black frustrations which must burst the dykes. Ironically, the security and longevity of apartheid lies not so much in the South African police, but in the black government appointees who "govern" the Black people and who are projected through an elaborate system of government-controlled media as representatives of their peoples. Take the Kwa Zulu leader, who operates not only through the Kwa Zulu Legislative Assembly but through a second front, the tribally based Inkatha, and has, unsuccessfully, tried to develop a third, the Black Alliance, of Africans and Indians and Coloureds. The intention is to give him a credibility beyond that of the government imposed homeland administration. Inkatha, however, predictably

operates as a reactionary tribal force, ultimately servicing white domination.

But little of this appears to deter the "liberal" establishments, both local and international, from anchoring their hopes in the Kwa Zulu leader. He continues to be seen as a bastion of enlightened capitalism in the face of excessive radicalism. That any radicalising twist given to black apartheid institutions should come from Natal (where Kwa Zulu is geographically located) is no accident. It is a reflection of Afro-Indian tangle that has characterised Natal and made each indispensable to the other. However, it is inconceivable that tribal formations can contribute to Black solidarity, they can only sponsor tribalism, inhibit Black class consciousness and

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... (The Black Consciousness position ... uses race, not to dominate, but to liberate the country from race.

preserve white domination, as they are intended to do. The government thus gives large latitude to anti-apartheid rhetoric within tribal formations, to give them credibility and to confuse the Black masses. The banning of practically all Black Consciousness organisations in 1977 left the "tribalists" in almost complete control, but *there is far more to Black Consciousness than audible articulations – there is the whole grinding experience of unfreedom in a social climate which has become highly sensitive to freedom.*

The present political onslaught on the government is at least two-pronged from the United Democratic Front and the National Forum. The 80s saw the emergence of a considerably strengthened Natal Indian Congress and the re-emergence of the Transvaal Indian Congress, which have made common cause with a large number of Coloured and African communities, religious and labour organisations, under the umbrella of the United Democratic Front; while the National Forum is a regrouping of Black Consciousness movements.

Conclusion

THE system of indentured labour based the economy of Natal on slavery and depressed Black wage rates. The effect of this survives to this day and Natal continues to have the lowest Black wage rate in the Republic. More important, the system laid the basis for economic competition within the labour ranks between indentured Indians and "free" African workers, the potential conflict being aggravated by cultural differences. Employers, anxious to counteract the emergence of labour solidarity between the two labour contingents, exploited the situation further through segregation and projection of adverse stereotypes of each

to the other, finally provoking the 1949 riots. Progressive urbanisation, on the other hand, identified Afro-Indian interests, and from the end of the Second World War, these began to be expressed in common industrial and political action, laying the basis for common consciousness. Homeland and township governments, and the prevailing repression of all Black Consciousness, is a direct response to that "class" consciousness.

The introduction of indentured labour in 1860, and the position of the two labour contingents against each other, complicated the line of conflict between Black labour and white capital. Marxist theorists have looked for and found white workers and black bourgeoisie and have, on the basis of this, conceptualised a class rather than a race conflict in South Africa. In South Africa, class and race have become exactly superimposed upon each other, so that race is class in the sense that access to resources is finally determined by race. It is precisely because the line of conflict is between two races that any expectation of any evolutionary solution within the apartheid system of white polity ultimately sharing resources equitably with the disenfranchised or under-franchised Blacks, is futile. This is the relevance of the Black Consciousness position which uses race, not to dominate, but to liberate the country from race. It must, by the sheer size of the oppressed race, also go a long way towards liberating the country from the domination of resources by a class.

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13. *Ibid*, p.84.
14. *Ibid*, p.74.
15. 'The Chinese Labour Question', *Handy Notes Imperial South Africa Association*, n d, pp.16f.
16. See, for example, the contributions to A Reuck and J Knight, *Caste and Race*, London 1967.
17. The official British censor, John Fryer, looked for a hierarchy of castes in 1670 and did not find it: "As the society now stands . . . the place due to each community is not easily distinguishable, nor is any common principle of precedence recognized by the people themselves by

which to grade the castes. Excepting the Brahmin at one end and the admittedly degraded castes like the Haleyas at the other the members of a large proportion of the intermediate castes think, or profess to think, that their caste is better than their neighbours' and should be ranked accordingly."

Martin, commenting on the 1901 Mysore census, reported: "The people who assisted me in making up this account, could not with certainty refer each caste to its class, for they never had bestowed pains to enquire concerning the various claims of such low persons." (G S Ghurye, *Caste and Class in India*, Bombay, 1956.)

18. G S Ghurye, *Caste, Class and Occupation*, Bombay, 1961, p.13.
19. *Ibid*, p.25.
20. Sir Charles Metcalfe, in his evidence to the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company in 1832, stated: "The village communities are little republics, having nearly everything that they want within themselves, and almost independent of any foreign relations. They seem to last within themselves where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down; revolution succeeds revolution . . . but the village communities remain the same. In times of trouble they arm and fortify themselves: . . . if a country remains for a series of years the scene of continued pillage and massacre, so that the villages cannot be inhabited, the scattered villagers nevertheless return whenever the power of peaceable possession revives. A generation may pass

away but the succeeding generation will return. The sons will take the places of their fathers, the same site for the villagers, the same position for the houses, the same lands will be occupied by the descendants of those who were driven out when the village was depopulated; and it is not a trifling matter that will drive them out, for they will often maintain their post through times of disturbance and convulsion, and acquire strength sufficient to resist pillage and oppression with success . . . all action in union with a common interest as regards the Government, and adjusting their own separate interests among themselves according to established usage" (Ghurye, 1956, *op cit*, pp. 24-5.)

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Commemoration service in Merebank, Durban for guerillas killed in the 1982 Maputo Raid.

Thirty years of silent murder . . . the Asbestos tragedy

by DR GOMOLEMO MOKAE

A senior management official at a South African asbestos mine made the following remark about Black miners: "They are like plastic syringes. You use them and when they are damaged you throw them back to the homelands."

The South African mining industry certainly has no regard for Black life. Quite knowledgeable of the deleterious effects of asbestos exposure on one's health it deliberately exposed countless Black mineworkers and their families – men, women and children – to this so-called "magic mineral".

Internationally, confirmed employer knowledge about the dangers of asbestos dates back to the late 1800s.

In 1949, Dr G W H Scheepers, an American physician, described conditions in South Africa's asbestos mines. He wrote as follows in the annals of the New York Academy of Science: "I found young children trampling down fluffy amosite (brown) asbestos."

"X-rays revealed several to have asbestosis with cor pulmonale (failure of the right side of the heart) before the age of twelve."

"Why Dr Sluis-Cremer (a prominent South African medical researcher) did not see them ten years later is fairly evident. There was probably not one of them still alive."

"In the valley where the mill was located, asbestos dust rolled through like the morning mist. Even the food in the local hotel was gritty with dust." ("Health danger was ignored by prospectors in 'asbestos rush': *The Star*: 23 August 1984)

Murder

We can therefore safely say that the industry knew of the dangers of asbestos



dust since at least the late fifties, but despite this, chose to subordinate worker's health to capitalistic "ideals". To it maximizing profit is more important than people's health – especially if those people happen to be Black.

In a presidential address to the National Anti-Asbestos Conference called by the BLACK ALLIED MINING AND CONSTRUCTION WORKERS' UNION (BAMCWU) and held on 29 May - 1 June 1985, Letsatsi Mosala summed up the position: "We believe that more than thirty years ravage of Asbestos-Related Diseases (ARDs) has not been given the attention it deserves by those in authority. We are convinced that the non-protection of Black workers from occupational diseases is a deliberate act in line with the exploitation, oppression and human degradation of Black people. The system of exploitation and oppression in this country does not care about the conditions under which Black workers slave for its maintenance."

In residential areas near asbestos mines such as Mmafele, Bewaarskloof, Penge and Kromellenboog asbestos dumps

were left uncovered. In some cases, Black children unwittingly played with the dangerous mineral from the dumps. The coalition of the government and the mining magnates could not be bothered to cover the dumps up.

Carolyn Dempster describes the result: "(W)hen the wind blows the blue dust swirls innocuously through the narrow valleys of this hilly region, spills over on the roads and is ground to a finer fibre powder by bare feet or car tyres – making it more lethal." ("SA could face asbestos scandal involving 500 000 people": *The Star*: 15 August 1984)

Some villagers, ignorant of the hazards of asbestos, built schools and houses out of asbestos mud obtained from the dumps. Wrote *The Star* on 25 August 1984: "The sprawling township (of Mmafele) is experiencing a building boom, with bright blue houses mushrooming throughout the valley. A new and sophisticated touch lies in the plastering of the houses with asbestos fibre, leaving a smooth finish which can be painted if the homeowner so wishes."

The government obviously did not view this in a serious light. The only step it took to curb this was to issue an order prohibiting the making of bricks by the villagers from asbestos (note how the real criminals, the mine bosses, are not legislated against!).

In an incredibly cynical statement, the Government Mining Engineer's office said that it would not prosecute these brickmakers. Commented *The Star* in an editorial entitled "Dumps of Death" on 20 September 1984: "We would think not! . . . The hapless brickmakers, many of whom will die from ARDs, were 'let off' because they acted out of ignorance. The ones who did not act in ignorance were the mines. They knew the risks . . . Seeing the GME brought up the question of prosecuting somebody, what about the mines? Why have they not been prosecuted? . . ."

In terms of the Atmospheric Pollution Prevention Act of 1965, no mine owner may leave or transfer his mine without ensuring that it and the dumps do not pose an environmental hazard. There is ample evidence that this has not been done and that the mine owners have never been prosecuted. ("Bewaarskloof blues can carry you away:" *The Star*: 23 August 1984).

Letsatsi Mosala finds this negligence infuriating: "A question can be asked why leave kids to be exposed to these killer dumps, but of course the answer is only too obvious. After all, it is Black kids, and if birth control methods don't work, if police bullets don't work, use the undetected method of murder, which will not invite condemnation and the wrath of the international community."

Cover-up

The white government and the asbestos industry have inexorably tried to underplay the seriousness of asbestos exposure. In September 1969, Carel de Wet, then Minister of Health, told the public that the "so-called dangerous effects" of asbestos on the human body were greatly exaggerated, based on insufficient knowledge or misrepresentations, and calculated to cause sensation.

In 1977, the then Minister of Mines, Fanie Botha, was quoted as saying: "The results of the stricter, more modern and

effective dust-control measures and technological aids will become apparent in ten or more years time." He predicted that South Africa would see a considerable drop in the cases of lung disease linked to asbestos exposure.

There has even been a cover-up operation in the form of suppression of results of crucial scientific research. This research linked asbestos exposure to lung cancer. Details of this cover-up were given in the noted international science journal *New Scientist* in its 22 April 1982 issue:

"In June 1978 South Africa's mining companies were presented with something of a problem. Dr Leslie Irwig, a researcher at the National Research Institute of Occupational Diseases (since re-named the National Centre for Occupational Health), decided that on a forthcoming visit to New York he would read not one, but two papers to a scientific conference on the control of environmental hazards, organised by the New York Academy of Sciences."

Dr Irwig's first paper, the *New Scientist* stated, was on the risks workers in South Africa's blue and brown asbestos mines face of developing the debilitating lung disease, asbestosis. *New Scientist* attested that the paper reached "the entirely uncontroversial" conclusion that when it comes to causing asbestosis, the risks from blue and brown asbestos are more or less the same.

"The other paper Irwig proposed to read was more of a hot potato. Called 'Mortality from Asbestos Related Disease in South Africa', this paper mentioned the word cancer and, on the basis of careful analysis of available data, concluded that people living in asbestos-producing areas (but not necessarily working in the asbestos industry) died more often than usual from cancer," said the *New Scientist*.

This reputed science journal then went on



Letsatsi Mosala (left) and Mbulelo Rakwena (right) at the Anti-Asbestos Conference.

to reveal the connivance of the Department of Health, the mining industry, the South African Medical Research Council (MRC) and the National Centre for Occupational Health in the suppression of Dr Irwig's papers.

However, the above is not an isolated incident. The Johannesburg daily, *The Star* also exposed a similar, but more sinister cover-up: "When the first direct links between asbestos dust and the fatal lung cancer, mesothelioma, were established as long ago as 1958, it is alleged that the asbestos industry stepped in to sponsor medical research - and that the findings of the report were held back from the public for at least three years." (Carolyn Dempster: "Asbestos Hazards 'Covered up' claims Surgeon": *The Star*: 31 October 1983)

Quoting "a Johannesburg surgeon involved in mesothelioma research at the time" - whose name could not be published for professional reasons - *The Star* forwarded the reasons for the asbestos industry's involvement in medical research and holding back the report "for at least three years."

These were, among others:

- (a) to "buy" time to improve asbestos dust controls on the mines and avoid a major scandal,

- (b) to keep the public at large in the dark as to the hazards of exposure to asbestos dust, and because
- (c) "hundreds of South Africans with mesothelioma who could not provide proof of any direct contact with the asbestos mining industry were unable to claim compensation. Mesothelioma was only added to the scheduled industrial diseases of the Workmen's Compensation Act in 1979."

The industry adopted the American system of the Threshold Limit Value (TLV)* as an index of safety. This system was aptly described by James Keogh: "If you poison your boss a little bit each day it is called murder; if your boss poisons you a little each day it is called TLV".

It may be added that it is commonplace for ARDs to be misdiagnosed as tuberculosis (TB) in South Africa.

BAMCWU has initiated a concerted effort to lift this heavy asbestos veil. The Union launched its Anti-Asbestos Campaign on 13 October 1984.

ARDs

There are six forms of asbestos fibres, of which the main types are: chrysotile (white), crocidolite (blue) and amosite (brown). Inhalation of dust from all these three main types of fibres is associated with asbestosis, a chronic disease of the lung which invariably leads to gross respiratory disability. Asbestosis is a disease of occupational or para-occupational exposure only.

There is also a causal rather than casual relationship between exposure to asbestos dust and two forms of lung cancer. They are mesothelioma, a fatal cancer of the outer lining of the lung and bronchogenic carcinoma, a cancer of the lung pipes (bronchi) which is really an advanced stage of asbestosis. The incidence of mesothelioma is more environmental than occupational: it can be contracted even after a day of contact with asbestos.

Asbestos dust exposure can either be environmental or industrial. This means that it is not only workers in the asbestos industry who stand the risk of developing the above three ARDs, but also people residing near these industries.

In warning about the Northern Cape's "killer towns", one of the original group of doctors which researched mesothelioma remarked: "Every person who lives, or who has lived, in Kuruman and Prieska is a potential mesothelioma victim. There are thousands who have lived in Kuruman who have died, and will die, because of exposure to asbestos." (Carolyn Dempster: "Doctor warns of Cape's killer towns": *The Star*: 31 October 1983).

It is their insidious nature that makes ARDs particularly dreaded: the clinical signs of ARDs or related diseases may develop many years after exposure to asbestos had ceased – in some instances as long as fifty years later.

The December 1982 edition of the *South African Medical Journal* contained an article which asserted: "As the current standard in South Africa is in the range well known from the USA and UK data to be associated with significant ARDs, and the lag period between asbestos exposure and the onset of the disease is as long as 50 years, it can be confidently predicted that we in South Africa will continue to see ARDs in abundance over the next half-century."

The "magic mineral", "wonder mineral" and "miracle rock", as asbestos has variously been labelled, is widely used in industries such as those involved in the manufacture of textiles, insulation material, roofing and cars. It runs like a common thread between these multiple industries.

There is a proliferating international campaign against the use of this "ravaging lung monster in its three shades" (with apologies to Letsatsi Mosala). Its use has been banned in Sweden, Norway and Holland.

South Africa

The general tendency in South Africa has been to "regulate" the amount of exposure to asbestos dust rather than to totally ban it. Given that South Africa is the world's third largest producer of asbestos (after the USSR and Canada), having asbestos mines which are functioning both in the Northern Transvaal and the North Western Cape, it is not hard to find the reasons for Pretoria's reluctance to ban asbestos.

South Africa is one of the world's largest producers of blue asbestos (considered by some to be the most hazardous of the six types of asbestos fibres) and is the world's sole producer of brown asbestos.

Predictably, because of its vested interest in the longevity of apartheid-capitalism, the white government has constantly turned a blind eye to those sections of the asbestos industry which overshoot the legal limit of asbestos exposure.

In August 1984 a Johannesburg daily uncovered the failure of the authorities to charge Penge mine for overshooting the exposure limit: "Penge asbestos mine-workers have been exposed to high and illegal levels of hazardous asbestos dust since 1976, yet the mine has not been charged with contravention of regulations by (the) Government Engineer." (Carolyn Dempster: "Penge not charged for illegal fibre levels": *The Star*: 17 August 1984)

The newspaper disclosed that it had acquired, among others documents, an inspection report by one JHE Celliers, a district inspector for the Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs. The report was dated 8 November 1983.

Dempster revealed: "Just two months prior to the inspection, the mine's ventilation officer recorded spot fibre samples of 134 f/ml (fibres per millilitre) and 130 f/ml in particularly dusty areas of the mine mill – 65 times higher than the limit. The information is contained in an internal dust report." These dust reports were dated 28-29 September 1983. (See Philip van Niekerk's article in the *Rand Daily Mail* dated 8 August 1984)

Until the end of 1983, the limit was 5 f/ml: it was reduced to 2 f/ml in 1984. In 1987, the limit was lowered to 1 f/ml with both the Griqualand Exploration and Finance Company (Gefco) and Msauli Aspes Beperk saying that they are committed to this limit. Gefco (responsible for the mining of blue and brown asbestos) and Msauli (responsible for mining white asbestos) are both subsidiaries of Gencor.

Notwithstanding this revelation of illegal high exposure, dating back to 1976, RSJ du Toit, a government mining engineer, had the guts to state the "conditions in the asbestos mines of South Africa are under effective control." He said this, and much more, in his letter to "The British Society

for Social Responsibility in Science, Work Hazards Group," dated 13 October 1977.

Pat Hart, the executive chairman of Gefco and Msauli, makes the following confession: "In 1977 the dust level at Penge was 45 fibres a millilitre of air. Ten years before it had been 65 f/ml and in the fifties the count was in the hundreds." ("Mine says critics simplify issues": *City Press*: 9 July 1989) Hart proudly adds that "the dust level at Penge stands at an average of 1,2 f/ml . . ." - above the present statutory limit!

Hart maintains: "Far from being 'death traps', Penge and the other asbestos mines are safe, productive work-places in areas where there are very few other employment opportunities. No doubt there is still room for improvement . . ."

It is such irregularities which prompted BAMCWU to campaign for the closing of the asbestos mines, not the regulation of exposure. The racist government and the moneyocratic mine bosses cannot be relied upon to regulate their self-set exposure limit.

BAMCWU

BAMCWU's Motsomi Mokhine remarked in his input paper to the Union's anti-Asbestos Conference: "This state-employer alliance was . . . demonstrated in 1983 when the state and Gencor (a mining company) released public figures denoting that thirteen workers contracted ARDs at the Penge mine, whereas the mine manager's internal report circulated among shareholders said there were seventy nine."

The very same Penge mine has been a battleground between the mining magnates and BAMCWU. On 2 July 1984, about 1 700 Black workers at this mine went on strike over a least three issues, viz.:-

- (a) a pay increase to at least R10,00 a shift;
- (b) recognition of their union, BAMCWU; and
- (c) health and safety.

The strike brought the disparity in the compensation paid out for occupational diseases on the mines to the fore.

It is not surprising to find that white workers - those labour aristocrats who benefit so much from apartheid-capitalism - have majestic remuneration from the Workmen's Compensation Fund. They receive a lump sum payment of R24,000, plus R400 per month pension for life. Black workers receive a meagre lump sum payment of R1 790, with no pension whatsoever. This is so despite the greater risk they run of contracting occupational diseases.

The Penge strike epitomized this disparity, since there had been extensive reports in the media of the high incidence of ARDs (referred to as "gas" by the workers) among Black workers at the mine.

The Penge mine management was intransigent. It would not listen to the worker's grievances. On 10 July 1984 the 1 700 workers were dismissed. But they refused to leave their compounds, still entertaining the hope that management would talk to them. This was not to be. Instead, a new "dispute" was created - a unique situation where striking workers refused to leave their compounds.

Management took the matter to court - to get the workers evicted - and, on 25 July 1984 the Supreme Court ruled against the workers and their union. BAMCWU was ordered to pay the costs. This significantly stretched the limited resources of the union since it also had to offer relief services to the workers.

Perhaps it is worth noting that the very same Penge company that refused workers reasonable salary increases had made a R25-million pre-tax profit in 1983, which was a 25% increase on pre-tax profits for the previous year.

AZAPO

BAMCWU's Mbulelo Rakwena remarks that Penge was the first asbestos mine which BAMCWU organised and "We



The late Dr Abubaker Asvat.

found it odd that so many of our members were complaining of chest diseases. Some were being laid off as a result of these problems. Because of concern over the problem, the union commissioned AZAPO's health secretariat to conduct research into the usual chest complaints."

"It then emerged that we were dealing with ARDs. The hospital had told our membership that they had TB but, when the results of the research were presented, it emerged that we were dealing with a much bigger problem."

"Only then did the union expand its horizons. We started looking into the asbestos problem locally and internationally. We also started to inform our membership of the submissions made by the doctors and our own study."

Rakwena emphasizes that the campaign has since been taken to the North Western Cape and that BAMCWU is consulting with community-based organisations in heightening awareness about ARDs. He adds: "Written information should be made available but we are dealing with communities where we still have to use a lot of oral communication."

Interim Measures

Despite BAMCWU's undisputed successes in its campaign, the resilience of

the mining bosses is all too apparent.

The Union's determination as reflected in the following words of Mokhine is equally apparent: "... (L)et us note that workers constitute the largest group that relates to asbestos mining and product manufacturing. They also constitute the largest group without a direct say in the volume, usage and control of asbestos. It stands to reason therefore that all decisions pertaining to their health in these industries must be made with their consent... Let me hasten to add... that as has been demonstrated by members of our Union, workers feel that all forms of asbestos, both commercial and non-commercial, are carcinogenic and only a total ban on its use will ensure complete protection against its carcinogenic effect."

The primary focus of the BAMCWU campaign is made clear in their Position Paper on Asbestos adopted on 11 October 1984: "... (O)ur campaign shall not be geared at petitioning the government and mining houses. It shall be geared at alerting the entire community to the dangers they are subjected... It shall be geared at making the entire rural masses aware of looming death as a result of the system's intransigence... Our campaign shall be effected in the compounds, in the villages, in the offices, in the streets, in the townships. We shall pamphleteer, picket, lobby and hold mass meetings..."

The preparedness of the capitalists to minimize exposure of the workers to this dangerous mineral, let alone close the mines, is doubtful. World production of asbestos has increased from 675 000 tons in 1940 to well over 5 million tons today.

In an editorial entitled "A quality of horror" the *Rand Daily Mail* commented on 6

August 1984: "... (I)t is a basic function of government to take steps to neutralize these major health hazards. This extends to ensuring that private enterprise, in its search for profit, is not allowed to inflict damage and death to the community."

AZAPO's former Secretary for Health, the late Dr Abubaker Asvat, proposed the following interim measures as a prelude to the closure of the asbestos mines:

- (a) reducing the size of permissible fibre to 1 f/ml;
- (b) disposal of the dumps;
- (c) proper work clothes and respirators for workers;
- (d) improved living conditions for workers;
- (e) compensation for Black workers suffering from "gas" to be increased to a lump sum payment of R15 000 plus a monthly pension;
- (f) regular and efficient medical supervision of all workers.

BAMCWU's strategies include the commissioning of surveys (with the full utilization of professional services whether legal, engineering, medical or scientific), the training of shop stewards in health and safety, entering into health and safety agreements with management whenever possible, demanding information about work hazards and their prevention, appointing physicians to give second opinions, thereby gaining access to company medical files, representing workers at fatal accident enquiries and demanding representation on the Workman's Compensation Commission.

While most of the AZAPO-BAMCWU interim demands remain unaddressed, some of them have been acceded to - asbestos dumps are being covered, the

size of permissible fibre has been reduced to that recommended and stricter regulations for asbestos mines have been passed.

The use of synthetic fibres such as glass-wool and ceramic fibres such as rockwool as substitutes for asbestos in building and insulation, motor cars, furniture and packaging is on the increase. On pages 319 ff of his book *Asbestos: Medical and Legal Aspects*, Barry I Castleman (who was refused a visa by the South African authorities to attend and address BAMCWU's National Anti-Asbestos Conference) lists a variety of asbestos substitutes.

Everite, South Africa's leading maker of asbestos cement products, announced that it would replace asbestos with natural organic fibre (cellulose) in all building materials which formerly contained asbestos, except asbestos cement piping. Everite's parent company is the Swiss firm of Eternit. (*The Star* 21 August 1987)

Socialism

It is sobering to note that the ancient Greeks used asbestos to produce a wrapping for bodies which were to be cremated so that the ashes could be retained!

The World Health Organisation has defined health as "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being, not merely the absence of disease and infirmity." Clearly only people themselves can decide when this definition is fulfilled. This means that society must be controlled from the bottom up by the Black working class.

Despite the emphasis on worker representation, worker-generated information and worker initiative in the resolution of problems by BAMCWU and AZAPO, we will not fully begin to eradicate the health hazards of asbestos until we have a socialist society - one that puts health before wealth. To modify some famous words: "BLACK WORKERS OF AZANIA UNITE! YOU HAVE YOUR HEALTH TO WIN!" ■

* The TLV is the total value of airborne concentrations of substances which represent conditions under which it is believed that nearly all workers may be repeatedly exposed day after day without adverse effect.



AZANIA SALUTES TOSH!

by Frank Talk Staff Writers

MARK OF THE BEAST

*"I see the mark of the beast on their
ugly faces,
I see them congregating in evil
places,
Me say me know dem a wicked
Lordy Lordy,
Me know dem a wicked"*

So wrote Winston Hubert McIntosh, known to us as PETER TOSH, in 1975. He wrote these lines after being beaten with a rifle butt, his ribs broken by policeman who broke into his house while he was having a party. He was handcuffed to a stretcher for hours before the police allowed him to be treated.

The police successfully delivered a message to the masses in this 1975 incident: any militant youth, even a star, could be laid flat by the state.

Tosh's reply, almost as soon as he was on his feet, was to pen "Mark of the Beast" and show how brutally clear he was about the implacable nature of the enemy. He also released his now famous anthem for ganja, "Legalize It". These sides were immediately banned from Jamaican radio and became instant hits.

Others felt the mark of the beast as well. In 1976, two days before Bob Marley and the Wailers agreed to perform in a "Smile Jamaica" concert, seven gunmen went out to his house and shot up the place wounding several people including Bob, whom they were apparently intending to murder.

Bob had been under heavy pressure to do the show by the government of Michael Manley's People's National Party (PNP) and Manley had scheduled his bid for re-election two weeks after the concert.

Edward Seaga's (widely known as "CIAga") Jamaican Labour Party (JLP) was blamed for the shooting, but all indicators are that the PNP actually collaborated as well. For instance, PNP soldiers guarding Bob's home mysteriously disappeared minutes before the ambush. And not surprisingly, Yankee imperialism had its grubby hands in the incident: at the retreat Bob was secreted to by the Manley government after the shooting, one of the few people allowed in as "film crew" turned out to be Carl Colby, the son of the then-CIA director William Colby.

Two years later in 1978, a "Peace Concert" was held in Kingston to seal a truce between the PNP-JLP gangs. In "Peace Treaty" on the *Mama Afrika* album, Tosh commented on the concert in his usual acerbic style:

*"When they signed the peace treaty
I told them it wouldn't worky-
worky..."*

*Now this one have a gun
And that one have a gun...
All who signed the peace treaty
Now resting in peace in the ce-
metary."*

The subject matter of this song contains history, but it also presents a broader insight: namely, that an exploding contradiction (such as a society engulfed in intense civil conflict between competing ruling powers) cannot be resolved by cynical - or even earnest - calls for peace (shades of Pietermaritzburg!). Thinking it's so is disarming, and a mistake generally restricted to the masses: "Because of the words, I say, innocent people shouldna dead."

Tosh himself performed at the concert and took the opportunity in front of a crowd of 3 000 to dress down the entire Jamaican ruling elite, Manley and CIAga included, who fidgeted



in the front rows while Tosh lectured on the iniquities of the political "shit-stem", smoking an outlawed cigar-size spliff.

The Peace Concert was widely hailed at the time as a great success - at the end of the evening, Bob had actually brought together CIAga and Manley for a handshake in front of all of Jamaica. But this was a cruel joke even as it was occurring. In the next period the gang wars continued, and all but one of those who helped to put the concert together - Bob Marley, Jacob Miller, and the leaders of the rival JLP and PNP gangs, Claudie Massop and Bucky Marshall - met untimely deaths.

Within a month of the concert, the Beast once again sunk its teeth into Tosh. He was attacked on the street by police and once again assaulted.

Mikey Chung gave this account: "I was standing with him smoking a spliff by my car in Kingston when a cop came up and accosted him, saying 'Give me dis'. We thought that he was joking, cops do that down there sometimes for a spliff. Peter laughed, said 'No!' The cop attacked him, then squad cars pulled up, cops got out and started beating on him, took out their guns, beat him on his

head right out there on the street, then hauled him down to the police station and beat him almost to death down there."

A British reporter later queried Tosh: "You really think they meant to kill you?" In a prophetic reply, Tosh said: "If you got eight to ten guys beating the inside of you whole with wood and iron and destructive elements for over an hour what the do you think they intend to do??! What do they think I was made of? Wood or stone? They got orders to do that seen? Cos of the thing I think I talk, like what I talk at the Peace Concert to Government ministers and so on which them don't like. The police take upon their head to show that is wrong, wrong speaking on behalf of poor people, people who have been humiliated on behalf of the system... Well, I have to speak out against that and if I wasn't using my guitar and my lips in records I would be using some other heavy things to fight against a system that tends to fight against me." Reporter: "What other things?" Tosh: "Any other things! Flashing lightning, thundering gun, rolling earthquake, anything! Because the shitstem that, it just tends to incriminate the youth illegally; a youth who just comes out of school and doesn't know anything but because him poor and living in the ghetto and wear little tear up pants they come and stand him up against the streetside and humiliate him. And maybe he's thinking how he can get the next meal legally, without incriminating himself, where him gonna get a job, where him gonna get some rest tonight, and they just brutalize him and lock him up in jail. And many youths die under similar circumstances that they even try to kill me."

Peter was once arrested in Miami airport, accused of "impersonating Peter Tosh." In West Germany, the government warned him if he sang "Legalize it" the dates would be cancelled and he'd be financially responsible and put in jail (reportedly the first such government censorship threat since Hitler); he sang the song anyway the last night, spliff in hand.

At a 1984 concert in Swaziland,

thousands of people who had travelled long distances to get to the concert were left at the gate unable to enter. In the middle of the concert Peter called a "musician's strike", saying: "Calling all promoters, a cyaam (can't) ah stage, it sound like no sense that the people outside cannot afford to pay to come in, and they're standing out there just getting the fragrance of the music." He left the stage, returning ten minutes later to denounce the bankruptcy of the Swaziland regime! "It sound to me like I'm down in North Carolina or down in Texas. I and I don't come to support this ancient 15th century colonialism which depresses I and I integrity, I dignity... I want to know if the promoter open the gates YET!" The gates were opened.

Shortly before his murder, Peter released the politically provocative album *No Nuclear War* and a world tour was planned. The tracks on *No Nuclear War* include "Vampire" and "Fight Apartheid."

