

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 Afrikaans 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:

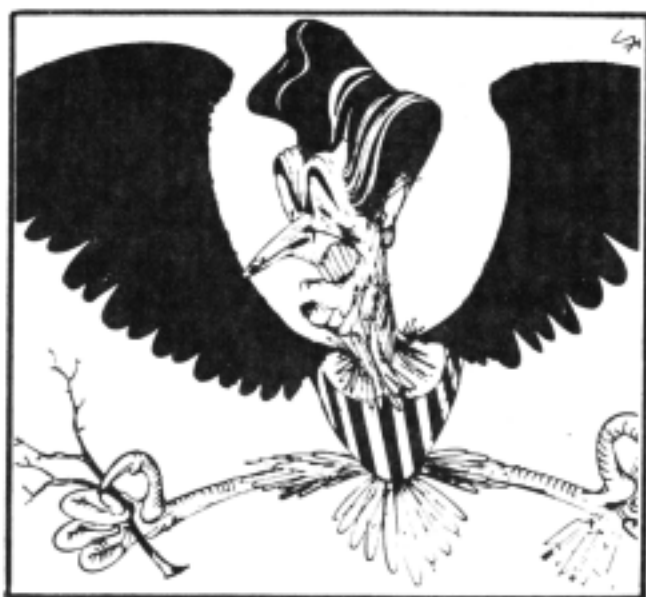
"Pro-capitalist Black leaders like Jesse Jackson, Benjamin Hooks and Andrew Young have been stunned by the Democratic Party's sound defeat. These so-called leaders are without an independent black political program or direction leaving our people confused and, consequently, open to neo-colonial Black 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 Ciskei's and the Transkei'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, Chernenko 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:

