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* 1987 NEW YEAR MESSAGE

THE EDUCATION DEBATE - OUR VIEW

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Signed articles represent the views of the authors which may not necessarily coincide with those of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

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AZANIA

Black Consciousness Movement



CDE MOSIBUDI MANGENA
Chairperson B.C.M. (A)

Comrades and Comrades!

The revolutionary upsurge of the Azanian people has reached such mighty proportions that both the white racist settlers and their imperialist backers are reeling under its pressure. The white settler-colonialists are worried about their substantial properties as well as their life and limb. The western imperialist powers on the other hand are extremely nervous about the future of their massive economic investments in our country. That's why the Boers and their imperialist masters are plotting day and night against our revolution. They are making some nice-sounding pronouncements which suggest they have sympathy for our cause. In fact, their only desire is to blunt our revolutionary zeal and abort our revolution.

This is the time to be vigilant so that no one cheats us of the victory we deserve. Our courage, determination and sacrifices of the past should not be allowed to amount to nothing. The pain we experienced from the enemy's teargas, sneeze machines, sjamboks, guns, etc. should not have been in vain. The blood of our martyrs – the Tiro's, Monapi's, Biko's, Shezi's, Peterson's and many others shot in the ghetto streets by the murderous army and police of the Pretoria racist regime – should not have been shed in vain. We owe them and ourselves complete victory. Let us therefore be firm and steadfast until final victory.

Power and Solidarity!

Victory is Certain!

A-Statement of Reaffirmation

The B.C.M. (A) cadreship, ardently committed to the revolutionary national liberation war of the black Azanian masses, in the form of a people's war; firmly based on the principle of self-reliance and resolutely upholding the right of the Azanian masses to self-determination; thoroughly schooled and trained in the theoretical, ideological, organisational, operational and military methods of scientific socialism and imbued with a burning spirit to liberate Azania; stubbornly opposed to colonialism and neo-colonialism, Zionism, racism and fascism, capitalism and imperialism, declares that:

1. It is very clear to everybody that in the long search for a probable lasting solution to the major contradiction posed by a situation of racist settler-colonialism in Azania, all the other methods have proved elusive and totally futile;
2. The granting of unlimited powers of search, arrest, torture and execution to the blood-thirsty bandit army of occupation, under the pretext of the so-called declaration of the state of emergency, is the final crowning testimony to, and an affirmation of, the correctness of the assessment and conclusion that armed struggle, in the form of a people's war, is the only way out remaining for the Azanian masses;
3. Since the racist settler-colonialists are not alone, but are aided, abetted and propped up by their predatory imperialist allies and masters - as led by the USA and UK - in this case, in their perpetration of heinous and barbarous crimes, not only against the black Azanian masses but also against the peoples of independent frontline states; apart from declaratory oratory, the situation now calls for the most concerted, determined and concrete display of fraternal solidarity and militant strategic alliance not only of the peoples of Southern Africa alone but of the whole progressive anti-colonial and anti-imperialist forces of the world.

4. And to all those who eye our country covetously, those who see in it only the so-called geographic, mineral and military strategic importance we say: Azania is not a prostitute!

In these circumstances

- (a) We call upon all the revolutionary Azanian masses in their respective mass organisations to, continue to unmask and overwhelmingly oppose, reject, frustrate and wreck all reformist, revisionist and reactionary inclusionist schemes designed to side-step the resolution of the fundamental contradiction in Azania, the contradiction posed by the existence of racist settler-colonialism - which is nothing else but a naked national question through and through;
- (b) We call upon all the sections of the Azanian masses to rally firmly around the black working class, the vanguard of the Azanian revolution as it strengthens its organisational formations, tightens its discipline and heightens its vigilance in preparation for the intensification of the political and economic battles geared at a single goal - the conquest of political power by the black working class;
- (c) We call upon all the sections of the oppressed Azanian masses to participate enthusiastically and assist in every possible way in advancing the Azanian people's revolutionary war; the young workers and students should come up in their millions to swell the ranks of the Azanian National Liberation Army - there is room for all because it is the people's war! others must contribute in ever so many ways.

We are resolute and confident that we shall completely smash the racist settler-colonial regime and frustrate the imperialists' wild imaginations and machinations about our country.

Forward with the revolutionary Azanian National Liberation War!

Phambile ne BCM(A)!

Phambile ne AZANLA forces!

Azania ke ya rosa!

BLACKMAN, YOU ARE ON YOUR OWN!

Comrades and Patriots, Revolutionary Greetings!

Once more we can look back to an eventful year in the Azanian revolution. These twists and turns we witnessed in the past year provide us with invaluable experiences and lessons for the road ahead. As we look forward to the dawning of 1987, we should spare a moment to look back at those events of the past year which will play a role in shaping our struggle in the future. We should assess our actions as well as those of the enemy in order that we may correct our mistakes and sharpen our methods and means of struggle in the future.

EDUCATION

As in previous years, the Black Educational scene has continued to be intensely linked to the other struggles of the people. Several areas of urban Black concentration have not seen lengthy periods of school life, if any at all. In its desperation, the racist regime has resorted to closing schools in the affected areas, and leaving students and teachers in the streets. We all know that no single aspect of the struggle can find a solution to its problems which is independent of the overall solution of our political problems. The problems that Black students, teachers, nurses, pensioners, workers and other interest groups experience derive from our political oppression by the racist, settler-colonial minority regime. The solutions to all these problems will come through the totality of revolutionary action by our people in all spheres of our experience and occupation. It cannot be the workers alone, or the students alone or any other single class or group on its own, who will bring about our national emancipation. The racist regime must therefore not be allowed to close Black schools and deny our children education. It should similarly not be allowed to close hospitals, churches or any other service - cultural or social institutions - which serve our people in one way or another. It should therefore, be our aim to have students back in school in the new year. Once there, the students should work hard to acquire basic skills, and continue to mobilise for liberation just as the workers are mobilising in the factories, mines, farms etc. Getting our students back to school must be a significant factor in the strategy and tactics we adopt in the new year.