Tosh was asked by a reporter from Reggae Beat, "In the song, 'Vampire', who is the vampire?" and he replied: "Well, you know of them. They are the ones who suck the blood of the innocent ones. Invisible vampires, because according to technology, vampires don't come out and bite your neck anymore. They cause a plane to crash or something destructive to happen that blood have to spill and those invisible vampires will still get their meals. It shall be eradicated."

On the eve of the tenth anniversary of the death of Bantu Steve Biko, a stunned and outraged Azania heard that the Vampire had martyred Peter Tosh.*

Peter's martyrdom brought back the words he uttered when an interviewer told him in 1983 "You are considered to be a controversial person". Peter interrupted, "So was Jesus! I man get a job fe do, and I have to do it with the method I know, the tools at my disposal. Dem say I aggressive, but Jesus did gentle and dem get rid of him so who am I that they should not try to crucify."

"Investigate reporting" has not exact-

ly flowered about the execution of Peter Tosh, but this much can be pieced together from newspaper accounts and eyewitnesses:

One of the reasons why Tosh was in Jamaica on September 11, 1987 was to attend a court hearing in a civil claim he had launched against the government which had been repeatedly adjourned. This claim arose out of an incident with a customs officer at the Kingston airport early in 1987. A fight broke out over a customs matter and Tosh's pregnant wife was beaten, causing her to miscarry.

The night of the killing, Peter was at his home in Barbican, a hilly suburb of Kingston, with his wife Marlene and three friends. At about 20h00 the dogs barked, announcing visitors at the gate outside. Michael Robinson, a craft worker and friend of Tosh, went down to check and discovered Dennis Lobban (also known as "Leppo"), an occasional visitor and friend of Tosh and two other men in business suits.

They were led past the dogs, and once upstairs the three men demanded money of Tosh. When they drew guns, Tosh laughed at them. At some point, radio disc jockey "Free-I" and his wife walked in on the hold-up. Peter Tosh was beaten and pistol-whipped. Eventually all were forced at gunpoint to lie face down on the floor, and the gunmen proceeded to shoot everyone in the head. After shooting Peter, one was heard to say to the other, "Are you sure he's dead?" Then they shot him twice again.



Kingston, Jamaica.

Marlene said that she and the others survived headshot wounds by playing dead in the darkened house. After a brief ransacking, the killers left everyone for dead and escaped into the night on motorcycles of a type only available to the Jamaican police and political-party hitmen.

Peter was dead ten minutes later after being taken to the hospital by neighbours. An herbal healer and friend, Wilton "Doc" Brown, died instantly, and Free-I (Jeff Dixon) died several days later. The survivors of the assault were Santa Davis (the drummer in Peter's last band), Yvonne Dixon, Michael Robinson and Marlene Tosh.

Initially, the official story was that Tosh was killed in a random robbery attempt. Almost no one took this seriously. Literally everyone in Jamaica knew Peter, and any shooting had to be a very deliberate act. This story sounded even more ridiculous when two weeks after the execution, Marlene Tosh was shot on the street by unknown assailants as she was returning home. She was unharmed.

Eventually the Jamaican police announced that they were "working on the premise that (the murders) were the result of a feud between some of the victims and the gunmen."

Within hours of the murder, the identity of at least one of the killers, Leppo, was broadly known on the streets of Jamaica. For several years, Leppo had been in General Penitentiary. The government had recently paroled him from a life sentence, and on his release he turned up at Peter's place. Peter gave him money to help get him on his feet, as he often did for people who came to him in distress.

Rumours abound concerning this man, including the story that Peter and Leppo were arrested years ago at a roadblock by policeman who found a gun in their car. As the story goes, Leppo went to prison, and Peter was to take care of his family financially.

One must keep in mind that Peter was not one to duck and cover from the authorities, nor beg protection

from anyone. This rumour has done little to dispel widely held suspicions that "higher authorities" were ultimately responsible for the execution of Peter Tosh.

It was quite clear that there would be no safe haven for Leppo among the people. He turned himself in to the authorities in the next week; other suspects were arrested and later released. The word on the streets is that Leppo's business-suited accomplices were hired guns who probably immediately escaped to Miami.

After the Tosh murder, there was an increase of incidents of armed hold-up, dozen of break-ins and shake-downs of reggae musicians. Still more have been threatened. Leppo himself is rumoured to have been involved in more than one of these assaults. More ominous still, in the Jamaican community in Brooklyn, New York, two reggae artists were shot dead gangster-style in December 1987: Alton Irie, a DJ and Lui Lepke, a DJ/singer.

Tosh's execution occurred as Jamaica lurched into election time, a time traditionally marked by bloody gang warfare between the PNP and the JLP.

Tosh's whole *persona* rested on his refusal to be a doormat for anyone—in fact he was the one musician who steadfastly refused to have dealings with any of the Jamaican politicians.

CIAGA's featured comment to Tosh's murder was: "The shooting points to the need for intensifying the drive against the criminal element in our midst. "This in a country where there were 217 reported cases of people killed by the police in 1986 and which has one of the largest death row populations *per capita* in the world! And Manley chimed in: "This is a blot of shame on all Jamaicans..."

The upshot of Peter's murder is that the authorities are rid of a longtime enemy, and in his death they have a pretence to turn up the heat in laying down "heavy manners" on the masses.

Tosh's funeral was held in the Na-

tional Arena in Kingston. The roads from Kingston to Savanna-la-Mar were lined with people as the procession made its way to the burial site at Peter's mother's home.

And in occupied Azania, we were forcefully reminded of Mongane Serote's message about Bra Steve in the poem "Time has Run Out" as we commemorated the tenth anniversary of Steve's murder by the Vampire:

*"the bright eye of the night keeps whispering
when it paves and pages the clouds
it is knowledgeable about hideous nights
when it winks and keeps winking
like that
it is like a breathing burning wood—
i feel looked at
walking and silent like this in the night
in this strange land which mutes
screams."*

GET UP, STAND UP

On 9 October 1944, Peter Tosh was born in the aftermath of the 1938 Uprising and calls for self-determination from Britain.

The island of Jamaica in the West Indies was ruled by Spanish invaders between 1509 and 1655. These Spaniards exterminated the indigenous Arawak population and gradually introduced slaves from Africa.

In 1655 Jamaica became the first colony to be captured by a formal British expedition and in 1660 the British colonialists expelled the Spaniards. After an outbreak at Morant Bay in 1865 when nineteen whites were killed, a crown colony form of government was introduced in 1866 with only the Governor having real executive and legislative power.

In post-slavery Jamaica a strict racial hierarchy operated. Power was vested in the whites; their economic domination over Black Labour was attributed to some innate superiority of the white skin. Below the British planters were the urban Portuguese and Spanish Jews, and the energetic "mulattoes".

Paradoxically the "mulattoes", while challenging white hegemony, served also as the transmission belts for the values of the mother country.

A wide gulf separated the leisure of the Great Houses from the tea-meetings and "nine nights" of the poor. A social system based on gradations of colour and texture of hair was consolidated by the system of formal education, which ensured that only the children of the well-to-do had access to a set of systematic ideas. Through the medium of the English language the school system provided the early foundation for a layer of teachers, actors, farmers, lawyers, preachers and shopkeepers who serviced the plantation economy.

Even in their language the colonialists and their aspirants were to be distinguished from the working masses. Coming from differing African nations, the slaves had brought with them a cultural and linguistic diversity. This was reflected in a language which all Europeans, in their inability to understand it, denigrated as Pidgin English. In using and developing this language as a form of protest, the poor Blacks had to depend on the Bible as their only source of ideas. Yet, it was to this very Bible that the slavers resorted for justification for the place of Black people on earth. Characteristically, the institutions and religious expression of the poor took different forms from those of the established churches.

Thus it was not accidental that the Morant Bay revolt was led by a lay Baptist preacher, Paul Bogle.

As from 1884, "representative government" was restored in stages and in 1944 a House of Representatives elected by universal suffrage was introduced.

In the depressions and economic crises of the 1930's the conditions of the Jamaican poor were serious indeed. Threats and force had to be used on the workers - banana loaders worked in a line and were whipped with sticks if they broke the line. On top of this coercion the workers had to endure low pay, bad housing, malnutrition and disease. On the sugar

estates the workers were effectively slaves to the owners, unable to leave because of their poverty, nakedness and deprivation.

Organisations sprang up under these objective conditions among all classes of Blacks: from citizens' associations and welfare groups, like that of Norman Manley and Edna Swithenbank, to trade unions and friendly societies arising out of the ranks of the most exploited.

The weakest in terms of financial resources were the trade unions and friendly societies. Thus the educated and up-and-coming Blacks, in joining the workers' organisations, were able to restrain them with their reformism.

The violent and largely spontaneous uprisings of the poor in 1938, with armed confrontations in every parish, dominated Jamaican society between March and April. The petit bourgeoisie especially Norman Manley, before they understood the full significance of what was happening, still treated the poor with derision.

When the smoke of the rifles had dispersed and the weeping for the dead had ceased, the colonialists praised Manley. As the Governor put it:

"Perhaps no man on the island did more to re-establish confidence and restrict the growth of the disturbances than N W Manley KC who came forward almost immediately after the beginning of the disturbances. Employers had someone with whom to negotiate, who understood the conditions on the island and who knew what demands could be reasonably made and what could not. We think his services to the community as a whole were invaluable."

The Governor, of course, was refer-



ring to the white community. The mass struggles had threatened the whole plantation economy. And, in creating the PNP in 1938, Manley took advantage of, and reaped the benefit from, these mass struggles. The creation of a two-party democratic system in Jamaica grew out of the resistance of the masses over the period 1938-1962.

Sir Alexander Bustamante and Norman Manley were engaged in strong competition which divided the working class with political warfare and escalating violence since 1949. Bustamante imprinted his authoritarian stamp on trade unionism in Jamaica by organizing workers under the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union and its political party, the JLP.

In 1949, Manley expelled the left from the PNP in the wake of McCarthyite anti-communist hysteria. He brought in his son Michael from abroad to organize the PNP's faction of the working class under the National Workers Union.

In 1959 Jamaica introduced full internal self-government and Norman Manley of the PNP became premier. On August 6, 1960 Jamaica became independent with full dominion status within the Commonwealth.

Jamaican society moved from formal colonialism to constitutional independence on the pretentious motto "out of many, one people." Such a myth of race harmony belied the lop-

sidedness of the economy and the unequal division of the social product.

As Jamaica lurched from British crown colony to US neo-colony, the island's local bourgeoisie got a lift as they hitched themselves to this new capital and the freshly-stirred waves of nationalism that surged up off the "independence" celebration of 1962. They had a new style of rule, and a greater freedom and necessity to promote and especially to try to gain control of a "national" culture.

In the late 1950's the Jamaican countryside was getting ripped apart by American capital more intensively than almost any other Caribbean island.

Major American and Canadian aluminum companies appropriated huge areas of land from the peasants (eventually owning 1/3 of all land area in Jamaica) and left gaping strip-mined valleys of the burning red dirt all over the Jamaican hills. More people were forced off the land with the stagnation of the British sugar plantations, as well as the growth of tourism. They flocked to Kingston to survive, pitching tin shacks on a reclaimed garbage dump in the harbour. Today a third of Jamaica's population live in Kingston, and a third of Kingston live in the slums. There were a few jobs on the docks and in some US plants, but for most the pickings were slim and many kept going.

A system of out-migration to find employment has been the only avenue by which the poor could escape the social decay of underdevelopment. In the 1950's and 1960's one eighth of the population emigrated. Today only about 62% of the world's Jamaicans actually live on the island.

Jamaica exhibited the outward appearance of prosperity, with its supermarket chains, traffic jams and resort hotels, but at the same time units of housing for the vast majority of the population were decreasing and more people were going without proper clothing. The state published glowing figures showing increases in the gross domestic product, yet the population in the slums of western

Kingston increased and unemployment rose to more than 25% of the productive labour force. By 1969 Jamaica was listed as having the most unequal distribution of income of any country in the world - truly a "black man's hell in a white man's paradise" as reggae artist Gregory Isaacs would sing it.

On top of the economic unevenness between town and country was added the factor of the tourist industry. Political careerists perpetuated racial stereotypes of the Jamaican masses as a happy-go-lucky people, in a hot-house effort to organize recreation for the metropolitan bourgeoisie.

Public policy was influenced by the desire to provide the economic infrastructure (electricity, water, roads) and the correct hospitality (a smiling populace) in order to give the proper welcome to tourists. Incredible images of an island in the sun, its people romantically poor, were backed up by advertisements in the *New York Times* - Rent a Villa, Rent a Car, Rent a Nanny.

North American gangsters, posing as tourists, were given tax-free holidays so that they could exploit and expropriate small farmers. The continuities between slavery and neo-colonialism were expressed in the take-over of the Rose Hall Great House (where so many slaves had died) in St James by a questionable US-funded hotel and real estate development company.

Elections since 1967 have been marred by warfare between the JLP and the PNP gangs (possees).

There are some tacit (and open) agreements between the JLP and PNP to at least keep their political gang violence out of the tourist areas.

In 1972, Michael Manley (the son of Norman Manley) became premier: he based his campaign on the "politics of participation" and maintained strong ties with Cuba.

Manley's PNP is a "socialist" outfit which ruled with an iron fist for eight years. Manley is a bourgeois careerist who has long vacillated between support for the USA and the USSR.

Michael Manley surrounded himself with known gunmen such as Burry Boy and Feathermop and cleverly orchestrated various strategies to suppress, undermine or rob Rasta culture of its significance. He exploited the spiritual and metaphysical content of Rastafari by likening himself to the biblical Joshua, and equating his rival, Shearer to the Pharaoh. He called his African walking stick a rod of correction and claimed it had been given to him by Haile Selassie. Co-option of Rasta here reached its apogee.

The falling wage rate and the increased accumulation of the few was compounded under Manley by unprecedented levels of thuggery. By 1976 the political culture had become so debased that gunmen were burning out the homes of political opponents-children were even thrown back into the fires. The conjunction of the PNP waste of resources, the attempted US destabilisation of Jamaica and pressure from the IMF resulted in greater impoverishment- to get hold of basic food items was a major task. By 1979 the "democratic socialists" had buckled under the IMF.

Manley's rule showed how Jamaica's neo-colonial status allowed:

- (a) the middle classes to expand by providing greater patronage and more "jobs for the boys";
- (b) a ruling party to ground and mediate between the classes as if they were "brothers" and
- (c) his ilk to talk more flashily and crassly about bringing "socialism" without revolution.

At the same time, however, the ruling classes found themselves exposed, showing hands grimy with rip-offs, riches and betrayals as never before. No longer are they mere servants of capitalism (petit bourgeois compradors): they are now a national bourgeoisie in their own right and possibly, using the "Opec model", on the international scene. Certainly the Jamaican leaders and ruling classes are more than prepared to knife each other in the back for a fast buck, even at the risk of new sub-imperialist dominance by the "big" Latin American capitalists. On February 9, 1989 Mi-

chael Manley, now a chastened social democrat, again became premier.

In 1980 Edward ClAga of the JLP became premier. In 1981 ClAga severed diplomatic ties with Cuba.

There is more than symbolic significance to the story of the son of a white Jamaican ruling class family who was born in the US, graduated from Harvard (and not Britain's Oxford) in the late 1950's and returned home to Jamaica to do anthropological work among the peasants, investigating folk practices such as *obeah* and musical traditions associated with the Pukkumina religion. He soon moved to Kingston, set up a small recording company to document this culture, then turned his attention to the music scene in the West Kingston ghettos and became one of Jamaica's first record producers. This young music entrepreneur was none other than ClAga.

When he entered politics in 1959, ClAga secured a constituency in one of the toughest new ghettos in West Kingston with his musical credentials, and introduced guns onto the street along with systematic gangster-style violence to force "loyalty" among this angry and volatile section of the population. He also put to full use his earlier study of peasant religious practices and superstitions in his slogans and political rallies. ClAga is known internationally for his mafiosa-style services to the US bourgeoisie - which has continually maneuvered for a tighter hold of its "backyard lake". He was publicly denounced for running guns for the CIA into Jamaica in the late 1960's.

American troops regularly train in the hills of Jamaica, American naval vessels compete for space with luxury liners in Jamaica's ports and have been on hand in spades during past elections.

It should be clear that to talk of scientific socialism in the Caribbean is no small matter. What are the resources of land, labour, market, trade, defence that are to be the basis of socialist production? Aimè Cèsaire could almost despair when he described the Caribbean as islands that

are scars upon the water islands that are evidence of wounds crumbed islands formless islands islands that are waste paper torn up and strewn upon the water islands that are broken blades driven into the flaming sword of the sun

But despair is unnecessary: an alternative network of social relations is at hand, a network of relations through which it becomes possible to advance the material and social development of humanity in a way and to a degree precluded by capitalism.

To summarise Michael Thelwell's novel *The Harder They Come*, Ivan, a Kingston "rude boy" (ghetto youth in and around the Jamaican music scene) tries to visit his family's home in the mountains after several years of living in the city:

"Nothing was familiar...Bush-bush full up everywhere. But...Dis coulden the right place after all? Right down dere should be the tin roof. You mean say bush-bush grow up, cover it?..."

"There was no evidence of the passage of his generations, the ancestors whose intelligence, industry and skill had created a self-sufficient homestead there. None - at all"

His grandmother who had raised him up there had died several years earlier; his mother was back down in Kingston working at starvation pay as a washerwoman; his uncles were long gone off the land and had met their ends all over the globe. One died in World War II fighting for the British; another went to cut cane in Cuba and was never heard from again; another was serving a life sentence in the Kingston penitentiary for killing his wife.

"Ah shoulda did stay an' tek care of de place, he thought. The worst



insult that people has was sneering. 'Cho, you no come from nowhe'... He wanted to go get a machete, to cut a path to the graves and clear the bush away. But...what de raas is de use... What's the fucken use? He felt empty, and frightened, futile, miserable, and very alone. He would never, he swore, come back ever.

He continued down the road to the former house of Maas' Nattie the man who had raised him like a father, and discovered that two American tourists had taken over the backyard and were lazily smoking ganja and sunbathing, stark naked. Ivan watched while one of them tried to milk a male goat, then jumped on his motorbike in disgust and sped over the mountains and through the foothills choked with bauxite dust, back down to Kingston.

From that moment on, he refused to look back, and with nothing to lose, he shot cops and sang his way to fame and notoriety. He was an outlaw, and a fearless hero to those being ground up in this new urban "promised land" - a concrete jungle where you couldn't even find a clean glass of water, let alone a day's work. It is in the context of Ivan's story that we can better appreciate what is easily Tosh's anthem, "Get Up, Stand Up":

*"And now you see the light
We gonna stand up for our rights*

Come on
 Get Up, stand up
 Don't let them push you 'round
 Stand up for your rights
 Brother
 Get up, stand up
 Be brave now
 Don't give up the fight
 I say
 Get up Stand up
 Stand Up for Your Rights
 Don't let them hold you down
 Get Up Stand Up
 Don't give up the fight"

(Marley/Tosh, 1978)

STEPPIN' RAZOR ...DANGEROUS

Sometime in the late 1950's transistor radios began to appear on the streets of Kingston, Jamaica. On clear evenings when the wind was blowing from the north, the thousands of people who were then streaming in from the mountains could pick up the rhythm and blues (r&b) and early rock 'n roll of Fats Domino, Sam Cooke, Brook Benton, the Drifters and Chuck Berry from US radio stations in nearby New Orleans and Miami.

Youth like Bob Marley, Jimmy Cliff and Peter Tosh, themselves recently arrived from the country to the shantytowns of West Kingston, tuned in.

So did the local mento musicians who would soon merge their Jamaican-style calypso with the r&b sound, along with strains of gospel, jazz, Latin riffs from nearby islands, and the African rhythms of the Rasta Burru drummers. The new hybrid became ska - a speedy dance music with a wicked back beat. The originators of this sound included the Skatallites, made up of the cream of Jamaica's jazz men who had grown tired of answering tourists' requested for "Yellow Bird" and bastardised calypso on the hotel circuit. Ska has been described as a "very small connection that's glowing red-hot" between "two extremely heavy cultures" - Africa and North America.

For years very little of this music was allowed on Jamaican radio, but

meanwhile it pulsed through the nation as people danced to the rolling "sound systems" -trucks stacked with monster speakers and manned by maniac 'deejays who waged a rowdy war among themselves to be the first to spin a new single. The sound systems were people's institutions where the Rasta culture of resistance was developed without restraint. Competition among the legendary DJ's was ferocious, each one vying for the attention of the crowd who demanded the hottest and newest releases from the US.

When, in the early 1960's, this pop music became slick and soft and could not satisfy the demanding appetites of Jamaican youth, DJ's like Coxsone Dodd and Duke Reid opened recording studios, and produced ska, later rock steady and finally reggae.

These musical forms challenged the dominance of white American music-Neil Sedaka, Doris Day, Elvis Presley-that had hitherto been so relentlessly plugged and marked a crucial break with the sex and romance themes of this commercial white music. Despite their element of spiritual deliverance, the music of Rasta was pregnant with social criticism.

Beginning in 1963, an historic collaboration took place in Coxsone's Studio One between the Skatallites and the Wailers (including Bob Marley and Peter Tosh) who were one of the expert harmony groups then springing up in the government yards (housing projects) among the toughest youth in Kingston. The astonishing music that issued from these sessions would soon put the new generation of rude boys like Ivan on the stage for the first time.

*Jail house keeps empty
 Rudie gets healthy
 Baton sticks get shorter
 Rudie gets taller
 ...Can't fight against the youth/
 Cause it's wrong
 Prediction
 Them people a-going wild
 Dem a rude rude people
 What has been hidden
 From the 'wise' and the polluted
 Will be revealed*

*in the heat of the summer sun
 Oh Rudie, be wise....'*

"Jailhouse (aka "Rudie")

The Wailers c. 1965

Rarely has a song so captured the brooding and insolent confidence of youth coming of age in an uninhabitable place which is itself "new", but already a virtual bomb-site. The musical response at the end of each line came like a threat and a statement of fact- sung in the sweetest of harmonies.

One of Peter Tosh's earliest works "I'm the toughest" (cut originally to a ska beat) virtually canonized the swagger of the Kingston rude boy in the mid-60's. For the people, ska was created by Black musicians and composed exclusively by poor Black musicians.

This type of thing was not at all what the local bourgeoisie had in mind for their "post-Independence" Jamaican culture, and all along the way they tried to redirect it- with CIAGA often as pointman. At first the Skatallites were ridiculed for playing "bongo" music, but as early as 1964, CIAGA, as Minister of Development, tried to take over ska, introducing it at the New York World's Fair with a hand-picked delegation of musicians, passing over the universally-acknowledged rude boy originators. These youth had already become even more outlawed because of their association with Rastafarian musicians who were neither respectable nor willing to be hired thugs for either the PNP or the JLP gangs. The offi-



cial policy on these unruly "seeds": "Kill it, before they grow..." as one famous song would put it.

But in the next few years, as ska slowed down into the "rock steady" style and finally around 1967-68 reggae, the music became thoroughly dominated by the rude boys. The music took over the sound system dances and jukeboxes, selling huge numbers of singles- but all the while it was almost completely banned from the radio. The national culture was definitely splitting into two, with polite society (to say nothing of the tourist board!) properly horrified at these rebels wearing their hair in thick "natty" dreadlocks (long, thick curls) who were also beginning to gain a little notoriety internationally as well.

Browsing through bins of old reggae singles, one is struck by a common graphic theme- a clenched fist in several variations- with label names to match. The influence of Black Consciousness was decidedly unforeign in Kingston.

While reggae, like any musical form, has also produced its share of insipid love songs and boring pop re-makes throughout its history, what is striking is that the best reggae musicians (and the pioneers on this side of reggae history are Bob Marley, Bunny Wailer and Peter Tosh) have always considered themselves "warriors against Babylon", as they refer to the oppressive and exploitative system. And the sound of the music has from the beginning attracted the ears of thousands of youth like Ivan who know from tortuous experience that there is no going back to "simpler times."

1983: Peter Tosh cuts a version of Chuck Berry's rock & roll classic "Johnny B Goode", the story of a feisty country boy they can't keep down on the farm- this time he's on his way to becoming a reggae star in the city. The tune is exuberant, words hardly changed, just the places ...and the sound. There's a menacing rumble bubbling up this time around. You hear it in the chunka-chunka rhythm and cascading bass line, in those synthesised keyboards that

swoop down like a flock of ravens- and there's that wild guitar wail first brought to life in the post-Berry era by the "star bways" living in some far northern cities, most notably Jimi Hendrix.

1984: It was seven in the morning and the sun was just peeking above the sea in Montego Bay, Jamaica. A crowd of several thousand Jamaicans, Americans and assorted international travellers were assembled before the empty stage at the water's edge. They had spent four days at this World Music Festival- the finale promised to be worth waiting for.

Dreadlocked Jamaicans began moving up towards the stage chanting "Teacher, teacher..." The musicians took their places, the groove set in, and a deep and familiar baritone sang out from backstage:

*"Steppin' razor/
Better watch your step/
I'm dangerous, dangerous."*

Peter Tosh strode in, elegant and menacing in white martial arts gear. A roar went up. As he stalked the stage, brandishing a curved scabbard, light broke and a rainbow suddenly materialized behind him. There were ahs, cheers and laughter. He ended the song and went into a rap.

It was an angry lecture to the Jamaican authorities to start playing more reggae on the radio, to stop harassing the people for smoking ganja: "Everytime I drive ten yards Babylon try stop you! What kind of ting is dat? And in this twenty first century they lock you up for a spliff." As he moved back into the music, the crowd broke into a spontaneous "We want the truth...we want the truth!" The set ended with a hypnotic twenty-minute rendition of "Get up, stand up!" the sun dancing brightly now with a jubilant crowd singing along with their anthem.

Tosh was well-known for his real-life ferocity against the powers-that-be, and any feckless representatives of the authorities (he used to swing a machete in the face of reporters he didn't like, just for fun).



What made Tosh so threatening to some people and so immensely entertaining to others, was his music and performance. When he took the stage you came face to face with the "arrogant" Blackman who made no apologies to the oppressor: one simply cannot imagine Tosh in a white suit graciously serving drinks pool-side!

In "Glass House" on *Mama Afrika* Tosh reserved the Golden Rule (a toughened up version) for relations among the "brethren": "Harm no man, let no man harm you." But there's merciless ridicule for all the "baldheads" and "ghosts" of the world who think they're safe and secure in their glittering glasshouse empires "built on lies and illusions"- when all the while "the truth is showing" to "those who keeps it a-going" and who might be getting some ideas about shattering this house of glass with some well-placed stones of their own.

Tosh's "Steppin' Razor" provided the backdrop for one of the unforgettable sequences in reggae cinema history, the gathering of dreads from all corners of Kingston as they embark on an anti-Babylon caper in the film *Rockers*.

Peter once described himself as "optimistic". This is usually the sentiment either of blind pollyannas or people who have some sense of what they are up against and are rising to meet it. Peter clearly fell into the latter

category; there is a charging high spirit to his music which seems devoted to popping certain illusions of the oppressed. As he said in 1976: "You see they have removed the chains from off our feet and hands and have placed them on our minds, so there are many things that we have to unlearn in order to be free".

While Peter laboured under certain illusions of his own, he remained, until his death, a militant seeker and fighter for the Black cause whose art was always worthy of that cause.

Peter's music stands as living testament that the Yankee imperialists, with all their well-laid plans and years of hegemony in the world, are still constantly being beat at their own game.

Culture from America, both what's helpful to the oppressed and especially what isn't, gets beamed out to all points of the empire and beyond, with the hope of spawning simple-minded sycophants of everyting Yankee.

Instead, they've been met with the blistering reply of those they oppress, who have more than once transformed these sounds into new art forms- in the case of reggae, creating music as untamed and inspiring as much of the early r&b and rock 'n roll, and even fiercer to match the intensified heat of the teeming ghettos thrown up on this colonized island.

Reggae music has infiltrated the repertoire of millions of enemies of this world system in literally every part of the globe- from the bazaars of Morocco to the remote deserts of Mali to Japan to Poland- itself a phenomenon only possible in this era of imperialist development, which, lopsided as it is, knits the world tighter than ever before.

When reggae gets carried around the planet to places where there are only batteries to power the rare tape recorder, it is beyond doubt that a very deep chord has been struck among the masses.

No artist of the stature of Peter Tosh could exist outside the swirl of con-

trovery, and among reggae fans and critics this extended to tempestuous debate over his style of music. The tired bromide "gone commercial" got trotted out here usually in reference to Tosh's habit of incorporating funk, soca, blues, disco and especially rock into his brand of reggae, which some condemned as "abandoning the roots." When this came out of the mouths of certain American and British pop critics ("The music has lost its simplicity and raw power that were its most attractive quality"), it sounded like a scolding for overstepping the bounds of some notion of "third world sensibility"- and, rephrased, might well have read "What's become of our noble savage?"

First of all, it can be categorically stated that a Tosh concert was indeed a riotous celebration of music from around the globe, rooted in the Kingston sound. The texture was dense, the arrangements full, the tempo hot. Like any artist with vision and curiosity in these times, Peter Tosh inevitably heard many voices, both from his "roots" and from people singing around the world - and his music reflected this experience and evolved: "As long as instruments exist, they must be used in music, and you must know how to use the music so that it does not dilute the roots of your music, seen?"

It was this approach that cleared the decks for many true masterpieces - as well as contributed to Tosh's vast popularity internationally. As Tosh's audience broadened out, and had come to include some people whose idea of liberation did not extend much past "Legalize it" (marijuana), Tosh was accused by some of becoming 'white-washed'. Apparently these days it is the fate of any artist with something profound to say that the minute they create art of such universal beauty and depth that it attracts a large and contradictory audience, they will face charges of "treason" even (and in some cases especially) from the very folks who are most dramatically represented in the art, and have every reason to defend such artists.

For all his ferocity Peter was also a very funny and whimsical man. In one

evening, he might show up on stage playing his famous guitar shaped like an M-16, then disappear and a moment later ride in on a unicycle. He had a way of redesigning vocabulary, sometimes patching in folk proverbs and Biblical references to punch up the real meaning of things for the sufferers: there is the "shitstem" and the "downpressors".

Mikey Chung remembers: "Peter was very spontaneous. Things just happened. He worked best on stage with no rehearsal. When we recorded you had to catch him the first time around, or you're late. Word Sound and Power with me and Sly and Robbie and Robbie Lynn, we were a very tight band, a studio band so we could go on the road and just jam, different every night. This was the best way - Peter was real lay back, always trying to make us laugh on stage, in the bus, telling stories. Those times were good."

Peter used to keep birds at his home in Jamaica - some were wild ones that he had caught by hand. And he was known to laugh about how one day he would really surprise people - like the tales told by African slaves about the ones with secret wings who flew to freedom. And people would say: "Look at that Peter Tosh now - he's flying!"

Peter Tosh demonstrated to a lot of people the worthlessness of living on your knees - if you hold your head up and look Babylon in the eye, you can often make him blink. And while there's no flying back to the past, the future and the whole world beckons. **IF ALL THOSE STEPPIN' RAZORS DECIDE TO COME TOGETHER WE JUST MIGHT SOAR!!!**

THE ROOT IS THERE

"You can cut down the tree,
But you'll never,
You'll never succeed,
Cause- The root is there,

And you cannot get rid of
All of I and I now..."

- "The Root is There"
(Mighty Diamonds)

It may strike some revolutionaries as peculiar, or even unbelievable, that some of the most rebellious people in the cultural arena on the planet today read the Bible for daily guidance and regard a now-dead despotic Ethiopian ruler as leader and holy man.

