

FRANK TALK



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**RESIST
DEFEND
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FRANK TALK

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OUR COVER

And the picks in our hands
turn into mallets of justice.
They must wield new power
to guide the truth
And lead the way thro' to light
and freedom.

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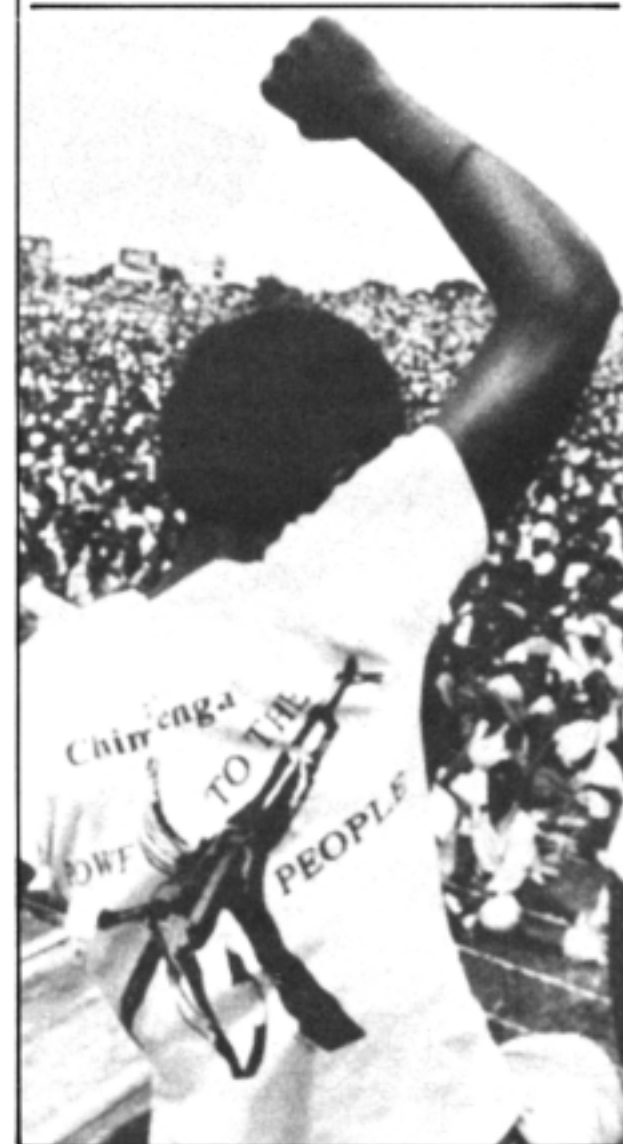
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Editorial

One day a young girl by the name of Nongquase came running to tell her father, Mhlakaza, that some strange people had appeared on a boat near her home. She had been afraid of them, because they were light-complexioned, and though they spoke in her own (Xhosa) tongue, she had never seen such people before. But they had signalled to her and addressed her in a friendly way.

Mhlakaza hastened with Nongquase to see what manner of men these were. On arriving at the spot, he could not at first see anyone, but Nongquase pointed out their shadows among the tall reeds. The strangers did not reveal their identities and, while still concealing themselves, reassured Mhlakaza that they came as his friend and the friend of his people. They had heard of the suffering of the "Xhosa" people and pitied their distressed condition. Then with an elaborately enigmatic air they told Mhlakaza that they knew of a way to restore peace and bring happiness and abundance back to his people. After reassuring Mhlakaza that they had come from across the water in their earnest desire to help the maXhosa, the strangers disappeared as mysteriously as they had come.

Now Mhlakaza, who was a seer, was greatly moved at what the strangers had commanded him to do, and he and Nongquase went and told the people all that they had heard. They bade them prepare for the day of liberation, the "Great Day of the Lord". They prophesied the resurrection of men and cattle, and the filling of the fields with ripe corn where no man had sowed. The heavens themselves would herald the dawn of that day of liberation, for the sun would descend, not to the west, but to the east; there would be darkness and thunder and lightning and a mighty whirlwind would sweep the whiteman down into the sea together with all those who did not believe the prophecy.

Before these miracles would come to pass, however, the people were commanded to slaughter all their cattle, cast away all their grain, leave their corn-pits empty and their fields untilled.

Many among the "Ngqika", "Gcalaka" and "Thembu" tribes believed this prophecy, but many refused to believe. "The cattle are the race, they being dead, the race dies" said a "Thembu" chief, and refused to slaughter his cattle. On the other hand Suthu, the first woman among the "Ngqika" to become christianized, urged the fulfilling of this monstrous deed. A tide of fanaticism

swept across the country and chief was divided against chief, brother against brother, parents against their children. Famine and fratricidal strife delivered the Black people into the hands of their common enemy. Many thousands of Black people perished.

The story of Nongquase is one that has been handed to us from generation to generation. We know that white historians have done their utmost to obscure the identity of the strange men who revealed themselves to Nongquase, but the consensus of opinion amongst our elders is that these strange men were none other than the missionaries who had familiarised themselves with every aspect of the Black people's culture, traditions and language and who acted as the eyes and ears of the enemy in the ranks of the dispossessed. It is apparent that the behaviour of the people during this National Suicide was directly due to the teachings of these missionaries.

BANNED

Frank Talk Volume 1 Number 2 & 3 and Number 4 have been banned for distribution in terms of Government Notice 2562 of 16 November 1984 as their contents are "prejudicial to the safety of the state, the general welfare or the peace and good order."

The Editorial Collective is appealing against the banning.

It was the missionaries who hammered home the blessings of faith and the tale of how the ancient Israelites were by a series of miracles delivered from bondage and promised land flowing with milk and honey. The National Suicide was an indication of the psychological oppression of the Azanian people. And it solved Sir George Grey's problems at a single stroke — his labour bureaus were overflowing to such an extent that influx control had to be introduced, he had free rein to expand white control beyond the Cape Colony and missionaries could be despatched to hitherto untouched areas as the advance guard of the imperialist garrisons.

The reason that we recall this tragic chapter of Azanian history is that the Azanian people are once again endangered by the acts of latter day missionaries who are attempting to foist their strategies onto the liberation movement.

We call on the Azanian people to *resist* the monolith of racism and capitalism, to *defend* their lives, their dignity and their heritage and to *advance* the liberation struggle to qualitatively greater heights.

Delegates to the Fifth Annual Congress of the AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION bear an awesome responsibility: they are called upon to give proper direction and leadership when the gluttonous hyena pack which holds our country in thralldom and its agents, the latter-day missionaries and their faithful minions amongst our ranks, are doing their utmost to deflect the Black working class from reaching the goal of an anti-racist, socialist Azania by dissipating the energies of Azanians in useless endeavours.

Delegates have to look sagely at the often used strategies of boycotts and stayaways and ask: "HOW CHEAP IS BLACK LIFE?" They have to determine to what extent these strategies are in concord with the real interests of the Black working class.

We realize that it is the bounden duty of AZAPO to instil courage, fortitude and inspiration to the masses of our people. We must be a source of comfort and hope during the long hours of misery and loneliness. We must open up new horizons to a better life in Azania.

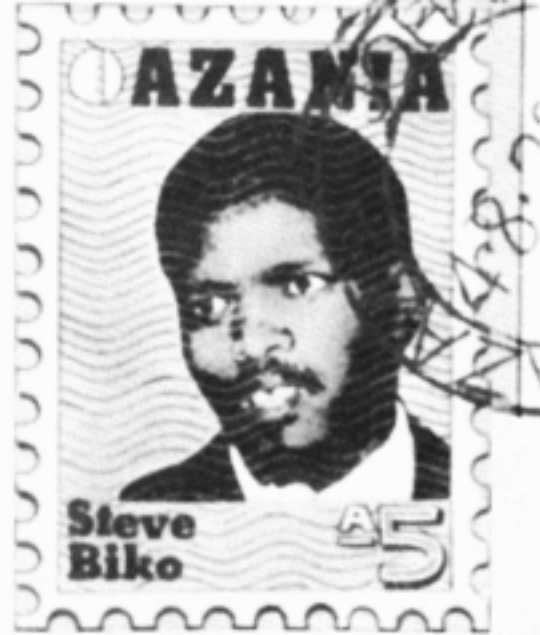
The vital pulse of this Congress is nation-building towards socialism. We have included a paper in this issue of *Frank Talk* by Dr Herbert Ushewokunze which illustrates some of the pitfalls that can beset the liberation movement. The key to victory — Black Solidarity under the active leadership of the Black workers — is underscored in a paper by Minister Louis Farrakhan.

We have included a paper on the meaning of the word *Azania*. Those who play silly name-games have to be warned that *Azania* does not have a mere geographical and historical significance. It is an expression and embodiment of the values and ideals of the society we envisage and are struggling for. It defines the character and ownership of the land. Those who align themselves with the name 'South Africa' align themselves with the viciousness, land-robbery, super-exploitation and naked terrorism unleashed by the white settlers on us ever since their arrival on our shores.

Together we toil, together we strive for ONE PEOPLE in ONE AZANIA, ONE NATION.

ONE PEOPLE ONE AZANIA

Frankly Speaking . . .



NF & NKOMATI

● In the *National Forum* (July 1984) it is stated: "Theoretically, the PAC is committed to a people's war. Practically, the divisions within PAC have prevented it from becoming a significant military force . . ." (page 13). I find this comment quite disparaging: it is evidence that you do not appreciate what the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania has faced from imperialism and hegemonic interests. Certain states instigated by social imperialism have tried to sabotage PAC attempts in every possible way: these are the very states which are now being forced to sign 'non-aggression pacts' from a position of weakness and utter humiliation.

In the same report you say: "(PAC has) been kicked out of Zambia, Swaziland and Lesotho allegedly because they have interfered in internal political affairs." (*Ibid*) This is nonsense: the truth is that these frontline states helped in preventing the PAC from hitting at the Boers. In fact, it would appear that as far as the PAC was concerned, Machel had long signed a secret pact with the Boers. The ANC has also suffered the same fate as the PAC in all these countries — are you suggesting that the ANC interfered in their internal affairs?

At present the United Democratic Front (UDF) is being pampered with monies and awards and the NFC and AZAPO are being deliberately played down. This is an imperialist conspiracy. AZAPO and the NFC must not fall into the trap and try to improve their position by denigrating the PAC. The Boers and the imperialist media have done enough of that. Imperialism supports the Kliptown Charter because it compromises the land question and African majority rule in Azania.

ZANU was treated exactly like the PAC by most frontline states. Witness the "super-revolutionary" Machel who asked for the de-recognition of the PAC by the OAU as he dances and dines with the Boers.

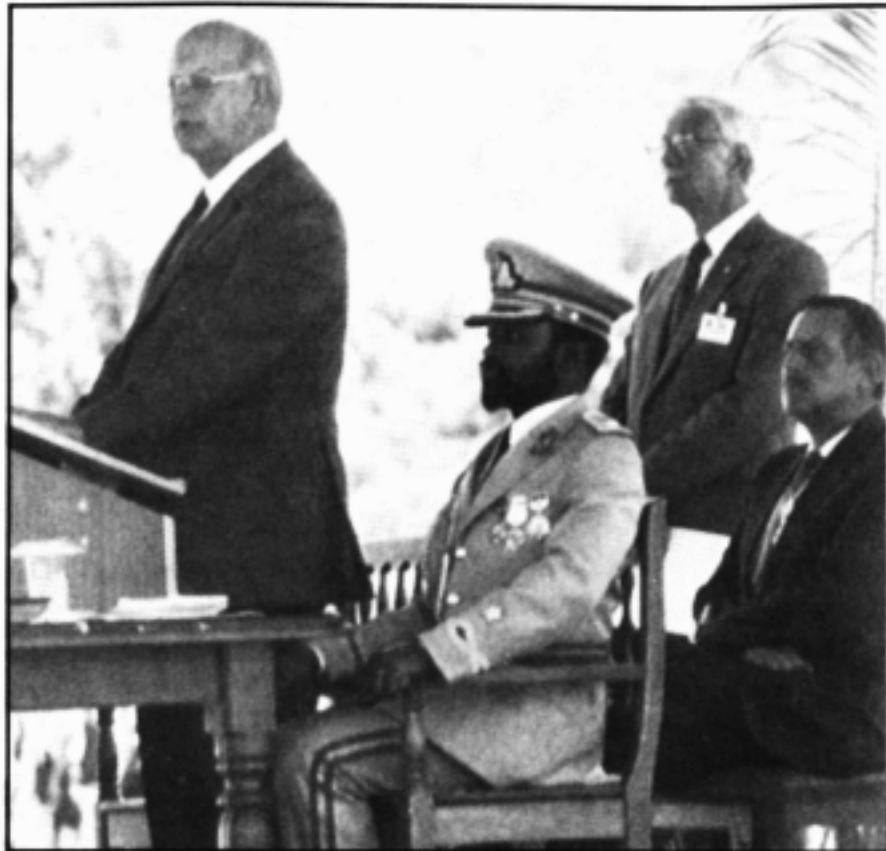
The PAC is banned in Azania. Those who are not banned should be careful to provide accurate information to the Azanian public.