SANCTIONS

There is no doubt that the campaign to mobilise the international community to impose economic sanctions on the racist white minority is gaining momentum. The Non-Aligned Movement, the Commonwealth, the European Economic Community and many individual countries have all decided to impose

sanctions in one form or another on the Pretoria regime. This does not mean that the world is only now awakening to the evils of the obnoxious Apartheid system which has brutalised our people for many years. To the Boers, the imposition of sanctions is even more perplexing because they think and say they are in the process of moving away from some of the crudest aspects of their inhuman policies. We know, however, that Barclays Bank, Kodak, General Motors, IBM and other multinational corporations are pulling out of Azania because we have intensified our struggle for liberation to such an extent that they no longer sleep soundly at night. We know that their pious declarations against Apartheid are hypocritical. They have quietly taken advantage of the oppressive system to exploit our people for decades and accumulated massive super-profits. Had we not dared to struggle, they would not be pulling out. Our brothers and sisters in the Front-Line States, taking into account the intensifying campaign, have been urgently working on plans to lessen the inter-dependence of their economies with that of the racist regime. A particular area of activity has been the development of alternative transport routes for the land-locked Front-Line States of Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The racist Boers did not take kindly to this and, in part this produced the desperation that propelled them to murder President Samora Machel of Mozambique. The racists had probably calculated that the assassination of Comrade Machel would produce absolute chaos in Mozambique, which would in turn render the use of Mozambican ports and transport routes impossible. That has clearly proved to have been a miscalculation. The assassination has cemented the unity of the people in the Front-Line States and strengthened their collective resolve to defeat every evil machination the racist Pretoria regime might raise against them. But the new lesson the death of Cde Machel has brought home to us is that the racist Boers are prepared to go to the extent of murdering the leader of an independent state if they believe that the act would be in the interest of their oppressive system. Thus, nobody is safe in Southern Africa until the iniquitous white minority regime in Pretoria is destroyed. The noble duty to rid our country and our region of the racist menace is ours, and we shall honourably perform that duty.

ATTACKS ON BCM

A section of the Azanian liberation movement has embarked on an unfortunate campaign to violently liquidate the BCM component of the liberation movement. To this end, scarce limpet mines, hand grenades, guns and other weapons have been employed in attacks on BCM militants, their relatives and homes. As a result, parents and children of BCM activists have been abducted and murdered, tortured and mutilated. Houses have been burnt down with people inside and in some cases subjected to the notorious

"assassinating". The BCM is a product of the Azanian revolution. To try to kill it is to try to kill the Azanian revolution, and that will not succeed. The Boers have tried for many years to kill the BCM. They have banned some of its mass organisations in 1977 and killed many of its prominent activists such as Steve Biko, Abram Tiro, Mapetla Mohapi, Nkhuli ka Shesi and hundreds of others, but their attempts failed to kill the BCM. Even this attempt by a section of the liberation movement will fail. We appeal to this section of the liberation movement to stop this campaign before it is too late.

UNITY

The BCM has always stood for maximum unity and solidarity in the ranks of the oppressed. It is even more important at this stage of our revolution that we close ranks so that we may maximise our efforts and confront the enemy more effectively. Therefore, it is essential that all genuine organisations of the people, irrespective of ideological differences, be mobilised against the racist, settler-colonial regime. Unity, as a fundamental principle of struggle, should be pursued by all genuine revolutionaries. For the sake of unity, all parochial sectional tendencies must be avoided.

AZANIAN NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY (AZANLA)

In the past year, the AZANLA forces have worked and fought well alongside the people. They will be aiming to intensify and expand their revolutionary activities in the dawning 1980. We commend them to those of our people who have not yet had occasion to interact with them, for the AZANLA forces are a true army of the people, dedicated to nothing but service to the revolutionary goals of the AZANIAN people. The AZANLA forces will go into combat with the enemy, and will shun black-on-black violence. They will respect the community, respect elders in the community, foster respect by the young for their parents and combat any ill-treatment of the community for whatever reason or purpose. Let us all, therefore, join hands with the AZANLA forces and march together towards the final victory and the dawn of our anti-racist socialist AZANIA.

Viva B.C.M.(A)!

Viva AZANLA forces!

Pambili no manyano!

Phansi ne Botha-Malan Junta!

Phansi ne Bantustan quislings!

Phansi ne Black-on-Black Violence!

Azania ke ya Rona!!

MSISIBUDI MANGENA

Chairperson

SAMORA MACHEL



STATEMENT ON THE DEATH OF COMRADE SAMORA MACHEL, FOUNDER PRESIDENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE .

Comrade Samora Machel, President of FRELIMO and of the People's Republic of Mozambique is dead. The vast majority of grief-stricken and angry people in Southern Africa are pointing an educated accusing finger at the immoral and inhuman racists in Pretoria. Indeed, indications are that it would be surprising if the Boers did not have a direct and physical hand in the crash. Let us consider the following :

1. For a few weeks before the crash, racist Magnus Malan, the man in charge of the murderous Pretoria army had been issuing menacing threats against Mozambique and Cde Machel personally.
2. Shortly before the crash, the authorities in Mozambique had announced the discovery of plans to assassinate Cde Machel.
3. The purpose of the trip to Zambia which Cde Machel had undertaken on that fateful day, was to continue attempts on the part of the front-line states to reduce economic dependence on racist South Africa. That certainly brushes Pretoria's hair in the wrong direction.
4. The Boers are said to have kept the Machel plane under surveillance by radar from as far as Zimbabwe air space. The plane would certainly have been watched even more closely when it turned away from the direction of Maputo and entered the South African air space. Yet the Boers pretend to have been unaware of the plane crashing on the South African soil until they were notified by the Mbuzini villagers.
5. It is reported that on arrival at the scene of the crash, the Boers were unconcerned about the injured passengers. Instead they were eagerly grabbing briefcases and the documents they contained.
6. The racists took an amazing nine hours to inform the Mozambicans about the crash. What were they doing during these nine hours?
7. Why did the plane turn away from Maputo towards South Africa? Could it be that the Boers manipulated the plane electronically as has been suggested? Most probably!