That this is the case reveals something about our moment in history: the world at a treacherous pass, the way forward not very clear... many roads of resistance are taken.

The doctrine of Peter Tosh was the Rastafarian religion.

The system of out-migration in Jamaica served to bring new ideas to the society and, by the turn of the century, Jamaicans were learning more and more about the resistance of African leaders to the partition of Africa.

The exploits of Shaka Zulu, the Abyssinian defeat of the Italians in 1896 and the resistance of King Ja Ja of Opobo to the British grabbed the imagination of and inspired Black people in Jamaica.

Ja Ja himself, risen from the ranks of African traders, had by 1873 driven away all British traders from Calabar, a central trading point in West Africa. By 1881 he had taken full control of the lucrative trade in palm oil and threatened British plans to annex the West African coast from Lagos to the Cameroons. Ja Ja was ultimately defeated only by British treachery – the offer of a false peace treaty thorough which he was tricked and deported to St Vincent in the eastern Caribbean.

Ja Ja's struggle began a legend throughout the Caribbean, and his martial (and marital) exploits were celebrated and transmitted in calypso.

The defeat of the Italians in 1896 was also etched into popular consciousness: white people had failed to subdue one of the only independent African societies.

That the independence of Ethiopia should stand as symbol of African resistance was hardly unique to Jamaica. Ethiopianism and the independence of the Ethiopian Orthodox

Church had its origins in occupied Azania in the 1870's where Black people set up their own churches.

The Pan Africanist call of "Africa for the Africans" rang from the white highlands to the gold mines of Johannesburg. One of those who heard this rallying call was Marcus Garvey, one of the 126 000 workers who between 1902 and 1919 escaped the drudgery and abysmally low wages in Jamaica and migrated to Britain.



Bob Marley.

Garvey organized the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in the US: the UNIA cemented the bonds of racial consciousness as an important component of class consciousness. Garvey and the UNIA stood in direct confrontation with capital, hence the *Negro World* was banned, UNIA's mushrooming economic enterprises were economically sabotaged, and Marcus Garvey was first incarcerated and then deported from the US in 1927.

Garvey returned to the poverty-stricken society that was Jamaica with a call for the poor to struggle and free themselves and channeled organised opposition and resistance into the People's Political Party. The Party called for self-government and for breaking with the fawning imitation of everyting British.

To many workers and farmers Garvey was a prophet, one of whose important prophecies concerned the crowning of a Black King in Africa. When in 1930 Rastafari, son of Ras Makonnen of Harar, was crowned Emperor of Ethiopia, as Haile Selassie, King of Kings and Lord of Lords, Conquering Lion of Judah, those for whom the Bible held all the answers concluded that the Emperor was literally and biblically King of Kings.

The crowning of Selassie came as a welcome diversion from the constant reminder of the white King George and his wife whose portraits were on the walls of all public buildings.

The fusion of the Bible, where the works of Ja were praised in the Psalms, with the exploits of King Ja Ja, the message of Garvey and the crowning of the Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah was to provide the framework for a new deification, replacing the white god in heaven and his white representatives in Buckingham Palace with a Black king and a god held to have been prophesied in the Book of Revelations in the New Testament.

Leonard Howell, Archibald Dunkley and Joseph Hibbert were the first Rastafarians. Howell was incarcerated for two years for selling pictures of Selassie. Howell and Dunkley were both subsequently sentenced to imprisonment in mental institutions for their continuing cultural resistance.

This was the colonial answer to the Black Consciousness of Rastafari.

To compound the "insanity", the men began to wear their hair like the Masai warriors of East Africa and called themselves locksmen or Nyamen. In a society where Black women spent hours straightening their hair with hot combs (*fryhead*), where Black girls were given white dolls and where schoolchildren instantly recreated a white image when called upon to draw a picture, the first Rastafarians were branded as violent criminals whose communes could be raided with impunity in the search for ganja.

Workers throughout the Black world

opposed the fascist invasion of Abyssinia in 1935. The Rastafari raised funds, wrote to newspapers and called meetings to oppose fascism. The Ethiopian ruling class sought to mobilize this favourable international response via an organisation called the Ethiopian World Federation.

Evidence of the callous neglect of the Ethiopian peasants led Garvey to write in the *Blackman* in 1936: "Mussolini of Italy has conquered Haile Selassie of Abyssinia, but he has not conquered the Abyssinians or Abyssinia. The Emperor of Abyssinia allowed himself to be conquered by playing white, by trusting white advisors and by relying on white governments including the white League of Nations..."

Garvey foresaw that, if Selassie on his return did not end the exploitation of his own people, he would be swept away by them: "As far as we can see the Emperor's term of usefulness is at an end for the present in Ethiopia. Abyssinia must be saved by the Abyssinian youth." Forty years later the contradiction of feeding meat to lions while people starved culminated in the slavemaster Selassie's overthrow and thrust Ethiopia into a long class struggle. It was this type of foresight, derived from a revolutionary perspective, which led many Jamaicans to regard Garvey as a prophet, a perspective whose continued relevance is evidenced in the words of the reggae group Burning Spear: "Marcus Garvey's words come to pass, can't get no food to eat, can't get no money to spend."

The Rastafarian movement can be compared to the movement of the Jewish people at the time the Book of Revelations was written ie circa 60 AD. This book of the New Testament, often quoted by Rastas, predicted the destruction of the Roman Empire and reflected the position of the Jewish people then – a people sorely oppressed but in many ways marginal to the Empire.

Similarly, the Rastafarian movement today to a significant degree finds its basis among sections of society that

have been reduced to a largely marginal existence by the workings of imperialism – particularly peasants driven off the land in Jamaica into the cities, or even into other countries such as imperial Britain or the USA, finding themselves in a declassed or semi-declassed situation.

The development of the Jamaican Proletariat has been severely stunted by imperialism, confined largely to miners and workers in the tourist industry or government – many of whom are *relatively* well off. Both the JLP and the PNP were strong in the miners' unions while Rastafarianism grew up among the landless peasants forced to hustle in the city.

Rasta groups sprang up all over Jamaica: they had no clear central institution. The democratic and free-wheeling nature of the movement had the major deficiency that anti-social elements could take on the physical appearance of the brethren while carrying out acts of intimidation against the working class.

In 1960, Ronald Henry repaired to the hills and issued a call for Jamaicans to rise up against JLP/PNP manipulation. A joint police-military operation brought this revolt to grief.

In April 1963, Rastafarians insisted on their right to pass over the land, in protest against the segregation of the Jamaican north coast. In the violence that ensued, eight people were killed. The demonstration had been organised by a group of young men, former students of Cornwall College, one of the more pro-British schools both in terms of its curriculum and staff, who had totally rejected their miseducation.

The state's response was simple and brutal: on the morning of 10 April 1963 all Rastafari in Jamaica were made subject to arrest. Troops had licence to shoot those who resisted. These draconian measures were reinforced by a hysterical press campaign on ganja, claiming that its users were prone to violence – a campaign which legitimated continuing police raids on Rastafari settlements and the arrest of hundreds of Jamaicans under the dangerous drugs law. Brethren were

further humiliated by being forced to have their locks shorn.

By 1960 Norman Manley had commissioned the first report on Rastafari – the first of many documents which sought to stereotype the people's culture as millenarian and 'cultist'. This approach appealed to those who had been lobotomised by their Oxford or Cambridge miseducations.

This disparaging attitude was profoundly altered by the visit of Haile Selassie to Jamaica in 1966. A barrage of studies promoting the religious and metaphysical aspects of Rastafari followed. Young brethren who declared "I and I no ina politricks" were encouraged and religious groups such as the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and the Twelve Tribes of Israel became "respectable organisations."

The work of Rex Nettleford in *Mirror, Mirror* and Leonard Barnett in *The Rastafarians* has given the lead to the crude interpretation of the brethren as "escapists", drug smokers and revivalists, or as forming some deviant sub-culture.

The response of Jamaica's ruling class to Rastafarianism provides a vivid example of the *ad hoc* sophistication of neo-colonial politics in the Caribbean. In the early days, the state characterized them and treated them as lunatics and criminals. In its first panic it institutionalized, brutalized and murdered Rastas. But then it studied them, cleansed the Rasta public image and, with university cultural reports, attempted to co-opt and woo them. This certainly did not succeed in subverting the emergence of the ideology, but it has definitely diverted its development.

The work of Walter Rodney in the gullies of Jamaica was a direct continuation of Marcus Garvey's, but using the tools of historical materialist analysis. Rodney talked to and *grounded* with the Rastas: he elucidated, informed and strengthened the progressive content of Rastafari.

After attending the historic Black Writers Conference in Montreal during October 1968, Rodney was

barred from returning to Jamaica by the Shearer regime: Michael Manley of the PNP never raised a murmur over this ban and once in power, he maintained it.

The big-time herb dealers imported guns and supplied them to street gangs (known as "possess"). A culture of violence in essential contradiction to Rastafari was used as a political tool as was the systematic introduction of hard drugs into Jamaica.

Not only has this imperialist contribution made certain broken elements in the population act in even more desperate ways, it has opened up the reggae scene to manipulation by international gangster rings who both collude with and compete for control of the *sub rosa* market with various bourgeoisies internationally.

Despite this, by the mid-1970's Rasta had become in many ways the culture of the masses. Everyday church-goers spoke of the liberation of Africa and denounced the eating of the pig. Rastafari taught the people about *Ital* food, condemning the high levels of chemicals used in food processing and promoting self-sufficiency.

Rasta challenged the colour-class gradations of the social hierarchy and opposed the distinction between town and country. It spread throughout the eastern Caribbean: the Dreads of Dominica were a variant of Rasta which, since it emerged after Selassie's fall from power, did not have to deal with the issue of his deification.

In 1975 the Dominican leadership passed a law entitling every citizen to shoot on sight any suspected Dreads found on their property. Desmond Trotter was framed and given a death sentence for murdering a white tourist: Trotter was the leader of the Dreads.

In Grenada over 400 Rasta were involved in the People's Liberation Army of the New Jewel Movement which overthrew the Eric Gairy dictatorship. Imperialism sought to mobilize backward elements using Rasta under Ras Nna.

From Fort de France to Paris, from Kingston to Brixton, Afro-Caribbean youth, alienated and oppressed by the racism and imperialism of societies that bred the Nazis, don the red, gold and green as the symbolic identification with Rastafari.

Rastas are united in their need to assert their own culture, their own Black dignity. As Amilcar Cabral said: "The value of culture as an element of resistance to foreign domination lies in the fact that culture is the vigorous manifestation on the ideological plane of the physical and historical reality of that society that is dominated or to be dominated. Culture is simultaneously the fruit of a people's history and a determinant of history, by the positive and negative influence it exerts on the evolution of relationships between man and his environment, among men or groups of men within a society, as well as differing societies. (from "National Liberation and Culture" in *Return to the Source* New York, 1972).

To see the Rastafari world view as limited to some religious proclivity is to ignore the vitality of the culture in Jamaica, in the eastern Caribbean and in the metropolitan cities where the children of Black immigrants are alienated from the servile culture of consumption.

The struggles of Black people inevitably appear in an intensely cultural form because the social formation in which their distinct political traditions are now manifest has constructed the arena of politics on ground overshadowed by centuries of metropolitan capitalist development, thereby denying them recognition as legitimate politics. Blacks conduct a class struggle *in and through* race. The BC of race and class cannot be empirically separated. The class character of Black struggles is not a result of the fact that Blacks are predominantly proletarian, though this is true. Classes are not static or continuous subjects of history, they are made and remade in continual struggle.



Haile Selassie.

It is only the heresy of economism which stipulates that the relations of commodity production alone determine class relations. The struggle for hegemony cannot be reduced to economic determinations or vulgarised to refer to solely cultural phenomena, and class analysis cannot be restricted to those positioned in the immediate processes of production.

Indeed, avowed Rastas maintain that all Black people are Rasta whether they realize it or not, pointing to Rastafarianism being a distinct expression of the contradiction between Black people and the power bloc (Babylon). Certainly, Rastafarianism is an authentic oppressed class ideology, the property of the oppressed masses of the Caribbean. To preoccupy oneself with Rasta's negative paradoxes is to blind oneself to the fact that there was *no other way* for an oppressed ideology to emerge among people who were left to fend for themselves and build their own livelihood.

Rasta's sharing of linguistic devices and political concepts marks the limits of a community bonded by a particular conceptualisation of "the people". The confrontation in style which has developed where open signification of dreadness transforms the unacceptable attribute of Blackness into a source of collective strength and inspiration acts as a focal point for dread and baldhead alike.

Rastafarianism and reggae music arose among people who were well

aware that they were suffering from the blows of a very long stick, but doubted that this monster could be taken down by the forces of this world alone. It all surfaced on a cusp of history – a time in Jamaica when, as a Tolstoyan character once put it, "everything has been turned upside down and is only just taking shape again."

Leo Tolstoy, the novelist, wrote during an earlier upheaval in peasant life – in Russia in the late 1800's. On his death V.I. Lenin commented: "His heated, passionate and often ruthlessly sharp protest against the state and the official church that was in alliance with the police conveys the sentiments of the primitive peasant democratic masses among whom centuries of serfdom, official tyranny and robbery, and of church Jesuitism, deception and chicanery had piled up mountains of anger and hatred."

"By studying the literary works of Tolstoy the Russian working class will learn to know its enemies better, but in examining the doctrine of Tolstoy, the whole Russian people will have to understand where their own weakness lies, the weakness which did not allow them to carry the cause of their emancipation to its conclusion. This must be understood in order to go forward."

Peter Tosh and other great reggae musicians have also created startlingly beautiful art which rages against four hundred (400) years of slavery and the draconian new order of the neo-colonial US master and their dogs in Jamaica. At the same time, their doctrine, like Tolstoy's, holds tight to and even resurrects certain traditions and mystical trappings from the past in an attempt to explain and do battle against the savage assaults of this modern world.

This contradictory position leads the Rastas on the one hand to throw out the basic Christian pie-in-the-sky-when-you-die routine, while demanding and fighting for Black redemption here on earth (an advance, too, over Tolstoy's ultimate goal of transcending the horrors of the material world). The anthem ringing in this new creed, by Tosh and Marley, today

stands with perhaps a handful of songs which have been taken as their own by rebels around the world and stands as ample warning not to underestimate the degree of political transformation represented by Rastafarianism:

*"Most people think that great good
will come from the skies
Take away everything, and make
everybody feel high.
But if you know what life is worth
You will look for yours on earth.
And now we see the light
We're gonna stand up for our
rights."*

–"Get Up, Stand Up"
(1978)

Rastafarianism had no patience with Christian promises of the good life when you're dead and gone. If the times were "dread", the possibility of overthrowing the whole order was also alive in the world, if presently out of reach. The denial of God flowing from the belief that "God is I and I and has always been" are the kindling of the process in which: "The criticism of heaven turns into the criticism of earth, the criticism of religion into the criticism of law, and the criticism of theology into the criticism of politics." (Jerry Hirsch "To 'unfrock the Charlatians'" *Saga Race Relations Abstracts* Volume 6 Number 2, 1981)

Taking the circumstances of the 1930's with the complete blocking of socialist thought from the colonies, Rastafarianism is a profound and forward-looking response to the sickness of colonialism.

In the established Christian churches God the Father is white, God the Son-Jesus- is white, the angels were white, the Holy Ghost was white- and Lucifer, of course, was black, being the embodiment of evil.

Those who preached the divinity of Ras Tafari were rejecting the link between Christianity and whiteness, and were inexorably breaking with the philistine white West Indian society, thus linking their cultural and spiritual roots with Ethiopia and Africa. As a first step, this was undoubtedly progressive.

African traditions do not recognize the separation of politics from other spheres of life. Armand Mattelart, quoted by Jon Frappier in 'Chase goes to Harlem: financing black capitalism' *Monthly Review* (Volume 28, Number 11: 1977), reminds us that: "Acquiring and developing class consciousness does not mean obligatory boredom. It is a question of transforming what used to be used exclusively for pleasure and leisure into a means of instruction."

The negative paradox about Rastafari lies in the fact that using the past to overturn the present can mire one in the swamps of "anciency". Rastafarianism is bound to rely on mysticism and non-scientific explanations which blind one's origin and to some degree one's destiny to a Creator and his emissaries on the planet earth.

Rastafari culture remains, however, an indelible link between the resistance of the Maroons, the Pan-Africanist appeal of Marcus Garvey, the materialist and historical analysis of Walter Rodney and the defiance of reggae. The cultural resistance of Rasta remains an integral part of the struggle against imperialism and commodity fetishism, which attempts to reduce human beings to zombies.

I'M THE TOUGHEST

In the chorus of "Maga Dog", Tosh makes a powerful statement on the folly of not kicking an enemy when he's down:

*"You sorry for Maga Dog/
Him turn round bite you
You jump out the frying pan, you
know,
You jump in the fire, yeah..."*

But the lyrics of the same song pack a reactionary diatribe on a particular "enemy" – a woman and her "ways".

It is on the Woman Question that the negative and positive aspects of elements within Rastafari culture emerge most sharply. The Rastafarians generally uphold peasant customs regarding the woman as childbearer and obedient mate.

In Kingston, less than a quarter of the mothers are legally married, but pressures are so intense in the ghetto that a whole vocabulary has sprung up to describe the most common familial relations: "baby-mother" or "baby-father" referring to the parent. And conversation is littered with expressions like "He bred her," "He control her," "He rule her," to describe "normal" love relations.

To be sure, Rasta men were the first to denounce *fryhead* women and those aspects of capitalist society which led to the alienation and self-hatred of Black women. Many Rasta brethren and sisters grew up in the hills where the exploits and leadership of Nanny, Harriet Tubman, Angela Davis and Josina Machel are retold.

These brethren denounce the Anglo-American culture which glorifies sex, violence and the insecurity of those who make sex a commodity. As Black men, the brethren were the children of those whose mothers had suffered sexual abuse, they understood that sexual coercion was an essential element of the social relations between masters and slaves.

Rastafarianism "honours" the woman as a "queen" but attempts to maintain male hegemony in the household. To quote Tosh: "Don't come tell me say you are equal to me cause it's impossible until you have two seeds and a wood... A woman keeps the house clean, make the food nice and do these things a woman must do. Seen. But it's how the world makes it today, my dear, in this western hemisphere. Ministers of these shitstems design it that the woman see herself as the dominant figure. Everytime seen... The man have to swear blind that he will have to do such and such... until death do us part... See when you talk about the Rastaman, it is like going in the jungle and seeing the lion. The lion is the king of the jungle. All other animals are under him. Well it is like seeing the Rastaman, the king of man. And can you imagine the king of man must have one little piece of woman."

The Jamaican state, with its Bureau of Women Affairs under the Prime

Minister's office, discussed woman as an undifferentiated mass, without class differences. Sister Beverley (Manley's wife) was elevated as the leader of Black women in Jamaica when she and her class employ poor Black women as house servants.

Middle-class feminist slogans and generalisations about the Rasta do not touch the lives of these Black working class women who have to be liberated from the drudgery of carrying water on their heads, who have to fend for their youths, whose "baby father" is a migrant labourer.

But the barbaric legacy of feudalism inherent in Tosh's words, slicked up with Old Testament dicta and enshrined as part of the "African tradition", represents the opposite of a "righteous rebellion" against the "Western Ministers" and in fact can only help to keep them in power.

While it would be completely wrong to confuse Tosh and other Rastas with the *real* maga dogs, Rastamen need to be liberated from the mythology about women and the vestiges of inequalities in the family.

The byzantine sentiments expressed by Tosh and other Rastamen on the Women Question need to go under the wrecking ball in order to go forward.

This "weakness" among the oppressed once again underlines Marx's comment: "Everything that exists has this much worth, that it will perish."

BURY THE SHITSTEM

The Jamaican "left" and right are popularly considered to be limited to pedagogic "do-gooders" or US lackey dictators, both of whom enforce neo-colonial rule ultimately through terror.

It is in this context that people have been forced to look elsewhere for their radical spokespersons and ultimately for real revolutionary leadership.

Tosh and other reggae musicians were "recruited" to fill the vacuum, and their songs, performances, inter-



views, and lives are scrutinized by the people as though they were the works of political leaders.

This has made for headaches all around.

While of course all art has political content, and all artists objectively represent different classes on stage – and artists of the calibre of Tosh represented quite a fierce section of the masses internationally – this still begs the question.

In order to "bury the shitstem" the people need revolutionary leadership which artists (who have another job to do) can never wholly or mainly provide. Artists as *artists* are simply not equipped to lead the revolutionary movement. The demand that they do so only undermines the process by which actual revolutionary leadership is developed, and simultaneously drags down their art to the level of tedious pedagogy: people need real propaganda and agitation on the political problems of the world, and instead get an article set to music.

Art fulfills a different human requirement from political education. Marley put it best: "These songs, people understand them, or they cyann (can't) understand them, but ya have fe sing them just the same. What the people want is the *beauties*, mon."

In Jamaica, however, the situation is further complicated by the fact that many reggae musicians are also looked upon as *spiritual* guardians, and their art as spreading the mess-

age of "Jah" to people cast out of their African homeland. Tosh: "The singers and players of instruments are the only true prophets in this time".

This confluence of contradictions was epitomized by Tosh when, after the Uprising of West Indians and punks in Brixton, England in 1981, some baiting fool of a music critic asked him if he thought his music "encouraged violence with its militant image". Tosh shouted back, "Militant? Me don't join the army, I'm missionary, not a military. When you're talking about military you're associating me with guns and missiles and those kinda things... when you call me, you must say missionary, 'cause I deal with righteousness."

This is no plea for pacifism: Tosh is simply laying claim to being a teacher and preacher who believes that the movement that will "bury the shit-stem" is a spiritual one: "No politician can stop the prophecy, they all die at 78."

The contradiction cuts both ways. Under pressure to "lead a movement" or at least to be "more" than an artist, Tosh and other reggae musicians have nonetheless created soaring works of art.

How can this be? Part of the answer lies in the fact that the very strivings of these musicians for something better than more ackee and breadfruit have had the effect of lifting the music out of the boring and depressing litany of complaints and "explanations" so typical of "protest music" internationally. At its best, reggae music represents a rejection of this degraded brand of art and the contemptible welfare worker politics which inform it. Tosh: "They know I don't support politricks and games, because I have bigger aims, hopes and aspirations."

But if the sights of many reggae musicians go beyond the "fussing and fighting" of Jamaican bourgeois politicking, they still largely figure in the class struggle there exactly because they command battalions among the masses on the basis of their political and spiritual authority.

Reggae musicians are caught in the see-sawing grip of a ruling class which must try to associate itself with the Rasta movement, emphasizing only its nationalistic aspects, but simultaneously must try to co-opt or annihilate its most radical expressions, particularly as the society gets stretched to its economic and political breaking point.

The international press and even the international music press does not usually find the harassment, detentions, bannings of music or outright murder of reggae musicians "newsworthy". As Bob Marley said in 1972: "These things are heavier than anyone can understand. People that are not involved don't know it..."

The ruling class hypocritically claims artists like Marley and Tosh as "national treasures" but their only hope in doing this is to reduce these artists and their powerful messages to mere icons and to protect themselves from the wrath of the masses for their role in snuffing these artists out.

RISE UP, FALLEN FIGHTERS

"... rise up fallen fighters
unfetter the stars
dance with the universe
& make it ours
oh, make it/ make it ours
oh, make it/ make it ours..."

- Ntozake Shange
"From Okra to Greens"

Tosh's *Equal Rights* album cover wryly depicts that the spirit of those who refuse to back down simply cannot be suppressed: it depicts a Tosh profile in rude boy welder glasses, repeated over and over.

Back in 1976, Tosh put it this way: "So all o' my tune dem is just reality. If is not me feel it is me bredda a feel it. And I am my bredda's keeper. Me 'ave fe think fe whole heap o' thousands o' people. So when you see I mek a tune, man, is just action and reaction. Reality".

Closing the book on reggae music is

manifestly absurd. G. Piekhanov, when he was still a Marxist, commented in 1898: "A given trend in art may remain without any remarkable expression if an unfavourable combination of circumstances carries away, one after another, several talented people who might have given it expression. But the premature death of such talented people can prevent the artistic expression of this trend only if it is too shallow to produce new talent. However, the depth of any given trend in literature and art is determined by its importance for the class or stratum whose tastes it expresses, and by the social role played by that class or stratum; here too, in the last analysis, everything depends upon the course of social development and on the relation of social forces". (*The Role of the Individual in History*)

It is a sure bet that Tosh and the rest of the reggae greats, the "creation rockers" will find their way into the hearts and cassette players of the Ivans of Azania and the world, right on through to when the "right time" really does come, and when we can give meaning to the lyrics of "Where you gonna run":

"Where you gonna run/Where you gonna hide?
Who you trying to seek? What you tryin to find?
We're all in this race, everybody, trying to keep the pace
You can't get away, there is no escape."

The power of Tosh's music flows in the final analysis from the understanding that there is no painless movement forward, and no way out either - not in some mythical afterlife, not in phoney promises offered up by "Babylon" to keep us shuffling in deadly confusion, and not even in Afrika - Peter always paid tribute to the African struggle (witness "Fight Apartheid") but never called upon Blacks to retreat to Afrika.

The spirit of Tosh will walk into the future, the Azanian people and their allies on this planet will see to that. We have work to do bury this shit-stem, and we will do it. ■

SACOS vs NSC

by Mncedisi Mbilini

After serving five years imprisonment on Robben Island, Mncedisi Mbilini served as Regional Organiser for AZAPO in the Eastern Cape and Border between 1984-1986. He is currently General Secretary of the Advice Centres Association as also of the Springbok Roses Rugby Football Club, a Saru affiliate. He is the President of the Frontier Soccer Union and the Secretary of the BCM (Queenstown chapter).



There has been a palace revolt within the ranks of the SOUTH AFRICAN COUNCIL ON SPORT (Sacos was founded in Durban during March 1973), which has long enjoyed the status of being the "sports wing of the liberation movement." The revolt has been spearheaded by those within Sacos who owe their political allegiance to the United Democratic Front (UDF) and has resulted in the queer phenomenon of many Sacos officials holding dual membership – both to Sacos and the UDF-inclined National Sports Congress (NSC).

Self-Proclaimed Sub-Committee

The Chairperson of the Western Cape Interim Committee of the NSC, Ngconde Balfour (who also happens to be the Vice-President of the Western Province Council on Sport (Wepcos) maintains that the NSC "has always been like a sub-committee of Sacos." (South September 14 - 20, 1989) While insisting that Sacos must align itself to the UDF, Balfour argues that the NSC "will never ban nor exclude anyone from the oppressed masses, irrespective of their affiliation or ideology."

But Balfour wields a big stick against Sacos, too: "If they abandon us and we have no option but to go on our own we will take the majority of Sacos sport-people with us." The NSC is a self-proclaimed "extension of Sacos" aimed at penetrating "the townships" and bringing "codes there into the fold of Sacos," elaborates the ANC. (*The New African* 24 April 1989)

The only differences between the NSC and Sacos which have hitherto surfaced revolve around Sacos's stated policy of non-sectarianism and the application of its Double Standards Resolution.

Double Standards Resolution

The Double Standards Resolution was first proposed in April 1977. At Sacos's third BGM at the Muslim Assembly Hall in Cape Town on 1-2 September 1979, an addendum was made to this Resolution. The Double Standards Resolution reads as follows:

"No member of Sacos shall in any way condone, encourage, foster or advocate racialism or discrimination in any form and no individual associated with Sacos or its members shall in any way condone, encourage, foster or advocate, racialism of discrimination in any way whatsoever, and for the purposes of this clause, the participation in, association with or support of all forms of government bodies designed to entrench and/or promote the separateness of people via bodies such as the Coloured Persons' Representative Council, the South African Indian Council, Local Affairs Committees, Community Councils, Management Committees and the like, or any successors thereto, shall be deemed to condone or encourage or foster or advocate – racialism and discrimination."

In a paper entitled "Double Standards: A New Dimension" (*Black Students Society Sports Special*: May 1981: BSS (University of Natal (Durban)), Reginald Feldman classifies "the enemy" targetted by Sacos as:

- (a) the known collaborators who had built up records of opportunism over the years in the fields of sports and politics,
- (b) unfortunate people who suffered from the slave mentality and believed in white superiority and non-white (sic!) inferiority,
- (c) social and political parasites who

enjoyed white status in one season only to return to the non-racial fold the next where they would enjoy the meagre facilities that had been bitterly fought for by the committed,

- (d) out-and-out rascals who blatantly advanced their careers and filled their pockets by encouraging multi-nationalism and promoting and perpetuating it (3)

The significance of the Double Standards Resolution for Feldman is that "the commitment to non-racialism" became "a formal, written one and the incorporation of the double standards clause in the constitution of non-racial sports bodies meant that non-racialism had now, as it were, become law in non-racial sports bodies, it become truly constitutional which the dictionary defines as 'in accordance with, acting under, or abiding by, the fundamental laws governing a state, nation, society or other organized group: secured from, or controlled by, such laws.'" (3-4)

There is no doubt that the Double Standards Resolution includes a very healthy commitment to anti-collaboration and has aided in maintaining Sacos on a relatively even keel. Sacos has done pioneering work in the field of the sports struggle and in the Isolation Campaign and its efforts and contribution can never be disregarded or minimized.

Sportsapartheid

In 1981 Dr Joe Variava, then AZAPO's Secretary for Sport, delivered a paper at an AZAPO Congress calling on Sacos to draw the logical inference from its slogan "no normal sport in an abnormal society" viz that there can never be non-racial sport in a racist society. Sacos considers non-racialism to be both its goal and

"equally important, the means to attain it." ("The S. African Council of Sport" *Sacos Sport* Volume 2, September 1982, p8)

Sacos seems bent on seeing the race problem in our land as merely a matter of defective interpersonal relations. Hence the solution that Sacos posits is one of improving "race relations" viz non-racialism. But racism (as against racialism) is not simply a matter of individual prejudices and attitudes and therefore a moral failing: racism has come to inhere in the very institutions and structures of this society, it has percolated into the various aspects, spheres, working structures and institutions of society. As the WCC's Consultation on Racism, held at Notting Hill in May 1969, put it: "racist ideologies and propaganda are developed and disseminated as tools in economic, political and military struggles for power." It is therefore imperative that the liberal concentration on improving race relations at an individual level not detract from the acquisition of social, economic, political and cultural power by the masses. *Non-racialism is unadulterated liberal cant: anti-racism offers the only meaningful solution.*

The Sacos emphasis on what it laconically termed "sportsapartheid" made Sacos both unable and unwilling to come to terms with the race/class divide in Azanian society. Instead, Sacos spokesperson were heard to equate Reservoir Hills (a plush residential area in Durban designated for "Indian" occupation) with Kwa-Mashu (a Durban ghetto designated for "African" occupation), while trotting out the excuse that "the permit system" made it impossible for Sacos to organize sporting codes in "African" areas.

