

BLACK POLITICS IN DISARRAY

Mr M.J. Bhengu, the Editor, takes a look at our black political struggle, against the background of the looming element of disarray.

When Britain handed political power in South Africa over to the privileged white minority in 1910, Africans throughout the country were faced with the need to unite to protect their rights. A prominent Zulu lawyer, Dr Pixley ka Isaka Seme, declared in 1922: The demon of racialism, the aberrations of Chose-Fingo feuds, the animosity that exists between the Zulus and the Tongas, between the Basuto and every other native, must be buried and forgotten . . . We are one people". Other overseas trained professional men took up the call, and on January 8, 1912, the founding conference of the ANC opened in Bloemfontein. Its purpose, as set forth in Seme's opening address, was to "find ways and means of forming one National Union for the purpose of creating national unity and defending our rights and privileges".

ANC-SACP RELATIONSHIP

In 1944-45 there was a widespread ANC-CP anti-pass campaign which did much to renew widespread support for the ANC. Close fraternal relations developed between the ANC and CP (South African Communist Party) and today the two organisations continue to work together intimately. The SACP which came into existence as a result of white members of the Industrial Socialist League and the International Socialist League joining forces, was declared a prohibited organization by the South African Government in the Internal Security Act. In 1943 a Youth League was formed in the ANC. They propounded a policy of fighting for African independence, freedom from domination by other national groups, and the establishment of an African nation. The constitution of the Youth League declared its aims to be: To arouse and encourage national consciousness and unity

among African Youth and to assist, support and reinforce the African National people. Then came the Communists, their policy stressed the need for action against race oppression. The idea was to stage dramatic stunts designed to administer continuous and indecisive shocks to the economy of the land in order to keep it in a state of chronic malaise. Then the government decided to strike. Communists and non-communists were locked up.

MOROGORO CONFERENCE

The African nationalists in the ANC unwilling to tolerate manipulation by the SACP any longer, broke away and founded the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). The Morogoro Conference of the ANC in Tanzania in 1969 was a turning point in the history of the ANC-SACP relationship. Many decisions were taken, but the decision that, the ANC should draw into it all South African Revolutionaries irrespective of their racial origin, created a division in the ANC. Mr A. Makiwane charged that "The trouble the African people have at present is that our strategy and tactics are in the hands of, and dominated by, a small clique of Non-Africans". Those who supported Mr Makiwane were expelled from the ANC.

ANC EXTERNAL MISSION

The fact of the matter is that the ANC External Mission is a group of personnels who were sent by the late Chief A.J. Luthuli to represent the ANC to the International Community, hence EM-acts as Ambassadors of the organization which is ANC inside South Africa. Now because the ANC inside was and still is banned, is therefore virtually non-existent. It is impossible to know how many of those within South Africa who identify with the ANC's

aims are disposed to take in some kind of revolutionary activity. Blacks who appear conservative or bourgeois will exclaim: "We are all ANC; the ANC is in the hearts of the people". Some of this support may be symbolic, a diffused manifestation of frustration and opposition to continue and often ruthless control by a white minority.

It is also rumoured that the Military Wing of the ANC, also known as Umkhonto We Sizwe, is the brainchild of the SACP, and after the decision to create it had been taken, Joe Slovo was chosen to be the Head of it, the one who wrote a book that criticizes Chief Buthelezi. And the ANC EM's Executive is dominated by the Communist Party members.

CREDIBILITY OF ANC EM

The ANC EM, which is led by Mr O.R. Tambo, is far from being the only organization in opposition to the South African Government. The ANC EM likes referring to themselves as the vanguard organization. We have Inkatha with 750 000 card carrying members, we have AZAPO, AZASO, UDF, National Forum, etc. Inkatha is the biggest of them all, and it is seen by many outside observers as the only real organization which represents the Black aspirations. Inkatha poses a difficult problem for the ANC both at home and abroad. The conflict that exists between Inkatha and ANC is indeed a tragedy. Now Inkatha deals with EM with two bosses. The boss of the Communist Party and the boss of the African National Congress, the African people. Surely, the boss of the Communist Party could never be the boss of the African people. Is it possible that the saintly writings of Joe Slovo are the "official" leading credo of the ANC?, is it possible that the bombings that have taken place in black residential areas, are the instructions of

the ANC leadership? If this is the case, the ANC EM will have to answer sometimes. If this is the case then the credibility of the External Mission of the ANC representing African opinion is gone.