Denials by the Pretoria regime of involvement in the plane crash means nothing. They have not often been known to tell the truth in the past. Their denial of ownership of the MNR bandits illustrates this point. It is compellingly clear that the cowardly murder of Cde Machel and his entourage is part and parcel of the Pretoria regime's destabilisation campaign against Mozambique in particular and Southern Africa in general.

The Boers in Pretoria are vile, evil and filthy.

The trial and tribulations of the great people of Mozambique seem to know no end. For the last twenty years they have continuously fought three wars - their war of liberation, the war against the white settlers in the then Rhodesia and now the continuing war against the Pretoria sponsored MNR bandits. Natural disasters such as drought and flood combined with wars to intensify the difficulties of the people of Mozambique. Now President Machel dies at a time when the Pretoria regime is intensifying the war against the people of Mozambique through its bandits. We hope and trust that the heroic people of Mozambique will continue to evince the strength and resilience which were their hallmark in the past. We urge them to wipe the tears from their grieving eyes as quickly as possible so that they do not blur their vision of the road ahead. We hope they will not only overcome the immediate difficulties caused by the untimely death of their eminent President, but that they will emerge stronger than ever before to vanquish all their enemies, especially the faceless Pretoria directed bandits.

INTENSIFY THE STRUGGLE

The tragic and untimely death of Cde Samora Machel has once more reinforced the fact that no one in Southern Africa is safe and free as long as the racist monster exists in Pretoria. The people of Azania, with support from their brothers and sisters in Southern Africa, must intensify the struggle to liquidate the white racist settler-colonial regime in Pretoria. Let the people of Southern Africa unite to sweep the racist filth from their area.

Power and Solidarity!

Aluta Continua!!

STOP PRESS

We congratulate the people and government of Mozambique and their ruling party, FRELIMO, for the rapid solution of the problem of finding a new President and national leader to replace comrade Machel. Comrade Joachim Chissano, the new President, is a veteran of all the phases of the struggle Mozambique has gone through since the early 1960's. He also led the interim government that ran Mozambique between the collapse of the Portuguese Colonial regime in 1974 and the founding of the People's Republic of Mozambique in June 1975. He has subsequently been Mozambique's Foreign Affairs Minister for the past eleven years.

THE EDUCATION DEBATE - OUR VIEW

The theory of scientific socialism consistently teaches us that, when we look at any phenomenon, whether big or small, we must always see and appreciate the difference between the thing itself in its entirety and the parts that make it up: it teaches us to carefully study the inner composition and workings of the thing itself and its relationship with other things outside of it. In short, our approach towards things, be they animate or inanimate, must be broad, objective and all-sided as opposed to a narrow, biased and one-sided approach. This is the scientific method of approach to and solution of problems. Using this method, we shall now proceed to look at the question of the so called national educational crisis.

Is there a "national educational crisis" prevailing in the country today? In our view, a national educational crisis can be said to obtain when the following basic conditions prevail:

1. When the preponderant majority (if not all) of the student and pupil population rejects Bantu Education to the extent that they refuse to go to school unless and until the present hated system of education has been scrapped and replaced by another.
2. When the vast majority of the teachers refuse to continue in the employ of the present authorities not only because they support the students but mainly because they themselves are convinced that the system must go and are therefore committed to the struggle for its complete and thorough destruction.
3. When the overwhelming majority of the suffering masses understand the nature of the problem of education and link it with the other social problems facing them and therefore actively and consciously support and encourage the students in their struggles.
4. When the oppressors have completely lost the initiative in the matter and it has become abundantly clear to them that there is very little, if anything at all, they can do about the matter.

In a word, we can only talk about a national educational crisis when the system has been rendered unworkable. Since these main conditions have not yet been fulfilled, we therefore categorically and correctly aver that there is no national educational crisis prevailing in the country today. Before we part our lips to solemnly proclaim a "national educational crisis", before we hastily establish a National Education Crisis Committee and self-righteously declare it the sole and authentic representative of the grievance of the students, we must first seriously strive for the fulfilment of these conditions.

And more, viewed from the standpoint of the country as a whole, it is as clear as noonday, even unto a simpleton, that the school boycotts are sporadic and not concerted throughout the country. Such is the case in each of the four provinces: In the O.P.S. as a whole there are no sustained boycotts; in the Cape Province, such concerted boycotts are only limited to Port Elizabeth and the surrounding small towns, even there, this does not apply to all the schools; in Natal the boycotts were mainly confined to Umhlanga and Pietermaritzburg; in the Transvaal one cannot speak about any sustained and concerted school boycotts except for a few schools in Soweto and Mamelodi. This bird's-eye-view of the country clearly shows that there exist no grounds at all for any sane person to talk about a "national educational crisis" in the country let alone the establishment of the committee of the same name. It is when we look at this issue from this angle that we clearly see how some people mistake a part for the whole - what is happening in Soweto is happening in the whole country!

NATIONAL EDUCATION CRISIS COMMITTEE

By requesting ("demanding" if you like) that the DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING be handed over to them, and promising that only then will the "national educational crisis" be resolved, the NECC has completely revealed its whole hindquarters for all to see and betrayed its ignorance of the actual problem in education - it fails miserably to comprehend how the education question links up with the other social problems in the struggle for self-determination and national liberation. For, the education question cannot find any final solution for as long as settler-colonialism persists. So therefore, the final solution of the education problem can only be ushered in by the total national social emancipation and not by the handing over of the DET by the NP (Nationalist Party) and its acceptance by the NECC. This request of the NECC exposes their naked quest and yearning for inclusion in the NP government. What else?