A demonstration of Sacos's undialectical approach and complete disregard for mobilization in the "African" townships and bantustans was its inability to deal with the 1982 Rebel Soccer tour. AZAPO scuttled this tour by persuading teams then participating in the National Professional Soccer League (NPSL) to refuse to play against the tourists. Sacos

used the Double Standards Resolution to maintain its distance from this strategy (one cannot dirty one's hands talking to Thabe's teams!), yet it commented:

"The obvious and logical next step is for the sportsmen of Soweto to join hands



with all non-racial sportsmen in the struggle to bring about a truly non-racial set-up in this country in a truly non-racial democracy." ("Soweto bursts the bubble of Rebel Sports Tours" *Sacos Sport* Volume 2 September 1982 p5)

Ever since the 1981 AZAPO Congress, AZAPO requested meetings with the Sacos executive and had made it quite clear that Sacos's policies—non-racialism, the Double Standards Resolution, the bar on international hotels, etc. needed explanation and scrutiny in democratic debate. In the wake of the rebel soccer tour, Sacos reciprocated AZAPO's invitation. That AZAPO succeeded in influencing Sacos policies is clear from an appraisal of the documents of the 1983 Sacos "Sport and Liberation" Conference, all of which emphasize the hegemony of the Black working class in the liberation movement.

"... To Cease Playing Sport"

The overall thrust of Sacos policy is to destroy the system's grand design to use sport "as a lightning conductor to divert the thoughts of the masses from their miserable

existence." (Feldman op cit 6) On Biko Day 1982 at a Sacos General Meeting held in Port Elizabeth, the current President of Sacos, Joe Ebrahim remarked:

"It is important . . . to make our sportspeople aware that the time when we shall have to make a decision on whether sports is all-important is rapidly diminishing. Our discussion should centre around the stage at which we have to cease playing sport . . ."

Joe Ebrahim makes a distinction between principles, strategies and tactics in a paper entitled "Sacos Policy-Principles, Strategy & Tactics" (*BSS Sports Special* op cit 10): "A principle is an axiom ie a self-evident truth . . . (A) principle is inviolable and unchangeable. A tactic on the other hand is a method which is employed to attain a particular object or reach a specified goal. It may, therefore, be a method or a procedure with which we are to promote a specific principle or oppose the implementation of some scheme or another . . .

(O)ur principles will determine the tactics we employ and not the obverse." (12) "Strategies are deployed as the principal means of realizing long-term objectives, which constitute an organisation's principles," adds the Lot 14 Bus Passengers' Interim Committee in a pamphlet entitled "Death to Ethnic Sports!"

Ebrahim's statement (quoted above) betrays an inability to understand the role of sport and culture within the context of the national liberation struggle. Suffice it to say that the entire Isolation Campaign seems designed to isolate both white South Africa and the nascent Azania. The oppressed do not need to isolate themselves—their strategy must be to isolate the oppressor! Sacos has skewed its strategies towards "sacrifice" and self-immolation in a manner which defies the definitions Ebrahim so eloquently quotes.

Overall it must be emphasized that Sacos belongs to the oppressed and exploited people. Any change in policies and direction must occur within Sacos itself: after all, if Sacos is under attack, it is our duty to uphold and defend it.

A Disruptive Faction

The NSC has grouped itself into nothing but a disruptive faction hellbent on dragging Sacos into the Charterist camp. The oppressed and exploited are all too familiar with these manoeuvrings. Some examples:

1. The Azanian Student's Organisation (Azaso) (later renamed South African National Students Congress (Sansco)), a student body formed by AZAPO, switched its ideological stance to non-racialism in 1981 and its then President addressed the Congress of the National Union of South African Students (Nusas), thus reversing years of struggle started by Biko and others in SASO.
2. Most affiliates of COSATU have literally had the Kliptown Charter foisted onto them, without any explanation as to what the Charter's contents are.
3. The Media Worker's Association of South Africa (Mwasa) and the Commercial Catering and Allied Worker's Union of South Africa

(Ccawusa) have been similarly riven, with those insisting on the "Charterist" road constituting the minority in both instances.

4. The majority in the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel) moved into the Black Lawyer's Association (BLA) as a direct result of sectarianism.

It is quite clear that the NSC's orientation is that of collaborating with racist sports bodies and sneaking racist South Africa back into international sport. John Perlman, in an article entitled "Victory thrill as soccer unity talks hurdle the obstacles" (*Weekly Mail* September 15 to 21, 1989) proposes the following "summarised scenario": "... (Unity first, development programmes to balance up inequalities in facilities and resources second, gradual re-admission to international sport third. Feldmans warning resonates:

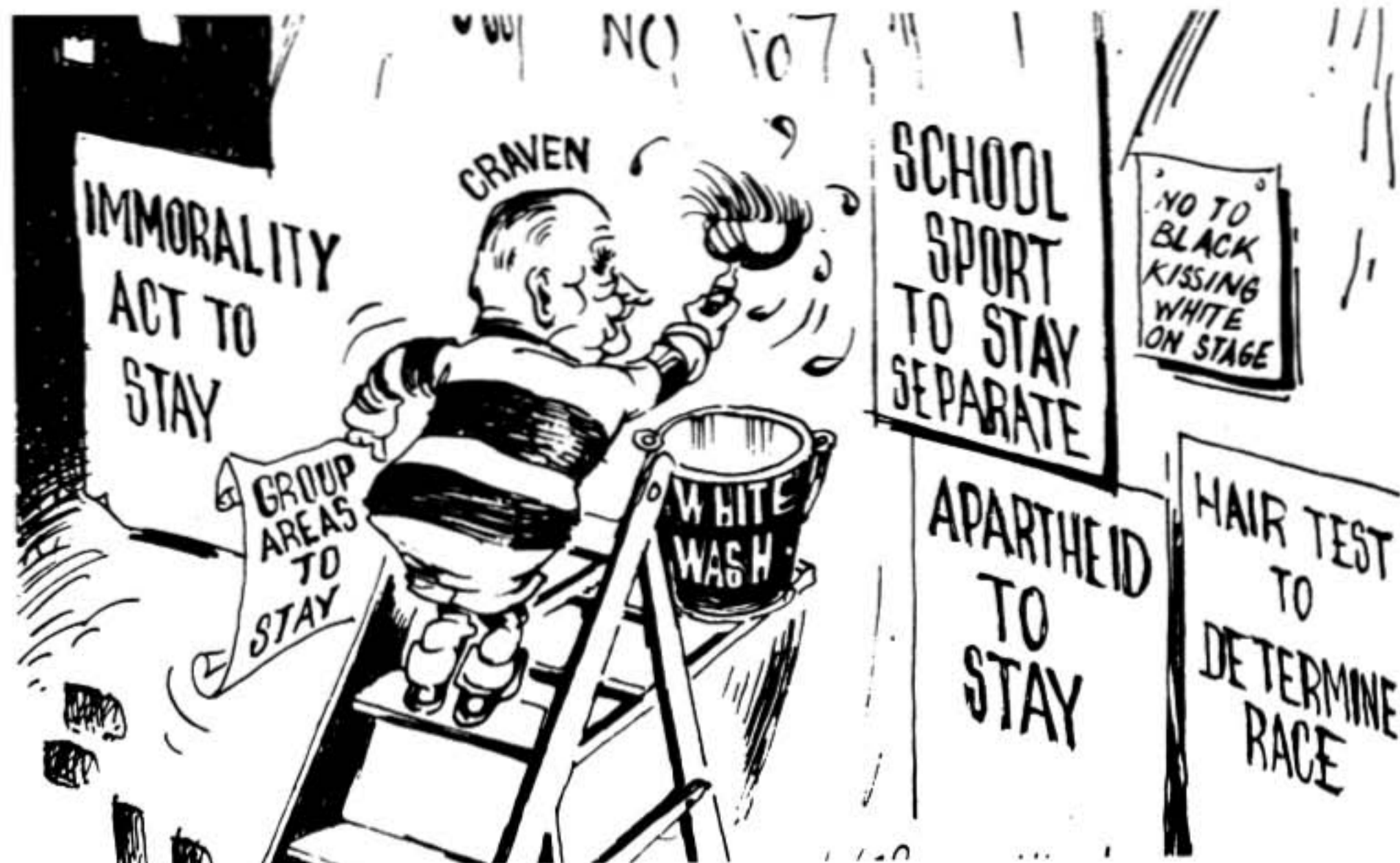
"Most of us will, I am sure, find it very strange that certain persons of influence should find it appropriate at this time of increasing isolation of South Africa to suggest a national convention of sport-

smen which will fly in the face of all attempts to isolate the country, which will negate all efforts to increase the pressure on the privileged sportsmen and which will bring us to the negotiating table where the only result can be a watering down of our demands and a compromise which will set our progress back decades." (8)

The Solution

The real problem is the ideology and the whole set of values that are enforced in South African society in general and in sport in particular.

The solution to the sports impasse is contained in the ideology of BC and is elaborated on in the Draft Position Paper on the Azanian Sports Manifesto which we present to you for comment, criticism and debate. The BCM has concentrated on the correct strategy of operating within Sacos: our task must be build Sacos under the hegemony of the Black working class and to reflect the contents and direction of the Azanian Sports Manifesto within Sacos and in all our sporting and cultural organisations. ■



Palace revolt within SACOS.

DRAFT POSITION PAPER ON THE AZANIAN SPORTS MANIFESTO

This Position Paper was arrived at by the Black Consciousness Movement (Durban and Districts) on February 18, 1989.

NOTING that the resistance of the dispossessed masses of occupied Azania (i.e. racist South Africa) has always taken intensely cultural forms,

AND NOTING FURTHER that sport is merely a part of culture, a part which provides a "value receptacle" for dominant social values – for qualities such as aggressiveness, competitiveness, mental and physical fitness, perseverance, patriarchy, etc,

AND REALIZING that sport is a vital component of the developing Azanian culture – a culture which fosters and strengthens the daring to break convention and the breaking of new ground,

AND NOTING the heroic sacrifices and achievements of Black sportspersons both in the national and the international arena and the promotion of the slogan "There can be no normal sport in an abnormal society",

AND EMPHASIZING that the slogan "no normal sport in an abnormal society" inexorably leads to the correct position that there can be no "non-racial sport" in a racist society,

AND UNDERLINING that the notion of "non-racial sport" is intimately linked to the notion of "multi-national/multi-racial/ethnic" sport,

AND UNDERSTANDING that sport currently represents the desperate hopes of millions of Azanians to escape from a lifetime of poverty, degradation, humiliation and exploitation – a hope which the very workings of apartheid-capitalism cruelly frustrates and dashes,

AND ESCHEWING the proclivity of

organisations engaged in the sports struggle to concentrate on the international arena and the Isolation Campaign to the exclusion of the mobilization and organization of Black sportspersons as part and parcel of the liberation movement,

WE HEREBY RESOLVE THAT:

1. Black sportspersons in occupied Azania be organized in all-Black leagues and codes at all levels-district, provincial, national, all-African and international,
2. Black Consciousness – with its anti-racist and scientific socialist content – offers the only programme capable of linking sport to the overall liberation thrust,
3. Consistent and principled struggle be conducted against the interlinked and misleading concepts of non-racialism, multi-racialism, multi-national sport and ethnicity in sport,
4. The concept of Blackness as a uniting force among the oppressed, underpinned by the hegemony of the Black working class, is the principal weapon in the mobilization and organisation of Black sportspersons,
5. The Isolation Campaign means the isolation of *white* South Africa and implies the maximum development of the nascent Azania, else the oppressed and exploited will isolate themselves needlessly and fruitlessly,
6. Sport must be broadly organized among the Black masses and equally among Black women and men,
7. Facilities must be built and located throughout the Black

ghettos, commencing with the upgrading of existing facilities and the construction of new facilities in the areas which are most dilapidated with inadequate (if any) sportsgrounds, playgrounds, parks and recreation centres,

8. Co-operation and the learning of skills and innovations from each other be emphasized in sport, while friendly competition be given second place, enabling the masses to participate broadly thus contributing to their overall health and recreation,
9. Mass participation will be centred in the sportgrounds and playgrounds and not in the professional arena: it is in the playgrounds and sportsgrounds that the creativity of the Black masses in sports activity will be unleashed and further developed,
10. For a period of time, the Azanian state will retain, sponsor and subsidize national sports teams and even professional sportspersons but this will be given second place in terms of resources allocated and attention devoted,
11. There will be criticism and struggle against the "professional mentality", the notion that those engaged in sport as a more or less full time pursuit and subsidized to one degree or another in order to be able to do so, somehow deserve a superior social position,
12. The control of sport by capitalists and the prostitution of sport to private profit and the treatment of sportspersons as merely a means to that end will be abolished along with reactionary practices and relations e.g. the absolute authority of

coaches and sports administrators, etc.,

13. The differences between full time professional sports persons and the masses of people will be narrowed step by step: professionals will be involved in productive labour and political and ideological struggle together with the masses and will play an active role in assisting the development of mass sports activities throughout so-

ciety and in taking part in these activities together with the masses as well,

14. The Azanian state will eliminate poverty and oppression and transform all spheres, including sport, into vehicles through which the millions formerly oppressed can unite and struggle to realize their higher interests and advance humanity as a whole,

15. The Black Proletariat will develop sport to promote its outlook and values and the social and political relationships that serve its revolutionary interests,

16. The Azanian state will foster and strengthen the unity and solidarity between the masses of people in Azania, in Africa and internationally. ■

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A MAN DIED

A Man Died
the day the dum-dum bullets
slugged into the unsuspecting backs
of defenceless men and women
in the scorching sun.

A Man Died
at Sharpeville and in Langa
when he saw black skin
ripped apart and turn
into rivulets of red
which later
coagulated
into mounds of
accusations
dark and omin-
ous.

A Man Died
when those
bullets cut
through blue,
black flesh
opening it like
ripe old pome-
granates
scattering red
droplets
all over the
earth.

A Man Died
long before the
cancer
slipped past his
defences
and started ea-
ting up his
lungs

A Man Died
KUKUZA KU-
KANXELE
in the blood red
sun

A Man Lived
when the ululations
and resounding "Ngawethu's"
spelt out poignantly
the certitude of freedom
in the African sun.

A Man Lives
His name was Mangaliso
in the Southern sun
KUKUZA KUKANXELE!!!*
KUKUZA KUKANXELE!!!

Vernie A February



Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe.

When I Die

*(a poem Sobukwe might have writ-
ten)*

When I die
may my funeral (like my life) be pol-
itical
and serve the struggle
may my people
use my coffin as a platform
to raise the banner

When I die
may my body be
used
to awaken the
indifferent and
complacent tribe
my eyes, to trace
dreams and
hopes
shattered by in-
justice
my ears be used
as drums
to recall the cries
of the dispos-
sessed and
downtrodden

When I die
may fiery
speeches and
freedom songs
replace passive
hymns
may the Green
and Gold and
Black
fly at every
mountain

May my loved
ones take up the
torch
and destroy the
lies

written into our history
so that a new Brotherhood may
emerge
to embrace our land

When I die
may some poet
write of the agony
and deep pain
that followed my days
and the inhumanity
of my captivity

Muhammad Omarruddin

"AFRICAN" vs "BLACK"?

by VANESCO MAFORA

On February 26, 1978 Comrade Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe, also known as "the Professor" and "the Defier of the Undefiable", passed away. The Soweto Action Committee, then the torchbearer of BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS (BC), organized Sobukwe's funeral.

The then Chairperson of the Soweto Action Committee, Ishmael Mkhabela, made the following prophecy at this funeral:

"Sobukwe's death could be a signal of the beginning of a chapter."

With the benefit of hindsight, we can confidently assert that Mkhabela was absolutely correct.

The immediate aftermath of the Prof's burial was the launch of a new political organisation expounding the ideology of BC. This was the AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION.

Historical organisations were jolted by the pathbreaking role of the Black consciousness Movement: all their excuses about the impossibility of "above-ground" mobilization were finally shattered on the streets of Soweto in 1976. No organisation remained untouched by BC ideology: in fact, BC cadres streamed into all the historical organisations in exile.

Within the country, Charterists felt the need either to woo the BCM or to create their own organisations by wooing away the membership of the BCM. When it became obvious that AZAPO was determined to retain its organisational independence, Charterist organisations mushroomed across the country and liberalism breathed easily again.

At the NACTU Congress held on 6-7 August 1988, the term "Black" in the NACTU constitution was replaced by the term "African". Tensions became apparent within the "Azania School", with people defining themselves as BC or Pan-Africanist.

The reasons given for the change from "Black" to "African" are pathetic in the extreme, with some even accusing BC of being racist in its outlook and in particular

in its exclusion of whites from its ranks.

The term "Black" is not an invention of the BCM: it finds expression in the 1959 Africanist Manifesto and the constitution of the Azanian National Youth Unity (AZANYU) – a youth organisation aligning itself with the Pan Africanist Movement (PAM) as well.

While it is true that it was the BCM which gave a crisp definition to the term "Black", the term itself emerged from mass struggles against racism. "Black" emerged as its own self-identity and not from any Congress resolution. It represents the self-consciousness of a racially oppressed people. *Black is beautiful! Black is revolutionary!*

The flimsy attempt to de-emphasize Black and the race/class struggle has the same compromising effect that the usage of "non-European" and "non-white" had some years ago. It minimizes our long, continuing mass struggle to finish the Azanian revolution.

In this last decade of the 20th century, the Black revolution remains unfinished. Thus to replace Black as an expression of the universal of freedom with African defined as a "ready-made" universal of culture is a flight from the harsh Azanian reality.

To be sure, any attempt to render "Black" against "African" amounts to a distortion of pan-Africanism itself. Both in the BCM and the PAM there are elements who are actively attempting to sabotage the inexorable synthesis of the pan-Africanist and BC ideologies which is referred to in the *Position Paper* (see pg. 89). We call Prof as our witness:

"... In every struggle, whether national or class, the masses do not fight an abstraction. They do not hate oppression or capitalism. They concretise these and hate the oppressor, be he the Governor-General or a colonial power, the landlord or the factory-owner or, in South Africa, the white man. But they hate these groups because they associate them with their oppression! Remove the association and you remove the hatred... (It is plain dishonesty to say I hate the sjam-

bok and not the one who wields it."

– 'Future of the Africanist Movement', *The Africanist*, January 1959

Lest there be any doubt, BC's position is that biologically speaking, "races" do not exist. Hence BC states, as does Pan-Africanism, that there is ONLY ONE RACE viz THE HUMAN RACE. Nevertheless, BC – like Pan-Africanism – points out that people are divided into oppressors and oppressed, colonizers and colonized etc and, in this context, race exists as a political concept.

There is no doubt that the primitive nature of the debate on the concepts "Black" and "African" fails to recognize that these terms are in no way irreconcilable and that both terms belong to our rich tapestry of struggle.

In an interview held during March 1989, a leader of the PAC told *International Viewpoint*:

"What I'm trying to explain is that the revival of the PAC's activities, of pan-Africanism, was hindered first by the banings and the punishments, and secondly by following BCM ideology, thinking that it was a PAC ideology..." ("The fall and rise of the Pan Africanist Congress" IV No 165, June 12, 1989 at 23).

The launch of PAM occurred at Soweto on 2-3 December 1989. We earnestly hope that the long overdue synthesis between Pan Africanism and BC becomes top priority on the liberation agenda. The Azania School needs to close ranks now as never before.

We believe that there is a dire need to enter the debate about the alleged differences between Pan Africanism and BC to clarify and refine the ideological issues. We believe that the *Position Paper* helps in doing this and, while we are aware that its contents will be controversial, we hope that it stimulates sharp debate and struggle on an ideological plane rather than the banal argument more suited to a children's playground which runs "My organisation/ideology is better/older than yours, so there!" ■

DRAFT POSITION PAPER ON THE IDEOLOGIES OF PAN AFRICANISM AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS AS THEY HAVE DEVELOPED IN OCCUPIED AZANIA (i.e. SOUTH AFRICA)

This Position Paper was arrived at by the Durban and Districts chapter of the Black Consciousness Movement after a seminar held on 25 February 1989.

NOTING that for a people to survive in struggle it must be on their own terms,

AND THEREFORE NOTING that the correct theoretical, philosophical and ideological constructs emanate from the people's collective wisdom which is a synthesis of their culture and their real experience of struggle,

AND EMPHASIZING that both Pan Africanism and BC are developmental ideologies in that they do not prescribe the relationship of people to the world step by breathtaking step but rather take as their departure point the concrete experience of people in struggle and their shared past,

AND EMPHASIZING FURTHER that the shared past is the basis of consciousness, of knowing, of being,

AND ASSERTING that Pan Africanism and BC emerged at distinct moments in the history of occupied Azania and have therefore assumed disparate organisational forms culminating in exile in the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and the re-grouping of BC organisations banned in 1977 as the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCM(A)),

AND UNDERLINING that the Sharpeville Uprising of 1960 organised by the PAC marked a firm transition from the politics of protest to those of resistance while the Soweto Uprising of 1976 organised by the BCM marked a transition from the politics of resistance to those of rebellion;

AND UNDERLINING FURTHER that the extent to which both spontaneous resistance and fierce, unending rebellion

is transformed into conscious and thoroughgoing revolution will determine whether we merely rattle the chains of our oppression or shatter them completely;

AND NOTING that in 1960 and 1976 respectively the PAC and BCM demonstrated their firm roots in the consciousness of the oppressed masses and showed decisively that they represent a single historical continuity,

AND NOTING WITH ALARM AND DEEP CONCERN developments within the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS (Nactu) resulting in squabbles about the use of the terms "African" and "Black" respectively (Congress on 6-7 August 1988) and the attendance of "BC unions" at the Worker's Summit (March 4-5 1989),

WE HEREBY BRING the following evidence to show that BC and Pan Africanism constitute part of a single ideological family:-

- (a) It was the BCM which popularised the annual commemoration of the Sharpeville Uprising as Heroes' Day on the 21st March;
- (b) both Pan Africanism and BC emphasize the National Question and the Land Question and delineate the repossession of occupied soil as a key component of their programmes;
- (c) both ideologies stand pointedly and vehemently opposed to the liberal and reformist position of the Kliptown Charter (sometimes referred to as the "Freedom" Charter);
- (d) it was the BCM which popularised in mass struggle the name "Azania" adopted by the PAC in exile;
- (e) the concept of the African Personality and the basis of the PAC's Status Campaign outlined in 1959 reached their apogee in BC's emphasis on psychological emancipation, Black Self Pride,

Self Affirmation and Self Reliance in the 1970s and 1980s;

- (f) the position of scientific socialism – currently shared by both ideologies – developed out of rather nebulous economic policies which were *progressive* in their time, place and context viz African Socialism adopted by the PAC in 1959 and Black Communalism adopted by the Black People's Convention in 1975;
- (g) BC's emphasis on the hegemony of the Black Working Class takes Sobukwe's emphasis on class differences (eg. the "Indian" merchant class as against the working class) to its logical conclusion;
- (h) both BC and Pan Africanism share a policy of non- or anti-collaboration with the oppressors and their political instruments and both ideologies reject white tutelage in the struggles of the oppressed;
- (i) both ideologies emphasize the cultural dimensions of struggle and reject all value systems which seek to make the dispossessed foreigners in the land of their birth;
- (j) the emphasis on African Theology and the role of the churches in the 1950s saw a systematic exposition of Black Theology and the role of the churches, mosques and temples in the 1970s and 1980s;
- (k) Raboroko's proposed use of Swahili *alternatively* a synthetic all-inclusive African language called "Siafurika" was not developed further by BC, but saw an emphasis at the 1987 Congress of the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) on the use of African languages rather than the foreign English medium;
- (l) both ideologies regard the strategy of white exclusion as pivotal to their programmes;

- (m) both ideologies reject the very concept of protection of minority rights as profoundly undemocratic;
- (n) both ideologies regard self-determination and the mapping of their own destinies by the oppressed and the exploited as being pivotal to genuine liberation and resist the interference and domination by missionaries, liberals, "radicals" or progressive-democrats.

WE BELIEVE FURTHER that the alleged differences between Pan Africanism and BC are in no way irreconcilable and for this proposition we bring the following evidence:

- (a) The definition of *Black* as all those who are oppressed politically, exploited economically and discriminated against socially and who identify as a unit in the struggle for liberation and the definition of *African* as one who owes his or her *only* loyalty to Afrika and who is prepared to accept the democratic rule of an African majority are both definitions which emphasize the oppressed and the exploited and their interests as having primacy in the struggle, and they both have arguable advantages viz:
 - (i) *Black* is a term capable of fostering identification with struggles of people of colour beyond the shores of Africa;
 - (ii) *Black* consists of two prongs viz the reality of oppression and liberatory consciousness and hence encapsulates a political strategy which excludes all members of the ruling class and collaborators therewith. It captures 2 cardinal principles of BC viz the unity of the oppressed and anti-collaboration;
 - (iii) The concept of Blackness at a practical political level aids in the simplification of the conflict from a series of many skirmishes to the battle perceived as a total confrontation between the oppressors (whites) and the oppressed (Blacks);

- (iv) The word *African* reflects a sharp definition of the National Question which sees the indigenous African as the core of the Azanian nation, with the other Black groups being appendaged to this core and forces a choice – either with the African majority or with the settler minority;
- (v) The term *African* positively defines an emerging nation and identifies with the rest of Africa, rejecting the geographical boundaries imposed by colonialism and neo-colonialism;
- (vi) In terms of a political programme, the definition of *African* is posited by an emphasis on the axiom "One race, the human race", and, therefore, on anti-racism;
- (vii) The term *Black* specifically excludes white participation. Since the excision of whites is also central to the Pan Africanist programme, the definition of *Black* is reflective of a clear cut approach which takes Pan Africanism to its logical end;
- (b) The PAC emerged from the well of the African National Congress (ANC) and upholds the 1949 Programme of Action which the ANC deviated from in 1955 with its adoption of the Kliptown Charter. BC emerged out of the palpable political vacuum caused by the post – Sharpeville paralysis. BC as an ideology combines the best in the historical tradition of the ANC and the basic tenets of Pan Africanism and has developed beyond these into an oppressed class ideology;
- (c) The idea of a United States of Africa – from Cape to Cairo and from Morocco to Madagascar – which seems with hindsight to be naively idealistic was hardly so at a time when country after country was gaining political independence from the colonialists in a veritable tidal wave from north to south. No liberation movement can neglect the fact that Azania is a vital part of Africa and her liberation is crucial to the achieve-

ment of the Pan Africanist ideal which ideal is not at all inconsistent with the unity of the oppressed and exploited internationally;

- (d) The PAC emphasised charismatic leadership while BC strongly eschews the growth of personality cults. While Pan Africanism and the early BCM placed much faith in spontaneity, BC since the 1980s emphasises vanguard leadership. The kernel of both programmes lies, however, in the mobilization of the masses and in their revolutionary potential.

WE HEREBY RESOLVE THAT:

- (a) a closed national seminar be called to thrash out both the ideological and strategic differences within the "Azania School";
- (b) a United Front of the Pan Africanist and BC Movements is critically and vitally necessary;
- (c) it is elemental to both the Pan Africanist and BC ideologies that the economic and cultural aspects of struggle – the standard of living and the quality of life – are interdependent and retroactive;
- (d) it is vitally necessary to resist the transubstantiation of Black history to European radical theory and to expose the failed efforts to render the historical being of Black people into a construct of historical materialism, to reduce our existence to merely an antagonism to capitalist organization. It is only the Azania School which can do this;
- (e) Intensive and extensive studies of the life and works of Anton Lembede, Ashby Peter Mda, Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe, Bantu Steve Biko, Ongopotse Abraham Ramothibi Tiro, Mthuli ka Shezi and other Azanian luminaries be piloted as a priority;
- (f) the Pan Africanist analysis of the National and Land Questions and the BC analysis of the Social Question need to be more cohesively and systematically interwoven so that the common banner slogan "One People in One Azania, One Nation" is maintained and developed;
- (g) Seminal ideas such as the inexor-

able synthesis of Pan Africanism with BC must not be smothered by pettiness, point-scoring and the endeavour to create fiefdoms on foundations of sand;

(h) the interests of the toiling masses

and their righteous struggle against settler colonialism and imperialism are paramount and vision, purposefulness and an ability to create *praxis* are urgently required from the national

leadership of the Azania School.

TOGETHER WE STRIVE, TOGETHER WE TOIL, TO ACHIEVE ONE PEOPLE IN ONE AZANIA, ONE NATION ■

I WILL ONLY VOTE IN A FREE AZANIA



BLACK THEOLOGY REVISITED:

by ITUMELENG JERRY MOSALA

Scientists of religion in general and sociologists of religion in particular are in agreement that all religions reflect social-cultural concerns of people at different levels of historical development. To use common sociological language, religion is as much a dependant as an independant social variable.

Relativity

Apart from anything else this way of looking at religion is important for re-introducing a historical perspective in the study and understanding of religion. *It is thus no longer scientifically admissible to speak of any religious tradition as the supreme means through which the supreme uncontested God revealed itself.* We are, therefore, at last able to speak of the only non-ideological relativity in respect of both God and religion, namely historical relativity.

Armed with this thorough-going historical perspective on the nature of and origins of all religions, one is able to de-ideologise and expose the true character of the clash between colonial and indigenous religion in South Africa for in this clash is embodied not only the conflict between two religious outlooks, but, more fundamentally, the collision between two historically different social systems: pre-capitalist African social formations and Western Capitalist social formations. Any attempt, therefore, to understand the dissonance between African religions and Christianity must start with an analysis of these two social systems.

From Communal to Tributary Formations

By the time of conquest from the 17th century onwards, African so-

cieties had developed from communal to tributary social formations. As communal formations they had been characterised by the communal ownership of the fundamental means of production: land and cattle. Ideologically these organisations were reinforced by a highly pervasive ancestor cult reflecting the relatively low level of the forces of production. In other words the African forefathers and foremothers were the key to unravelling the mysteries and resolving the conflicts of the natural world which sometimes acted in a hostile manner to African producers of the communal society. Science was ideological and to a large extent religious. The purpose was, however, the same as in all societies, namely the harnessing of natural forces in order to meet all-round human needs.

The relative success of communal producers in taming nature, coupled with differences in physical capabilities and geographical placements, as well as historical struggles between groups resulted in the production and control of surplus products which in turn made possible the development of internal differentiations within this society. It is difficult to say with precision when this transition occurred. Nevertheless, the outcome was tributary social systems with chiefs and the royal nobility as the ruling classes of the new society. The fundamental characteristic of this stage of development was the extraction of tribute in the form of brisket of slaughtered and hunted animals, labour rent on the royal fields, as well as the sole control of the allocation of land by the chief and of stray cattle (*matimela*) and therefore of his advantaged ability to practise the system of *mafisa* (loan cattle).

It is important, however, to remember that the communal system existed



for a long time in articulation with the tributary system. That is to say, notwithstanding the economic and social divisions created by the tributary organisation, the values and norms of the communal system prevailed alongside the new arrangements. It would be deceptive, though, to imagine that they persisted unchanged by the new conditions, even if it was only in form and function. Hence in this society, the father of the household surrendered his priestly and herbalist roles to the chief or royal appointees. The household ancestors also became subordinate to the royal ancestors.

The above brief details are being spelled out in order first, to avoid romanticism about the nature of the society that colonial capitalism conquered, and second, in order to explain the social-historical reasons for the conflict between indigenous people and colonial foreigners. One more point needs to be made about tributary African societies, therefore, before the conflict with colonial society can be addressed: while the chief's position of power derived from his appropriation of tribute, the system, by virtue of its articulation with the communal one, was counterbalanced by a complicated network of redistribution of the surplus. In times of famine and poor harvest, for in-

stance, the chief's granary would be the source of food for those affected, and his cattle would be used to implement the *mafisa* system. Hence the saying: *Kgosi ke kgosi ka batho* (A Chief is a chief only because of the people).

The point being made, therefore, is that on the one hand the danger to romanticise by viewing African pre-capitalist societies as internally undifferentiated should be avoided, and on the other hand the fact should not be lost sight of that notwithstanding these divisions African producers prior to colonialism had access to the fundamental means of production: land and cattle.

