

# 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.

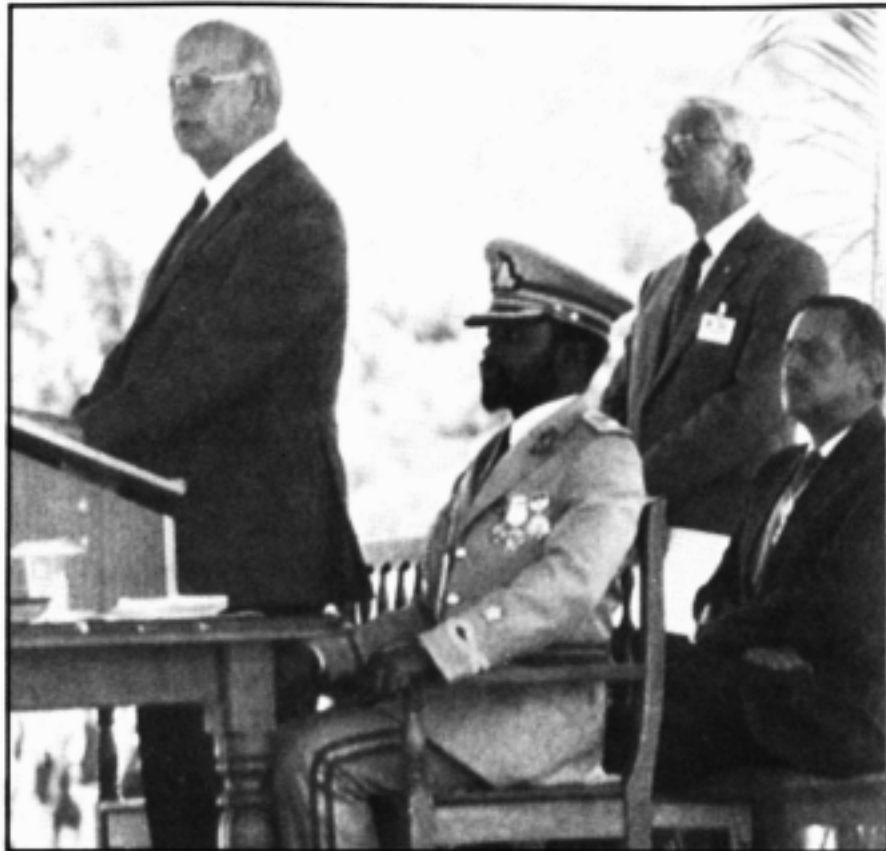
The PAC is banned in Azania. Those who are not banned should be careful to provide accurate information to the Azanian public.

**MARK NTSHONA**  
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(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**  
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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 groggies, 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