MARK NTSHONA
Lusaka, Zambia.

(The article referred to is a commission report at the NF Summit, and was never printed as a viewpoint of AZAPO nor did it ever appear in *Frank Talk*. While the comments made are appreciated, the NFC has

remarked that it reserves the right to comment on the strategies of banned organizations and the clear wording of the commission report was in no way meant to belittle any liberation movement.

The letter has been shortened.—EC)



● I found the article "An apple a day keeps Marxists away" (*Frank Talk* Volume 1 Number 2 & 3 at page 12) a far more accurate response to Nkomati than the position statement adopted by the *National Forum* (*op cit* page 11).

It must be honestly acknowledged that Mozambique practised sectarianism in regard to the Azanian liberation movements. At several conferences, Mozambique displayed a hostile attitude towards the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and staged walk-outs or absented herself whenever the PAC was present.

Your Editorial Collective hits the nail on the head when it points to the irony of the situation when Black Consciousness leaders served long prison terms on Robben Island after celebrating FRELIMO'S victory (*Frank Talk* Volume 1 Numbers 2 & 3 page 2). When scores of young Azanians poured into Mozambique in 1977, they were pressurized into joining the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC). If they insisted that they belonged to the Black Consciousness Movement, they were detained and told that they would be returned to South Africa.

Furthermore PAC guerillas fought against the Portuguese in 1968. Some of these guerillas were detained by the Portuguese colonial government. At the independence of Mozambique representations were made for their

release. To date Mozambique has failed to give a satisfactory explanation about their whereabouts nor has she offered to show where these comrades are buried if they are dead. The Azanian people demand an explanation from Mozambique.

On 13 March 1984 the Commander-in-Chief of the Mozambican army, General Sebastiao Mabote, was reported by a French newspaper as having said that the ANC, unlike guerillas in the former Rhodesia, was waging a fight for "civic rights and not a struggle for national liberation, because South Africa is a sovereign republic recognised by the United Nations".

It is very disturbing to the dispossessed when Mr Joaquim Chissano, Mozambique's Minister of Foreign Affairs, counsels that the ANC must accept the principles of "peaceful negotiations in South Africa". It is not the dispossessed in Azania who have institutionalized violence and it cannot be they who bear the onus of peaceful change.

Mozambique's leadership has shown dismal ignorance bordering on treachery. They have shown colossal arrogance in trying to dictate to the oppressed masses in Azania. Mozambique needs to learn to respect the Azanian people.

DAVID MVOVO
London, United Kingdom.

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RESIST, DEFEND ADVANCE

As the racists prepare to celebrate their commercial holiday and again desecrate all that is holy, as the imperialists hypocritically bleat "Peace on earth, goodwill towards men" while preparing for genocide, as the white Santa Claus gloats "Ho, ho, ho" wearing a uniform dripping with the blood of the oppressed and the exploited the world over, the AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION, imbued with the spirit and the fortitude of the Black working class, brings you revolutionary greetings.

The system of racism and capitalism has launched a concerted attack on the liberation movement. The predictions made at the National Forum Summit on 22 April 1984 are graphically fulfilling themselves.

The 22 May 1984 saw a significant salvo being fired against the Black cause in Azania: in a countrywide raid performed with military precision, the homes and offices of cadres of AZAPO were searched and documents and equipment were seized. The aim of the operation was clear: to cripple the Movement and to thwart AZAPO's anti-election effort. Needless to say, the system reckoned without the gallantry of the dispossessed and our often repeated message that Black Consciousness is the property of the Black masses and can never be eradicated by bannings, pre-dawn raids, detentions without trial or out and out murder of cadres of the Movement.

UNREST

The apparent peace and uneasy calm of South Africa was shattered by Black worker-student solidarity in Atteridgeville, Mamelodi, Tembisa, Soshanguve, Kwazakhele, New Brighton, Uitenhage, Graaff-Reinet, Cradock, Katlehong, Daveyton, Lamontville, Tumahole, Thabonge, Queenstown, Warmbaths, Vosloorus, Nigel, Pietersburg, Paarl, Mdantsane and Soweto. Immediately prior to the outbreak of stayaways and other tensions in Soweto, Mrs Elise Botha remarked: "It's wonderful, everyone is so friendly and smiling. Soweto is really a happy place." (8 August 1984).

In the wake of the victory of the Black people in the overwhelming boycott of the elections for the "Tricameral Parliament", another mortal blow was delivered to collaboration and co-option strategies when the Vaal Triangle townships of Sebokeng, Sharpeville, Evaton, Zamdela, Bophelong and Boipa-

tong exploded. The announcement of a R5,90 rent increase by the Lekoa Town Council was the spark that ignited the flame (5 August 1984). The Lekoa Town Council further issued a written directive to ministers forbidding civic meetings in church halls. In a prophetic letter, the ministers urged the Lekoa Town Council "to repent and desist from this wanton order and system that breeds hatred, injustice and violence and to be saved."

The people of Sharpeville resolved to demonstrate against the increases by staying away from school and work on 3 September 1984. Community councillors were called upon to resign. A councillor, Caesar Motjeane, opened fire on a demonstrator and transformed a peaceful march into a violent confrontation and rampage. The houses, shops and property of community councillors (referred to as "the fruits of their collaboration with the system") were destroyed and the councillors themselves eliminated.

The anger of the people knew no bounds. The identification of the monolith of racism and capitalism as the enemy was engendered by the shadowy deals and acquisitions which were the stock-in-trade of the (late) community councillors as well as corruption associated with the the sale of houses. Hence the Mahlatsi brothers' (Paul, Essau and Moiti) three liquor outlets and a million rand bakery were obvious targets.

Reverend Tebego Moselane, the Chairperson of the Vaal Anti-Rent Committee and a founder member of AZAPO (being the 1979 Vice-Chairperson of the Soweto Branch of AZAPO), who is now detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, had his home in Sharpeville fired on by "unknown" elements. Comrade David Makgagu, a member of the Tembisa Branch of AZAPO, went through the same experience.

PALMIET

The violence in the ghettos is ingrained as a way of life by the state through direct provocation or a total dereliction of responsibility. As in 1976, many Black people have gone missing without trace. Operation Palmiet saw the entire township of Sebokeng being cordoned off and every single house in the township being searched. The soldiers' badges with "Trust us" and the pamphlets which read "We are

here to promote normal social life, safe travel, a healthy community, continued education, delivery of food and stability" have produced an overwhelming sense of being cowed down by the rulers amongst the residents of Tembisa and Sebokeng.

The military operations in Tembisa and Sebokeng are unprecedented during "peace-time". The only parallels are with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. In the 1980's, we have seen similar raids only in Israel and Northern Ireland, countries which are at civil war.

The fact that most of those arrested during Operation Palmiet were arrested under migration and influx control laws can hardly strike any oppressed person as surprising: our every step is dogged by such penury and persecution. The special courts which were set up to try the accused persons in sausage machine fashion underlines the barbarism of the settler regime. Strong-arm tactics are meant simply to buy time for a regime in crisis.

Attention must be brought to the position of Oupa Hlomuka, the Chairperson of the Sebokeng Branch of AZAPO. Comrade Hlomuka was detained under Section 28 of the Internal Security Act, released and again detained under Section 29 of the same Act. After the state withdrew charges of public violence against Comrade Hlomuka, he was charged with the murder of a community councillor and is presently awaiting trial.

THEME

The rightful anger of the Azanian masses and the rich lessons to be gleaned from each encounter with the system inform the AZAPO theme for 1985: "Resist, Defend, Advance".

Our history is one of continuous resistance. It is the height of folly to believe that the mass action of Black people is due to the work of agitators and intimidators. Grandiose and much-flaunted "reform" and "change for the better" has only exacerbated the social degradation, economic exploitation and dispossession amongst the masses of Azanian workers. No one knows about unemployment, poor housing, atrocious transport facilities, gutter education, abominable health facilities and intolerable working conditions better than the Black working class. This explosive-

ly criminal situation needs no fuse; it fuses itself.

Of necessity, the Black working class is in a perpetual battle to *defend* itself. It is a crime for anyone who is being brutalized to continue to accept that brutality. And we have been brutalized ever since the white settler landed on these shores, waving the Bible in one hand and the flintlock in the other. The settlers continue to rape, dehumanize and exploit the Black people. For Black people, the struggle is painfully real and all-pervading.

It is in the knowledge that every Black life is treated cheaply by the ruling class and the living and working conditions of Black people are designed to serve the genocidal intentions of the rulers that we pay tribute to Comrades Fezile Tshume (former Secretary of the Port Elizabeth Branch of AZAPO, who died in mysterious circumstances), Peter Naidoo (elected Chairperson of the University of Durban-Westville Branch of the AZANIAN STUDENT MOVEMENT two days before his death), Andries Zondo, Sammy Malatzdi (members of the Soweto Branch of AZAPO), Gugulehu Mfana (shot by police during unrest in Grahamstown), Thembisile Mapolisa (member of the Queenstown Branch of AZAPO), and Reuben Masenele (member of the Dobsonville Branch of AZAPO).

We also salute Comrades Muntu Myeza (AZAPO's Publicity Secretary) and Haroun Patel (Chairperson of the Lenasia Branch of AZAPO), who are detained under Section 28 of the Internal Security Act and the eleven AZASM comrades detained under Section 29, amongst them Comrade Thami Mcerwa (Secondary Schools

Vice-President of AZASM and head of the Transvaal Inter High School Co-ordinating Committee during the anti-election campaign).

The advancing of the liberation struggle is the most important aspect of our theme. For far too long, all manner of political opportunists and adventurers have been allowed to creep out of the woodwork and pose as true "leaders". This treacherous "leadership" works hand in glove with the oppressors and is hell-bent on securing positions in the liberation movement in order to stifle the development of authentic Black worker leadership. The Black workers must be extremely vigilant against such reformist and revisionist buccaneers. They reveal themselves in two fashions: those who have no knowledge at all of revolutionary ideology but thrust themselves forward and those who are capable of spouting passages of revolutionary or scientific works by heart but who participate in no revolutionary activity whatsoever.

It must be emphasized that if somebody studies a lot but does not go amongst the masses, his knowledge remains sterile, he remains a raconteur who will not write a single new line, a single new page throughout his life. We must learn from the masses and teach them what we have learnt. We must apply our knowledge to productive work, correct our mistakes and make our cognition more profound.

It must likewise be emphasized that activism alone is not enough. Without a revolutionary ideology, practice remains blind and is easily misdirected. In fact, such practice is a primitive force which is easily transformed into thuggery.