African religion, therefore, was shaped by the material conditions and relations of this society, and functioned as a cultural-ideological tool in the process of producing and reproducing African societies. In this regard it is not in principle different from any other religion in the world. The difference is in the fact that it is connected with the African social-historical reality.

Christianity

It is not necessary to go into the same kind of detail with regard to Western Christianity. Suffice it to point out that the latter is historically traceable in its Catholic version to its co-optation by the state during the reign of Emperor Constantine in the 4th century, and in its Protestant variation to the rise of bourgeois capitalist society in the 16th century. *In both versions it has functioned as a cultural-ideological tool for the production and reproduction of European feudal and capitalist social relations.*

Thus the attempt to implant Christianity among the indigenous Black people from the 17th century onwards, was more than an attempt to win religious converts; it was an effort to transform, by dismantling, African societies. Both the missionaries and the indigenous people knew this. It was for this reason that the conflict took the form of a military-political struggle. That struggle has been a protracted one. It never ceased.

Black theology is an attempt to theorise that struggle from a position of commitment to the Black side of the conflict that has its roots in the 17th century.

Western Theology

White Western theology as practised both in the West and in the colonies has more than validated the assertion that in every epoch the ruling ideas are the ideas of the ruling classes. Protestant theology in particular has served, consciously or unconsciously, as the ideological justification of capitalist relations of production and distribution. This point has been made and demonstrated before and does not need to be laboured here. Suffice it to indicate that its emphasis on the fundamental corruptibility of humans and its location of heaven outside history have worked well to mystify exploitative social relations of production and to postpone the demand for justice to an unknown future. Even when an attempt was made to make the gospel relevant to the needs of people in the present, capitalist society could not be transcended, either in thought or in practice. This becomes crystal clear when one looks at the limitations of the "secularisation" theologians of the 1960's, who identified theological relevance with resignation to capitalist technology and industrialisation. From these attempts emerged Theologies of Development which were commensurate with neo-colonial developmentalist policies championed by imperialist countries in the 1960's.

Liberation Theology

As a response, first, to the inherent failure of the Development programmes, and second, to the accompanying hollowness of the theologies of development, Latin Americans opted for a theology of liberation.

Their argument was simple if poignantly clear: the underdevelopment of the underdeveloped countries is causally related to the development of developed countries. The logical outcome of this analysis was that libera-

tion and not development was the solution to the problems of the exploited masses of Latin America. This analysis of the Latin American reality led to the exposure of the inherent inapplicability of white Western theology in any of its forms, whether conservative or progressive. What was needed was a theology that emerges from the experience of the struggle of the poor peasants and working class masses of Latin America.

The theology of liberation, therefore, had to make a complete break with white theology. Nothing short of this would qualify their theology as a tool of the struggle in the liberation process which was already underway.

BT and BC

In South Africa, where a qualitatively different set of material and social conditions existed, Black theologians in response to these determinate historical conditions, evolved a Black Theology of liberation. This theology, like the Latin American theology of liberation, is based on an analysis of the reality of Black experiences and struggles in South Africa. It is not the outcome of philosophical speculation by a privileged minority. It is rather the result of objective historical circumstances.

Black Theology as a theological expression and theorisation of the Black struggle for liberation cannot be understood outside the context of the Black Consciousness philosophy. This latter phenomenon is itself the product of an accurate analysis of the Black experience within the wider social-material reality of South Africa.

Black theology seeks to reflect theologically on the nature of Black oppression and exploitation in order to arm the new Black subjects that Black Consciousness creates with an awareness of the theological validity of the struggle for liberation. There is again no need to belabour the point here. Black Theology apologises to no one for its existence. It owes its allegiance to the oppressed and exploited people only, no one else.

Reality

It is important, however, to respond even if only briefly, to some of the challenges that the ideological climate in the country today has created.

Recently it has been implied, and in some quarters asserted that the use of class tools to analyse society necessitate the irrelevance of Black Theology. Apart from the racist arrogance of this claim, Black Theology's response is that the onus is with those who assert this to demonstrate its irrelevance. More importantly, though, Black Theology argues that being a committed theorisation of reality from the Black experience, its lifespan is inextricably bound up with this reality.

Black theology insists also that racism as a socio-political structure must be distinguished from racialism which refers only to attitudes of people about other people. It thus refuses to separate oppression from exploitation, arguing that the former

is indispensable for the successful execution of the latter. It is idealist to imagine that exploitation can be sustained without oppression. Thus in the South African context, racism as an oppressive structure is the soul of capitalist exploitation. To assert the contrary is to be ahistorical.

The historical self-manifestation of capitalism in this country has been from the beginning racist. For this reason, Black Theology's anti-racist struggle is inseparable from its anti-capitalist struggle which is unthinkable without its anti-racist struggle.

Abstract class struggles against abstract capitalism is not part of Black Theology's brief. For Black Theology class is race and race is class in this context. This reality remains despite mystifications from the racist left about the creation of a Black middle class.

Dependencies of all kinds are rejected by Black Theology, whether they be political, social, economic, or even theoretical-intellectual ones. It is clear

that dependencies constitute the basis of oppression and exploitation. "It is therefore important to point out that class analysis as a theoretical tool does not create the experience of class oppression and exploitation."

Thus Black oppressed and exploited classes know their experience and they know that it is articulated through a racist political structure.

There is, therefore no turning back from the anti-racist, anti-capitalist struggle of Black Theology, despite challenges from the right and the "left."

One may end appropriately by stating in characteristic Biblical fashion that "Not everyone who says liberation, liberation, wants to bring about a just society". Black people will have to rely on themselves *only* to bring this about. The struggle that Black Theology is waging is an anti-racist, anti-capitalist struggle. Black Theology will not be co-opted or made to be defunct as long as the material reality that gave birth to it persists. ■



POSITION PAPER ON "BLACK THEOLOGY REVISITED"

A group of revolutionaries met at Inchanga on 5 September 1987 and interrogated whether a true Black Theology existed in occupied Azania. This Position Paper is the result of their deliberations.

REALIZING THAT Black Theology (BT) developed in the crucible of the Black people's struggle against oppression, exploitation and dehumanisation and constitutes an attempt to radically re-define the traditional religious message which belongs to the ideological arsenal of the oppressors;

AND REALIZING FURTHER that there is a deliberate attempt to sap Blackness out of BT and to deflect it into reformist and reactionary channels as evidenced by the Kairos Document prepared on 13th September 1985;

AND BEING WELL AWARE that this attempt to pervert Black Theology is motivated by the deepening struggles since the historic events of the Rand Revolt of September 3rd, 1984 and aims only to create a complacent, Church-going "black" Christian community (see the Preface to the Second Edition of the Kairos Document);

AND NOTING THAT:

1. There is no theology which is ideologically harmless;
2. Western theology is a product of imperialism and a tool of ideological control over the masses which becomes an opiate;
3. The initiative in developing BT has been surrendered to revisionists who have blindly accepted (a la Kairos's "prophetic theology" or "people's theology") the Bible as the word of God by listening

to the eloquent voices of the ruling classes in the Bible rather than the suppressed voices of the oppressed and the exploited;

4. We have the stirrings of a true BT in the use of materialist tools of analysis which take a positive stand for the oppressed and against the oppressor;
5. All attempts to define BT have hitherto easily fallen into the imperialist trap of defining religion as *ipso facto* Christian religion and therefore ignoring and subverting the religions of the colonized people;
6. There is a dire need to develop Black content and thought in the Islamic, Hindu and other religions in occupied Azania as there is a consistent attempt to de-politicize religion both by the ruling class and by the priesthood;
7. The Western Cape Uprising of 1985 showed the potential for the Black voice asserting itself in an Islam which has been misused particularly by the "Indian" merchant class in occupied Azania;
8. The concept of *Jihad* as articulated by the following Quranic verse:
"Oh you who believe, wherever there is tumult and oppression rise up against it (with your hand) until there is no more."
was taken up by the masses in revolutionary action in the 1985 Western Cape Uprising and was a slap in the face for the *mullahs* (i.e. the Muslim clergy);
9. The *Hijra* being a journey to close ranks in order to fight the common enemy combined with *Jihad* (i.e. righteous war) is the theological justification for BC from an Islamic perspective;



10. Materialist tools of analysis have been positively used by Muslim scholars such as the late Dr Ali Shariati.

WE HEREBY RESOLVE THAT:

1. Materialist tools of analysis be used to develop BT into a potent and vibrant revolutionary force;
2. All attempts to depoliticize religion by elevating it above the unfolding struggles of the masses must be exposed and eliminated;
3. The Kairos Document and its "prophetic theology" must be exposed as part of a scheme to engineer a negotiated solution with the powers-that-be and to dilute the militancy of the masses;
4. The priority is to make BT a material force rather than an opiate. ■



LEARNING WARFARE BY MAKING WARFARE

MAO TSE-TUNG AND CHIMURENGA by Paresh Pandya (Johannesburg, Skotaville Publishers, 1988) Available from Skotaville Publishers, P.O. Box 32483, Braamfontein. Telephone: (011) 339-1871, 272 pp, softcover, R25,35

THIS work was originally presented to the University of South Africa (Unisa) in 1986 in fulfilment of a Master of Arts Degree in Strategic Studies.

The Objective

Pandya summarizes his objective in the following words:

"The reason for this book was to investigate whether the change in *status quo* that brought ZANU into power can be solely attributed to Mao Tse-Tung's theory of insurgency," (pg. 228)

with the rider that:

"... (L)essons or conclusions applicable to a similar situation in South Africa might be found to emerge as a by-product of research." (pg.9)

The following disclaimer is made:

"This book is not aimed at determining how successful or well the war was fought, it does not seek to examine the problems encountered by the participants, for example, the problems of opposition by ZAPU, of support from the USSR favouring ZAPU, of the impact of the war's being carried into Mozambique, of the difficulties caused by fluctuations in the international relations of Mozambique or of ZANU itself." (pgs. 230-1)

This Review

I aim to evaluate Pandya's study in the light of Mao's analysis and basic line and theory on the question of warfare and the actual application thereof (if any) by ZANLA.

I shall first present Pandya's version of Mao's theory and his version of ZANLA'S application thereof. *This does not mean that I agree that Pandya's arguments are correct, either in whole or in part. Not at all!*

As a departure point to this subject, Mao remarks in his analysis "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War" penned during December 1936:

"The laws of war are a problem which anyone directing a war must study and solve.

"The laws of revolutionary war are a problem which anyone directing a revolutionary war must study and solve."

"The laws of China's revolutionary war are a problem which anyone directing China's revolutionary war must study and solve."

It is fundamentally incorrect to transplant Mao's analysis holus-bolus to the situation in Zimbabwe or to any other situation for this would amount to "cutting the feet to fit the shoes." War and its laws are developmental.

The concrete application of Mao's military science to strategy, campaigns and tactics requires:

- (a) studying lessons, paid for in blood, which are a heritage of past wars, and
- (b) testing these lessons against our

own experience, assimilating what is useful, rejecting what is useless and adding what is specifically our own.

(December 1936)

Mao's "Three-Phased Model"

Pandya's central thesis is that Mao's strategy of guerilla warfare is a three-phased one comprising:

Phase I: Strategic defensive in which "organisation, consolidation and preservation of base areas situated in isolated and difficult terrain" occurs. During this phase, "guerrillas are recruited, organised and trained to carry out agitation and to do propaganda work." (pg. 19)

Mao's emphasis was on people's war. Said he: "... (W)eapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor: it is people, not things that are decisive ..." (pg. 22) The guerrilla army has to make do with meagre resources and store its caches in inaccessible, far off and uninhabited regions.

Mao emphasized that self-defence units should be formed amongst the masses to provide logistical and other support to the guerrillas. These self-defence units must be given military training.

Pandya says that Mao favoured the development of separate political and military hierarchies (pg. 223) He argues further that Mao recommended that politicization and mobilization occur via the implementation of a code of behaviour, by way of articles, pamphlets and other literature includ-

ing inspiring poetry and by way of political meetings. The use of traditional cultural methods was emphasized and the cause of "any local discontent" was exploited "to its fullest potential to create political awareness." (pg. 153)

Phase II: Strategic offensive in which "terrorist acts of sabotage and assassination of collaborators takes place. Attacks are also made on isolated and vulnerable military and police outposts." (pg. 23) Pandya adds: "According to Mao, the level of success in carrying out any attack is largely determined by the following factors: pre-attack preparation, the level of secrecy maintained prior to and after the attack, and the actions taken by the combat unit after the attack." In other words, the key to success lies in the element of surprise.

Phase III: Mobile warfare which Pandya describes as the phase of "decision or destruction," when "the 'enemy's' destruction takes place by conventional military operations or settlement through decision and negotiation." (pg. 24) Pandya adds: "Mao lays down two main conditions for the transformation of combat units engaged in guerrilla war into the regular army fighting a conventional war. They are: firstly, increasing the number of combatants and secondly, improving the quality of their fighting."

Foreign aid and assistance: Pandya maintains that this element is crucial to Mao's entire strategy: "It is apparent that no liberation movement can successfully achieve its objective if it does not receive the required aid, assistance and support from the international community." (pgs. 26-27)

Pandya stresses that Mao's prescriptive model, while designed specifically for Chinese conditions, reveal "an almost complete blueprint for insurgency by a nationalist movement which:

- is suppressed by the incumbent government,
- is seeking to represent and gain the support of a large proportion of the rural population,



- is militarily and materially inferior to the incumbent government,
- is receiving no significant attention and support for its cause,
- is seeking to gain political power." (pg. 27)

ZANLA and Mao

Pandya contends that ZANLA originally employed a Guevarist approach, but had to seriously reconsider this after the sporadic and ineffective nature of the operations following upon and including the Battle of Sinoia on 28 April 1966 became apparent. (pgs. 161 and 221)

By the end of 1972, says Pandya, ZANU was able to establish political cells in Zimbabwe. By mid-1978, the Tribal Trust lands became secure base areas for ZANLA. ZANLA largely depended on rear bases outside the borders of Zimbabwe viz bases in Mozambique, Zambia and Tanzania.

Pandya is unable to define what a liberated zone referred to, quoting both ZANLA's definition and that of the Rhodesian Security Forces. What is clear, however, is that ZANLA did not claim to have total administrative and military control over any part of Zimbabwe *by day!*

Nevertheless, Pandya equates the ZANLA-defined liberated zones to Mao's "base areas" and traces the choice of terrain (areas covered with high mountains and large rivers) as also the fact that ZANLA chose the rainy season to launch its attacks di-

rectly to Mao's prescriptions.

Pandya admits that ZANU had little or no success in mobilizing the so-called "Indian" and "Coloured" sections of the Black population. He also strongly contends that ZANLA guerrillas were recruited from refugees to Mozambique and Zambia: "The reason for such a large percentage of rural peasants being recruited was mainly because they were ground between two millstones - the military and the police on the one side and the ZANLA forces on the other side." (pg. 85) (emphasis added).

The author's contention is that the preponderance of rural peasants in ZANU's ranks shows a direct application of Maoist military strategy. He describes the complementary role of the young apprentice militants, the *mujibas* and their female equivalents of all ages, the *chimbwidows* who:

- "...- Acted as liaison between the population and the combat units.
- Acted as liaison between combat units.
 - Provided information and assistance to the guerrillas.
 - Provided logistical and other assistance." (pg. 95)

and informed people of *pungwes* (political meetings). *Chimbwidows* also specifically provided food for and washed the clothes of the guerrillas and acted as singers and dancers at *pungwes*. (pgs. 100-101) Pandya concludes that the role of the *mujibas*

and the *chimbuidows* corresponded exactly to that of Mao's self-defence units, even though they were untrained militarily. (pg. 224)

Pandya argues that ZANLA instructors trained in the People's Republic of China were imbued with Mao Tse Tung Thought. The application of Maoist strategy within ZANLA, Pandya maintains, is apparent in:-

- (a) the ZANLA Code of Behaviour which was a verbatim adoption of Mao's three rules of discipline and nine points of attention,
- (b) the use of chiefs to supply food, shelter and intelligence to the guerrillas as well as the use of missionaries,
- (c) the employment of spirit mediums who supported ZANU as virtual military and political advisors and who were a powerful magnet for recruitment,
- (d) the issue of Mao's *Red Book* to ZANLA guerrillas for their personal use,
- (e) the distribution of publications such as *Zimbabwe News* and *Chimurenga News* by these guerrillas to the Zimbabwean people,
- (f) the fact that guerrillas carried medical supplies for the populace,
- (g) the employment of *chimurenga* and freedom songs to make people aware of their oppression and exploitation,
- (h) the use of *pungwes* to conscientize people and terrorize them especially via people's courts which punished "collaborators" by sentencing them to death or amputating them (see pg. 149),
- (i) the use of radio facilities provided by Mozambique,
- (j) the use of *chimurenga* names i.e. *noms de guerre* (such as Yeukai Chimurenga = You must never forget the revolutionary line) by the guerrillas,
- (k) the concentration by ZANU's external wing on mobilizing international support (including the isolation of the Smith regime) and on obtaining sanctuary, economic and material aid, cash grants and recognition,
- (l) the separation of the military and the political wings of ZANU with overall command in the hands of



the Revolutionary Council or Dare-Re-Chimurenga (later the Central Committee),

- (m) the popularization by the internal wing of ZANU of the leadership of Robert Gabriel Mugabe which was instrumental in bringing him to power,
- (n) the fact that targets for guerrilla attacks, usually unpopular farmers were decided on in consultation with the local peasants,
- (o) the effective use of the surprise element to create confusion and uncertainty among the government forces, thus affecting their morale,
- (p) the use of unsophisticated weaponry such as landmines, dynamite and grenades,
- (q) the equality between male and female ZANLA guerrillas with regard to programme of training and opportunity to rise in rank.

Pandya concludes that ZANLA applied Mao's strategies on a virtual point-by-point basis with regard to Phase I of *chimurenga* and substantially adhered to Mao's model with regard to Phase II. Pandya is at pains to explain that these two phases coincided and overlapped.

As regards Phase III, Pandya argues that while the Rhodesian security forces had smaller numbers than ZANLA and were unable to sustain a conventional campaign, "(t)he ZANLA Forces were . . . neither prepared, nor could have withstood a mobile conventional attack from the Rhodesian Security Forces in 1979

when the hostilities ended, or at any other time before that date. However, it is clear that should either party have initiated a conventional attack, ZANLA Forces would certainly have fared second best." (pg. 187)

The eventual outcome of Phase I and II was the negotiated settlement or National Convention at Lancaster House fashioned by the West collaborating with the Frontline states.

A Perversion of Mao's Theory

It is instructive to note that Paresh Pandya devotes roughly 5,1% of his study to Mao's Theory of Insurgency. Almost 41,5% of the study concentrates on Phase I of Mao's alleged strategy as applied by ZANLA, 6,9% on Phase II, 3,3% on Phase III and 10,4% on Foreign Aid.

Pandya makes Freudian slips which are indicative of both his class and national outlook. Not least of these is the total distortion and perversion of Mao's systematic and comprehensive military line. Readers will note the use of terms such as "terrorist acts" - Mao's principled opposition to terrorism is legendary - to describe Phase II.

Equally revealing are the following excerpts:

"(The rural peasants in protected villages) began to perceive the government as their enemy, which sometimes the authorities *unfortu-*

nately confirmed by some of their poor arrangements, lack of planning and slipshod approaches to the villages," (emphasis added) and

"The isolation of the rural population from the guerrillas failed as a solution to insurgency in Rhodesia. Instead it only provided ZANU and ZANLA with another method to mobilize 'the masses', but a true and lasting solution should have been timeous political changes." (pg. 153)

Pandya's exposition of Maoist military doctrine is absolutely jejune, concentrating as it does on trivia. Pandya attempts to reduce Mao's military thought to a "shopping list" and then ticks off the items available in *chimurenga* which bear a crude resemblance to the Chinese experience of guerrilla warfare, with a passing reference to the specificity of conditions in Zimbabwe (hence the employment of the spirit mediums and the missionaries, for instance).

But a cursory examination of the Pandya "shopping list" reveals that the items listed are of the essence of *any* and *every* sort of guerrilla warfare – these items are not specifically Maoist at all!

It is impossible to understand Mao's military line without understanding and applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. As Mao said in his December 1936 piece on "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War":-

"The naked eye is not enough, we must have the aid of the telescope and the microscope. The Marxist method is our telescope and microscope in political and military matters."

Mao brilliantly applied materialist dialectics to the question of warfare and the development of revolutionary strategy for warfare in China. Listen:

"In war, offensive and defence, advance and retreat, victory and defeat are all mutually contradictory phenomena. One cannot exist without the other. The two aspects are at once in conflict and in interdependence, and this constitutes the totality

of a war, pushes its development forward and solves its problems." ("On Contradiction", August 1937)

For Mao, the chief method was "to learn warfare through warfare . . . A revolutionary war is a mass undertaking; it is often not a matter of first learning and then doing, but of doing and then learning, for doing is itself learning."

Pandya uses the terms "liberation movement" and "Party" interchangeably but this is incorrect. Herbert Ushewokunze (presently Zimbabwe's Minister of Political Affairs) who recently announced that "Even dreaming of socialism is a non-starter . . . We won't see true socialism here. Nor will our children" (see "Investment code brings ideological dilemma" *The Natal Mercury* 10 July 1989) grasped this distinction:

"(M)ass parties cannot articulate a coherent ideology because they have to accommodate so many interests. A party joined by former tribalists, racists and regionalists must compromise its socialist position if it has to retain these new members . . ." (*An Agenda for Zimbabwe* 1984 pg. 5)

Gloss

Pandya glosses over important details. Mao argued that the Party, provided it had the correct ideological and strategic orientation, must command the gun and not the other way round. The entire development and independence of ZIPA (formed in 1975 to unite ZANLA and ZIPRA guerrillas) and their correct opposition to the capitulationist line which began to assume sway in ZANU rates not even a footnote in what purports to be a serious academic study.

ZANU went through a period of turmoil and sharp ideological struggle. The development of the armed struggle produced a revolutionary headquarters in ZANU. This headquarters rejected the Lusaka Agreement of 7 December 1974. The murder of Herbert Chitepo during March 1975 followed the Nhari Revolt in ZANU and provided Zambia with an excuse to clamp down on ZANU's revolutionary headquarters.

The ZANLA-ZIPRA alliance broke down in 1976 when Nkomo negotiated with Smith. While the alliance lasted, however, there were serious differences over military strategy. The Soviet-trained ZIPA forces favoured operating as a regular army with sophisticated weaponry. As a ZANLA/ZIPRA commander pointed out: "We needed rifles, they wanted tanks." (*Africa Confidential* Volume 17 Number 17, 1976) They paid scant attention to mobilization and consolidation of the masses, relying on spectacular – and symbolic – military operations.

ZIPA rejected the Anglo-American Kissinger Plan (September 1976) as an imperialist plot "intended to sabotage our revolution." (quoted by Andre Ascrow *Zimbabwe: A Revolution that lost its way?* Zed Books 1983 at 105) At about the time the Patriotic Front (PF) was formed i.e. 9 October 1976, Dzinare Machingura, ZIPA's Deputy Political Commissar, gave this explanation as to why ZIPA resisted control by the politicians:

"ZIPA is an army in the traditional sense of the word. But ZIPA is a unique and revolutionary army in the sense that it has a strategic role of transforming itself into a political movement. The ZIPA structure accommodates the shouldering of both the military and the political tasks of the revolution."

– quoted by Ascrow at 100

The existence of ZIPA as a separate factor was vital in preventing capitulation at the Geneva Conference. In order to absorb ZIPA into ZANU, Mugabe formed a politico-military pact with Tongogara. When ZIPA accused the ZANU leadership of lack of contact with cadres in the field, of Mugabe's lack of military knowledge and of being responsible for the Chimoio camp massacre by Rhodesian troops in November 1977, Mugabe and Tongogara sought the help of the Frontline states in removing and liquidating ZIPA's leadership.

There was a significant difference between ZIPA and ZANU: ZIPA believed that victory could only be

achieved via the armed struggle while the Mugabe leadership regarded armed struggle as necessary to create the climate for negotiations and as a bargaining chip to break down the intransigence of the white settlers.

In early 1977, ZIPA guerrillas and leaders were systematically detained in Mozambique or murdered there. This cleared the path for Tongogara to become ZANLA's Chief of Defence. At the Chimoio Congress, ZANU established that the military should accept the decisions of the political Central Committee.

Similar waves of arrests followed in January 1978 during the Gumbo Revolt when ZANLA guerrillas opposed ZANU's lack of political unity with ZAPU. David Martin and Phyllis Johnson in their book *The Struggle for Zimbabwe* Ravan Press 1981 at 275 submit that Gumbo and his followers aimed at seizing power in ZANU in order to absorb ZANU into ZAPU.

Capitulation

The widespread discontent in ZANLA and amongst the Zimbabwean masses over the sellout at Lancaster House also does not merit even a footnote in Pandya's study. As *Newsweek* 7 January 1980 reported at page 16:

"In one grisly and perhaps prophetic incident last week, a squad of guerrillas murdered a school-teacher in front of his pupils, and left behind a note reading 'Down with the cease-fire. Forward with the war.'"

This discontent saw a wave of strikes in Zimbabwe after *uhuru* and manifested itself again on 18 July 1989 with clashes between the army and students at the University of Zimbabwe (*Daily News* 19 July 1989). For those who imagine that Mao opposed strikes, we need only remind them that Mao himself proposed that the right to strike be included in the new Constitution of the People's Republic of China in January 1975.

Mao waged relentless struggle against the reactionary "theory of the produc-

tive forces", struggling for the correct line viz. "grasp revolution, promote production." The following words by Zimbabwe's first Labour Minister, Kumbirai Kangai represent precisely the line that Mao strived to combat:

"The relationship between the workers and management should be like one big family. You have to respect them as workers and they have to respect you as the management."

- *The Herald* 26 May 1980

A ZANU supporter observed that: "It is impossible to construct socialism on the superstructure of capitalism." (quoted by Ascrow at 173)

For those who support and propagate capitulation, Mao gave sage advice on October 12, 1942 in "The Turning Point in World War II":

"All those who take a pessimistic view of the world situation should change their point of view."

(Are you listening, capitulationists in occupied Azania?) He expanded on this in "The Present Situation and our Tasks" on December 25, 1947:

"Our Party waged a resolute struggle against such impotent and degenerate ideas (as capitulation), which run counter to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, resolutely carried out its political line of 'developing the progressive forces, winning over the middle forces and isolating the die-hard forces' and resolutely expanded the Liberated Areas and the People's Liberation Army."

Imperialist strategy was always dictated by the need to maintain capitalist social relations in Zimbabwe. By the mid-1970s this required a process of "decolonization" which would preserve the rule of capital.

ZANU completely failed to identify imperialism as its number one enemy and propagated the myth that Britain was the legitimate (sic!) colonial



power. Its strategy was thus aimed at reform and despite the Maoist rhetoric (which guaranteed it the support of both the Zimbabwean proletariat and peasantry) its capitulation at Lancaster House was the logical outcome of its history and petit-bourgeois degeneration.

Both before and after "independence", ZANU insisted that the Lancaster House deal was in the interests of the Zimbabwean masses. Tongogara "regarded Lancaster House as a kind of 'second front' brought about by the people of Zimbabwe and their liberation forces . . ." (Martin & Johnson *op cit* at 319)! ZANU not only welcomed Western imperialism as a progressive (sic!) force, it ensconced Zimbabwe firmly in the Western camp.

The national liberation struggle in Zimbabwe was not carried out on an anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist basis. The aim of the petit bourgeois leadership was not to overthrow capitalist relations but to remove the discriminatory structures of settler society which hindered its advancement as a social group. As Rockefeller puts it:

"The more I have seen of countries which are allegedly Marxist in Africa, the more I have the feeling it is more labels and trappings than reality."

- quoted by Ascrow at 190

Pandya neglects to inform us that a critical reason for ZANU agreeing to

join the Patriotic Front was its hope that it would receive arms and ammunition from the Soviet social-imperialists. (*The Herald* 16 November 1980)

War is the highest stage of struggle

For Mao, war is the highest stage of struggle and the purpose of the proletariat in waging war is to defeat imperialism and reaction and advance society to a stage wherein war would be eliminated with the elimination of classes and the state. Indeed, ZANU even failed to identify the proletariat as the leading force in Zimbabwe, ignoring Mao's warning that "In this era, any revolutionary war will definitely end in defeat if it lacks, or runs counter to, the leadership of the proletariat and the Communist Party." (December 1936)

Note that Mao specifically included class-conscious workers both in the Communist Party and the Red Army. He warned against the hegemony of the petit bourgeoisie (in particular, the peasantry) rather than the leadership of the proletariat in the revolutionary movement.

It is absurd to call any strategy Maoist if it makes guerrilla warfare primary and regular warfare supplementary. As Mao emphasized:

"Unless we understand this, unless we recognize that regular warfare will decide the final outcome of the war, and unless we pay attention to building a regular army and to studying and directing regular warfare, we shall be unable to defeat Japan." ("Problems of War and Strategy" November 6, 1938)

It is necessary for guerrilla units to undergo steeling and gradually transform themselves into regular forces: in this way guerrilla warfare develops into mobile warfare.

No magic short cuts

The fact that the Zimbabwean war was aborted before it even reached the scale of genuine people's war makes it anything but a protracted war. To quote Mao: "There is no

magic short-cut" ("On Protracted War" May 1938).

Instead of following Mao's prescriptions, Mugabe chose to co-opt General Walls in his team and assign him the task of integrating ZANLA and ZIPRA with the Rhodesian army. The Rhodesian army which included notorious units such as the Selous and Grey Scouts and the Rhodesian Light Infantry was composed of the worst detritus from failed empires around the world as well as the most ruthless of local elements. At any rate, to integrate a settler army with an alleged people's army can only be aimed at demobilizing the people's army in the interests of imperialism.

A true Maoist would defeat, disintegrate and win over part of the imperialist army, smash and punish the private reactionary armies and shatter and destroy their police forces and punish them for their crimes. For at least nine years, the Mugabe government suppressed information about an industrial incinerator at Chikurubi (just east of Harare), made by the macro-Burn Company of Johannesburg, which was used to cremate the corpses of untold numbers of Zimbabweans executed during *chimurenga*. (*Weekly Mail* July 28-August 3, 1989).

In the base areas and throughout the country, it is vital for a revolutionary Party to share weal and woe with the masses. ZANLA largely relied on *mujibas* and *chimbuidows* and did not trust the masses: its *pungwes* gave only the most rudimentary political education and its use of the spirit mediums was not directed at raising peasant consciousness to genuine revolutionary consciousness.

Terence Ranger in *Peasant Consciousness and Guerrilla War in Zimbabwe* Zimbabwe Publishing House 1985 quotes a ZANLA guerrilla on the level of political education at *pungwes*:

"We did not talk to the peasants about socialism. Ah, no, we couldn't do that. The peasantry are very conservative and even today they know nothing about socialism. We had to teach them first about the evil deeds

and oppression of the regime and how we had tried to talk to the whites but failed, so that we had to take up arms." (at 178)

Peasant religion formed an indispensable part of the composite ideology of *chimurenga* and focussed strongly on the Land Question. It is clear that sustained effort was required to create conscious beings who see themselves as their own liberators and need no ancestral spirits, gods or goddesses to "liberate" them.