CO-ORDINATED MASS ACTION

The question of education must be seen and treated in its own right, it is true; but it must also be seen and linked up with all the other aspects of our oppression. For a national education crisis to obtain, both the subjective considerations and objective conditions must be ripe. That is to say, the people must be consciously determined to wreck the system and also, the material conditions must just no longer be able to carry the system forward - they must just be at the point of tottering. The political, economic, social and cultural forces of the masses must reinforce the students struggles. In other words, mass organisations and mass actions must be co-ordinated. Student organisations, parents' and

'teachers' associations must act together - but not necessarily all focusing on one question, the education question. However, it is clear that the students, teachers and parents must co-operate and co-ordinate their actions on this question.

STUDENT POLITICS IN PERSPECTIVE

So therefore, it is wrong for the students to harass and intimidate the teachers; it is wrong for them to try and bully the parents. The students must correctly understand their role in the struggle. They should not confuse student politics with the politics for national liberation, hence the ill-fated and disreputed slogan: Liberation now, Education later! And from there all they do is mostly loot and burn, and indiscriminately destroy (the properties of the masses). As youth, the students must understand that :

"In our struggle for liberation, which is a struggle to establish a socialist Azania, black youth enter the struggle as cadres, militants and catalysts and not as leaders of the revolutionary process. For, in the struggle to establish a socialist Azania the leadership of the struggle is a monopoly of the working class.

Although they may physically appear to be the leaders of the struggle, the fact of the matter is that they cannot objectively become the vanguard of the revolutionary process, for the long term content and direction of the revolutionary struggle is primarily influenced and determined by the historical base in the black working class and not by the youth."

The reactionary sentiment that schools must be boycotted until liberation day does not enjoy the popular support of the students, teachers and the broad masses of our people now, therefore it must be dismissed with the contempt it deserves. It is only those parents whose children attend posh private schools and who sit in the NECC who encourage this misdirected notion, who enjoy the embarrassment of being told by a racist judge that their children enjoy the comfort and safety of white schools.

FULLSCALE MOBILISATION

In order to bring about a real crisis in this field, we must engage ourselves in patient politicisation, relentless organisation and fullscale mobilisation of the three main and relevant sections of our people: the students, teachers and parents. We should never bully the people, we must patiently explain everything we do to the masses. That is the correct way to go about revolutionary work among the people, otherwise the dictum "liberation is the act of the people themselves" becomes traversed. In order to politicise the masses we need an advanced political movement espousing a revolutionary theory and ideology and not a liberal reformist movement; and in order to organise and mobilise the masses we need militant

and revolutionary cadres and not arrant left-wing extremists.

It is imperative therefore that in addition to the student organisations which already exist that teachers' and parents' associations must be formed as a matter of urgency and, they must be imbued with a revolutionary theory. These three sections of the community, to a great extent can ably, adequately and satisfactorily handle all questions relating to the education problem to the best of their interests. We therefore call upon the revolutionary student movement to oppose all methods and style of work which only help to retard the struggle by antagonising and alienating the masses from the revolutionary process.

The students must completely divest themselves of the mistaken notion that they know all; they must accept that they have a lot to learn from the masses.

Let us conclude by casting a quick glance at the boycott action and the grievances advanced by the students in the affected areas in the past two years. First, the boycott action. A boycott action is a form of struggle. It is a weapon, an instrument if you like. We struggle in order to advance our cause and we use our weapons to hit at the enemy. If, however, a method of struggle does not help to advance but on the contrary retards the progress of our cause, then we must change that method or simply throw it overboard; if the weapons we use hurt us rather than the enemy, we must certainly cast them away. Some of the demands which have been raised by the students have been acceded to, others not. Then what must be done? Continue with the boycott? Certainly not.

That would be like hitting our heads against the wall. We must stop to evaluate the progress. Yes we must. And we must realise that the revolution in Azania does not revolve around the question of education and school boycotts and therefore if the school boycotts are discontinued the revolution will not be lost. No, not at all. The real issue around which the revolution revolves is the land question in the first place, and the equitable redistribution of the wealth and resources of our country in the second place. There are surely other methods of tackling educational problems, boycott is not the one and only way out. Those who advocate and agitate for the indefinite class boycotts are the same authors of the ill-fated slogan: Liberation now, Education later! The slogan itself tells us much about the grey matter of its authors. The indefinite boycott of classes and examinations is totally counter-productive and unacceptable and must therefore be opposed and combatted at all costs.

So, BACK TO SCHOOL!

SPEECH DELIVERED BY COMRADE MOSIBUDI MANGENA AT THE THIRD MATHABA CONFERENCE IN TRIPOLI

Our deepest gratitude goes to our revolutionary brothers in the Jamahiriya and the leader of the 1st of September revolution, brother Muammar Qadhafi, for making this splendid gathering of African revolutionaries possible. Viewed against the background of continuing acts of aggression by imperialists against revolutionary countries and movements in Africa, this gathering assumes special significance. Since our common enemy, imperialism, is, one and united, we should come together in solidarity and formulate strategies and common practical programmes to fight imperialism more effectively. It is the hope of the BCM that this conference will not only be a forum for the exchange of ideas and revolutionary experiences but that it will come up with decisions that will unite all the revolutionary forces on our continent. The BCM hopes that at the end of this conference, revolutionaries in Africa will cooperate much more closely on a practical level than ever before in their struggle against all forms of oppression and exploitation.

INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY ARMY

The previous Mathaba conference took some important decisions which were geared at the consolidation and enhancement of practical unity and cooperation among revolutionaries. These decisions must have caused imperialists and their apologists a great deal of anxiety. No doubt these decisions must have played a role in Reagan's decision to bomb Libya in an obvious attempt to kill brother Muammar Qadhafi and his family. Chief terrorist Reagan only succeeded in murdering innocent children and destroying the properties of our brothers and sisters in the Jamahiriya. These bombings were a recognition by the American imperialists of the leading role brother Qadhafi is playing in the African revolution as well as in the international Mathaba. We must now move quickly to implement the decisions of the Mathaba not only to strengthen the position of the Jamahiriya but also to advance and enhance the march of revolutionary forces in Africa. In particular, a decision was taken by Mathaba to form an international revolutionary army to confront imperialism in our part of the world. The leader of the Mathaba, brother Qadhafi, repeated the call for the formation of this army of volunteers in his address to the Non-Aligned Movement Summit in Harare, in his address on the 17th anniversary of the 1st of September revolution and on many other occasions. In one form or another, the idea of the formation of such an African army has been argued for by other progressive leaders in Africa such as Mugabe of Zimbabwe and Museveni of Uganda. Those revolutionaries who are of like mind as far as this matter is concerned, should come together and bring this army into being. The formation of this army is an urgent

matter in view of the imperialist acts of aggression against our Libyan brothers. We know we are already together and united with our brothers and sisters in the Jamahiriya. But our solidarity must also mean fighting together to defend ourselves against the evil actions by imperialist forces. There can be no freedom without defence.

INTENSIFY ARMED STRUGGLE

The racist whites occupying Azania are butchering blacks at the rate of four a day and committing all sorts of atrocities against the people. In addition, the murderous Pretoria army crosses borders occasionally to kill children, women, old people and destroy property in the front-line states of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Together with the Reagan administration, the racist regime recruits, trains, arms and directs bandit groups such as the MNR and UNITA to cause death, destruction, economic sabotage, hunger and general destabilisation in Southern Africa. It is crystal clear to all of us that unless the fascist regime in Pretoria is destroyed Southern Africa in particular will not know peace, progress and development. Brother Qadhafi, in his speeches in Zimbabwe, Libya and other places, has called for the intensification of armed struggle to liberate Azania and has called 1986 the year of the intensification of armed struggle in Azania. That's surely a call we all echo and a call we should all support through practical revolutionary deeds. The defeat of the racist regime in Pretoria will represent a major African victory against racism, Zionism and imperialism.

A classical revolutionary situation exists right now in settler-ruled Azania. The white settler-colonialists are in deep political and economic crisis while the masses of oppressed black people are determined to break loose from the shackles of oppression, dehumanisation and exploitation. To gain freedom they are daily shedding blood and dying from the bullets of the trigger-happy racist army. The situation in Azania therefore does not call for negotiations or any other form of cap-in-hand sweet talk. It calls for the intensification of armed struggle to confront the racist regime more fiercely. It demands revolutionary fire and thunder.

BAPTISM OF FIRE

The struggle in Azania is not an anti-apartheid one, for apartheid is only a superficial manifestation of the essence of our oppression. The problem in Azania is white racist settler-colonialism. The whites stole our land in 1652 and called it their own. Our struggle is therefore to reconquer our land and restore it to its rightful owners, and we SHALL GET OUR LAND BACK. The white racist settlers are not Azanians and the so-called settler colony. White folks can only become Azanians through baptism by the fire of black revolution and freedom. A huge untrained

army of black militants exists right now in Azania. That army is confronting the racist army and police right now with stones and bold courage. All the African progressive forces need to do right now is to train and arm that army so that it may wage revolutionary war with greater efficacy. And of course the liberation of Azania will mean automatic freedom of the oppressed but fighting people of Namibia.

ZIONIST SABOTAGE

Comrades, Brothers and Sisters, it should pain all of us that imperialism is making fresh inroads into the belly of our continent through the growing activities of Zionist Israel. Surely, those African countries who are now establishing diplomatic, economic, cultural and other ties with Zionist Israel are sabotaging the cause of African revolution. With resolve and determination we should struggle to banish Zionist influence from Africa.

Imperialism, racism, and Zionism might be strong, but united, African revolution is invincible.

ERRATUM

p.14.

so called South Africa is not independent and sovereign -
it is a settler colony. White folks can only become Azanians
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A huge untrained

**A HIGHER LEVEL OF STRUGGLE BY PROFESSOR CARL STONE,
POLITICAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENT, UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES
PUBLISHED IN THE DAILY GLEANER 25 SEPTEMBER 1985, KINGSTON
JAMAICA..**

The political equation is rapidly changing in South Africa but it would be premature to believe that the battle against white minority rule is close to victory.

The edifice has been cracked and the white racist regime is under severe pressure. Many who had long given up hope that this vicious system of racial oppression could be destroyed are now hopeful that it could in their lifetime.

What has made the difference in South Africa is the fact that a new generation of young blacks are willing to die in the struggle to change that system. Their courage has activated and put on public view the repressive and brutal character of the Pretoria government. This has served to put the issue on the agenda of international public opinion, forced white liberals all over the world to rally in support of the black cause, and intensified adverse public opinion pressures on foreign governments which have aided and abetted the racist regime.

Even Ronald Reagan who many US blacks regard as being a racist has been forced by liberal US public opinion to now come out against South African pass laws and to impose limited sanctions which he was stoutly refusing to consider up until quite recently.

Other important developments favouring increased pressure on the Pretoria government have also emerged.

REMARKABLE

Flight of capital and disinvestment of capital by foreign corporations have threatened the economy and sharpened the division of interests between the South African capitalists who want a stable society to make their profits and the Africaner government and white racist support who are willing to use murder, harassment and naked violence to try to stifle black protests. The sharpening of this division weakens the long run capability of the regime to resist change.

The progressive churches are rallying to the black cause and giving it international respectability while growing black trade union membership and power provide an important supportive voice to that of the militant youth.