BOYCOTTS

Our experience of the strategy of boycotts and stayaways shows that it is a weapon which many adventurers call on the Black workers and students to use at the drop of a hat. We are of the opinion that boycotts and stayaways should not be used without the closest possible examination of the material conditions including the resources of the people, the timing of the action, a thorough assessment of short- and long-term goals and, most importantly, after consultation with the community. The aim of the action must at each time be clearly articulated — is it a life-and-death demand, a demand made to improve conditions or simply a symbolic demand.

The system's tactic has been and still is to engage the organisations of the Black people in the sterile politics of reaction. The system acts and we react. While it is true that every issue that we take up, whether it is high rents, community council elections, exorbitant bus fares, resettlement, influx control or detention without trial adds to our experience in mass action, it is also true that if each of these battles is not directly linked to the overall struggle for national self-determination, each one is doomed to be deflected into channels of disaster.

In order to repossess every square kilometre of plundered soil, it is axiomatic that we must initiate our own battles and we must dictate terms and the pace of events. This will mark the finest possible advance in the struggle.

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Azania = Land of the Black People

By George Wauchope

There often exists an undeclared state of war among people involved in the struggle for liberation as between those who support and those who are against the use of the name *Azania* as an alternative name for a liberated South Africa. This is because the debate concerns much more than a name: it involves everything that we are fighting for; it concerns the very nature of the society we seek to build.

Those who oppose the use of the name "Azania" often argue that it means "the land of the slaves". This is a contradiction in terms, for slaves are by definition people who are owned: they can hardly own a thing, let alone land. In any event, this tenuous logic would oppose the use of the word "proletariat" because it derives from the parasite of Ancient Greece who lived at the expense of slave society. It would also oppose the name "Cuba" which recently referred to a slave society.

CIVILIZATION

Azania is a Greek transcription of the Arabic name *Ajam*, which refers to the East African shore consisting of countries like Somalia, Ethiopia, Kenya and Tanzania.

It is very important to note that *Azania* has been placed on linguistic evidence in the central area of the northern Savannas. From here it seems likely that the small groups (different linguistic groups) followed the rivers that traverse the rain forests till they reached the central part of the southern Savannas. From this point the steady pressure of population growth probably caused the migration of the Black groups in all directions, thus bringing them into contact with peoples of different stocks like the Bushmanoids of Southern Africa, the Azanians of East Africa, the Indonesians and the Arabs of the coast with whom they merged to form Swahili.

Swahili comes in because of the very strong relations between South Arabia and *Azania* which date back to many centuries before Christ. This Azanian civilisation was mature, had a culture of its own and an accomplished language viz Swahili. Here one must stress that the Swahili language and culture is an arabised African product whose basis and most of whose elements are African.

The characteristics of the Azanian civilisation were that it consisted of a sedentary, agricultural and iron-age folk who practised irrigation works such as canals and terraces, roads, mine workings and smithies, cairns and rock paintings.

The years between 500 and 1500AD were the millenium of maximum growth and development of iron age culture in Eastern and Southern Africa. Social and economic growth was given an impetus by a more advanced agriculture; the emergence of large and stronger tribal societies; the increasing demand from the coast for ivory, iron, gold and other goods, and the expanding capacity of these settled peoples of the interior to supply this demand and to buy in turn imports from the coast.

The move downwards came about during the 14th century when East Africa suffered a long series of migratory invasions from the north, mainly by pastoral nomads from the horn of Africa. The Azanians were organised whether for peace or war on the extended family of negroid and bushmanoid tradition, while the nomads were organised to move and fight in larger cohesive groups. The technically more primitive nomads were militarily stronger, both by the manner of their lives and the method of their organisation. The Azanians were thus overwhelmed by this barbaric invasion from the north, their civilising growth stultified and brought to an end.

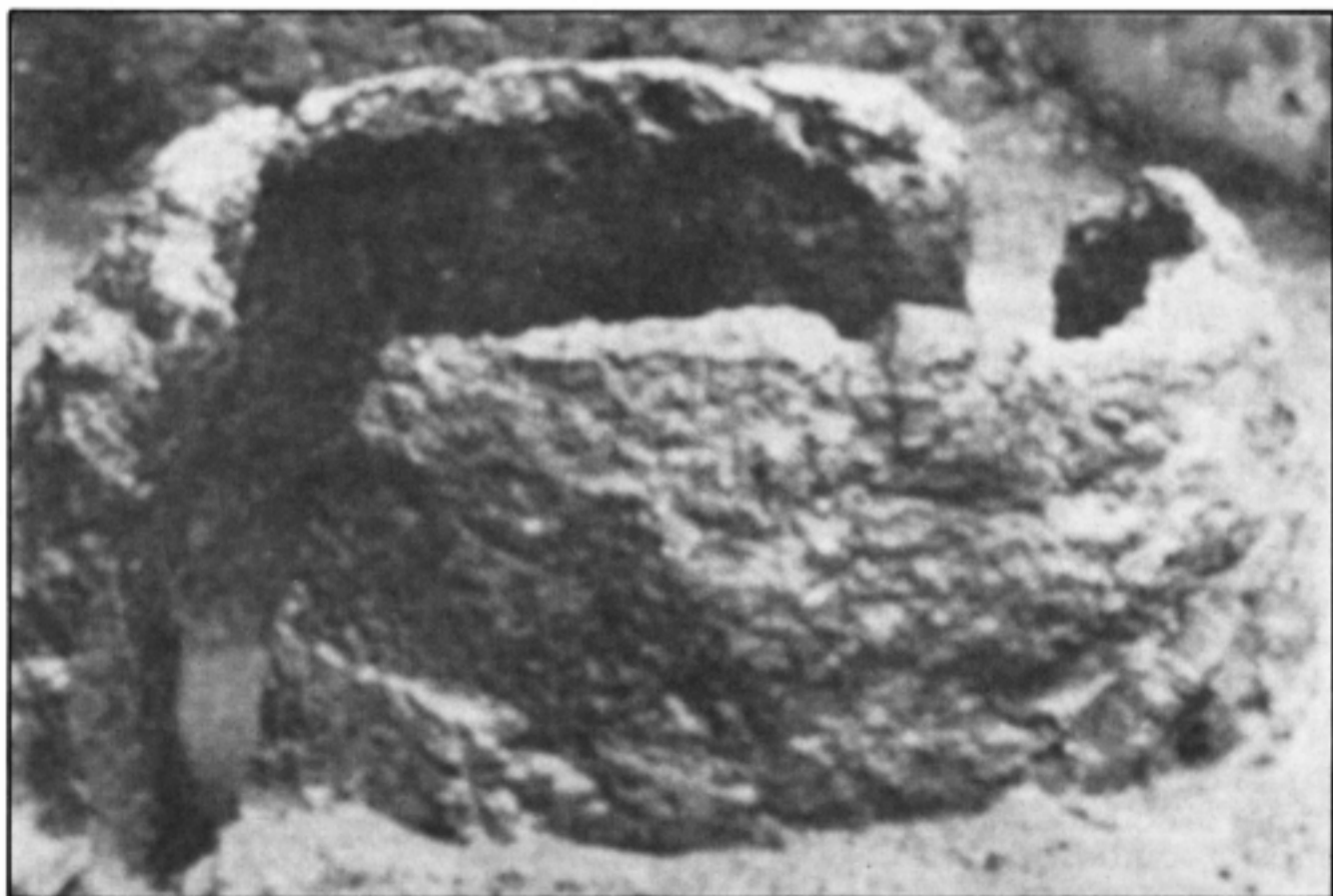
However, in Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Transvaal, the nature of the Azanian culture modified and changed once more by further migration and development in the new circumstances, re-emerged flowering and outlived the barbaric invasion in its splendour and majesty. The re-emergence of this civilisation emphasised the fact that these Africans were all branches from a single stem because of the

similarity in their use of stone dwellings, irrigation, soil conservation, in their mining and metal work, in their knowledge of a widely various pharmacoeia, in their fusion of tribal law and custom with an intertribal and tribute-paying system of centralised power, in their trading habits and in their indigenous pottery.

Etymologically the common heritage of Swahili clearly emerges. The word 'Zanj' is a Persian word meaning 'Black'. In Zulu *zansi* means down or south. When one looks at countries where the phoneme *za* or *z* emerges, one discovers that such countries are situated in the southern hemisphere, e.g. **Zanzibar**, **Mozambique**, **Zambia**, **Zaire**, and perhaps **Zimbabwe**. In the latter *zi* can be compared to the Zulu *ningizimu* which also means south. *la* is a suffix that denotes land whilst the Swahili *nia* refers to the innermost part of man, heart, mind, conscience or disposition. Therefore *Azania* means land of the Black people.

It is for this reason that Black Consciousness refers to our beloved country as *Azania*. It is calling upon the Black people's conscience, hearts and minds to rise up, to recreate and relive the life that was created by the Azanian civilization. It calls on Black people to realise their importance in this continent, see their value and to recognise the contribution they have made to the world in general.

In the 19th century, when imperialism gained momentum, everything great, everything fine, everything really successful in



Iron Age Smelting Furnace, excavated on Melville Koppie, Johannesburg. Date: ca. 1060 A.D.

human culture was white. Black people in Africa who showed any trace of progress were labelled as white. A system first conscious and then unconscious of lying about Blacks became so widespread that the authentic history of Africa ceased to be taught. With the winking of an eye, printing, gunpowder, smelting of iron, the beginnings of social organisation, not to mention political life and democracy, were attributed exclusively to whites.

MYTH

Azania is both a historical and a political myth. But myths are not lies. They are an outline of reality. And a liberation movement can certainly use myths in order to unite the oppressed, to serve as a rallying point.

We may draw a valuable lesson from the current anti-colonial struggle being waged by the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) near the Philippines, which was once a Spanish colony. The current anti-colonial struggle is being waged against both the Philippines and the United States of America.

In the 16th Century the Spanish conquerors of the islands of Mindanao, Basilan, Sulu and Palawan referred to the natives as *Moros* because they practised Islam much as the Moors of North Africa, who once ruled the Spaniards, had practised Islam. The term *Moro* was used to denote a savage and treacherous people.

Abdurasad Asani of the MNLF explains:

"But despite its colonial origins the MNLF has cleansed the term of its unpleasant connotation by propagating the more correct view that the tenacity with which the natives conducted their war of resistance against foreign intrusion was a classic example in heroism.

"The term is not only common to all the indigenous tribes of the region but included Muslims, Christians and those still adhering to traditional religious values — in a word, all those who share a common aspiration and political destiny. Hence, the MNLF adopted *Bangsa* (nation) *Moro* as a national identity and implants it in the consciousness of the masses. Today, it is rooted in the heart of every man and woman and the defence of its integrity has become a national duty."

SOURCES

The term "Azania" carries with it an essentially anti-imperialist content. It was adopted (initially by the PAC) because it helped to situate the struggle for the liberation of the people of South Africa in the context of Africa's history.

We should remember that the names of countries have mainly two kinds of sources:

★ **The tribal past:** names develop organically through a struggle for

national liberation and the country bears the name of the main tribe or of a confederacy of tribes.

★ **Outstanding geographical or historical features of the country:** Zimbabwe is an example where an outstanding historical feature (the Zimbabwe culture, not simply the Zimbabwe ruins of the tourists!) has lent its name to the liberated country. Namibia (from *Namib*), a KhoiKhoi word meaning desert is a clear example of a geographical name.

In South Africa, there is neither an overriding geographical feature because of the variety of nature nor is there a single common historical event or personage that can serve to unite symbolically all the oppressed people. Hence, names such as *Ulundi* or *Maluti* are as artificial and as arbitrary as *Azania* might sound to some.

In the final analysis, it is the historical action of masses of people that decides questions such as the name of a country. The activities of the Black Consciousness Movement during the '70's and especially during the 1976 Soweto Uprising have put the final seal on this question in our country. *Azania*, like *Namibia*, has come to stand for a political programme that is accepted by all the oppressed people of this land. It embraces no less than the aspirations of the people for an undivided, anti-racist, socialist country. To accept the name *Azania* simply means that one identifies with the aspirations of the oppressed people for liberation. We cannot play silly games with new "names" for our country. *Azania* has been baptised on the bloodstained streets and banners of Soweto, Gugulethu, Chatsworth, New Brighton and even in the remotest corners of the land.