ZANU's guerrilla ideology was expressed only via the Shona tradition and culture, helping to alienate the Ndebele people and to reinforce ethnicity. As Ranger puts it: "The ZANLA guerrillas were not sufficiently flexible to adapt the composite ideology which served them so well throughout two thirds of the country." (at 216)

To wage a true people's war, ZANLA and ZANU needed nothing less than the full mobilization of the Zimbabwean Nation. That they failed to achieve this is apparent even in their inability to make good their promise of disrupting the election charade which brought Bishop Abel Muzorewa to office during April 1979, taking intimidation by the Rhodesian forces fully into account. ZANLA's successes in surprise attacks and evasions shows the durability of Mao's prescriptions: ZANLA did not utilize these in any thoroughgoing manner, however.

To compare bases in neighbouring states to the base areas established by Mao within the borders of China itself is ridiculous. So is the comparison between ZANLA's self-proclaimed "liberated zones" and Mao's base areas. At a minimum, a base area is under the complete control of the revolutionary army. The potential existed to create true liberated zones when the infrastructure of the settler regime began collapsing completely - about the time of Lancaster House!

War of Attrition and Annihilation

What Pandya glibly refers to as Phase

I and Phase II requires at the least an assessment of whether ZANLA employed the sixteen-character formula viz "The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue." (December 1936)

In a settler colonial situation such as Zimbabwe's was it is necessary to constantly lure the enemy in deep, surround it with the masses, cut off its forces into various parts and annihilate it. Guerrilla war combines a war of attrition with a war of annihilation. The formula is "strategy, one against ten; tactics, ten against one."

Mao emphasized that in both regular and guerrilla warfare it is necessary to stress the principles of fighting battles of quick decision, of concentrating a big force to strike as a small section of the enemy forces and to annihilate the enemy forces piece by piece, thus through a protracted process carrying out a war of attrition against the enemy until it is weakened to the point where the final *coup de grace* can be delivered to it.

From a long-term point of view, the Rhodesian Security Forces were severely overextended and suffered from a shortage of troops. In these circumstances, guidance is available from Mao's telegram, "The Concept of Operations for the Northwest War Theatre" issued during April 1947. As Mao stressed therein, it is imperative when circumstances are favourable to keep the enemy on the run, tire it out, wear it down, reduce it to extreme fatigue and conditions of starvation and then launch the offensive to destroy it.

As the Lancaster House conference got underway, the war in Zimbabwe raged more fiercely than at any other time since the fighting began.

Pandya's Agenda

Mao emphasized that the enemy's knowledge of the overall strategy and tactics of the People's Army could not save it because "... our strategy and tactics are based on a people's war; no army opposed to the people can use our strategy and tactics."



In 1953, at the conclusion of the war to resist US aggression in Korea, Mao declared: "Our experience is that reliance on the people together with a fairly correct leadership enables us to defeat a better-equipped enemy with our inferior equipment." ("Speech at the Lushan Conference")

As for Pandya's over-emphasis on foreign aid and assistance, it needs to be stated that Mao's lasting emphasis is that people, not foreign aid or sophisticated weaponry are decisive in any war. Pandya fails to analyze ZANU's struggle to achieve recognition in the face of the stranglehold exercised by ZAPU in league with the ANC of South Africa and the Soviet Union. Mao would have had no truck with the interference and petty hegemony exercised by such forces and the Frontline states on the pattern and pace of Zimbabwe's national liberation struggle.

Mao could well have been talking about Pandya when he commented: "Epistemologically speaking, the source of all erroneous views on war lies in idealist and mechanistic tendencies on the question." (May 1938)

Not that Pandya has no agenda: he most certainly has! On page 230 of his book, Pandya attempts to draw the lessons of the Zimbabwean experience for occupied Azania. He advises that:

1. There should be no procrastination towards achieving a political solution, else "the 'hearts and

minds' of the people" will be lost and there will be widespread insurgency;

2. The political solution must consist of reforms; and
3. In arriving at the political solution, "it is vital that the authorities work and consult with all the parties concerned."

High Tide of Revolution

That advice such as Pandya's is being taken seriously and that a complete betrayal of the masses figures prominently on the Azanian agenda is obvious. But, to quote Mao, there will "soon be a high tide of revolution" both in Azania and in Zimbabwe. Listen to Mao's explanation:

"But when I say that there will soon be a high tide of revolution in China, I am emphatically not speaking of something which in the words of some people 'is possibly coming', something illusory, unattainable and devoid of significance for action. It is like a ship far out at sea whose mast-head can already be seen from the shore; it is like the morning sun in the east whose shimmering rays are visible from a high mountain top; it is like a child about to be born moving restlessly in its mother's womb."

- *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* edited by a Commission of the CPSU(B), New York, 1939 at page 275

I remember trudging through the streets of Zimbabwe during the fifth

anniversary celebrations of Zimbabwe's "independence" when an Azanian exile exclaimed: "What Zimbabwe desperately needs is Black Consciousness." I wonder if all those who are indulging in "waiting for Mugabe" fantasies – the latest of whom are Colin Stoneman and Lionel Cliffe in their *Zimbabwe: Politics, Economics and Society* Pinter Publishers, London 1989 – do not have a clammy sense of *déjà vu*. Remember "waiting for Nyerere?"

A rigorous and correct application of Mao's political and military line can be seen in the activities the Communist Party of Peru (PCP), referred to in the media as The Shining Path or *Sendero Luminoso*. The PCP proclaims:

"Comrade Mao teaches us that there is only one way to seize political power: revolutionary violence. The theory of seizing power by the peaceful road is wrong, impracticable and revisionist. Revolution is the overthrow of one class by another and the

old classes will never give up their political power voluntarily, not even in the worst crisis. The only way to deal with them is to sweep them away through revolutionary war, by means of revolutionary armed force. We should keep this *universally valid* principle in mind."

"We should also keep in mind one of Marx's great teachings: 'Once the banner of revolution is raised, it cannot be lowered again.'"

"This means that the armed struggle must be organized and persisted in. In order to launch the people's war in Peru the Communist Party of Peru made the great decision *never* to lay down its arms until communism is reached."

- from the "Worldwide Campaign Speech to Support the People's War in Peru", 1986, emphasis added

Recommendation

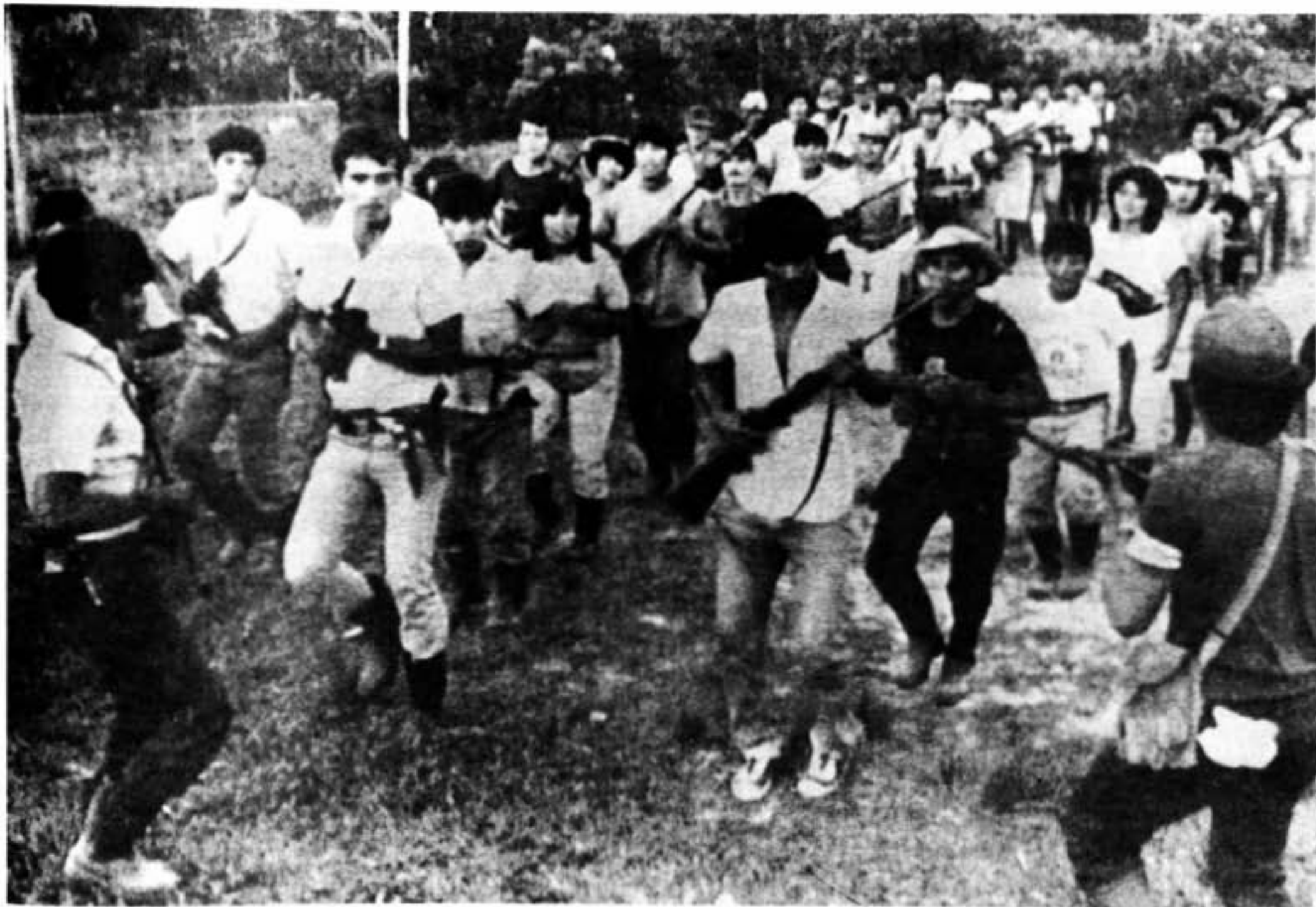
Pandya has certainly chosen an exciting aspect of *chimurenga* to analyze

but he fails to do justice to his task. His study is useful, however, for the data collected within its pages, not least of which is a handy set of diagrams, tables and photographs.

The printer's gremlin has not spared Pandya. The most glaring error is the ambiguity of the word "they" in the sentence "As a result one finds it very difficult to determine whether *they* were really liberated zones, that is, zones under ZANLA occupation and rule" (pg. 57). Other errors are the mis-spellings of "suite" for "suit" on page 61 line 4 and of "sprinter" for "splinter" on page 191 line 6.

The reader is advised to read Pandya's book against Mao Tse Tung's actual works and ZANU/ZANLA's actual performance. If the reader is unable to obtain Mao's works and read widely on the Zimbabwean revolution, this book is *not* recommended. ■

- Nhlanhla Nyide



Young PCP guerrillas in training.

LANGUAGE POLICY IN A FREE AZANIA

DECOLONISING THE MIND: The Politics of Language in African Literature by Ngugi wa Thiong'o (London, James Currey Ltd, 1986), 114 pp, R29,95 + R3,89 GST. Available from DAVID PHILIP PUBLISHER (PTY) LTD, PO Box 408, Claremont, 7735, Telephone 021-644136

LANGUAGE POLICY AND NATIONAL UNITY IN SOUTH AFRICA/AZANIA: An Essay by Neville Alexander (Cape Town, Buchu Books, 1989), 85 pp, R12,00 + R1,56 GST. Available from BUCHU BOOKS, PO Box 2580, Cape Town, 8000, Telephone 021-453786

NGUGI expresses the hope that the issues he raises in *Decolonising the Mind* will find echoes in our hearts. I make bold to say that the issues he raises must tug at the chords of every Black heart, that *Decolonising the Mind* is a journey that dispossessed people everywhere must undertake in their individual and collective sojourns to recover their birthrights, so that they can sleep not to dream "but dream to change the world." (pg. 3)

The Cultural Bomb

Ngugi's approach to the "study of African realities" is avowedly anti-imperialistic. He says in the "Introduction" to this book:

"Any blow against imperialism, no matter the ethnic and regional origins of the blow, is a victory for all anti-imperialistic elements in all the nationalities. The sum total of all these blows no matter what their weight, size, scale, location in time and space makes the national heritage." (pg. 2)

Imperialism is no mere slogan, says Ngugi:

"It is real, it is palpable in content and form and in its methods and effects . . . Imperialism is total: it has econ-

omic, political, military, cultural and psychological consequences for the people of the world today. It could even lead to holocaust." (*Ibid*)

From the very onset, we are exposed to Ngugi's analysis of contending social forces. His book is one that is born of the day-to-day struggles of African people, more specifically the working people (the peasantry and proletariat) against the "weapon wielded and actually daily unleashed by imperialism" against their "collective defiance" viz. "the cultural bomb"



Dr Neville Alexander

(pg. 3):

"The effect of a cultural bomb is to annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves."

The net results of the cultural bomb are "despair, despondency and a collective death-wish" which allows colonialism to thrive.

Language has a Dual Character

In the cultural arena, Ngugi sees real revolution as possible if the indigenous languages regain ascendancy and assume command of everyday interaction and relations between people. He elaborately shows how any language has a dual character - as a means of communication and as a

carrier of culture.

Language as communication has three elements, viz.:

- (a) the language of real life ie the relations people enter into in the labour process,
- (b) speech ie communication in production,
- (c) written signs.

Similarly, language as culture also has three elements, viz:

- (a) as a product and a reflection of human beings communicating with one another in the very struggle to create wealth and to control it,
- (b) as an image-forming agent,
- (c) as a distinguishing feature of a culture which has its peculiar history and tradition.

Language as communication and culture is the quintessence of human beingness:

"Language is thus inseparable from ourselves as a community of human beings" (pg.16)

and the capacity to "order sounds in a manner that makes for mutual comprehension between human beings is universal." (pg.15)

Europeanizing Afrika

Despite the crisis of identity of the vacillating African petit bourgeoisie who produced literature in European languages "as if there had never been literature in African languages," African languages simply "refused to die". The peasantry "saw no contradiction between speaking their own mother-tongues and belonging to a larger national or continental geography", they had "no complexes about their languages and the cultures they carried!". (pgs. 22-23)

To those who argue that the unity of the African people requires the use of one or another foreign language – whether English, French, German or Portuguese – as *lingue franche* Ngugi has a question:

"(B)y our continuing to write in foreign languages, paying homage to them, are we not on the cultural level continuing that neo-colonial slavish and cringing spirit? What is the difference between a politician who says Africa cannot do without imperialism and the writer who says that Africa cannot do without European languages?" (pg. 26)

Ngugi makes the forceful point that literature in foreign languages can never constitute African literature!

The domination of Black languages by European languages bolsters and buttresses the political and economic marauding of Africa and the entire Black world by imperialism. It subjects the very language of real life to foreign domination. Ngugi declares:

"The choice of language and the use to which language is put is central to a people's definition of themselves in relation to the entire universe. Hence language has always been at the heart of the two contending social forces in Africa of the twentieth century." (ie imperialism and the resistance) (pg. 4)

Ngugi seeks to initiate a break with this prevailing trend of Europeanizing Afrika. He says:

"This book, *Decolonising the Mind*, is my farewell to English as a vehicle for any of my writings. From now on, it is Gikuyu and KiSwahili all the way. However, I hope that through the age old medium of translation I shall be able to continue dialogue with all." (pg. xiv)

After all, Afrika "needs back its economy, its politics, its culture, its languages and all its patriotic writers." (pg. xii, emphasis mine)

Writing in African languages amounts to targeting the social force that stands diametrically opposed to imperialism viz the working masses. It amounts to writing in the languages

of resistance, rebellion and revolution and reducing the role of foreign languages to international communication. Writing in foreign languages means that the working people whose struggles feed the writer's work will never read it.

Nairobi and Kamiriithu

An important landmark in Ngugi's growth was the 1974 Nairobi conference on the teaching of African literature in schools. A working committee drafted recommendations on policy and on syllabi in accordance with the Conference resolution that the Eurocentric language and literature syllabi be overhauled. Says Ngugi:

"All in all, the report is shot through and through with a consciousness that literature is a powerful instrument in evolving the cultural ethos of a people." (pg. 99)

Decisive in Ngugi's "epistemological break" with his past praxis in the area of fiction and theatre was his participation in the activities of the Kamiriithu Community Education and Cultural Centre since 1976:

"The process . . . was one of continuous learning. Learning of our history. Learning of what obtains in factories. Learning of what goes on in farms and plantations. Learning our language, for the peasants were essentially the guardians of the language through years of use." (pg. 45)

Ngugi's abandonment of English as the vehicle of his ideas represents the climax of his own long struggle against the oppressive and dehumanising neo-colonial reality he saw around him, the climax of his long "quest for relevance" as an African writer.

Since 1977 when Ngugi penned *Petals of Blood*, he has written many works in Gikuyu which have been translated *inter alia* into English. There is no way that the non-Gikuyu/KiSwahili-speaking world will be deprived of Ngugi's creativity and genius.

A Welcome Decision!

Ngugi's decision is a bold one which must be applauded and emulated. Ngugi does not argue that writing in Black languages *per se* will bring about a Black cultural renaissance: such writing must carry the content of the people's anti-imperialist struggles to liberate their productive forces from foreign control.

The spirit which Ngugi displays reminds us of that which underlies the following quotations, the first from a rather unlikely source:

"The language of the oppressor in the mouth of the oppressed is the language of slaves." (Johannes Hendricus Brand, the President of the Orange Free State Republic, commenting on the Anglicization policy imposed on the Boers. This quotation was often used by participants in the Soweto Uprising to reject the imposition of Afrikaans on Black school-children!) and

"(D)ecolonization is always a violent phenomenon . . . Its unusual importance is that it constitutes, from the very first day, the minimum demands of the colonized. To tell the truth, the proof of success lies in a whole social structure being changed from the bottom up. The extraordinary importance of this change is that it is willed, called for, demanded. The need for this change exists in crude state, impetuous and compelling, in the consciousness and in the lives of the men and women who are colonized. But the possibility of this change is equally experienced in the form of a terrifying future in the consciousness of another 'species' of men and women: the colonizers." (Frantz Fanon *The Wretched of the Earth*)

The Second Severing of the Umbilical Cord

One is struck by the fact that for the Black intelligentsia, there are two moments in their lives when their umbilical cords are severed – the first at birth and the second with the adoption of the colonizer's language. The process of alienation could not be

more complete.

Ngugi is at pains to emphasize that how we view ourselves and our environment is dependent "on where we stand in relationship to imperialism in its colonial and neo-colonial stages . . ." (pg. 88) This quotation acts as a foil for locating the views propounded by Alexander in his essay.

The Scorpion

Alexander tackles the question of language from the standpoint that for a new society to emerge, all inequalities between and amongst people must be destroyed. He says:

" . . . (A)ll these different 'questions' are part and parcel of one overriding question, viz., how do we abolish social inequality based on colour, class, religious beliefs, sex, language group or any other basis?" (pg. 7)

Alexander stresses that in spite of diverse interpretations and ideological trends in the struggle in Azania, all participants are agreed that they are "trying to bring about national unity." He adds:

" . . . (W)e are trying to encourage all our people to become conscious of the fact that they belong to one South African/Azania nation." (*Ibid*)

Building a nation means " . . . fighting against racism and against ethnic divisions or ethnic consciousness." (pg. 8)

In his advocacy of "nation-building", Alexander insists that the difference between advocates of non-racialism and those of anti-racism are inconsequential since "being non-racial or anti-racist means being *for* something." Alexander's preoccupation with superficial unity (leading to monstrosities like "South Africa/Azania" and "non-racialism/anti-racism") leads to his glossing over the very real ideological struggle being waged around the concepts of anti-racism and non-racialism. Non-racialism simply means the non-existence of racist attitudes or tendencies: it does not mean opposition to racism (let alone racism) at all. Anti-racism means active opposition to an



all-pervading system which allows one group to subjugate another using the concept of "race". Anti-racism encapsulates non-racialism.

Alexander's departure point is that "if we want to fight against racial prejudice and racism, then we have, among other things, to break down the language barriers." (pg. 10) He then sets out to show how English and Afrikaans became dominant over other languages in occupied Azania, maintaining that this language policy accords with the "economic and political domination of the white minority in this country." (*Ibid*) Thus "the oppressed people have to forge weapons out of the same materials so that they can defend themselves and break the domination of the ruling group." (pg. 11)

Alexander's departure point smacks of a "take-whatever-you-can-from-the-system-to-destroy-it" syndrome. The expectation is that the scorpion will sting itself to death. But this is dangerous, because the scorpion might well turn on us! Says Ngugi about this very attitude:

"The classes fighting against imperialism . . . have to confront this threat with the higher and more creative culture of resolute struggle. These classes have to wield even more firmly the weapons of the struggle contained in their cultures." (pg. 3)

Cultural Imperialism

Alexander's outline of the British policy on the language question notes:

"By the middle 1870's the Chief Justice, J.H. de Villiers, could tell an audience that although the time is still far distant when the inhabitants of this colony will speak and acknowledge one common mother-tongue, it would come at last, and when it does come, the language of Great Britain will also be the language of South Africa." (pg. 16)

Alexander sketches the cultural imperialism perpetrated by Westerners in occupied Azania very clearly:

"Their (individual missionaries) avowed aim was to assimilate their 'wards' into the 'Western Christian Civilization' which they genuinely believed was superior to anything that Africans had ever produced." (pg. 17) and

"For the colonised people themselves, this (British language policy) meant that English language and English cultural traits acquired an economic and social value that was treasured above all else while their own languages and many of their cultural traits were devalued and often despised. A typical colonised mind or slave mentality became one of the most potent weapons of colonial pol-

icy, a programme built into the consciousness of black people (and of many whites) that ensured that the *status quo* was, by and large, accepted as good and just. All that one had to do was to climb up the socio-economic ladder which stood ready for every competent, abstinent and disciplined person to mount. If one had these attributes and was able to communicate in English, then – in the mythology of colour-blind individual rights – the sky was the limit!" (pg. 20)

For Alexander,

"South Africa . . . is a country where African, European and Asian cultural traditions have intersected for some three centuries and more and in which an emerging national culture is being carried and given expression to by means of many different languages." (pg. 48)

This is a fallacy: it was *inter alia* through the subjugation of African and Asian (ie Black) cultural traditions that white people ascended to the position of domination and control. The struggle taking place in the linguistic arena is merely a part of a struggle which includes Black people's quest for true humanity as a vital ingredient.

The "intersection" Alexander refers to presupposes mutual intermingling of cultures devoid of struggles for domination. This cultural miscegenation and bastardization suggests that white dominant culture is not an imposition on Black culture. This position actually negates struggle in the cultural terrain. Advocates of this position attempt to defeat the need for solidarity, the awareness of identity, the strengthening of the "we" versus "them" attitude. This, in short, amounts to assimilation and ultimately to CAPITULATION!

Alexander correctly states:

"In the emergent Azanian/South African nation, the interests of the majority, i.e., of the black workers, are and should be paramount and we should, therefore, base our language policies at all levels of our society on this fact." (pg. 52)

He promptly somersaults, however:

". . . (T)he most appropriate scenario appears to be one which assumes that English will be the *lingua franca* of a liberated Azania, regardless of the socio-economic system that will prevail." (pg. 53)

Alexander is careful about how he words his suggestion:

"What would appear to be a most likely scenario is one where English is universally accepted as an official language together with other languages, which would enjoy official status on a regional basis, depending on the initial concentration of mother tongue speakers of the respective languages." (pg. 54 – emphasis mine)

Lingua franca cum Linking Language

As in his ambivalence about "South Africa" or "Azania", "non-racialism" or "anti-racism", Alexander refers to English as both a *lingua franca* and a "linking language". He strongly suggests that there emerge a Standardised Nguni and Standardised Sotho which "need not lead to the disappearance of Zulu, Xhosa, Ndebele, Siswati, Sipeedi and Tswana and their dialects." (pg. 64)

The fact of the matter is that the majority of the people ie the Black working class and the peasantry do not understand English. Is Alexander's policy not strenuous and burdensome for the universal class? Alexander joins the imperialists in subordinating the people's languages to the colonizer's language – English. Note how Alexander betrays his lack of commitment to the socialist revolution by postulating his policy "regardless of the socio-economic system that will prevail." WE say that the Dictatorship of the Black Proletariat will prevail. What is the use of going the whole hog to formulate a language policy if we do not know the nature of the society we are designing it for?

Alexander blandly asserts:

". . . (D)espite the problematizing of the idea of English as the linking language in South Africa, most pro-

gressive people accept that between now and liberation we have to promote this solution." (pg. 59)

But Alexander is not seriously suggesting that English provides merely a stopgap solution. He is saying that no matter what English has to be the *lingua franca*:

"We have to understand that unless the vast majority of the South African population are organically motivated to learn and use English for the conduct of their affairs, English will become or remain, as in so many African and Asian countries, the language of the privileged neo-colonialist middle class." (pg. 60)

Hence Alexander says: ". . . (I)t is more than likely that another *lingua franca* may eventually displace English in this for internal purposes" (pg. 61 – emphasis mine). He nowhere says that attempts have to be made to make this materialize. Instead, his proposal amounts to enshrining and popularizing English and making its position unassailable:

"All that can be said with some certainty is that we have to begin today to produce a generation of highly skilled, well-trained language teachers. In particular, we need to insist on a few specialist English teachers being employed in every primary school in South Africa." (pgs. 66-67, emphasis in original)

At the conference on Language and Struggle held on 28-29 April 1989 at the University of Natal (Durban) Alexander remarked:

"In future . . . the role of *lingua franca* will become *exclusively* that of the English language, and Afrikaans, Nguni and Sotho will play, at least initially, a socially less important role except in those regions where mother-tongue speakers of these languages predominate."

– "So what about Afrikaans?" *Language Projects Review* Volume 4 Number 2 (July 1989) at 16

No cogent argument is presented as to why English – and not Afrikaans which Alexander admits is spoken and understood by more people in

occupied Azania than English – ought to be the *lingua franca* or even the linking language. While both English and Afrikaans are languages used to entrench oppression, Afrikaans is a language which belongs to the Black people and must be repossessed by them.

The idea of standardizing the Nguni and Sotho languages is an excellent one and work must begin *now* to:

1. achieve and popularize their standardization,
2. have literary works flower in the people's languages,
3. develop a technical lexicon for the people's languages.

Joseph Tubiana in an article "The Linguistic Approach to Self-Determination" in *Nationalism & Self Determination in the Horn of Africa* (edited by I.M. Lewis, Ithaca Press, London, 1983) sets out to demonstrate the interests served by the choice of an official language:

"The choice of this language (ie official language) is entirely the decision of the state and the choice is based purely on the convenience, needs and interests of the continuity of the state. The impartial observer would note that the individual who challenges the choice of official language has automatically challenged the structure of the state, and has sought to change this in seeking to change the choice of language . . ." (pgs. 24-5)

Alexander's proposals will perpetuate the colonization of Black people in the linguistic arena.

The nub of Tubiana's article is the declaration:

"In effect language is one of the elements constituting a culture yet at the same time it embodies the entire culture . . . all that threatens the language threatens the culture as a whole." (pg. 27)

The Somali Experience

Alexander's problem with the people's languages is that they:

". . . do not have enough literature and lack an adequate technical vocabulary for the teaching of most natural science and mathematical subjects above certain standards." (pg. 66)

This argument, puerile and ideologically loaded as it is, is ripped apart by a study of the Somali experience. Within a short time, Somali became an official national language and displaced both English and Italian. In an article entitled "Language, National Consciousness and Identity – the Somali Experience", Hussein M. Adams says:

"The modernized Somali language reaches its peak of succinctness and precision in the field of science and mathematics." (Lewis ed. at pg. 35) and

"Even before the advent of written Somali, Somali broadcasters pioneered the expression of new concepts and ideas while avoiding foreign borrowings as far as possible." (pg. 33)

Surely the same can be done in occupied Azania. One good example is the coining of *ngculaza* which is the Zulu equivalent for Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) and *ngqalasizinda* which means infrastructure by Thokozani M.E. Nene, an announcer for Radio Zulu.

Explaining how the Somali vocabulary developed to meet modern needs, Adam mentions four methods:

1. utilizing the wide range and subtle distinctions potentially existing in everyday speech.
2. drawing upon traditional and archaic vocabulary to provide words and expressions to meet changing needs.
3. employing old roots from both the general everyday speech and the more specialized vocabulary, to form new words.
4. borrowing words from Arabic, Italian and English. (pg. 34)

In Somalia, public life is run and regulated through the medium of Somali. With regard to education, Adam says:

"Lower level training programmes utilize Somali to a considerable extent. Middle level training programmes often use Somali lectures and also training material in foreign languages (English or Italian). In higher level training programmes (as well as in university education) foreign languages are still used, sometimes with interpretation into Somali depending on the background of the students involved." (pg. 36)

Adam emphasizes that:

"The writing and modernizing of Somali has made the Somalis a people who constitute a society with rapidly developing means of communication. It has also assisted in narrowing the gaps between Somali dialects by providing one main 'Standard Dialect' in all mass media (radio and press) and in books and publications for the schools and for literacy campaigns. This represents the attainment of one of the long-frustrated objectives of the self-determination struggle." (pg. 40)

Our Language Policy: Some Thoughts

The Somali experience proves that what Alexander regards as an inhibiting factor regarding the use of the people's languages in occupied Azania is no more than an excuse for not developing and elevating them to national and even international importance. Failure to do this would be an abrogation of our revolutionary responsibilities.

The number of languages spoken in occupied Azania and the variations of dialects within each language make the construction of a language policy a mammoth but immensely challenging task. There is no excuse for footling and doing a shoddy job of this task.

"The Gadfly" writing in *Umtapo Focus* argues that the use of English as a *lingua franca* prevents ethnic squabbles and the fostering of divisions within the Black community. This is preposterous indeed! As Chairman Mao emphasized, "of all things in the world, human beings are

the most precious. With the masses, every kind of miracle under the sun can be performed."

Formulating a language policy is an integral part of the unfolding day-to-day struggles for national liberation and social emancipation. The transition from capitalism to socialism is not a logical and predestined consequence: it requires the injection of revolutionary consciousness. The masses of people must deliberately take their fate and future in their own hands.

The language policy for a free Azania has to be adroitly designed such that it does not antagonize and polarize the masses but instead treats them with reverence and love. The departure point of the language policy is "POLITICS IN COMMAND." This – and nothing else – provides the guarantee that the language policy will develop and flower within anti-ethnic and anti-racist contours. People will, as the result of a painstaking conscientization programme, transcend ethnic consciousness and achieve Black Consciousness.

An interim solution, therefore, is to make one each of the major Nguni languages (isiZulu and isiXhosa) and Sotho languages (Southern sotho and SiPedi) a national official language. English should also be made a national official language, primarily for international communication. English ought to play only a secondary role in national and social intercourse in Azania, and curriculae should provide for all three national languages to be studied at school.