What is remarkable about the struggle in South Africa is the absence of centralized leadership and the fact that the community based character of the movement's leadership keeps it going at full strength even after identifiable national leadership are locked away by the racist regime.

International pressures are forcing token concessions on Pretoria but each minor concession strengthens the confidence of the black movement that victory can be theirs eventually.

Perhaps the strongest signal of weakening international support was the failure of the South African government to get the financial bail out it was hoping for from European financiers to ease its debt problems.

FAR FROM VICTORY

Even white liberals worldwide are now beginning to understand that the real issue is not simply dismantling the racist apartheid laws (which upsets their liberal sensibilities) but the larger question of black majority political control. In the final analysis the apartheid system is merely a powerful means to preserving white minority political control. As a consequence idealistic notions of trying to humanise the South African society by gradual desegregation of aspects of social and working life now seem futile even to white liberals and foreign business interests who had hoped to exercise a liberal progressive influence on the society.

But the struggle is still far from victory. Black demands for reforms and negotiated settlements while tactically necessary have to be seen against the harsh reality that power in South Africa can only pass through violence. The Afrikaners are not going to run away cede their power at the bargaining table. Some would rather destroy the country in an orgy of racial-communal violence than give majority political control to blacks. The longer and more violent and bitter will be the political struggle the more that is likely to make it impossible to achieve any future accommodation between the races. A prolonged race war accompanied by genocidal strategies of violence by both sides seems unavoidable unless the blacks back off and settle for some mild desegregation reforms of the apartheid system.

To take power from the Afrikaner white minority regime requires more than the current level of protest politics which dramatizes issues and activates international pressures but cannot really bring down the government. The protest politics has to give way to serious and systematic guerrilla fighting on a level that can impose harsh and high human and property damage costs

of the whites.

The blacks have yet to acquire the necessary resources and capability to shake Pretoria by the sheer impact of destructive violence. The balance of terror is heavily in favour of the highly armed and equipped South African security forces. Unless that changes, the struggle will not get beyond the present stage.

To acquire those resources and that capability within the black movement will demand considerable external help. The white liberals will back sanctions but will not aid black people in South Africa to wipe out their white oppressors. Third world and communist interests who can assist have so far not ventured in on any significant scale.

TAKES TIME

The white minority government in South Africa is by no means invincible. But black majority numbers mean nothing unless there exists a network of guerrilla fighters with the resources, skill, training and capability of those in Lebanon who gave even the tough Israelis a run for the money. There has to be a violent strike force which can disable and maim the South African security forces, even with substantial outside help it takes time to develop that level of military guerrilla capability.

Unlike the Portuguese empire in Africa or the white racist regime in the now liberated Zimbabwe, African blacks deeply fear the military capability of the South African whites. Pretoria's muscle-flexing border raids into neighbouring African countries are designed to reinforce those fears.

Time is a key factor. Protest movements don't last forever. Where they fail to make progress over prolonged periods of time they often degenerate into hopelessness and cynicism. Witness for example the downswing from heightened protest and black confidence among US blacks to a retreat into passivity and silence in today's USA.

THE BIG QUESTION

Unless the blacks acquire the capability to sting Pretoria with some serious guerrilla violence without too much delay the white Afrikaner's balance of terror advantage could be decisive in slowing down the momentum of continued black protests. Further, should racial confrontation occur before the blacks acquire a higher level of capacity for violence, wholesale carnage and genocidal tactics by whites could sap the movement's confidence.

The edifice has cracked but it has not fallen. Only disillusionment and hopelessness can follow premature efforts to give the impression that the struggle is about to enter the final stages towards liberation.

No negotiated solution is possible in South Africa. Sanctions and economic and political pressures can make life difficult for the government but it is only by force of violence which can immobilise Pretoria's ability to govern that the stage can be set for a real possibility for black majority rule.

The big question, therefore, is which countries currently mouthing platitudes about racism in South Africa are willing to stand behind the black movement's progression into higher level of struggle than is now occurring there.

WHAT IS WRONG WITH BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS? (Some common questions and answers)

1. What is Black Consciousness, for a start?

In our context, black Consciousness is Azanian Nationalism in its most analytical form. It is a collective assertion by those who have been colonised by the foreign white minority that they are entitled to define and obtain their own liberation. Black people, the so called Bantu, Indians and coloureds, who recognise that they are oppressed, exploited and discriminated against, have been rallied around this philosophy since the late 1960's to fight for liberation without guidance or advice from whites, liberal, or otherwise. This position was best defined in the Policy Manifesto of the South African Students Organisation (SASO) of 1971 as follows:-

- (ii) The basic tenet of Black Consciousness is that Black people must reject all value systems that seek to make them foreigners in the country of their birth and reduce their basic human dignity:
- (iii) Black people must build their own value systems and see themselves as self-defined, not defined by others.
- (iv) Black Consciousness implies the awareness by Black people of the power they wield as a group, both economically and politically, hence group cohesion and solidarity are important facets of Black Consciousness.

2. But not all Blacks are poor and exploited. And what about Blacks who are against the struggle, or who collaborate with the State?

A very small number amongst the colonised have accumulated some money or property. Compared to the monopoly capital in the hands of Raymond Ackerman, Sol Kertner and of course, the Oppenheimer empire, these assets are a pittance. Also the money owned by these Blacks is not enough to shelter them from the regular abuses that the state, and whites in general, subject them to. They cannot influence state policy, for instance, as international bank owners, real capitalists, are able to. Lastly, collaborators amongst the oppressed are not necessarily from the middle trading, managerial elements. Amongst students, amongst the workers and throughout the ranks of the oppressed one finds people who are brainwashed and who work for

the interests of the whites. Elements such as informers, the police and participants in the divisive policies of ethnic institutions. SASO and BC in general dubbed these NON-WHITES. These are people who collaborate in their oppression for a variety of reasons. Some people are extremely poor and are restricted by the system to places where there are very few ways to make a living. They collaborate because they see no other immediate hope. Others fail to recognise that living under oppression is not a natural situation. So they do not struggle against it, and when the state makes offers, they do not resist. Lastly, some who understand issues and who are not desparately poor collaborate out of greed, or cowardice. Black people are, therefore, not simply those who are born into the ranks of the colonised but those who recognise the facts of oppression and are prepared to define and carry out measures to rectify the situation.