AZAPO calls upon all Azanians to resume their position as pace-setters in the world. The *Muezzin* calls the faithful to prayer with the *Azaan*: to a Muslim, the *Azaan* is an observation of the value of the doctrine, it is cherishing all that is of value, appreciating all that is good and revering the beauty and the majesty of creation. AZAPO calls upon the Black people to restore Azania to its formidable position in the world. We are all beneficiaries of that magnificent, superb and inimitable Azanian civilization. Let us all then rise up, one in deed, united in action, steadfast in our goal and fight for our inalienable rights as ONE PEOPLE in ONE AZANIA, ONE NATION.



Mokgethi Motlhabi in *Black Resistance to Apartheid* (Skotaville Publishers, 1984) incisively points out: "It seems probable that change in South Africa will ultimately depend on the *maturity of Black Power*, if this is understood as a direct, lasting challenge to the system by Blacks after summoning their strength and uniting in unrelenting action against it for better or for worse." (emphasis ours).

In order to advance the liberation struggle, a clearly defined Programme of Action is a necessity. If we have vague, nebulous objects then we will still be chattering about conscientization and support in a general sense twenty years from now. There simply has to be a yardstick whereby we can ascertain if we are actually achieving our objectives or not and this is the vital task of this Congress.

NATION-BUILDING

The idea of nation-building towards a socialist Azania is an idea whose time has come. AZAPO has to consolidate itself in every facet of the Black experience — in labour, health, law, culture, religion, sports, education, social welfare and community development. As the revolutionary vanguard of the Azanian people, AZAPO must become as close to the masses of Black people as bones are to the flesh. It has a duty to reveal to the masses the essence of the situation in Azania, and explain the scope and depth of this situation, arouse the consciousness of the Black workers and their revolutionary determination and direct the struggle towards its goal.

A great revolutionary once said: "History is thorough and goes through many phases when taking an old form to the grave. And the last phase of historical development is comedy; so that the people may part with their past cheerfully."

The Azanian people and their vanguard, the AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION, are sure to obtain their liberation. However complacency is an enemy of the people in struggle. The Black people must shun alliances with reformist groups as exemplified by bantustans and liberal petit bourgeois organisations lest they share also in their defeats. For to falter here is to blunder at a crucial point because of which the Azanian working class will never be able either to rediscover revolutionary greatness in itself or to win new energy from the connections newly entered into, until *all classes* with which is contended in 1652, 1832, 1960, 1976 and 1984 themselves *lie prostrate beside it*.

 ONE PEOPLE ONE AZANIA

GAFFES *by Jay Zueve*

It was not immediately clear whether the bad grammar was due to a slip of the tongue, or if it was in fact proof that Bantu Education is inferior and therefore undesirable.

But for a moment everyone was left guessing as to what the real reason for the mishap was. Fortunately the cramped hall of St Peter's Seminary in Hammanskraal did not come down with reverberations of laughter from the hundreds of delegates who had put everything else aside to be present at the inaugural conference of the National Forum.

There was good ole George, rather well-known even though his surname should remain anonymous for reasons that will equally remain anonymous. What had annoyed him is still a mystery, but he thundered: "I am six and tyres of this nonsense. It must stop all at once."

Poor ole George. In a moment he realised that what he had intended conveying to the assembled delegates was that he was sick and tired of something. But again, whether it was because the tongue had notoriously slipped was hard to say. If it was not a slip — and many delegates said it was not — then it demonstrated once and for all that Bantu Education has to be uprooted if George's successors are to fare any better at future congresses.

But then such gaffes have become part and parcel of congress and meetings, in an out of conference halls.

There was a time when a congress chairman asked the delegates to "rise on your feet and song this sing". Needless to say, the audience stared at him in bewilderment, and he repeated his request that they should all "rise on your feet and song this sing."

Bantoe Onderwys alweer, ou kerell!

Earlier this year hundreds of delegates arrived in Maritzburg for a mini-summit to amend the Azanian People's Manifesto. Everything went just fine for the delegates, until it was time to go to bed on the first day.

The Easter winds had a sharpness that told of an imminent winter, and as things were sparse was one thing not in abundance. All delegates had to do the best they could to share as many rooms — and

blankets — among themselves as possible. Some had to sleep on the floor, demonstrating practically why the place was known as the ecumenical "lay" centre.

It was a bit cumbersome for a lot of delegates, but not so for a few. Muntu, Strini, PC, Nefh and Zith did not have problems getting quickly

Some people, though, take longer to wake up than others. And it doesn't help if you are a thin person who has to share a bed with heavyweights whose legs alone remind you of something you saw at the abattoirs the other day. Also, it is the biggest chaps who have the loudest snores. And no point in shaking them up, because that only



used to overcrowded little rooms. One of them explained that in the cells it was a surprise to find a small enclosure *not* overcrowded . . . and they should know. After all, they spent most of the 1970s in the coolers.

Overcrowded places are uncomfortable enough, but places overcrowded with delegates who had beans for supper can be quite trying at sleeping time. The winds of change literally begin blowing once the lights go out and everybody tries to settle himself as comfortably as he possibly can. In a short time the sounds of silence are broken by a staccato ripping sound which ranges from tenor to soprano, depending on the amount of beans eaten by the delegates who at night become virtuoso performers in a symphony orchestra of sorts. Highly entertaining, except that the acrid and pungent atmosphere makes real teargas pale into insignificance.

The morning after, well, you might as well have been sleeping through a tornado or a concert of weird sounds. But one thing is dead certain, and it is that the first whiff of outside air that you can get to fill your lungs the better.

seems to make them snore even louder.

Time was when one big fellow, way back in 1980, told a meeting exactly how grateful he was to the organisers for having arranged a splendid meeting at the Welgespruit Fellowship Centre in Roodepoort.

The intrepid speech-maker got carried away and openly declared that his gratitude was intense . . . "and I say this, Mr Chairman, from the heart of my bottom." He didn't bat an eyelid as he said that.

But of course it is only at congresses that people discover their anatomies have such outlandish features as bottoms with hearts. And it is at congresses that life-long friendships are made, which is what the spirit of a future Azania is all about.

Azapo has never claimed to have millions of members. It simply does not believe in the numbers game such as claiming millions of members, who embarrassingly vanish into thin air each time a mere million signature must be collected for some campaign or other.

But Kehla was a bit taken aback the other day when a somewhat groggy newsman approached him and asked: "Tell me, Kehla, egshatly how many members do you have in Ashapo?"

He asked the wobbly fellow: "How many black people are there in this country?"

Replied groggy: "I'm not sho sure, could be 29 million you shee."

Said Kehla: "Subtract all the sellouts from that number, and you will have your answer."

Queried wobbly: "So you shay you have about 28 million? Ish that a fact?"

The little encounter took place after a meeting in Soweto, called by the regional executive to evolve strategies of protest at the high rents. Had wobbly not been so groggy, he would have noticed that almost the whole of Diepkloof township had turned up for the meeting.

Talking about wobblies and groggyes, one remembers the other meeting the other day at another venue, when three delegates were rather thirsty after a long hard day of intense debate.

Alas, the cooling holes were closed and the nearest spot where one could relax with a cold pint of biters was more than four kilometres away. Otherwise the three delegates would have to settle for the cartons of "mai-mai" that were for sale at the nearby store.

After some argument and a lot of rationalising, the three blokes decided to drink the cartons of "mai-mai".

Their reason for so deciding was best summed up by one of them: "It is not dangerous, and it is food because it is made from sorghum and maize. It is also a proper grass-roots drink."

Grapes can be sour, but ever heard of sour sorghum?

The current Congress promises to be the best ever. AZAPO is bent on *resisting, defending and advancing* — at the Retreat Civic Centre.

● I must seriously take issue with the findings of the National Forum Summit as encapsulated in the position statement (*Frank Talk* Volume 1 Number 2 & 3 at page 11) and in the *National Forum* (July 1984). The joint operation against Renamo by the South African Defence Force (SADF) and FRELIMO as well as Pretoria's intimate economic liaison with Maputo demand a review of the positions taken at the Summit.

I am amazed that the Forum joins social imperialism in talking the language of "political realism". This tired old argument of "realism" is always dragged out to rationalize gutter crawling. For almost a decade now, "realism" has been used to explain the "lack of transformation" in both Mozambique and Angola. "Realism" dictated that these countries "temporarily shelve" the transformation of society in order to throw everything into opposing South Africa.

But what the NF's argument that the nonaggression pact will allow Mozambique sorely needed breathing space to solve her internal problems leaves out is that South Africa is NOT the only cause of Mozambique's problems. Mozambique is a neo-colonial society under imperialist domination — *a la* Soviet social-imperialism. And the Nkomati Accord is pursuant to Soviet strategy, not contrary to it.

The Soviet strategy is to position itself in the best possible way for a future all-out challenge to Yankee imperialism. Mozambique and Angola provide the Soviets with a foothold in the midst of an area of prime strategic importance to American imperialists (this latter point is very well put in the paper *Let's fight against the Organ Grinder*).

The Soviet strategy is not based on seizing power in Namibia or Azania, hence the Soviets have found themselves quite willing to put the reins somewhat on SWAPO and the ANC. The ANC and SWAPO are maintained as loyal rearguard elements behind the lines of white South Africa. And the ANC and SWAPO have also been "realistic" about Nkomati — because their own political fortunes rise and fall on the eventual ability of the Soviets to successfully challenge and defeat the US imperialists on a world scale.

The jockeying for position between the Western surrogates (UNITA, the MNR and South Africa) and Soviet surrogates (MPLA, FRELIMO, SWAPO and the ANC) is intense and cannot be glossed over. The NF must be consistent in its stated goal of anti-imperialism, as enshrined in the

Manifesto.

EPHRAIM GUMBI
Mtunzini, Natal

● The centrist slogan, "Let us fight against the organ grinder" does not take issue with the political responsibility of the Mozambican leadership for the Nkomati Accord.

According to the centrists Nkomati is simply the product of imperialist coercion carried out through South Africa's destabilisation policy. They regard Nkomati not as a "betrayal of the liberation struggle" but only as a "temporary setback for the liberation struggle". This implies that the tactics of struggle simply have to be reviewed and a new emphasis given to the internal mobilisation of the masses.

Our centrists, in keeping with their vacillating character, have not come out in open condemnation of Machel's capitulation. Mozambique has often been quoted by the centrists as *the* "Socialist" model and is often spoken of in a tone of reverence. It is therefore difficult for them to decry the actions of Machel. Although they challenge the populist call for a national convention, they proclaim in the very same breath, "We are not yet in a position where we can talk as equals or from a position of superior strength to the present regime." They therefore propose, "Our organisations must prepare the soil, we must force this government or its successors to ask to speak to us when they can no longer continue." Does not this proclamation echo the foreboding solution that the populists are calling for?

The solution of building one nation towards a "Free Azania" will subsume the interests of the working class under those of petit bourgeois nationalists. South Africa would then follow the same path that the Frontline states have taken; where populist leaders, having come to power, have turned with venom against the working class. Zimbabwe is a classic example of this; only months after independence Mugabe introduced a series of repressive laws against workers' organisations. Mugabe and Machel, both proclaimed "protagonists of socialism" no longer talk about the working class but speak of the "people". Machel, in his address at Frelimo's 4th Congress in April 1983 declared "we must mobilise for socialism" through "people's power". The working class is the only consistently progressive class that can bring about fundamental social change. All other oppressed classes, the petit bourgeoisie and peasantry, must

unite under its leadership because it alone can give their struggle a progressive direction. By conflating classes under the banner of "One Azania, One Nation" the struggle is bound to be hijacked by petit-bourgeois interests in the pursuit of its solution to the "national question".