The reason why English rather than Afrikaans should be a national official language lies in the historical proficiency of the British at colonialism. Afrikaans, being a language developed by Black people and one which dislodged High Dutch as a spoken and written language, is in the peculiar position of being a major indigenous language outside the Nguni and Sotho group but it requires

conscious application to re-direct decades of ruling class intervention, adoption and theft of this people's language. Achmat Davids observes that Afrikaans as a spoken language was used for comic effect in the 1830's by journalists such as C.E. Boniface, A.G. Bain and L.H. Meurant who acknowledged it to be the language of the "non-whites" (sic!). He outlines how the slaves and political exiles from south-East Asia (subsequently known as the "Cape Malays") used the Arabic script for the communication of Dutch and how these publications were the beginning of Afrikaans literature. He says:

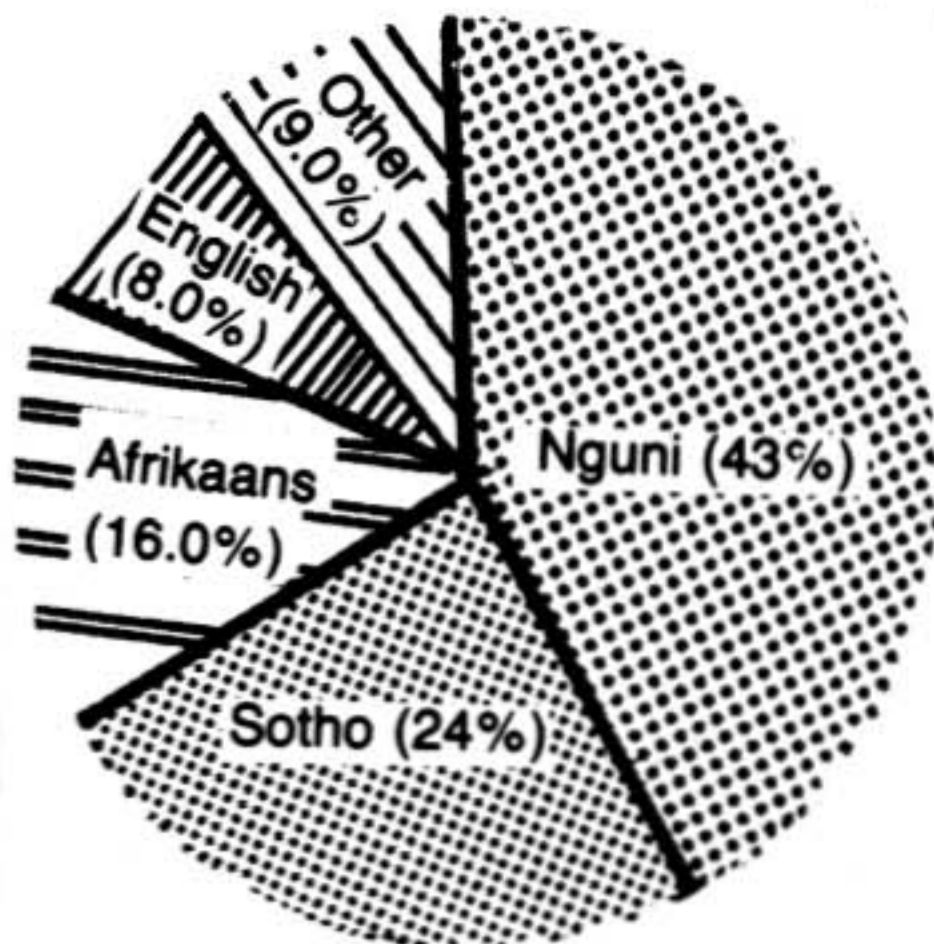
"It is, therefore, not mere coincidence that the grammatical structure of Afrikaans is closer to Malay than to Nederlands."

(See 'Arabic used to convey Afrikaans' *Muslim Views* December 1988 and 'Muslim Contribution to Afrikaans' *Muslim Views* January-February 1989)

In the longer term, the standardization of Nguni and Sotho must be regarded as priority number one for our language policy. This standardization does not mean the eclipse of any of the Nguni or Sotho languages: on the contrary, the standardization is designed precisely so that the different languages can thrive and grow. One must agree with Alexander when he says that it is desirable that we are able to be proficient in most of the languages spoken in Azania.

Recommendation

Both books are recommended:



Ngugi's book is a must for reading, re-reading and re-reading yet again. It is an uplifting and challenging work, demanding a commitment:

"To turn the struggles into common experience and Justice into a passion." (pg. 105)

Alexander's essay needs to be approached with caution and his suggestions evaluated with a critical and discerning eye, for his views are a reflection of the existence of the sub-culture described by Aimé Césaire in his address to the Congress of Black Writers and Artists, Paris, 1956:

"Wherever colonisation is a fact, the indigenous culture begins to rot. And among the ruins something begins to be born which is not a culture but a kind of sub-culture, a sub-culture which is condemned to exist on the margin allowed by European culture. This then becomes the province of a few men, the elite, who find themselves placed in the most artificial conditions, deprived of any revivifying contact with the masses of the people."

– Sibusiso ka Thusi

RIDING STAFF

TEN YEARS OF STAFFRIDER

1978-1988 edited by Andries Walter Oliphant and Ivan Vladislavic (Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1988), 448 pp, R24,95 + R3,24 GST. Available from Ravan Press, P O Box 31134, Braamfontein, Johannesburg, 2017. Telephone: (011) 4033925-9

STAFFRIDER Volume 7 Number 1 – current: A quarterly magazine edited by Andries Walter Oliphant and published by Ravan Press at R3,95 + R0,26 GST.

A collection of the covers of the very first volumes of *Staffrider* appears on page 11 of this commemorative anthology. These covers visually capture the leitmotif of the *Staffrider* which so readily nestled in and gave vibrancy to Azanian culture.

Leitmotif

The cover of the first issue captures "a youth in black silhouette shown in the process of clearing – arms stretched out to balance, legs bent for landing – a formidable, high, wire-netted barricade topped by thorn-like projections and by strands of barbed wire. Behind the barricade is a still, black mass of figures, where the individual shapes of people are blurred into the dark, continuous entity, although a strong sunlight streaming across from the right highlights the contours of some heads, shoulders and sides." (Michael Vaughan "Literature and Populism in South Africa: Reflections on the Ideology of *Staffrider*" in Georg M. Gugelberger (ed) *Marxism and African Literature* James Currey Ltd 1985 at 209) The back cover of Volume 1 Number 1 shows the youth jumping clear.

These photographs are from a collection by the late Ralph Ndawo. The fact that the crowd and the barrier depicted are at an NPSL soccer match in the ghetto underlines the universality of oppression and exploitation and the youth's clearing of the



barricade underlines the struggle for liberation.

The image on the cover of Volume 1 Number 3 depicts a crowd at a railway station. The image of the inveterate traveller and the corollary that the Black people are a *travelling* population is a recurrent image in the early *Staffrider*. The very title of the magazine derives from this image – it is a reference to Magawulana riding trains "without a ticket" and living dangerously. *Magawulana* by K.F.S. Ntuli appears as a "novel in progress" in the first issue:

"The boy had instinctively warmed to this character of the back-streets. Liso felt instinctively that only good could come from this man. He of the checked woollen cap, the faded denim trousers, the canvas shoes which showed the toes and the shirt the original colour of which was now impossible to tell, due to long use and its state of cleanliness. He of the red, fearful, jumping eyes. The one who knew how to get onto trains without a ticket; he who could discourse for hours upon the virtues of keeping your eyes open. The one who would give you the best advice on how to avoid trouble. He introduced himself as Magawulana. Whether it was the first name or the surname you did not know, and you instinctively knew you were not supposed to ask. This one knew how to bruise the law and how to avoid its consequential retaliation.

He was the maestro; Machiavelli re-born. He was truly master of any situation. You knew he would champion the ship; you knew where your place was with him. In any situation you had to take the back seat and he would drive, for, you see, difficult situations were his speciality. Only practical experience can give these qualities to any man, and experience was what Magawulana certainly had."

The leitmotif of *Staffrider* established in these early editions was to locate itself in the concrete experience of the Black people with all its grind and grime and to emerge victorious. Both the youth clearing the barricade and Magawulana are characters "of the people", both of them are absolutely unencumbered by any sort of wealth or possessions. And both the youth and Magawulana represent a conscious, creative energy at one with the masses. As Mthobeni Mutloatse puts it in "*Ngwana wa Azania: A Film Concept*":

"This child of bastardised society and bastard people-in-high-office and colour-obsession and paranoid of communism and humanism, shall break through and snap the chain of repression with its bare hands, and this child, with its rotten background and slightly bleak future shall however liberate this nuclear crazy world with Nkulunkulu's greatest gift to man: *ubuntu*." (pg. 61)

It may be added that Vaughan's ob-

jection that the *Staffrider* figure is "found in juxtaposition to images of the people, the masses, the suffering and oppressed multitudes, the community – rather than in juxtaposition to images of class-defined collectivities" (Vaughan *op cit* 209) and that the figure defies "individual agency in the 'imaginative' genres of *Staffrider* literature" (Vaughan *op cit* 211) is difficult to take seriously. The Black proletarian nature of the original *Staffrider* cannot simply be determined by the objective class membership (*viz* lumpen proletariat) of the *Staffrider* figure – even Vaughan has to admit that the class partisanship of the *Staffrider* figure was decidedly Black proletarian, even that the same persons may at different times be "workers" and "staffriders" (Vaughan *op cit* 210f). To argue that the *Staffrider* figure had to don a hard hat and overalls and carry a spanner in order for *Staffrider* to be kosher is ludicrous in the extreme.

BC

Staffrider emerged in the aftermath of the Soweto Rebellion when the Black Consciousness Movement was severely proscribed. It was immediately adopted by people precisely because it grounded itself in the BC ideology. The BCM has always attributed a central place to the development of Azanian culture and *Staffrider* represented the Movement defying the 19 October 1977 bannings: it represented the BCM's resilience and its *locus* in the consciousness of oppressed people. It also represented the simplicity and the complexity of BC's ethos. Ideologically, *Staffrider* shows a profound appreciation of the dialectic between the struggle for national liberation and that for socialism.

Staffrider succeeded in getting various township cultural groups to make contributions and it did not reject these contributions on the basis of Eurocentric "literary standards". The result was a magnificent pot-pourri of stories, novellae, documentary photography, poetry, essays, art, reviews and interviews.

No wonder, then, that each issue of

Staffrider was eagerly awaited and snatched up by a voracious reading public. *Staffrider* had a knack of defying preconceived notions about our "illiteracy", "laziness" and "backwardness". We were proud of *Staffrider* – it was *ons eie skelmpie!* (See "About *Staffrider*": "A staffrider is, let's face it, a *skelm* of sorts. Like Hermes or Mercury – the messenger of the gods in classical mythology – he is almost certainly as light-fingered as he is fleet-footed. A skilful entertainer, a bringer of messages, a useful person but . . . slightly disreputable . . .").

Non-Racialism

Predictably, liberalism – hugely inspired by the state's massive crackdown on the BCM – launched a concerted campaign to deflect the direction of *Staffrider* and Ravan Press which published it. Christopher van Wyk and Fhazel Johennesse found themselves unhappy with *Staffrider's* "relatively uncritical" and "loose" editorial policy (See Christopher van Wyk "Staffrider and the Politics of Culture" pg 165 ff). They launched *Wietie* in 1980, a magazine whose life-span proved ephemeral. By 1983 as a result of sharp struggle within *Staffrider's* informal "editorial collective" and within Ravan Press itself, *Staffrider* got its first editor in Christopher van Wyk. Van Wyk, while insisting that he subscribed to BC in the early days, betrays his real motives:

"A non-racial attitude was beginning to take shape in the country. At that stage the magazine published an overwhelming number of black contributors and I felt that the non-racial perspective required a greater openness to all South African writers."

It is obvious that van Wyk never understood the ABC of BC. In a land where the overwhelming majority happen to be Black, it can only be the crudest racism which dictates that a magazine's content is "unbalanced" if it reflects this demographic reality. White racism is at one level a matter of choice, at another a matter of privilege, but at *all* levels an exercise in oppression.

Ravan Press also lost Mthobeni Mutloatse, "the one person without whom there would have been no *Staffrider*." (Mike Kirkwood "Remembering *Staffrider*" at page 5). Mutloatse and others channeled their not inconsiderable energies into Skotaville Publishers, an independent publishing house under firm Black control. Skotaville derives its name from T D Mweli Skota, who made the call in his report as Secretary General of the ANC for "a monster Conclave" to be summonsed for Black people "from Cape to Cairo . . . to take immediate action" to "avoid perpetual slavery of the very worst type." (Circa January 1930, Document 48h in Volume 4 of *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa 1882-1964* edited by Thomas Karis and Gwendolen M Carter and published by the Hoover Institution)

Given the change in the direction of both the magazine and Ravan Press which Ravan's catalogue for 1985 described as reflecting "contemporary developments, such as the rise of the trade union movement and the establishment of broad, non-racial political organisations", *Staffrider* lost its soul-force and broad appeal. That is why Andries Walter Oliphant, yet another "former" BC activist, was called in to become editor in 1987. As Kaizer Nyatumba reports in "A 'skelm' of Sorts' *Tribute* September 1989 page 111: "Oliphant said there was a feeling at Ravan Press in 1987 that the direction of the magazine had changed and its quality had deteriorated. He said attempts to improve the quality of the magazine did not succeed because there was 'not sufficient critical writing being made available to both writers and the readers to make critical criteria visible.'"

Whitewash

Oliphant, too, is a born-again non-racialist. But he goes further than van Wyk – who is candidly worried about "how the current movement with its non-racial perspective will crystallize in imaginative writing" (pg. 170). Oliphant attempts to re-write history by saying that *Staffrider* never reflected a BC perspective! The only evidence

he brings for this proposition is that the magazine was "at no stage exclusively black in either its contributions or its readership." (pg. 167) Once again, a grasp of the ABC of BC will reveal its strong anti-racist thrust which simply refuses to pigeon-hole people into ethnic or racial categories. **"Black" and "white" are political definitions, they bear no relation to race in any ethnographic sense or even colour in any literal sense.** That the editors of the "new-look" *Staffrider* have a crude tribalistic approach becomes obvious when one realizes that an attempt is made to include as many white (defined in terms of South Africa's Population Registration Act) writers as possible in this anthology.

Liberalism manifests itself in a profoundly a-historical approach and in a blatant attempt to re-write contemporary history. Hence in the first issue edited by Oliphant (who has also given *Staffrider* a new book-sized format, just to "register clearly in the readers' minds that there was a change" Nyatumba *op cit* 111) he editorializes: "(W)hat immediately strikes one, even at a cursory overview, is the responsiveness of the magazine to the populist movement

which began to reassert itself in the political and cultural domains, after the period of dormancy and reorganization that followed the large-scale repression of the sixties." (Volume 7 Number 1 1988 at pg. 3) The result is that the new-look *Staffrider* appeals only to the trendy literati – it is "the refrigerated food of bourgeois culture", to borrow from Mafika Pascal Gwala in an interview with *Staffrider* (Volume 8 Number 1 1989).

Struggle in the ideological realm, especially in literature and art, is crucial. Revolutionary literature and art must create a variety of characters out of real life and help the masses to propel history forward.

It is time for real Black artists to stand up and be counted. In Desireé Barnwell's inimitable words:

"Will the real black people please stand:

Those fearless of the unconventional,
Moved towards their own blackness,
Prone to influence and set trends,
Schooled in *their* times and folkways,
Dedicated to worthwhile endeavours,
Attentive to meaningful expression."

What about a regular forum for Black artists, Skotaville Publishers?

What about reclaiming *Staffrider* and writing its true history?

Recommendation

This anthology is useful in bringing together some of *Staffrider's* best published works (although it must be stressed that many mediocre works have been included in this anthology and many great works have been excluded – banned for BLACKNESS!) and in providing a cumulative index for Volumes 1-6. It is also challenging in that it brings acute focus to bear on the whitewashing of our cultural heritage. As a Black writer wrote to his nephew:

"I said that it was intended that you should perish in the ghetto, perish by never being allowed to go behind the white man's definitions, by never to recognize that we are Black in senses we give to Blackness, instead of senses they give to Blackness. And so, since we are upsetting the applecart of cosy white thought about Blackness, these people who believed that your imprisonment made them safe are losing their grasp of reality."

– Vanesco Mafora



Frankly Speaking . . .

*Brickbats and Bouquets

Frank Talk is a very good, unusual journal, which I don't always agree with, but always enjoy. Here is my subscription and a donation to help you continue.

LUMKE MAGAZI

Bede, Queenstown

The political stance of the BCM leads logically to anti-Sovietism. This means that the BCM has no firm allies internationally and is driven straight into a political desert, and ends up as a bunch of political grasshoppers.

BARNEY DHLWATI

Mlungisi Township, Queenstown

When is your next *Frank Talk* coming out - I've been keenly waiting since February 1988!

MICHAEL THEMBA

Glen Residence, Rosebank, Cape Town

Find enclosed herein postal orders for the 1989 subscription and a donation for the wonderful work.

THOMAS MBOBO

Galeshewe, Kimberley

*Biko Lives!

Your lead article in *Frank Talk* Volume 2 was devastating. I made a copy of it and pasted it up on the bulletin board at work with a note: "READ THIS - IT COULD CHANGE YOUR LIFE."

MABANDLA NTOMBODIDI

KwaZakhele, Port Elizabeth

*Principle or Strategy?

In the Editorial of *Frank Talk* Volume 2 you refer to the "principle" of non-

collaboration. The Azanian People's Manifesto also makes "anti-collaboration" a principle. This is an ultra-leftist and dangerous idea. It is possible to use state structures without collaborating: as Lenin says the struggle is not advanced by abstract principles but by an assessment of the concrete conditions facing the working class and their resultant state of consciousness.

KEABLE MOTSHABI

Mamelodi, Pretoria

* Dictatorship of the Black Proletariat

While I was visiting a friend in Mafeking I came across the article "Black Solidarity for a Socialist Azania - an Introduction". I read a few paragraphs and said "This is for me". I spent - and still spend - a long time reading and re-reading this article paragraph by paragraph. Your Staff Writers' views on BC are like a jewel of thought. I am looking forward to the next *Frank Talk*.

REFILOE MOTAUNG

Pomolong Location, QwaQwa

The word "dictatorship" began as a reference to the *dictatura* of the ancient Roman Republic, a constitutional institution which provided for an emergency exercise of power by a trusted citizen for temporary and limited purposes, for six months at the most. Its aim was to preserve the republican *status quo*, it was conceived to be a bulwark in defence of the republic against a foreign foe or internal subversion. Its modern analogue is the institution of martial law or state of siege.

When Marx employed the term "dictatorship", then, the modern aura which makes "dictatorship" a dirty word did not exist. The "dictatorship of the proletariat" refers only to the *rule* of the proletariat as a class.

At the end of the nineteenth century the old and new meanings of "dictatorship" were jostling and overlapping. It was the international campaign against the new Soviet state which fixed the meaning of dictatorship as something anti-democratic, the opposite of control by popular sovereignty.

In no time at all, the phrase "dictatorship of the proletariat" became a terminological football to be kicked about in the political war over a much more important question: the destiny and character of the Russian Revolution and the workers' Soviet government it had ushered into existence.

While everyone pretended to be debating the meaning of Marx's revolutionary socialism or communism, none of the polemicists were much concerned with what Marx had been talking about when he first wrote the term "dictatorship" down in 1850.

Under Stalin the term "dictatorship" was transmogrified into *nothing* but a code word for a totalitarian dictatorship over the people; it was finally eviscerated of all revolutionary-democratic content. The term "dictatorship of the proletariat" is now only a bureaucratic watchword, and your "Dictatorship of the Black Proletariat" is merely in the same tradition of gutting socialism of its organic enrootment in the mass of people.

JEAN PAUL GAISCOIGNE

Paris, France

In promoting the racial division of the working class, Black Consciousness acts in league with the fascist state. Your article "Black Solidarity for a Socialist Azania: an Introduction" (*Frank Talk* Volume 2) reveals a distorted subjective interpretation of objective reality, arguing that the racial consciousness of the white working class deprives them of their proletarian status.

There is no room in Marxism at all for this argument, based on the inevitability of a certain unchanging consciousness as it is, especially when it comes to the Proletariat which must perform its historic role.

The working class in Azania do not need to be told about their role in creating the wealth of the country – they do that every day. The history of the white workers must be re-written to show how the white working class was duped into believing that it had a vested interest in the white state, white civilization and culture and in the preservation of the white race.

To conscientize, politicize and mobilize Black workers is necessary: to do the same for white workers is urgent. To propagate racist theories is objectively to aid imperialism.

EMILE BEUKES

Kuils River, Cape Town

I was disappointed by the lack of emphasis on the peasantry in your article "Black Solidarity for a Socialist Azania – an Introduction." The agrarian question is an urgent task of the national democratic revolution and one of the ways of denying the necessity for the national democratic revolution is by denying the very existence of the peasantry.

It is no wonder that imperialist-sponsored research organisations like SALDRU (South African Labour and Development Research Unit) at the University of Cape Town have gone to great lengths to prove that no peasantry exists in Azania.

I would like to see a firm commitment to the national democratic revolution. Trotskyism sees only the socialist revolution without the democratic stage. And it is Trotskyism which wants the revolution "to vegetate in its own contradictions and rot away while waiting for the world revolution." (Stalin *Problems of Leninism* Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1976, page 126)

IGNATIUS LEKULENI

Sedibeng, Tembisa

Given the clear strategic importance and social power of South Africa's black workers, it did not surprise me that your article "Black Solidarity for a Socialist Azania: An Introduction" paid lip service to the "hegemony of the Black working class."

While the ANC wants to give South African imperialists a democratic facelift, AZAPO wishes to displace the Oppenheimers with a petty bourgeois elite that aspires to exploit its own proletariat.

We believe that a civil war fought on a purely white vs. black, national basis in South Africa will be a disaster for the oppressed. A Leninist-Trotskyist party in South African must be built in irreconcilable struggle against every kind of nationalism and popular-frontism.

A worker's revolution in South Africa will be the motor force for the liberation of the desperately impoverished black masses throughout Africa. The internationalist Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard must overcome the tremendous political backwardness of the black proletariat which is in inverse relation to its political power. Forward to a multi-racial revolutionary workers party which will reforge the Fourth International!

FRED LUCY

Ann Arbor, USA

Your article "Black Solidarity for a Socialist Azania – an Introduction" posits a naive and essentially authoritarian philosophy of vanguardism. Black Consciousness has nothing in common with the mechanistic "dia-mat" (dialectical materialism) presented in your analysis.

Against the force of the South African state, BC placed the force of a liberatory idea – the creative subjectivity of the Black masses. Far from a psychological exercise, Biko and the founding fathers of BC were speaking of the liberation of the whole person,

a "quest for a new humanity" where the Black person would no longer be thought of as "an extension of a broom or some additional leverage to some machine."

A section of Frantz Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks* was particularly attractive to early BC intellectuals. In Chapter Five, Fanon takes an excerpt from Sartre's *Orphee Noir* which speaks of Black as particular and class as universal. "In fact Negritude appears as a minor term of dialectical progression," writes Sartre. Fanon replied: "I felt that I had been robbed of my last chance . . . He was reminding me that my blackness was only a minor term. In all truth I tell you, my shoulders slipped out of the framework of the world, my feet could no longer feel the touch of the ground. Without a Negro past, without a Negro future, it was impossible for



Тов. Ленин ОЧИЩАЕТ ЗЕМЛЮ ОТ НЕЧИСТИ.

me to live my Negrohood. Not yet white, no longer wholly black, I was damned."

Biko sought a continuation of Fanon's dialectic in South Africa. Your approach, rather than working on the ground set by Biko, tries to engraft the "materialism" of "scientific socialism" into the "idealism" of BC. You simply make class and race synonymous and garnish this with Marxian phraseology.

For you, Black is the substance rather than the subject of revolution. What began as a very new revolutionary

idea in the early 1970s is reduced to little more than an application of Lenin's analysis of Russia in 1902. In *Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon says about your vanguard party: "The single party is the modern form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, unmasked, unpainted, unscrupulous and cynical . . . The party leaders behave like common sergeant-majors, frequently reminding the people of the need for 'silence in the ranks' . . . 'Leader': the word comes from the English verb 'to lead', but a frequent French translation is 'to drive'. The driver, the shepherd of the people, no longer exists today. The people are no longer a herd, they do not need to be driven."

The critique of those who have left the BCM that BC is just a passing stage has been taken on board by you when you say that you have passed the "earlier stage" of BC by adding to the philosophy the language of "scientific socialism." BC desperately needs to find a bridge to Marx's humanism: this will help work out the race/class dialectic and the relationship between consciousness and organisation.

RENDANE MADABA

Sibasa, Venda

* For the Record

Taking the cue from your correspondent John Mbeki (*Frank Talk* Volume 2 pg. 51), I would like to reveal the Book of Tutu. Tutu has always insinuated himself within the ranks of the struggle against apartheid, loudly advertising himself as a leading "critic of the government" and "voice of the opposition". But from this position he has always fought desperately to try to put a strait-jacket on the mass struggle and to prevent explosive confrontations with the state or its agents.

Tutu trotted out his credentials as political fireman before the Eloff Commission: "We have been accused of fomenting unrest. We must point out that . . . the Church will always confront evil to work for real reconciliation. But has the Commission ig-

nored the fact that we served as mediator helping to end a long drawn out strike in Cape Town? Have they forgotten my intervention to try to save the life of a policeman at Mr Mxenge's funeral in King Williams Town? Have they forgotten how I tried to stop stone-throwing at Regina Mundi last year? . . . Have they forgotten our attempts to bring peace on the black university campuses and in black schools? . . ." (1983)

The apartheid rulers and the Western imperialists have not ignored Tutu's qualities or his deeds. Official attacks on Tutu serve to keep him on a leash and also to give him "credentials" as an anti-apartheid leader. Their reward for services rendered for Western imperialism was to award Tutu the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo in 1984 – a prize not awarded for services to humanity.

In 1976, Tutu wrote as follows to Prime Minister John Vorster: ". . . I am writing to you, Sir, because I know you to be a loving and caring father and husband, a doting grandfather who has experienced the joys and anguish of family life, its laughter and gaiety, its sorrows and pangs . . . In short I am writing to you as one human person to another human person, gloriously created in the image of the self-same God . . ."

After several windy pages in this vein, Tutu continues: "I write to you, Sir, because, like you, I am deeply committed to real reconciliation with justice for all, and to peaceful change to a more just and open South Africa in which the wonderful riches of our country will be shared more equitably." Tutu tells Vorster of his personal experience with "violence" in black-ruled countries of Africa and insists that he and blacks as a whole "don't want that at all." He explains: ". . . We are aware that politics is the art of the possible. We are ready to accept some meaningful signs . . ."

Just a month after Tutu's letter, the humanoid monster Vorster ordered his thugs to fire into the crowd of youth rebelling in the streets in the Soweto uprisings.

Tutu speaks for the thin film of "non-

whites" who have managed to attain education, position and some economic sops. Apartheid, from the viewpoint of this stratum of people, is an obstacle to their advancement. They chafe under its restrictions and long to feel that burden lift.

At the same time, however, they are genuinely horrified at the prospect of unrestrained black masses shattering the system – in that direction, they see only utter chaos and possible destruction of their puny privileges.

Fear of political forces on all sides, dread of the future and a fervent wish to be rescued somehow from this position – these are the moods that characterize this stratum and define the politics of Archbishop Tutu. He moans that he feels "strangled" from both sides but when push comes to shove he always acts to save the ruling class and to further tighten the noose around the masses.

Tutu's 1976 letter asked Vorster to call a "national convention" made up of leaders of various communities to work towards a compromise political solution, as well as to accept "the urban black as a permanent inhabitant of what is wrongfully called white South Africa" and to repeal the pass laws. This essentially calls for dismantling the formal laws of apartheid and giving the aspirant black bourgeoisie their "fair share" of wealth and power. Tutu also appeals to the rulers to grant him more political chips to work with so he can shore up his rapidly eroding "moderating" influence among sections of the masses and thus help to head off a "disaster". Revolution would be tragic for Tutu and all other reactionaries and lackies.

MOSES NKADIMENG

Lenyenye, Pietersburg

I cannot understand how the BCM can associate with someone like Dr Neville Alexander. Writing as No Sizwe in *One Azania, One Nation* (Zed Press, London, 1979), Alexander says the following about the BCM at pages 130-1, note 79:

". . . (T)he (Black Consciousness)

Movement has served as the happy hunting-ground for all manner of bourgeois opportunism and imperialist machinations. This can only be explained as the result of contradictions arising from the class position of the leadership of the movement and the essentially gradualist strategic conceptions of the dominant tendency until mid-1977. Community projects (such as clinics, hospitals, factories) were organised – with abundant and continuous financial assistance from capitalist-imperialist sources of both South African and other Western origin – in order to ‘conscientise’ the oppressed people and make them ‘self-reliant’. The reformist, accommodationist dangers of such a strategy are all too clear. It is in fact a replica of what the Afrikaans petty-bourgeoisie did with their Reddingsdaadbond and other mutual-aid organisations, except that they used a language-cum-colour criterion, whereas the Black Consciousness Movement uses as its criterion the fact of ‘blackness’. Potentially, the strategy would lead to a similar accommodation with the capitalist system as in the case of the Afrikaner sectionals. Consider the following statement made by one of the founders of the BCM in South Africa: ‘We need to take another look at how best to use our economic power, little as it seems. We must seriously examine the possibility of establishing business co-operatives whose interests shall be ploughed back into community development programmes. We should think along such lines as the “buy black” campaign once suggested in Johannesburg and establish our own banks for the benefit of the community. Organisational development amongst blacks has only been low because we allowed it. Now that we are aware we are on our own it, is more than a duty to fulfil these needs. (Steve Biko ‘Black Consciousness and the Quest for a True Humanity’ in Mokgethi Motlhabi (ed.), *Essays in Black Theology* (University Christian Movement, Johannesburg, 1972), p.26. The uncanny echo of the Afrikaner sectionalist movement is too distinct to be missed . . .”

With friends like Neville . . .

PULENG MOETI

Bochabelo Location, Bloemfontein

* The National Question

A major task of the national struggle is to return Azania to the indigenous African people. The African people comprise the overwhelming majority in Azania and is the vanguard force for national liberation. It is their political destiny which is the key aspect of the national struggle.



African is a definite entity while Black is merely a reaction to the concept of white as it relates to the history of our political oppression. Black does have political value: it helps in instilling pride and dignity into our people and in incorporating the so-called Coloured and Asian peoples with the Africans. The Black Consciousness Movement has done a magnificent job in bringing the three groups together on a realistic political basis, something that no other political organisation has been able to attain.

The language of multi-racialism and non-racialism tends to reject the reality of the African entity in the name of non-racial and human values. This is a distortion. The African peoples have been occupying the country for thousands of years. They have a distinct culture, history and tradition, all of which have been denied and negated by the colonialists. Therefore

we are engaged in a national struggle to put right these historical crimes committed against our people.

Living in an African country everybody, whatever his nationality, is an African. And while the vast and overwhelming African majority is brutally oppressed the duty of everybody is to identify with the struggle. That is the highest political morality in Azania today.

The liberation of all in our country is related to the political and social emancipation of the African peoples.

The oppressed African nation is the main force and vehicle of change. And while the oppressed African people repossess their country and assert their leading imprint in all aspects of Azanian life, at the same time they will incorporate all that is best from other civilisations and cultures. In other words Africanism is not only an assertion of the legitimate political, social and cultural rights of the oppressed African nation it incorporates other human values. That is why Sobukwe stated that in Azania it is very possible for a white person to become the Prime Minister of the country. But he will do so as an African living in an African country.

The concept of Blackness can incorporate Africanism. Certainly the BCM has done so. It observes Heroes' Day which was inaugurated by the PAC. The BCM adherent very often thinks as an Africanist. And leads the Indian and so-called Coloured members in the same direction. The BCM takes up very firm anti-colonial positions with regard to the national struggle. But its Africanism needs to be more specifically spelt out.