INKATHA

Let it be known that Inkatha, since it first came into being, has pursued a strategy of non-violence, and continues to do so even on this very day. It (INKATHA) is at the very centre of the Black struggle for liberation in South Africa and is involved in all dimensions of the struggle at every level. It is struggling for a country which will be free from racial fear, racial hatred and racial oppression, where all the people of South Africa, regardless of race, colour or creed, will be equal before the law.

NON-AGGRESSION PACT

Indeed there are signs — as yet, small — but the ANC would like to diversify its foreign relations out of its rather exclusively pro-Moscow orbit, to include China and liberal Western states such as Sweden. Tactical military requirements mean that the ANC's relations with black African states, especially in Southern Africa, are necessarily delicate and unstable. Zimbabwe refuses to allow the ANC a formal presence in Harare, Mozambique together with South Africa have gone for a non-aggression pact, and that greatly

affects ANC, the peace talks between South Africa and Angola have been applauded by both President Kaunda and President Nyerere, and this is a serious setback for ANC.

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

The Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa, has created a mood, not a policy blueprint. The ANC recognises that mood since it conscientises the blacks. The founders of Black Consciousness conceived of a commonality of interests among those on the other side of the white line, when the powers that be were too gross and heavily skewed in drawing the distinctions between whites and the rest. There are murmurings inside BC on the definition and role of the various black groups both within and outside BC. When Steve Biko pulled out of Nusas, his main concern was the domineering role of whites. Now instead of whites in Nusas, it is the Indians and Coloureds who dominate BC. There is little doubt that much of the new direction in AZAPO has emanated from Saths Cooper, A.B. Asvat, Moosa and Neville Alexander. The National Forum held last year at Hammanskraal was the brain child of Cooper, the notion of "racial capitalism" is the product of Alexander's perception. AZAPO has not seen fit to appoint Cooper, the leader of the organization, preferring to have an African figurehead. African circles

in Azapo are worried about the increasing dominance of non-Africans.

All these black political organizations are elitist groups led by middle class who live in Ivory Towers — divorced from the grassroot masses who eke their existence on a parched land with a dusty bowl. They cannot crawl on their bellies on a mud; they cannot eat with the servant at the pigsty. What must be known is that Blacks in South Africa will not be liberated by Russia or Asians, but they will liberate themselves — ultimately.

Therefore, even if ANC can tell the international community that they are the "sole representative" organization for the African people in South Africa, history will tell the truth.

BLACK POLITICS

Black politics appears to be in disarray, this is indeed unfortunate. When ANC criticizes Inkatha for working within so-called "system"; when ANC opposes the investments in South Africa and Inkatha encourages the investments; when Azapo's Saths Cooper opposes the ANC's Freedom Charter and criticizes Mandela as an "accommodationist"; when UDF does not want to co-operate with other black organizations; Black politics is indeed in disarray. What will it be during the day of liberation?

THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM IS ABOUT THE PEOPLE

By Mbongeni Joshua Mazibuko: Umlazi
(Mr Mazibuko is a member of the Youth Brigade)

Our people have screamed about the evils of apartheid; our people have condemned the Pretoria minority racist regime; our people have shouted about carrying "dompases"; our people have protested against our inferior educational system; our people have protested against our discrimi-

nation on the basis of colour; our people have condemned deaths in detention; our people have condemned the banning orders; our people have protested against our being dumped into almost 13% of barren land; our people have shouted against white greed in amassing almost 87% of land; our

people have protested against our exclusion in the corridors of power.

All these things we know we abhor, yet they are still the order of the day. Mere screaming and shouting has not in the past, does not in the present and will not in