The working class in South Africa must therefore be wary of the reformist populist and vacillating centrist leadership who have captured the helm of the liberatory movement and who stand poised to axe and limit working class aspirations. The call for the building of one nation should be counterposed with that of building international working class solidarity and a workers united front. As opposed to a popular front, a workers united front would ensure the independence of worker interests, the freedom to criticise and agitate in the context of the fullest democracy. History has shown that popular fronts lead to the betrayal of worker interests as they become subsumed under an opportunistic petit bourgeois leadership. The united front will fight actively against all attempts by reformists to divide the working class. It will fight for working class leadership in the daily struggles of workers and thus give them a consistent direction. The call for a united front is an attempt to unite all workers regardless of political affiliation in a direct struggle to defend themselves against the attacks of the ruling class. The call to build a united front in South Africa is urgent given the long tradition of reformist populist leadership of the working class and thus the stifling of its independent struggle and given the attempt by the ruling class to intensify the exploitation and oppression of the working class in South Africa.

The call for a national convention must similarly be counterposed by the demand for a constituent assembly which is called for by the working class when it is in a position of strength — where it can agitate and organise under the most democratic conditions. It is an assembly of the exploited and oppressed in the country called by them when the ruling class is in a position of relative weakness.

It is therefore the duty of the working class in South Africa to not only fight the organ grinder but also against the several monkeys that stand beside it in the form of bourgeois diplomats, petit bourgeois reformists and centrists. Let the anthem of the working class "International working class solidarity, the united front and the constituent assembly" thunder over the tunes of "One Azania One Nation" and the "people shall govern" as well as that of the organ grinder.

**MANNENBERG, BBSK & PARKWOOD
TENANTS ASSOCIATIONS**
Athlone, Cape Town.

JACKSON — HERO OR SELLOUT?

● The question "Jackson . . . hero or sell-out?" posed by your correspondent, Imrann Moosa (*Frank Talk* Volume 1 Number 4 page 8) must be answered in the light of Reagan's election victory and the entire Jesse Jackson charade.

The focus of the Jackson campaign "Run, Jesse, run" and "Win, Jesse, win" should rather have been "Crawl, Jesse, crawl". The truth is that Jackson was never supposed to win the White House: he was supposed to broker his "constituency" to parlay a shift in, first, the Democratic Party, and then the whole American political spectrum.

It was obvious that we would witness the "miraculous" transformation of "Run, Jesse, run" into "vote Democratic". The Rainbow Coalition has not been betrayed because of the way things worked out: things worked out just the way they were supposed to. Jesse Jackson not only endorsed the Mondale ticket at the Democratic Convention but also apologized to the assembled Democratic apparatus for his transgressions.

And Mondale had no qualms about spitting on the oppressed masses. He was perfectly clear: "Look at the platform: there are no defence cuts that weaken our security. No business taxes that weaken our economy. No laundry list that raids our treasury". Even the tepid reforms that characterized Jackson's planks (which would not touch or even address the oppression of the Black masses, let alone seriously challenge the system) were brusquely slapped down.

Jackson did not "sell-out" at the Democratic Convention: he sold out many years ago. What the masses of Black people must learn from the

Jackson campaign is that the fight against oppression in the United States cannot be asserted through the electoral process. The electoral arena is where the masses of people are trooped through media-packaged rituals, told what to think and who to admire, and finally led before the ballot box to pick one imperialist over another. It is a circus where the masses are told that they have approved (even called for!) the very next criminal acts their own oppressors are about to commit.

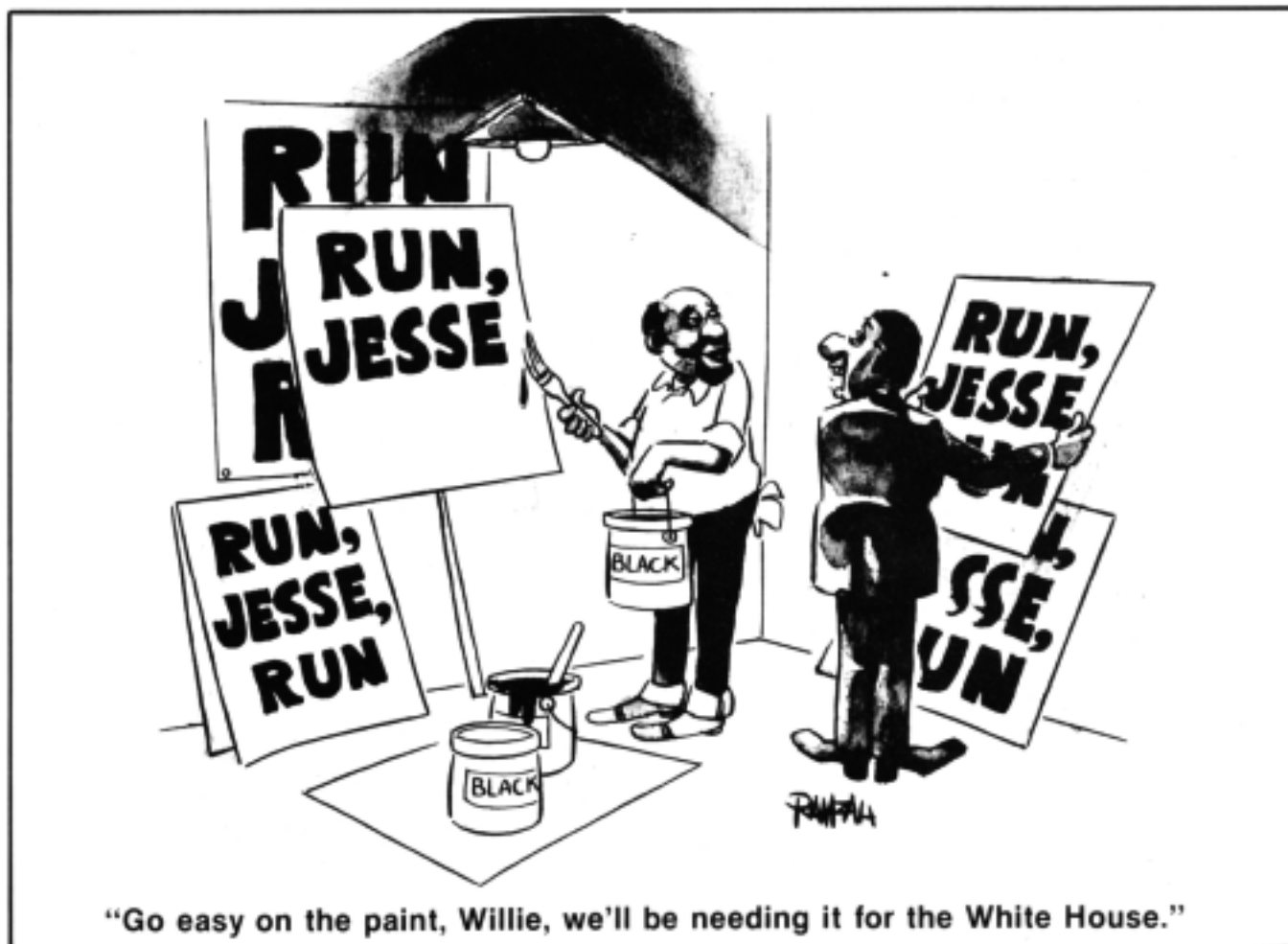
Ruling policies are not developed in response to electoral pressure: they are evolved to serve the most barbarous and desperate imperialists in history — the American bourgeoisie. And this is why the central issue in the American elections was which party could most effectively and efficiently prepare for World War and drag the masses along with it.

The Jackson campaign was merely a part of these preparations and never a part of the resistance. Jackson is not a representative of the masses in Democratic circles: he is a representative of the ruling circles amongst the masses. "My constituency doesn't have a history of walking out", said Jackson, "nor have I ever walked out of a Democratic Convention. I've always fought to get in."

Jackson supporters have found Mondale at the end of the Rainbow, waving twenty thousand American flags and clutching nukes. To those who believe that this is all part of some l-o-o-n-g term strategy to build a real, third "people's party" w-a-a-y down the road, I ask: how long and in how many forms do you allow yourself to be strung along?

SHERRY WASHINGTON
San Francisco, California.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 30



BIKO — THE MAN

Peter 'PC' Jones was released from security police detention on 25 September 1984. We have pleasure in including this tribute to Biko which we could not include in *Frank Talk* Volume 1 Number 4.

One of the important annual events on the BLACK CALENDAR is BC-WEEK (6-12 September). During this week the Black Consciousness Movement remembers one of its greatest fathers and visionaries — Bantu Steve Biko. Various programmes are presented to illuminate various aspects of Black Consciousness to the Black community. Much has been written about Steve's calibre and capacity for political leadership — many truths and many lies have been spoken by many who claimed to have had some obscure (and to those of us who were close to him — unknown) personal relationship with the man. In this article I want to reflect on some of my own experiences and the events that ultimately led to that fateful night on the 18 August 1977, when Steve and I were arrested.

INTRODUCTION

By the time I had to move to King William's Town in January 1977, I had known Steve for seven years. During the late part of 1969 I had become aware of Black Consciousness as a philosophy of resistance, and together with a handful of students at the University of the Western Cape and Hewat Training College, we launched an off-campus branch of SASO in 1970. Together with the official delegates of the branch I attended the General Students Council of that year, hosted by the Natal University Medical School (Black Section). During 1974 (after having left university in 1971 and going through a period of community work and activism as a member of the Black Peoples' Convention), I was appointed Western Cape Regional Organizer. In this capacity I had to travel around the country frequently and had to consult with Steve, who was then banned to King William's Town, from time to time. The 1975 BPC Congress was a major victory for the Movement in more ways than one. Although the entire leadership of SASO/BPC were in detention or banned we were still able to elect a capable National Executive, headed by Hlaku Kenneth Rachidi. We also made tremendous strides in the entire Eastern Cape region, by defiantly having congress in Ginsberg location, King William's Town and by allowing all and sundry access to our open sessions.

The next year 1976, whilst we were leading a national initiative to protest and organise against the October 26 'Independence' of Transkei, the uprising that started on 16 June in Soweto became a ready-made excuse for the State to remove the entire leadership of the BCM, and many others, by detaining them for many months. We believed the real motive for the mass deten-

tions was the State's desire to ensure the peaceful implementation of one of the cornerstones of apartheid policy — balkanisation of the land (the one issue that certainly strikes the deepest chord in the hearts and souls of the dispossessed people).

After our release at the end of 1976, Mxolisi Mvovo (vice-president of BPC), Malusi Mpumlwana and myself spent three weeks travelling around the country, convening and arranging an emergency congress for January 1977 in Durban. This congress, held defiantly whilst security police were still jittery and the national executive were still in detention, was another milestone in the turbulent history of the BCM. The national executive was extended to include secretariates in various fields, full-time regional organisers were appointed, and amidst common consensus that the movement had the duty to formally and officially utilise the capacities of its banned leadership, Steve was appointed Honorary President of BPC.

1977 was the most active year in the history of the BCM. A defiant anti-Bophuthatswana Puppetstan Rally was held at Pietersburg in June, there was a massive increase in branches in Durban and rural Natal came to life again after the devastation following the Pro-Frelimo rally in 1974 — BCM was riding the crest of its political wave!!

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN

After the January 1977 congress, at which I was elected to the post of National Secretary of Economics and Finance (police used to call me "Minister van Finansies"), I moved to King William's Town to take up the position of financial administrator for the Black Community Programmes. The following two months saw a running battle with security police in King William's Town and we were almost constantly speculating as to which of our senior personnel was next on the banning list.

In quick succession we lost the services of Dr Mamphela Ramphele (Branch Executive — Eastern Cape), Mxolisi Mvovo (National Distributor of the products from our home industries and simultaneously regional organiser for BPC), Thami Zani (Research Director and simultaneously Publicity Secretary for BPC), who were all banned, and Malusi Mpumlwana (Editor, **Black Review** publications), who was arrested and detained under section 6 of the Terrorism Act. I became adminis-

trator and had to supervise all projects of BCP in the region which included Zanempilo Community Health Centre in Zinyoka, the office with its library and resource centre in King William's Town and a leather home industry in Umtata. Some new personnel had to be appointed and at times we had to "import" people such as Asha Rambally from Durban (Research), but we always had Steve to refer to and consult with, even though his banning order specifically precluded him from working for BCP.