3. What about whites who are good, and revolutionary, and committed, and want to be our friends? Does BC deny that they exist in Azania? If not, does it deny that they have a role in the liberation struggle?

We do not deny that a few whites may exist in our country who do not simply oppose the present government because they think it is so openly crude and oppressive that it pushes Blacks into the struggle. (in the manner of people such as Mrs Suzman of the parliamentary PPP) but whites who want a dismantling of the colonial state, and a return of the land and the wealth to its rightful owners, and who want to take part in the process which will make this possible, regardless of the costs to their families and relatives. The real experience of our struggle has revealed very few of these. In fact, they are so few that it would be unproductive for Blacks dying under the wheels of colonial oppression to spend valuable time away from organising their fellow oppressed, in search of these rare people whose impact on the struggle is not going to be decisive. With both Black and white recruits to the revolution, there is always the risk of infiltration. Black infiltrators have been easier to expose because we have ready access to their backgrounds through friends, families and relatives, the majority of whom will report on suspicious movements such as visits to, and by the police. We do not have the same level of access or cooperation in white society, and organisations which opened their ranks to whites will testify to the proportion of instances when infiltrators have penetrated into senior positions in their ranks. This does not deny that whites of true commitment can play a role in the liberation struggle. They can cultivate, or heighten awareness among their fellow whites. This is a hard and often thankless task, but then such is the work of struggle. Draft evasion is one example of useful political work whites can undertake. Sabotage within the army and the military-industrial complex is another. These, and many other options would be much bigger contributions than the intellectuals meddling in Black organisations will ever

believe.

4. If Black Consciousness does not recognise Capitalism as being the centre of oppression, will it not lead to the same type of exploitative Black rule that is found in places such as Kenya, Zaire, and Swaziland?

This question is based on incorrect information. The constitution of the B.C.M. (A) in clause (b) v of the preamble states. "Capitalism and imperialism form the basis of oppression and exploitation of our people.

Thus, our struggle is both anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist". Other B.C. organisations such as the National Forum Committee and AZAPO have also given capitalism priority in their basic documents. Black Consciousness takes Capitalism into account, as it is in Azania, and as it is throughout the world these days when it has become International Finance/Monopoly Capitalism, or Imperialism, to use Lenin's summary title of this borderless power. Black Consciousness also realises that Azania was colonised before the rise of Capitalism in Europe, by Mercantile (trading) Imperialism, in the service of European Monarchies and Aristocracies. It therefore takes into account that our oppression has a colonial character, besides its capitalist and racist character. In this age of Imperialism, all the theoreticians of the revolution, who were also active practitioners of successful struggles, Lenin, Stalin, Ho Chi Min, Mao Ze-dong, Kim Il Sung, Robert Mugabe etc. recognise the nationalism of the oppressed worldwide, as the most potent weapon in the fight to weaken and defeat Imperialism. Because Azania is a highly industrialised country, the working class is going to be the principal factor in the National Liberation stage of the struggle. By this, we do not mean that the State will be defeated by trade unions. Trade Unions are the means by which workers defend themselves against super-exploitation. They do this by struggling collectively for better wages, for safe and healthy working conditions. Many unions also address themselves to problems which Black workers, as part of an oppressed nation, face outside their employment situation. Involvement in the various struggles is advancing the political awareness of the workers. Conscious education in political economy, anti-colonial struggles and class struggle will advance the class consciousness. Thus Black workers and their allies will be better able to build fighting structures especially especially to promote their interests as a class, and in preparation to seize State power, and to retain it. If we prepare to create such a scenario, then a neo-colonial arrangement, such as found in Kenya, etc; is not on the agenda.

5. Should white workers not be mobilised by us so that we can polarise white society and divide it along class lines, since it is also not made up of one class?

White society in South Africa is, indeed, divided into classes. It would be foolish to see these classes in the same way in which classes exist

in other societies. The white wage earner is accorded many economic benefits, social privileges and political rights which are denied to Black people. At the work place, white workers are treated as a labour aristocracy which benefits from job-reservation, discriminatory injury compensation, artificial seniority, generous pensions and many other fringe benefits. Their children have state-funded education up to high school, with far superior facilities and pupil-teacher ratios to the children of Black people.

All round the super-profits shared between white Industry & Commerce and the State are used to the benefit of the white settlers in general. This is why the more openly fascist organisations such as the conservative Party, the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the Afrikaaner Weerstand Beweging, not forgetting the white Mine Workers Union, all draw the bulk of their support from white blue-collar workers. There is nothing that the Liberation Movement in Azania can do to persuade these elements to join our liberation struggle. They are impeccably hostile to it, and to us.

The moderate Anti-Apart-hate faction amongst the whites, those who want to persuade the government to make petty concessions and reforms, but who oppose any solid action taken against the regime either by the masses internally, or the governments and people of other countries, are the multi-millionaires such as Mr Gavin Relly and his colleagues, on the mining houses whose companies also own all the "critical" English language newspapers such as The Star, the Sowetan, The Sunday Times etc. The white career activists who always want to interfere and lead in Black organisations are always university students and staff, or other people with professional occupations. That in brief is the reality of the disposition to the struggle, on the part of the various classes in white South African society. Anyone who does not see that is an idiot or a liar.

6. Has the rise of Black Consciousness not led to a romantic and impractical view, with emphasis on such things as "Black is Beautiful", cultural nationalism and the idealisation of Black entertainers such as Michael Jackson and Michael Spinks?