DABI MAISELA

Harare, Zimbabwe

Too many elements of the leadership of our struggle continue to believe that we are fighting a colonial regime, that South Africa is a colonial country. Even though they often say that the whites will stay on in the

country after liberation, they also see these whites as or behave as though the whites are still "settlers" and "colonialists". If we are really fighting a colonial regime, then we can assume that the general features of anti-colonial wars will apply to our situation. We can among other things assume that decolonisation is inevitable, the colonialists will withdraw to their mother country or countries, colonial authority will transfer power to the anti-colonial forces through a negotiated settlement and a "sole and authentic representative" organisation will unite the nation against the colonial forces.

The reality is that the original settler population cut their links with Europe in the sense that they themselves became "Africans". They became in effect like any other conquering group that imposes itself on and adapts itself to the foreign environment, a ruling caste. We are dealing with a native ruling class (of European origin), not with a foreign ruling group. We are not, in short, dealing with a colonial situation any more. South Africa was the first African colony of Europe to be decolonised via a "negotiated settlement".

South African capitalism has developed along its own peculiar path as a secondary imperialism in league with other imperialisms. While the land question continues to be a central concern of many of the people and the liberation movement, the question of wage exploitation is the main social question in South Africa. The Primary contradiction (not only objectively but in the subjective consciousness of the masses) is that between capital and labour and not between an oppressing white settler-colonial class and an oppressed class of black helots. This latter is a pertinent contradiction, but a secondary one nonetheless. Of course, the fact that this exploitative relationship is experienced in the form of racial discrimination and racial oppression means that a nationalist response remains the dominant consciousness among black people.

It is for the reasons outlined above that I believe your analysis "Black

Solidarity' for a Socialist Azania – an Introduction" is way off beam!

EUGENE SPECKMAN

Eldorado Park, Johannesburg

In the spirit of Pan-Africanism and anti-imperialism we must struggle against the global tyrants of America (Nato) and Russia (the Warsaw Pact). We must also constantly struggle against Marxist (Leninist, Maoist) organisations who want us to subordinate the national liberation struggle to the class struggle. In the case of self-determination of Black people, it is the white "left" who want to determine Black liberation. The Marxists want to pay lip service to the National Question, but in reality they want a national question without nationalism. We must understand Marxism did not create national liberation struggles – national oppression did.

I am we,

KENNY ANDERSON

Pontiac Black Activists League, USA

(Letter shortened – EC)

The attempt that the National Forum makes to merge the working class struggle with the national liberation struggle is sectarianism *par excellence*. It leads to the rejection of the national democratic stage of our struggle, the trivialisation of the National Question and a refusal to move from abstract theory or abstract intellectualism to concrete and living reality. There is a lot that is assumed without being worked for.

The National Forum fails to see the colonial nature of the apartheid state and therefore rejects the idea that the struggle is in essence a national liberation struggle.

Different ethnic groups amongst the nationally oppressed react differently to the separation and hierarchy of racial oppression. We must build up a truly united struggle against national oppression, starting from the realities of separation. Unity has to be built, it has to be fought for.

The vehement critics of ethnicity should remember that Marx showed in 1866 that nihilistic rejection of nationalities could lead to recognition and acceptance of the nationalism of the oppressors. Thus it comes as no surprise that the Forum displays the very ethnicity which it denounces in the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses when it says that whites must work in their own communities.

BILLY SINGH

Toronto, Canada

I was impressed by the clarity of your analysis on South Africa's political economy in "Black Solidarity for a Socialist Azania – an Introduction". You explode the myth that South Africa is some sort of independent formation from which imperialism benefits and underline that *South Africa is part of the apparatus of world imperialism*.

South Africa as a political and economic entity represents an historically specific variant of settler colonialism. Settler colonialism has at least the following key characteristics:

These colonies were found on a series of brutal campaigns and wars to wrest control of land and resources from the indigenous population and required the continuous dispossession and fragmentation of these populations.

Economically, the settler society rested on an alliance between settler capital and foreign capital. Within the colony, a relatively advanced class formation arose on the basis of an emergent capitalist mode of production, dominating and structuring less developed subsistence economies to meet its interests.

Socially, there arose a community of interests within the settler populations. That is to say, social antagonisms among whites were conditioned by and subordinated to the more fundamental antagonism between the settler community and the indigenous populations it subjugated.

The settler state displays extreme rigidity. On the one hand, this is the product of an almost permanent state

of siege vis-a-vis the dominated populations. On the other hand, it is the product of the strategic importance of the settler colony to the metropolitan powers. Secondly, the relative weight of the settler community and its capacity to accumulate wealth creates the possibility of conflict with its metropolitan backer, whose perspective is global rather than regional. Suspicions of betrayal reinforce state rigidity.

Capitalism is no pure economic phenomenon: it is profoundly conditioned by political and ideological structures.

OLABIMTAN AYODEJI

Lagos, Nigeria

*** Black Theology**

The article "Black Theology – Opiate or Material Force?" critically alludes to the theological stances of Reverend Alan Boesak and Archbishop Desmond Tutu. This criticism is all very well, but it worries me that your contributor chooses to remain anonymous "for professional reasons". It seems to me that this is a cloak for sheer self-interest to be protected. Your contributor should not display such cowardice: it makes it difficult for readers to take the views expressed in the article seriously.

STANLEY NTWASA (Rev)

Dobsonville, Johannesburg

Black Theology must promote god-building, god-worship and god-fear. Therefore, it cannot serve revolution: the fetters of capitalism were forged in the anvil of the "opium of the masses" by the missionaries, the god-builders.

All god-building is the fond self-contemplation of the thick-witted philistine, the frail man in the street. It is the dreamy self-humiliation of the vulgar petty bourgeoisie exhausted and in despair.

MAUREEN NKOSI

Thabong, Welkom

The article "Black Theology – Opiate or Material Force?" in *Frank Talk* Volume 2 wrongly suggests that "(i)t

is to be unapardonably revisionist for Black theologians to assume the ability to seize the ideological weapon of the imperialists and unleash with the same the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed." (pg. 39)

The oppressed cannot be deprived of their liberating religious faith and religious thought is not the exclusive possession of the ruling class. The message of the exodus, the story of the cross, and the victory of the risen Christ over the forces of evil are potent forces in their own right, but proclaimed by the oppressed in a situation of crisis they can become such that the gates of hell cannot prevail against them.

While past history weighted on all individuals and social institutions and the church is no exception, churches too can be reborn even when they are grown old (John 3:4).

Leadership of the calibre of Dr Alan Boesak and Archbishop Desmond Tutu who are willing and able to act ecumenically and corporately in opposing the state constitute a major sign of hope within the institutional churches. There is a battle for the soul of the church being waged between the oppressor and the oppressed in South Africa. The revolutionary role of the church depends less on the conscious intentions of religious groups than it does on the objective social conditions in which the message of the church is proclaimed.

MONWABISI MTSHELWA

KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage

In reading the piece "Black Theology – Opiate or Material Force?" I was strongly reminded of Jean Meslier (1664-1729), a Catholic priest who expressed his strongest wish as abolishing injustice and wretchedness from the world by the expedient (in his own words) of "hanging and

strangling with the bowels of the priests all the nobles and rulers of the earth"!

Meslier advocated atheism as the only outlook consistent with the interests of the majority of mankind in its struggle against the lust for domination of the unscrupulous few. His *Testament* is a compendium of the historical, exegetical, textual and logical objections concerning the essentials of the Christian creed.

Isn't it time that BT followed the atheist priest?

MICHAEL MORRIS

New York, USA

To bring about real and complete liberation from exploitation and oppression, it is necessary to bring



about liberation without gods-liberation from the need to obscure what the world is really about or to seek consolation from a life of seemingly senseless suffering and anguish.

Every religion in the world believes that every other religion is superstition. And they are all correct!

GISELLE DALAIS

Claremont, Cape Town

*** "Miss USSR"**

Did you see the reports and watch the snippets on SATV about the "Miss

USSR" beauty contest in Russia? I always knew this was where *perestroika* was leading (Gorbachev says as much in his book). It shows how male-dominated the Komsomol (sponsor of the pageant, also known as the Young Communist League) is. It's infuriating.

ADELAIDE GUMEDE
Claremont, Durban

* Food as a Political Weapon

Food is a political weapon – Thatcher's crocodile tears for the Ethiopians will not cover the fact that she is implicated in the deaths of millions as she has used those deaths to score political points and starve those peoples into submission. So-called "aid" is a political weapon. Not only is it too little, too late, but it has

many strings attached. Millions starve the world over whilst it is profitable to let food rot in the "food mountains" of the European Economic Community. This present world order is not only "degenerate", it has a passion for death and starvation. It must be annihilated.

DAVID BLACKBEARD
Bristol, England



FOR THE RECORD

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE ORGANISERS OF THE "CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE".

COMPATRIOTS

On or about 28 August 1988, we read with interest that you were planning a "Congress of the People" and that you had invited a host of organisations including ourselves. We were surprised because we had not received such an invitation.

On 4 September 1988 two delegates representing the CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE Unions (COSATU), Mr Sidney Mofumadi and Mr Frank Meintjies met a delegation from the AZANIAN CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE. The two gentlemen explained that COSATU was not responsible for the media reports and had intended to consult fully with all organisations. They assured us that the only aim of the conference was to show united opposition to the repression unleashed by "the government," in particular the attempt to hold municipal elections after banning 18 people's organisations.

The AZACCO delegation at this meeting expressed disquiet about the following issues:-

- (a) The fact that the organizers belonged to only one political grouping viz the Charterists and jealously excluded all other political groupings from the Organizing Committee,
- (b) The fact that plans were at such an advanced stage and the meeting was scheduled for 24th September 1988 not allowing consultation with membership and between organisations to occur at all. We were presented with a *fait accompli*.
- (c) The invitation extended to a mixed bag of groupings some of whom were not in existence eg. "Free State women"(?), "Rural

AZACCO sent this Open Letter to COSATU on 19 September 1988. The "Congress of the People" was banned by Pretoria.

On 9 December 1989, a one-day conference, jointly convened by AZAPO and the UDF and dubbed the "Conference for a Democratic future", was held at the University of the Witswatersrand. The CDF failed to attract other major tendencies in the liberation movement. It also failed to arrive at any binding decisions whatsoever, despite an attempt to force the Harare Declaration (adopted by the OAU Heads of State on August 21, 1989) down the throats of delegates by employing undemocratic practices throughout the Conference.

areas"?, Non-racial democratic organisation (?) and in the same breath, excluded hundreds of organisations eg. the AZANIAN STUDENT'S MOVEMENT (AZASM) and the CAPE ACTION LEAGUE (CAL).

- (d) The invitation extended to groupings working within the system eg. the Inyandza Cultural group, the Seposongwe and PPP parties of Bophuthatswana, the DPP of Transkei and the NDM of Wynand Malan. The BCM's rejection of participation in government-created institutions is non-negotiable.
- (e) The invitation extended to liberal groups whose constituencies have never been the oppressed and exploited viz the ECC, the FFF, IDASA and NUSAS. While the work done by some of these groups - in particular the ECC - is to be lauded, the solution has to be hammered out in the first instance by these who are oppressed and exploited.
- (f) The allocation of delegates leaves much to be desired. The non-racial democratic movement, whatever that means, has been given 50 delegates while we were given only 15. The affiliates of the non-racial democratic movement have been granted further delegates such as SANSCO and

NUSAS, sharing 30 delegates, FEDTRAW 4, UWCO 4 and NAYO 13 and a blanket 100 for regional structures in civic politics.

The meeting closed with AZACCO agreeing to consult with its constituents and allies and report back.

After considering the contents of the written invitations and after a thoroughgoing consultation, we feel compelled to place things in perspective. We shall proceed to do so:

(1) *Negotiated Settlements*

We believe that the struggle is for repossession of occupied land.

Calls for 'negotiated settlements' are by their definition, calls by imperialism to broker a "solution" which will result in it retaining a stranglehold in our beloved country. We have already seen in Nigeria, in India, in Kenya - indeed all over the formerly colonized world - that imperialists are only too eager to grant "political power" while retaining economic power in their hands. Neo-colonial solutions are not what the toiling masses in occupied Azania desire - we want total liberation, we want complete control of our individual and collective destinies.

The lessons we have learnt from our neighbour, Zimbabwe, speak elo-

quently of the pitfalls in negotiated settlements. Zimbabwe finds itself still trying to recover from the "settlement" dictated at Lancaster House. We are determined that Azania will not fall into this debilitating trap.

Any definition of "the struggle" which omits the role of the imperialists in this land is a definition which is a lie or a half-truth. And we are all aware that half-truths are worse than lies.

(2) Democracy

It is a gross over – simplification to prattle that the struggle in this land is merely for democracy. Democracy means the dictatorship of the ruling class and is a political system well-suited to capitalist society.

We have all heard that the USA is the model for democracy – a country which props up the Pretoria regime, which oppresses, exploits and dehumanises the majority of its own inhabitants, which is an imperialist power *par excellence*.

We believe that the struggle is for socialism – that only socialism guarantees democracy for the masses of people while retaining dictatorship over oppressors and exploiters of whatever guise.

In this country, we have a class society sensitized by a form of racism so intense that it extends to the slightest nuance in skin-colour.

Any "solution" which seeks democracy in the existing system is a call to reform. And the organisers of the "Congress of the People" revealingly say the following about the coming municipal elections: [ie on October 26, 1988-EC]

"The elections come in the wake of a major crackdown on the democratic movement and the banning of 18 organisations... (T)he elections is (sic) an attempt to sidestep the most pressing issue: the demand for political rights at central government level."

We can only infer that if the 18 organisations were not banned, there would be no need for the "Congress of the People" – because we would be

participating in the elections and in Botha's "4th chamber"! We strongly believe that the masses have shown unequivocally that they reject any participation in the system – and definitely that they reject the "allies" of the conference organisers viz Inyandza, Seposengwe, DPP and PPP.

We say that any definition of the problem in our country which avoids mentioning capitalism clearly intends a form of democracy which will halt on the flip side of socialism.

We may add that the organising of the Conference reveals all forms of undemocratic practices: There was no consultation with organisations invited, the invitation was extended at the last moment and with non-disclosure of vital information, and the list of invitees included some of the most anti-democratic groupings known – including these who actively oil the wheels of the apartheid/capitalist machinery.

(3) Apartheid

We believe that the words of Steve Biko should be our watchword:

"The greatest mistake we have made is to regard all these who oppose apartheid as our allies."

We believe that the struggle against apartheid is only the departure point for our liberatory efforts.

We are not fighting merely to live in the same areas as whites or to share the same toilet seats. We are fighting for the total transformation of this iniquitous and inhuman system.

The misrepresentation of the nature of the struggle in the "Congress of the People" invitation is a matter for intense and lively political discussion.

We believe that the demand for "One person One vote", while necessary, is supply NOT ENOUGH. Majority rule has to go hand in glove with socialism.

We realize that the chequered history of the liberation struggle has given rise to various strands in the broad liberation movement – in particular Black Consciousness, Pan-Africanism, Charterism. Hence any attempt to forge unity has to be done in consultation with all organisations on the ground. And it must be actuated by the spirit of non-sectarianism, a spirit whereby we agree to respect each other's differences, a spirit by which we agree to march under different banners but to strike together.

The lessons of 1985-1988 culminating in the tragedy of Pietermaritzburg underline the importance of this delicate process: after all, it is only the ruling class which benefits from our disunity as a liberation movement and as a people.

We believe that Azania is destined to become one under the leadership of the Black working class and that she will indeed become one. And we believe that the setbacks we have experienced are due to the misdirection of Azania's revolutionary elements.

We appreciate and commend COSATU for the bold step it has taken in trying to bring the oppressed and exploited together to determine their destiny. But the points raised above and the unfair allocation of delegates unfortunately leaves us with no choice but to refrain from participating in this Congress. ■





MESSAGE FROM THE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT (BCM) TO THE WORKERS' SUMMIT HELD ON 26 AUGUST 1989

COMRADES:

This Workers' Summit comes at a crucial juncture in the history of Southern Africa and it is therefore appropriate that it coincides with Namibia Day. We in the BCM urge that the sights and sounds of solidarity with the Namibian struggle take shape here and ring out across the globe.

The heroic rebellion of the Azanian people during 1984-1986 has forced the Pretoria regime to adopt the language of liberalism (or "reform") while tightening the noose of repression. Hence we have witnessed the Labour Relations Amendment Act (LRAA) which attempts to wrench the law at a stroke into a new pattern and to regulate and police the Black union movement. Hence the elaborate plans for privatisation and de-regulation and the near-permanent state of emergency. Hence the report by the South African Law Commission whose "Bill of Rights" does no more than entrench the existing system root and branch.

Comrades, liberalism is being used to contain the Azanian revolution. Anyone who sees an ally in liberalism is making a fundamental error about the nature of our enemy. Suffice it to say that the centre of liberalism in South Africa is made up not of petty bourgeois democrats but of real capitalists.

The system restricted the Workers' Summit held on 26 August 1989. This message was to be delivered by Nkosi Patrick Molala, the AZAPO President.

It is with this backdrop in mind that the BCM wishes to reiterate that its guiding principle is the hegemony of the Black working class within the national liberation movement. In occupied Azania the Black Proletariat numbers in the millions, in the world as a whole the Proletariat number in the hundreds of millions.

We believe that the Black Proletariat is the pivot of the liberation movement because it can only end its own exploitation by ending **all** exploitation. Only the Black Proletariat has an interest in and the power to make the Azanian Revolution a reality.

We cannot over-emphasize that without the right to rule, any prattle about the "rights of labour" is absolutely meaningless! This is the cold truth . . . let us make it the liberating truth!!

There is no doubt that the union movement is destined to make great strides in its historical campaign against the LRAA. And there is no doubt that the Black working class is destined to play its historical role as the creator of an anti-racist, socialist Azania. More than that, the Proletariat and oppressed people all over the globe need to lock hands across con-

tinents to see to it that the "earth shall rise on new foundations."

In many ways, the LRAA provides an acid test for the union movement. We are required to exploit our *independent* mobilizing potential and make the LRAA unworkable!

We in the BCM wish to make the following suggestions regarding the campaign against the LRAA:

1. Calls for spectacular "stayaways" (whether beginning on the 1st or 11th Sept. 1989) fail to take into account that the Black working class has been on the receiving end of renewed repression and tyranny and is just beginning to muster strength. We suggest that the most organized plants undertake industrial action first and that those who have been temporarily disorganized use the time to prepare for action. Industrial action can therefore take the form of sustained and prolonged waves. However, we do not disfavour a complete stayaway on Tuesday and Wednesday the 5th and 6th of September with lunch-time placard demonstrations and other creative actions starting from the 1st September.

2. Joint Regional Campaign Committees of all unions participating in the anti-LRAA campaign must be established and must be guided by principled unity. The substratum of principles must include anti-imperialism, anti-racism and anti-sexism and must be guided by the policy of anti-collaboration. Any opportunist alliances with government stooges or those involved in the bantustan or tricameral system (including the Democratic Party, Inkatha, Inyandza, etc) or white liberal factions (including the Black Sash, Idasa, etc) amounts to a betrayal of the liberation struggle. To falter here is to blunder at a crucial point because of which the Black working class will never be able either to rediscover revolutionary greatness in itself or to win new energy from the connections newly entered into, until all classes with which it contended in 1652, 1832, 1960, 1976 and 1984 themselves lie prostrate beside it.

3. It is tactically urgent for unions to negotiate Recognition Agreements with employers and to be careful that these Recognition Agreements really reflect the interests of workers in the "collective bargaining" relationship. Where Recognition Agreements already exist, a critical re-appraisal of them is a necessity.

Unions ought to work towards the implementation of these collective contracts rather than continue working within the framework of the LRAA. We believe there is unexplored potential in Recognition Agreements which potential must be fully exploited.

We would like to address the argument that the union movement as *the union movement* can provide the political lead to free occupied Azania.

We must decide whether we are building a labour movement or a liberation movement. If we are building a labour movement, however militantly we go about it and however much we attach and tack on militant slogans and pro-

paganda, we will ultimately create a reformist movement.

A liberation movement on the other hand includes economic demands as part of its overall process and overall character, but as a very definitely subordinate part of it.

We can learn from Lenin in this regard:-

"If we begin with the solid foundation of a strong organisation of revolutionaries, we can ensure the stability of the movement as a whole and carry out the aims both of (socialism) and of trade unionism proper. If, however, we begin with a broad worker's organisation, which is supposedly most 'accessible' to the masses (but which is actually most accessible to the police), we shall achieve neither the one aim or the other; we shall not eliminate our rule-of-thumb methods, and, because we remain scattered and our forces are constantly broken up by the police, we shall only make trade unions . . . the more accessible to the masses."

What is required for REVOLUTION is bold, decisive national leadership. A revolutionary leadership has to link up the struggles and sacrifices of today - those struggles for a living wage, for better and humane living conditions, for proper health care, for better housing and an improved quality of life, for proper education, etc. - with the the goal of building a new world, a world where class, colour or gender is not made the basis of a person's worth, a world without exploitation and oppression.

Genuine revolutionaries do not use the struggle of the masses as negotiating chips with the enemy nor do they seek to replace the existing authorities just to sit on the same old system of exploitation.

A call for a negotiated settlement with the excuse that it offers a way to broaden out democratic possibilities is palpably in the air. It comes in the wake of renewed and bitter mass struggles which are rumbling in full rage and fury and seeks to dilute these struggles from their aim of smashing white rule and carrying out a national

and democratic revolution to free Azania of imperialism and its local props. It is a response to imperialist manoeuvres: after all, the futures of Namibia and Angola were negotiated with everyone except the Nambian and Angolan people themselves. Similar manoeuvres are evident in occupied Palestine and occupied Eritrea.

The Black working class must take the lead in making all these schemes of "working within the system" non-starters. A negotiated settlement will be nothing less than CAPITULATION: it is imperialism's way of buying time until the 21st Century.

There is no logic in representing the oppressed by trying to be the "State President" of the very system that oppresses them. That's like representing fish by trying to be "President" of the sharks that eat them!

It is high time that the world be wrested from the hands of the imperialists and reactionaries who now run it. Their rule means continued misery for the immense majority of people throughout the globe. And despite their talk of peace and understanding, the real danger still exists that the imperialists will launch a Third World War. Only the revolutionary struggle of the Proletariat and its allies can change this state of affairs and unlock the doors to the future.

Whether a new stage in the struggle will be born in the tempest challenging the outmoded order in South Africa or whether this upsurge becomes a bloody and tragic loss for the world's people depends, comrades, on all of us who know what it is to suffer scorn and be beaten down, all of us who long to dig existing society's grave.

Either we belong to the trend towards World War III or the trend towards thoroughgoing Revolution. Put differently: either we work towards a horrible end or we end the horror once and for all.

Amandla ba Sebenzi!

Izwe Lethu I Afrika!

One People One Azania One Nation! ■

CALLING ALL AZANIANS!

On this 1st day of January, 1990 the Frank talk Editorial Collective offers this draft Declaration, forged through painstaking, comprehensive discussions and principled struggle, to the Azanian people for careful study, intensive deliberation and vigorous application.

Preamble

There is no doubt that Azania is poised on the threshold of momentous events during the last decade of the 20th Century. We, the Azanian people, are confronted with the extremely serious responsibility of further unifying our ranks and preparing for the tremendous challenges and critical battles shaping up ahead. We are fully conscious of the tasks expected of us and are proud to accept and act in accordance with our historic responsibility.

The World Situation

At the current conjuncture, national developments have never been more profoundly affected by developments on a world scale. The contradictions between various imperialist powers, the contradictions between imperialism and the oppressed peoples and nations and the contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the imperialist countries are accentuating rapidly.

We are witnessing how the post World War II "division of the world" is coming apart at the seams. We have seen Black people rising up in Miami, USA (January 1989) and we have seen the Siberian coal miners rising up in Novokuznetsk, USSR (July, 1989). We have watched the troops of "Emperor" George Bush invading Panama (December 1989) to bring their disobedient former hitman, Manuel Noriega in line and we recognize that "Emperor" Mikhail Gorbachev is attempting to suppress the struggle for national self-determination in the

Soviet republics. Righteous rebellion against social-imperialism and various state capitalist bourgeoisies has gripped Eastern Europe and the *intifaada* (uprising) of the Palestinian people continues unabated.

Mao tse Tung's statement "Either revolution will prevent war, or war will give rise to revolution" takes on urgent importance as the rivalry between the two imperialist blocs led by the USA and the USSR respectively expresses itself on an unprecedented scale.

The meaning of taking responsibility for the future of humanity is to meet the challenge of making and accelerating revolution and under all circumstances seeing the struggle through to the abolition of imperialism and all systems based on exploitation and enforced by murder and destruction.

Southern Africa

While we are fully conscious of the many differences between Southern Africa in the 1990's and Western Europe in the 1870's we nevertheless call to attention the similarities between Chancellor Otto von Bismarck, his role in the "Unification of Germany" and the establishment of South Africa's hegemony over Southern Africa.

Bismarck, acting in the interests of German capitalism, united various feudal principalities into a single German nation. P W Botha and his successor, F W de Klerk, acting in the interests of Western imperialism, are completing the task of integrating the entire sub-continent of Southern Africa into a single economic entity. The Nkomati Accords and other similar non-aggression pacts, the regular raids into "independent" neighbouring states, the sponsorship and deployment of counter-revolutionary forces and the sabotage of the beginnings made by the Southern African

Development Co-ordination Conference all show how Southern Africa's geo-political map is being re-drawn with quicksilver rapidity.

On 25 June 1975 the People's Republic of Mozambique was born. At Nkomatipoort on 16th March 1984 Mozambique capitulated to racist South Africa when she signed "The Agreement on Non-Aggression and Good Neighbourliness." In 1989 Mozambique dropped all pretences of following a socialist path.

On 11 November 1975, the Portuguese flag was lowered in Luanda. What replaced Portugal in Angola was not an independent and liberated society. The MPLA government which took office during February 1976 has presided over a society which makes for a case study in Soviet neo-colonialism.

The "negotiated settlement" arrived at at Lancaster House in 1979 saw the Zimbabwean revolution being seriously compromised.

The installation of an "independent" Namibian government on a pattern and pace determined by South Africa, the USA and the USSR with the neo-colonial trappings of Resolution 435 and the 1982 Agreements show the dangers of revolutionary vigilance being abandoned for diplomatic adventurism.

In the final analysis, the question of true self-determination for the peoples of Southern Africa is inextricably bound up with the making and sustaining of revolution in occupied Azania itself.

Azania

The *pretoriastroika* being promoted by F W de Klerk is premised on the "release, unban, dismantle, negotiate" framework - *release* political prisoners, *unban* banned organisations, *dismantle* repressive apartheid laws and *negotiate* with those claiming to represent the Black majority. It

is no coincidence that the grand design of *pretoriastroika* overlaps exactly with the Harare Declaration adopted by the OAU Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa on 21 August 1989.

It is no coincidence either that the Harare Declaration makes the absurd call for *the Pretoria regime* – the custodians of the apartheid-capitalist system – to join in the noble effort to end the apartheid system” (sic!) at point 11.0. Far from realizing the ANC’s professed goal of seizing the “initiative” from the enemy (Report on consultation between the ANC, the UDF and COSATU – 6 June 1989), the Harare Declaration places the initiative squarely with the Pretoria regime.

Even the South African Law Commission’s Working Paper on Group and Human Rights – which unequivocally calls for the consolidation of the *status quo* – falls far to the left of the Harare Declaration when it insists that the statute book be “purged” of all “provisions inconsistent with the bill of rights” (14.69 on Page 442). The Harare Declaration merely calls for Pretoria to repeal all legislation “designed to circumscribe political activity” (at 19.4).

The revealing language of the Harare Declaration dilutes our consistently stated goal of achieving a unitary state – it merely calls for a “united” state (at 16.1), quite clearly aiming at the retention of the bantustan human dumping grounds. No wonder that the concept of an “anti-apartheid bantustan” (sic!) – with Transkei and KaNgwane being held up as shining examples – is actively being promoted.

Like its fount, the Lusaka Manifesto adopted by the OAU Heads of State during September 1969, the Harare Declaration makes a fetish of “international support and aid”. We must insist that the struggle must be executed and directed by the Azanian masses and be informed by the interests of the Black Proletariat.

As much as the Lusaka Manifesto recommends the protection of the “rights” of the white minority (at point 9), the Harare Declaration seeks to protect the interests of the white set-

tlers as against those of the dispossessed. The ANC’s Constitutional Guidelines – presented at Lusaka during March 1988 – amount to no more than a re-hash of the hopelessly flawed Kliptown Charter adopted on 26 June 1955.

While the Kliptown Charter subordinates the interests of the masses to those of the white ruling class, another pernicious tendency exists of denying and negating the struggle for national liberation by promoting the idea of a single “socialist” revolution. This latter tendency usually concentrates on the day-to-day struggles of the Black workers and an overall worship of the “average” worker. While it is impossible to build a revolutionary movement and lead it to victory without paying attention to the battles for daily existence of the masses, such work must always be conducted in such a way as to facilitate the moving of the masses to revolutionary positions.

We therefore have no hesitation in declaring that:

- (a) *The Lusaka Manifesto and the Harare Declaration amount to a betrayal of our long, arduous struggle for total liberation;*
- (b) *As much as the efforts of international agencies and governments is appreciated, we – the Azanian people – reserve the sole right to determine the agenda and direction of our liberation struggle including the role and limits of foreign aid and support;*
- (c) *The democratic ethos – with the principle of accountability and report-back firmly in place – demands that we thoroughly peruse and deliberate upon all documents issued in our name and we reject with contempt ANY attempt to fob off such documents as representative of our aspirations without the democratic process running its full course;*
- (d) *Abbreviated conferences which are preceded by no consultation about the agenda and documents to be presented, procedure to be adopted and formula for representativeness amount to stunts which the liberation*

struggle can do without;

- (e) *The Conference for a Democratic Future held on 9 December 1989 – while it must be criticized in the terms of paragraph (d) above – nevertheless firmly exploded the myth of numerical superiority propagated by the UDF/COSATU alliance;*
- (f) *A sustained effort at uniting all organisations opposed to the negotiated settlement option for immediate and unrelenting action is a categorical imperative;*
- (g) *It is essential that the achievement of the maximum unity of the oppressed be achieved and that a political situation is created wherein centralism and democracy, discipline and freedom and unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness are combined;*
- (h) *The establishment of a true revolutionary press which arms the masses with an all-round view of society and the world is of the highest priority;*
- (i) *The elaboration of the basic points outlined in the Azanian People’s Manifesto with due regard to the immediate national democratic tasks of the revolution must be crystallized and popularized post-haste;*
- (j) *The key to achieving national liberation is the independent role of the Black Proletariat and its ability to establish its hegemony in the liberation struggle;*
- (k) *Widespread political education must be disseminated and the theoretical and ideological level of the masses raised with awareness of the dangers and consequences of an imperialist war;*
- (l) *Our revolutionary vigilance must be sharpened and our political, organisational and ideological readiness to achieve – and maintain – genuine liberation must be maximized.*

Afterword

Revolution is the only solution.

Do we really dare make revolution? We dare not fail to make it! ■



West Rand Development Board Police, 1985.



Victims of the Queenstown shooting on November 17, 1985 being buried in Mlungisi Township, Queenstown on December 7, 1985.



August 1989: Burning barricade in Thornton Road, Cape Town.



11 August 1985: Teargas fired at youths stoning delivery vehicles in Hanover Park on the Cape Flats.



6 September 1989: Police disperse youth with teargas and buckshot in Steenberg outside Cape Town.



6 September 1989: Police and Black youth wage pitched battles in Manenberg Township near Cape Town.



Mrs Hilda Levy (right), mother of 13 year old Ricardo Levy who was shot dead by the South African Police.

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