THE MAN

Bantu Steve Biko was an enigmatic and exciting person. I have never before met a man filled with so much capacity and capability, at the same time so humble, and filled with all the shortcomings and faults of ordinary man.

As a black political leader, his calibre and bearing must certainly rank him with the best, if not better than any the liberation movement had produced. His command of political diplomacy resulted on the one hand in his becoming one of the most sought after targets for international visitors and opinion makers, and on the other caused him to acquire all sorts of derogatory adjectives from those who had only newspaper reports to form opinions about him. Steve's policy with visitors of any kind (including security police and imperialist agents) was to confer on them traditional courtesy by inviting them into his house — and thereafter informing them exactly what his opinions were. This he was able to handle so superbly that those he insulted — normally liberals — felt so good about it, they would come back for more.

There was a time when Steve was permitted to travel to East London airport to receive USA Senator Clarke (this resulted in some jealous 'black' politicians quietly calling him a liberal and imperialist collaborator). His main point of emphasis was to inform blacks that it was unlikely that the Black Consciousness Movement would in future be willing to speak to American leaders unless they conceded that the Black political leadership recognised as such by the Black community included the leaders who were jailed and banned or exiled. The point was also made that only certain governments (western powers) had access to interaction and communication with Black political leaders.

The BCM leadership had complete faith in Steve and consulted with him on most matters. After his election as Honorary President of BPC, Steve submitted willingly to the dictates of organisational discipline and never once made mockery of the tradition in BC of collective leadership. He constantly consulted Zani and myself at King William's Town and was prepared to accept our advice on the national mood and the public image of the Movement.

At his house Steve demonstrated such comprehension and sympathy for people and their experiences, that he was consulted by young and old alike. Politicians all over the Eastern Cape and Transkei consulted with him and he became generally respected for his grasp of issues and people. I remember that in Ginsberg, a location notorious for its bad dirt roads, there had always been great unemployment. A young group of unemployed men extremely politically conscious mainly because of their constant proximity to Steve, acquired the name 'Cubans' because of this. We immediately knew that the 'Cubans' had had a good (pick-pocketing) day if we were offered free refreshments upon entry at 'Sis Kolla's' shebeen. The 'Cubans' also ensured that it became almost impossible for police to arrest Steve in the location unless they had at least a small army to do it. I recently met one of the ex-'Cubans' and it came as no surprise to learn that after Steve's death, he had developed into a strong and dedicated trade union leader.

Within his family, Steve was the head, even though he had one elder brother and three elder sisters. Until his departure on that fatal last trip Steve, together with his wife Ntsiki and two sons Nkosinathi and Samora, lived with his mother, and he had come to care for her. His mother greatly depended on his patience to resolve family disputes, and to keep the family close together.

BETRAYAL

By 1977 Steve became the symbolic head of the national BC initiative that had started as early as 1974. This initiative grew from the conviction that the liberation movement was under an obligation to itself and its people to establish a machinery for the most effective unity of the historical liberation movements of Azania. Suffice it to say at this stage that the issue then was to set in motion a long-term process whereby all participants in the struggle for liberation were to be afforded an opportunity to address themselves firstly to the principle of unity; and thereafter hopefully to deal with the mechanics of such unity. It was common national consensus that the BC Movement was the only liberation movement that was not riven by the traditional animosities that had kept the historical organizations apart, and that it was therefore the only

logical agent in a dialogue of such a nature.

1977 was a year of great optimism. After a number of years of inquiring and opinion gathering, it became clear that even for public statements that did not clearly underscore this position, there was growing consensus and acceptance of the need to address the question of unity.

The trip that Steve and I made to Cape Town on 16 August 1977 was primarily part of the above programme — we had accepted the necessarily serious consequences if our business was exposed, but we took the risks willingly. Steve was at that time banned to King William's Town. Of course, whilst in Cape Town Steve and I were scheduled to meet, amongst others, a representative or representatives of a group purporting to act for the Unity Movement or, at worst, a significant grouping within those ranks. (We now realize that this was a lie, and that these people were the only ones we did not really know).

We had also made arrangements to consult with our Cape Town BC leadership, who at the time were making serious noises about relinquishing their BPC membership. Subsequent experiences made us aware that a number of these elements had started to dine at the poisonous side-table of the white "left", and that they were "progressing" quite fast into becoming "progressives". But this was a side issue.

On our arrival in Cape Town we learnt that the "Unity Movement" group was under "discipline" not to see Steve until certain "political issues" surrounding him and the BC Movement had been cleared. Reference was made to some silly article at the time by Donald Woods in the **Daily Despatch** speculating about the growing "Black" movements like BCM and Inkatha. (This article had nothing to do with BCM or Steve, but represented the views of Woods who displayed typical white hero-worship of Steve — the Man). Later that same night a fellow-traveller of this group, shocked by what he regarded as callous disregard for traditional courtesy, insisted that Steve accompany him to the house of the spokesman. He was further shocked when he alone was invited in for an explanation which took two hours, whilst Steve sat outside in the car. Steve later remarked that if it was not for the fact that he did not know Cape Town, he would have walked to wherever I was. To Steve who was a diplomat and at times a sentimentalist, this indignity certainly rocked his African soul.

When Steve finally returned to where I was, and we agreed that our whole visit up till then which was supposed to have been very secretive appeared to be known to many more people than we expected, we

decided to immediately abandon, without notice to anyone, our visit, and return home, from the safety of which we would attempt to understand the Cape Town experience, the seeming inexplicabilities and outright suspicious behaviour of some persons.

We left the morning of the 18 August and drove straight into the roadblock at Grahamstown at about 9.30 that evening. Subsequent experiences did not convince me that the police had known of our whereabouts or that the roadblock was intended for us. One thing was certain, however, that if it was not for treacherous behaviour of the Cape Town participants, we would never have been on the road on the 18th, the day that we should have known that there was due to be unrest in and around port Elizabeth — it was on 18 August 1976 that PE's unrest started and it was on its anniversary that we hurriedly left Cape Town.

The arrest of Steve and myself, his subsequent death, the information gathered by security police through the detention of ourselves and many others, and the subsequent banning of all our organisations — effectively interrupted a process that may take many years before conditions permit it to be resumed once again.

A strange occurrence is taking place today. Exactly the same people who spearheaded the above abortion are today being seen flirting with the BCM most ostentatiously.

LAID TO REST

Steve's death to those of us who were in the Eastern Cape in solitary confinement was a traumatic experience. When, after almost 6 months in solitary, we were all able to be together in Grahamstown Prison in "preventative detention" my report to the others filled them with disgust and bitterness.



Biko's mother

I returned to King William's Town on New Year's eve last year (1983) — six years after our arrest. "Manceda's" (Steve's mother) testimony to me was shattering. She told me that she had never accepted Steve's death — it was all so unreal to her. That night we left her house just to go "somewhere" and she felt uneasy — it was only when she had been able to see me once again, that she was prepared to release him, and lay him to rest.



GLOBAL SOLIDARITY

In the name of Allah to whom all praise is due, the Lord of the Worlds. We thank Allah for blessing us with our beloved leader, teacher and guide The Honourable Elijah Muhammad. I greet you my beloved brothers and sisters with the greeting words of peace in the Arabic language *As-salaam-o-alaikum*.

To Brother True Mathematics, to the distinguished platform guests, to those distinguished brothers and sisters who spoke to us tonight on "Global Solidarity — our Key to Survival," to each and every one of you that are here tonight. It is a great honour and privilege for me to have been invited to Howard University once again to share this rostrum with so many distinguished brothers and sisters from here and around the world, who have in our diversity a unity of purpose. I am so grateful to be living in this great time in history when the forces of oppression and exploitation, tyranny and racism shall be destroyed from the earth completely. This subject, "Global Solidarity — the Key to our Survival," is a very important subject to be considered by all of us at this time in our development. We know that a key is a very important instrument for a key opens that which has been locked to us, or a key locks out that which we do not want in.

KEY

Now, in scriptural language the key is used in the Bible and it is mentioned in the Quran. The key symbolises knowledge, wisdom, power and authority. Notice in this subject matter global solidarity will give us the power, the authority to open up a door that has been locked to us

or to lock up that which should be locked out. Global Security — the Key to **our** Survival. Well we know what the key is but who is that possessive pronoun "our" referring to? Global solidarity — is it a key to Mr Reagan's survival? Is it a key to America's survival? Is it a key to the Western world's survival? Is it a key to the survival of capitalism or what they call democracy? Is it the key to the survival of communism? What is global solidarity the key to? If we are talking about the totality of the human family's survival, it would be wonderful if we could attain global solidarity, but we know that there are forces in the world that will not easily submit to the power that would bring them in line with those universal laws and principles that would ensure their survival. They feel that their survival is based on the "third world's" demise, so if the survival of the Western world is based upon the demise, the destruction, the dissipation of strength, the debilitation of "third world" nations and people, then conversely the survival of the "third world" nations will be the destruction of those who have lived from our destruction.

Global solidarity is a word but it represents a process of evolutionary development. Seated before me and around me and behind me are men and women of different nations of the earth, representing different ideologies, different philosophies, different religions, different races, different languages, but global solidarity presupposes a growth beyond the artificial barriers that have divided us heretofore. Global solidarity presupposes a growth that goes beyond our races, beyond our colours, beyond our religions,

by **MINISTER LOUIS FARRAKHAN**



beyond our philosophies and ideologies to find each other across these artificial barriers.

The Honourable Elijah Muhammad has taught us that we evolve from sperm, which we know. To mix with the ovum, the sperm is cast into a hostile environment. This is to teach us that in order for us to attain anything worthwhile in life, we must overcome barriers. So the Quran teaches us that "Surely man is created to face difficulties". The sperm has to overcome the hostile environment of the vaginal tract to get to the egg. The sperm has to overcome the force of gravity to pull up against the force to get to the egg. The sperm has to overcome competition with a billion or more other sperm, all trying for the same goal. Now — when we pass these three tests, overcoming a hostile environment, overcoming the tremendous number in competition that are striving for the same goal and overcoming the force of gravity, we reach the prize, which is the egg



and our one cell life begins. Is that right? The lesson that it teaches us is that when we have a hostile environment in which we live, that is a test of the worldliness of the goal that we seek to reach. If the hostile environment, like the vaginal tract, kills the sperm, then the sperm wasn't strong enough to make contact with the egg in that environment.

If we allow the environment of hostility that is in America and in the world to stop us from reaching beyond that sort of goal that we seek to reach, then we are not worthy of that goal, but if we are worthy of *global* solidarity, then you gotta be worthy of it to reach it. Then you and I must overcome hostility to get there. What kind of hostility? Racial hostility, tribal hostility, colour hostility, religious hostility, all of these things that make us different from one another fight against the force of attraction and present a polarity that pushes us apart from one another. We must overcome the hostility of the environment to reach the goal.

Secondly, we must compete not only with others who want the goal but we must compete against the element of time. Because if the sperm does not reach the egg in time, the environment will kill it. So it is with us today, if we don't reach each other in time, the forces of oppression will destroy our movement. We must move with haste, we cannot drag our feet as we move towards one another, we can't dilly-dally towards global solidarity, we must rush with *great speed* into the arms of one another and we must overcome the gravitational pull of vain desires, personal desires, desires for material things over the spiritual need that we have for one another. The students must overcome the gravitational pull of a desire for a fine home and a car and a good paying job above the liberation of the people. The foreign students that are here must overcome the gravitational pull of this Barnum and Bailey world that offers

you so much wealth that you will submit to wealth and the "good life" and you forget about your struggling people in Africa, in the Caribbean, in the Isles of the Pacific or in the Middle East: you are co-opted by a materialist world that damages the spiritual reality that your children have no future in the world of your enemies; you must return home and build your nations and reach out for global solidarity.