The question needs to be answered from the end. It is not wrong to be Black, and an entertainer, although we oppose the idea that Black people should be projected as being only good as singers, dancers, and sports-stars. Certain entertainers such as Cicely Tyson, Patrick "Ltd" Mofala, Miriam Makeba and Letta Mbulu have made very positive contributions to the struggle, either through promoting and strengthening the cultural boycott of South Africa, by making substantial financial contributions to the struggle, and by projecting positive and dignified images which the Black youth can look up to as role models. In addition, it should not be forgotten that BC has highlighted achievements of Africans and other Black societies in the building of ancient civilizations of Ethiopia, Egypt,

Zimbabwe, Ghana, India and the Mapungabwe (Northern Transvaal), before European settlement. BC has publicised achievements by Black people at home and abroad, in the fields of Engineering, Medicine, Technology, employment, and literature, all attained in the face of a hostile European dominated environment. The importance of upholding these achievements is to break the intellectual chains, with which white South Africa, and its allies in racism, tie Black people to the idea that everything important to human society was established by whites. In other words BC has waged a struggle against the slave mentalities and inferiority complexes which previously caused many of our people to accept foreign domination. As of December 1985, black people in Azania were spending over eleven million Rand (R11 000 000. 00) per annum on chemicals meant to process their hair to make it look closer to that of whites in texture, and sometimes, in colour. Besides being a criminal waste of money from a struggling community these chemicals are a great danger to the health of the user. It is only in the 1980s that Black women are learning that they suffer from kidney diseases caused by the skin lightening creams they were encouraged to use in the 1950s and 1960s. No white, or integrationist organisation has ever fought these types of externally imposed self-abuses amongst black people. We have therefore employed cultural nationalism which is aimed at us daily through white controlled magazines, television, films, books, white pictures of Jesus and the Virgin Mary, radios and the works. S.A.S.O used to refer to this area of the struggle as mental liberation. It takes such changes of attitudes to enable some people to be active and combative.

7. But has this type of campaign not served its purpose now that half the population is involved in the struggle at one level or the other?

Not at all !! During the spells when BC organisations have faced crises such as mass arrests or been declared illegal, or when there has been a lapse in the emphasis of cultural awareness, the consciousness of a number of white consumer culture, or by the tireless white liberals who have made themselves 'guardians' of our interests, and who always want to convince us that without their patronage, we will not be able to make a success of our struggle and retain morally just standards. There are enough turn-coats from the early S.A.S.O. -B.P.C. days around today to prove this point beyond doubt!

8. So, what is generally wrong with the philosophy of Black Consciousness as a platform for liberation in Azania?

Nothing really. BC does present some shocks to Azanians who are alienated, especially intellectuals who have spent a large part of their lives preparing to make themselves more acceptable to white society, when they suddenly realise that increasingly white values do not really matter. Of course

it presents an absolute horror to those whites who have made careers out of being intellectual beacons for Black people who must wage the actual struggle, and suffer most of the casualties. Who can forget the know-all warnings of liberal journalist Allister Sparks to S.A.S.O. back in 1972? Up to now Mr Sparks, who cautioned about "creating a racial monster they would not be able to control..", is regarded as one of the most enlightened advocates of justice amongst South African liberals.

If one is on the side of the oppressed Black masses, then Black Consciousness is not a problem. It is the solution.

BMC(A) STATEMENT CONCERNING BLACK-ON-BLACK VIOLENCE.

The BMC(A) condemns, as it has always done, the escalating violence between BMC militants and the Charter adherents. In particular we condemn the harassment, abductions and killing of the parents and relatives of BMC militants. We call upon all organisations of the people both inside and outside Azania to condemn this violence and to take all practical steps to bring it to an immediate stop. This type of violence is not politically justifiable and all it achieves is to retard and give the struggle a bad name.

We call upon all militants and their organisations to do honest political work in the ghettos and villages and to shun the harassment and killing of the oppressed black people. Such black on black violence carries neither glory nor honour but only ignominy for the perpetrators.

ERRATUM

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* the consciousness of a number of people has been eroded either by the dominant white consumer culture or by the tireless white liberals who have made themselves 'guardians' of our interests.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

(1) The National Democratic Revolution is based upon the *minimum demands* of the oppressed masses of Azania, namely, the reconquest of *all our land and its resources* and the attainment of full democratic rights.

(2) The *Black Consciousness Movement* recognises that the national oppression of our people is a direct result of *capitalism and imperialism* and thus our struggle is both anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist.

(3) The *Black Consciousness Movement* consequently adopts the theory and practice of *scientific socialism* to guide it in the struggle.

(4) However, because of the structural and institutionalised nature of racism in the South African social system, the class struggle continues and will continue to manifest itself in colour terms, and for this reason, we continue to believe in the mobilising role of Black Consciousness in the struggle in which the black people rally against their common oppression.

(5) In response to the popular struggles of the masses for political, social and economic emancipation the current strategy of imperialism as represented by the South African regime is shifting emphasis from expressing itself in purely

race terms to a sharper class content, as witnessed by its overtures to the black middle class. This underscores the class essence of the struggle against national oppression.

(6) The *Black Consciousness Movement of Azania* recognises that the black workers are the most oppressed and exploited section of our society, and, therefore, constitute the major force in our struggle. Thus the strategy for the revolution should be based on the historical, political and organisational *experience of the black working class*.

(7) Organisationally, the *Black Consciousness Movement* will be guided in its functions and conduct of the struggle, by a form of *discipline*, which develops out of a consciousness which itself is a product of internalised revolutionary principles: *criticism and self-criticism; democratic centralism; collective leadership; the principles of recall and active participation*.

(8) In order to advance the Azanian struggle against imperialism on a global scale, the *Black Consciousness Movement* will seek to establish and maintain fraternal links internationally with progressive and revolutionary forces, governments, liberation movements and solidarity groups.

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