TRIBALISM

We must not become prostitutes and sell out the aspirations of our people and unborn generations for temporary enjoyment with the enemy of our lives. So global solidarity presupposes growth, as we evolve from a sperm to a clot, to an embryo, to a foetus, to a little baby, to a crawling child, to a child that learns to pull up and then we grow to the *fullness* of our physical form: we have evolved from a minute microscopic thing called sperm to the well-seen, fully developed, flesh, blood and bone human being. But all that you see here was visible or invisible in the essence that was the first cell of life, but it had to evolve to the macrocosm for you to see what was inherent in the microcosm. Now hear me well — global solidarity presupposes a growth of each of us who represent a nation into solidarity in our own nation. We must overcome tribalism within ourselves in America as Black people: you see, we have tribes in America. Oh yes! yes! We call them "organisations". We call them different religions or sects or denominations. These are tribes and when we meet one another even though we are the same people with a common heritage, a common history, a common suffering, and a common destiny, we know that we belong to each other, but then we say "Oh he's a Muslim, I'm a Christian. He believes in Muhammad, I believe in Jesus Christ, aw I can't get together with him! Or he's a Pan Africanist, or a revolutionary nationalist or a cultural nationalist. I am a socialist or a Marxist-Leninist, I can't hang out with him." We belong together but the artificial barrier called ideology keeps us polarised when we know we should be about the business of coming together, becoming solid as a people and then not stopping there. We must outgrow our nationalism, our race and our religion to look beyond to another brother or sister in oppression until we find global solidarity and then we've laid hold to the key to our survival. Now how do we get there?

The Honourable Elijah Muhammad has taught us, the Bible and the Quran agree, that Allah is one God. He never said He is more than one, He always said to the prophets that He is one, then if He is one from Whom all things have their beginning and in Whom all things have their ultimate end, then even in all of the diversity that we see in nature,



if it came from one essence, it is moving towards one essence.

ONE EARTH

Look at it now — as I mentioned here in Howard a year or so ago, we came into the world not speaking Spanish or French or Arabic or English. We came from our mother's womb speaking a universal language — all the babies cry. So you can't tell the difference between a Chinese baby, a Caucasian baby, an African baby, they all come into the world crying and when death overtakes them they all make the same universal sound going it, it's just a *g-a-s-p*, they don't gasp in Spanish or in Arabic or in Hebrew, they just gasp and check on out of here, is that right? Isn't that something? The source from which we spring is **one earth**, seven continents, oceans and seas but the earth is one. Now if you want you can focus on Australia, if that knocks you out, or you can focus on Africa, if that moves you, or you can focus on North America or South America, Europe or Asia, Antarctica, if it's what moves you, but you've got a lot of growing to do if you can't see that the earth is really one earth. Its name is one — earth. The water that is beneficial to all of our lives is a common water, White folks don't drink a different water, they may try to. The water is common, the sun that energises our life is common to us all. The atmosphere that we breathe to keep the heart pumping the life fluid of blood through our veins is common. Well if what we come in to is common and the language we speak is common, and what we live under while we are here is common, and the sound that we make going out is also common, then doesn't that teach us the larger truth, that there is to come a truth that will link up humanity, that will link up nations and races and kindreds and tongues, that we will grow beyond these artificial barriers that separate us as a people and

we will see one humanity. That truth is coming or is present.

Beloved brothers and sisters — you know when I said brothers and sisters the thought struck me that we appear different and there are things about us that are different but there are things about us that are so similar. The differences in male and female cause polarity but as we grow a little older we overcome those things. And then we are drawn together by the force called affinity, is that right? And we become solid, don't we? If we study religion we realise that it is a very divisive force in the world but the Bible teaches that God is not the author of confusion but of peace. If God is one He is not the author of all the religion that's in the world. He's one God. Then his religion is one. Every Prophet that he sent into the world taught varying degrees of the same religion. When you go to kindergarten you learn that which feeds the development of your mind at that stage. But when you reach grade school, you learn a higher form of the same essence that you got in the Kindergarten. When you reach college you are supposed to be reading and understanding a higher form of mathematics, a higher form of communication than what you learned in the kindergarten. But it is a higher growth of the same thing that we call *learning* — *Education*. When it's in the kindergarten you call it education. When it's in grade school you call it education. When it's in college you call it education. The name does not change. It's just what you learn that changes because of the demand of your own evolutionary development. So it is with religion. God didn't send any religion into the world named Judaism. Now before you get excited and call me vicious names, which is alright with me, the name Judaism is a name given by men to a religious system that is as old as God himself. That is not the name that Moses gave to Israel. That's right. And God never revealed any religion called Christianity. Now don't get offended. Because Jesus never told you "I am a Christian". Nowhere in the Scripture did he say that. Moses did not say "I am Jew". Now you got Jews, Christians, Buddhists, Muslims, Zoroastrians, Taoists, Shintoists all of us fighting and killing each other when God is one and His religion is one. How did we become known as Christians? According to the Bible at Antioch the people who professed that Jesus was Christ were called Christians at Antioch. Is that right?

ISLAM

But in the Quran a name is given for that religious system that is as old as God Himself which really didn't need a name. It existed trillions of years without a name and all the prophets taught the same religion, the same principles. If you study Moses, Abraham, Noah, Lot, Jesus,



Courtesy the Black Methodist.

Muhammad and look at the principles that they taught — you can tell by the principles that they believed in and taught the same religion and that religion was in the English translation called 'peace'. Peace is the way of God. Peace is the order of God's creation. How do we attain peace? We attain peace by going in harmony with the Laws of creation then we are at peace with the creation, at peace with the Creator, at peace with one another. That peace comes through obedience to the will and laws of Almighty God. So Moses came with the law and he obeyed the law and he taught Israel to obey the law. Jesus said not "my will be done" but "Thy will be done". The name of that system is called in the revealed world of the Quran, Islam. Islam means to obey, to submit to the divine will and law of God. That's what all the prophets taught, obedience to the will of God. One degree after another of that system, that religious system, are you listening?

Moses came with a narrow teaching but it's still Islam. He taught what you could consider as nationalism. He talked to Israel which had no solidarity. They were like dust or any loose molecules not bonded together so they had no weight. You got it? Like air the molecules are spaced apart so you walk through, you don't feel it until the wind comes and pulls the molecules together, then you actually feel the force of air, but as long as there's no wind present you walk through it as though it doesn't exist. Well this is the way the world has walked through "third world" people.

It is as though you don't even exist because your bonding together in your own nation, among your own people is so weak till you become of no consequence, you cannot resist as dust has no power to resist anybody that wants to remove it. So, as those of us who are the same people but not bonded together. You are seated together in this auditorium but you are not together, so as long as you have nothing to bond you together you can easily be dispersed, you are like invisible people and this is why nobody considers you when they deal in the council of world affairs, they don't call so-called Negroes in to get your advice because you are the spook that is always sitting by the door. To my Arab brothers and sisters you are similar, you have no weight, not here. Think about it, you are Americans, many of you. You fight in all the wars but no President has ever come to speak to Arabs. Why? They fear what Jews will say. Well if the President is the President of *all* America, why should the President not appeal to Arabs when he sends them goodies to fight in America's wars and he makes them pay taxes but he will not represent their concern, something's wrong isn't it?

ZIONISM

Well my Arab brothers, if you have no social weight whose fault is that? You can't blame Mr Reagan or Mr Mondale. The Jews are only 5,8 million in America; 2,5 percent of the total population. But I've watched Bush skipping the other day with a yammock on his head doing a buck dance for the Jews, trying to prove to them that he is gonna out-do Mondale in his promises to you and to Israel. How come you can't make him come to you. You are 40

million in America. Nobody comes to you, Mr Mondale didn't promise you anything. He smacked our leader and our champion in the face at the Convention, kicked him around, said he would win it by himself and went on out and chose him a woman, mind you a woman, but women had no rights until Black people began to suffer and get hell against the laws of discrimination. You opened the door for Ms Ferraro and Ms Ferraro don't give a damn about you or me. That's right, you opened the door for Jews and now Jews become anti-black as long as we moved away. They think we should move, everything is alright but when we begin to move independently of what *they* think Black people should do, then all of a sudden we become an enemy or anti-semitic while the real truth is they are are totally anti-black. The masses of Black people do not bow to Zionist pressure, but black organisations bow to Zionist pressure because the Zionists have control of most black organisations because they finance most black organisations and pull the strings for most Black leaders. So whenever a bold Black man stands up independent and uncompromising, then they psyche their puppet negroes saying "He's dangerous, he's an anti-semite, he's a hater, he's a bigot".

Dear beloved Black brothers and sisters, you have not stopped one Jew from opening up a store in your neighbourhood. You have not stopped one Arab, one Korean, one Vietnamese, one Hispanic, you open your door to everybody. You have not stopped one Jewish person from becoming the personal manager of the wealth of Black people found in the talent of our young men and women. You have not stopped one Jewish person from getting the money from the records that we make and sell, from the talent of black people, so you have not stopped Jews from doing anything in America so how in the hell can a Black man be considered anti-semitic? But, but . . . we can point to a **concerted effort** to keep Black people from progressing. You see they put the crime on us. I say tonight to the world that America is anti-Black, Reagan is anti-Black, the Democratic Party is anti-Black, the Republican Party is anti-Black, the Jews in America are anti-Black, but their being anti-Black is inconsequential if we recognise that it is not their fault, it is ours.

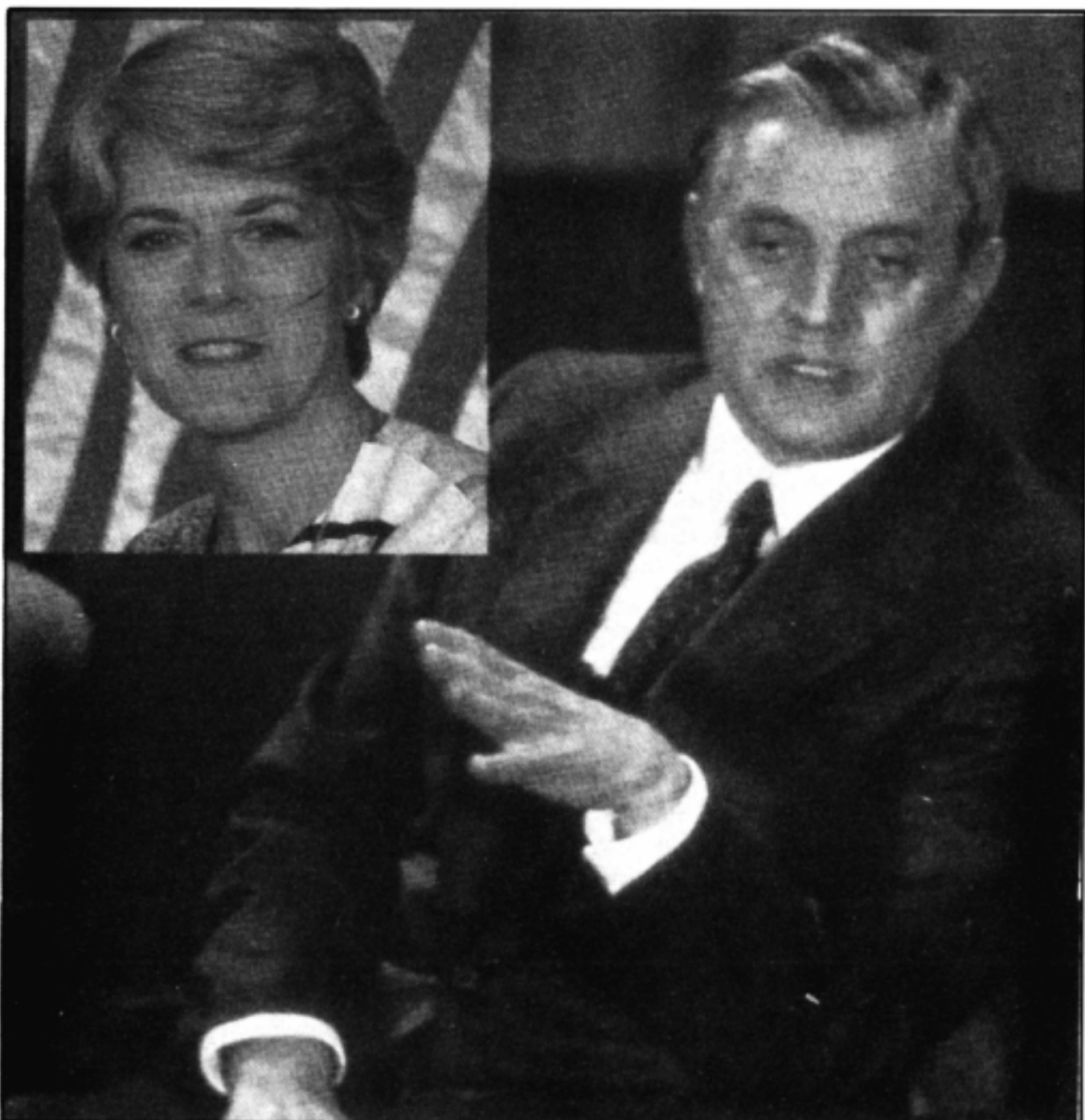
We can stop them overnight. It doesn't make any difference who becomes President. "They have no power over us but the power that we give them over us." You'd better listen, you'd better listen. Once we, as a people determine it won't happen anymore, that's the day that it stops *completely*. Nobody has the power to be anti-Black if we come together in solidarity. But, sometimes

when you have molecules that are so far apart because of their polarity the difference is that they see in each other what brought out their vainness, then it needs another force that will force these molecules together and when they get just a little closer, they are drawn to each other under the power of affinity and then they become a new creation. Are you listening? Now just a few days ago, a few years ago, I would say that I am a Muslim follower of Elijah Muhammad, I don't socialise with an Ahmadi or a Sunni Muslim or a Shi-ite Muslim, just a few days ago, we didn't socialise with Christians, just a few days ago if we were Nationalists we all hung out together, happy in our tribalism, happy in our religious tribalism, happy in our foolishness while everybody put their game over on us, because we were not wise enough to grow beyond the artificial barriers that kept us apart from one another. But when the Honourable Elijah Muhammad departed from among us and I saw how easy it was for what he built to be destroyed, I had to ponder and think how can we rebuild his work in a way that it will never be destroyed again. He gave us a good foundation, he gave us the lessons if we studied it, he said how many Muslims are there in North America. At the time of that writing he said that it was a little over 17 million. Did I hear you say that some of the 17 million do not know that they are Muslims? The answer is yes, sir, then it says I can hardly believe that

unless they are blind, deaf and dumb. The answer is well they were made blind, deaf and dumb by the devil when they were babies. I don't care what you call yourself, I see you as the righteous. I don't care what you call yourself, I see us as one people. **I cannot be found in a little Mosque praying and preaching with my Holy Quran to a few little insignificant people preaching them the science of Salaaf when the whole world is going to hell.** We in America cannot waste our time up and down praying not understanding what the real essence of religion is all about. I said no I'm gonna move out in the world and I'm gonna take what people say they believe and show them the common string that runs through everything that we believe, I'll take the same thing and unite because the root of it is the one God and the path of solidarity.

UNITY

I have been working for unity for the last 7 years. I went out and I met with Mr Hooks of the N.A.A.C.P. Made my way to New York, went in his offices, sat down with him, "Brother let's talk." I said 'Brother we gotta build a united front of all Black organisations that guide us to our philosophy, we must come together.' He said, "I agree, I agree, but I have a board that I gotta deal with." I said, "Well deal with the board 'cause the Southerners don't deal with the board. Whether you know it or not, four more years of Reagan is a board that will get everybody



Mondale and Ferraro (inset)



Benjamin L. Hooks

together and it looks like we're headed for four more years of Reagan." He said but oh no, we got to dump Reagan. I say you don't dump him with Mondale. Mondale is worse than Reagan. Yes, Reagan don't owe you nothing, you didn't vote for him and what you see is what you get. The biggest mistake we could make was to think that that Caucasian racist cracker — Mondale — is our friend. He is not our friend. Mondale doesn't want to admit that he's a racist but the fact that Mondale got Black people around him, the fact that Rev. Jackson rolls up to take votes from him in the primary only to give 'em back to *him* after that man won the nomination instead of his saying to Rev. Jackson, "I got your message, Reverend, I got the message of Black people. I understand now that we can't take Black people for granted any more and Reverend I want you to come up here with me in the party and I'm gonna put some planks in the platform that will give jobs to Black people. I understand what your people need and I've got your message." But instead Mondale like the racist that he is, underneath all of that facade of civil rights, he is hard, he said I'm gonna punish this nigger for having gone against *me* in the primaries and pulling all these Blacks around him, I'm gonna punish them, I'm gonna punish him and I'm gonna show them. Let me tell you something Mr Mondale, in November we're gonna show you. Some silly Black people will say what are you gonna do, cut off your nose to spite your face. Ain't my nose, ain't my face. No I ain't got nothing to do with you, if it wasn't for Mr Reagan we would never have seen the fidelity or the candidacy of Reverend Jackson. As long as you don't think you got a friend in the White House, you'd make a friend in the Black House and that's what you need — a friend in the house next door to where you live, you need **solidarity**. You all right? So if Mr Reagan gets in he pulls off the kid gloves 'cause he don't have the four more years he can't do it, he can't get twelve, he's only got to eight, he pulls off the gloves. It's real nice. You say but Farrakhan don't you know what that means for Black people? It means your solidarity because as I see it we're as molecules, we're too far apart because Muslims will say, I can't join together with this Chris-

tian you see he's my brother but he eats pig. **He will let a pig's foot divide us.** Or a man's condition divide us. I say that's pretty foolish. We can talk about the pig's foot later, we can talk about a verse in the Quran or Bible later. Look my dear Brothers and Sisters of the American Muslim Mission, I know that we disagree but I'm not gonna let no enemy devil put me on television, arguing against Imam Wallace D. Muhammad. For what? ... For what? Tony Brown called me and said "We have an Imam Wallace D. Muhammad on our show, we want you on the show too so you all can talk about your differences. I sent a message back to Mr Brown. I said dear Mr Brown, I said the Pope of Rome and the Archbishop of Canterbury have differences, I said the day you put the Pope and the Archbishop on television to argue about their differences, that's the day I'll come on and argue with Imam Wallace D. Muhammad.

I went to the Leader of the Urban League, John Dickenson and sat down and talked with him. I travelled down to Atlanta and talked to Joe Lowery of S.C.L.C. and to Coretta Scott-King and to members of the Congressional Black Caucus. I talked to the Black mayors, I talked to the Republic of New Africa, to Maulana Karinya, to Ha'ki Maributi, to Kwame Taure, as many Black leaders as we could talk to, we talked about *a united black front*, a united Black front. We got to have it, I think everyone of you that belongs to the N.A.A.C.P. should drive your leader to a table with Black leaders in this country and don't let them get away with it. *Drive* John Jacob, drive Joe Lowery, *drive* the Black Caucus, *drive* the Black mayors, tell them, damn it get to a table and sit down *or else*.

The trouble with Black leaders is that they are afraid of Jews so they do the bidding of Jews. The Black leaders ought to be afraid of *us* and we ought to terrorise them and make them do what is right or get the hell out of the way of the people's solidarity. You say Farrakhan you sound pretty radical. **I tell you frankly if 85% of the Black people were around me tonight as they were around Jessie Jackson at that convention, we'd be free tomorrow morning.** Let me tell you something and if you doubt it try me. You just gotta be willing to pay the price.

Let's move on. I preach unity, I want to live unity, I realise that all of us must come together, I've been in the churches preaching more than I am in the mosques because **I refuse to let a cross and a steeple keep me away from my own family member.** Do you hear me? Now when they saw Jessie Jackson and Louis Farrakhan standing together which represented solidarity, which represented a coming together of

enemies becoming friends, the disciple of Dr King and the disciple of Elijah Muhammad, the Zionists moved to break it up. They understand, they *understand*, but do you? You see if we understand you know the way they painted me in the press, but you *proved* that you are the greatest generation we've ever produced. If this was twenty years ago I would have been lynched on sight by my own Black people by what they said about me in the media but twenty years later they put out the worst they they could put out and Black people all over the country lined up on the outside, blocks around to come and see the man that they talk about as an anti-semite. It's a new day, our time has indeed come. Let's take advantage of it.

Now look there are some very negative forces in America. Those negative forces in America are pushing us closer to each other and another force is taking over — the force of affinity — and now you don't see me as "that Muslim", you see me as your brother. I don't see you as "that Christian" I see you as my sister and my brother and greater love has no man that he be willing to lay down his life for his brother, all I got is my life and I offer my life for the solidarity of Black people here and all over the world. Thanks to Allah, thanks to the Honourable Elijah Muhammad, thanks to time, I have outgrown by the grace of God the childishness that kept me in one corner and my brothers and sisters in another.

GLOBAL SOLIDARITY

But I have a lot more growing to do — so now I see as we reach for solidarity, we've got an ocean of our people in Central and South America, they speak Spanish, they speak French, they speak Dutch, they speak English, they speak Portuguese but that's my family *too*. Now this is where you're growing now, beyond your national boundaries — it's global solidarity that we're after, not just regional solidarity — so all

Our Father

Our father, which art in the Ghetto
Degraded is your name
Thy servitude abounds
Thy will is mock
as pie in the sky:

Teach us to demand, our share of gold,
Forgive us our docility,
As we demand our share of justice.

Lead us not into complicity,
Deliver us from our fears,
For ours is Thy Sovereignty
The Power
And the Liberation
For ever and Ever

Amen.

REV. CANAAN BANANA
President, Zimbabwe

the brothers in the Caribbean, and the sisters in the Caribbean, that's your flesh, that's your blood, that's your kith, that's your kin, we are family, you can't have solidarity in America and it doesn't include solidarity with Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados, St Lucia, Dominico, Monsarrat, wherever there are Black people, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Bellize, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Brazil.



So look brothers and sisters you can't play while you're here at Howard. We know their aim when they got you here but don't pay any attention to their aim, you rise above their aim, their aim is to make you white-minded negroes coming out of here to salute the flag, be a good soldier, fight in Nicaragua, fight in Grenada, go anywhere white folks send you. Uh, uh, no, no, no, no, no, oh no no, oh no no, when we get our education, Mr Reagan you can fight a war anywhere you want, *we will determine where we fight*, we are not fighting in Nicaragua, we are not fighting in Central America, **we are not fighting in Africa or anywhere you send us, we are fighting in Mississippi, Louisiana, Washington D.C., New York City, Los Angeles, California. It's your war, you go fight for it.** Look you can't stop in the Caribbean, look at all Africa, that's our family. Look in the isles of the Pacific, that's our black family, same colour, same hair, same nose, same lips, same persecution, same history, same origin, same destiny. So we must have a Pan Africanist solidarity, you understand, but we can't stop there, that's just solidarity with Blacks, but there's some Palestinians around here that have been afflicted by Zionists. Uprooted from their land. Look at it now, kicked out, made vagabonds in the earth. Slaughtered at Shatilla.

Huh! We have a common suffering don't we, oh yes we do, yes. The oppression makes us brothers doesn't it? Look at it now, so I ask you reach out for solidarity with your own, you gotta say "Wait a minute, here's another human being over there, catching hell like me, can we find common ground and find some solidarity in our struggle?" Israel is in the centre of the Arab world, something grafted in from Europe, not natural, don't belong there but grafted in like Paul says in the Book, "like a wild olive branch", wild up in Europe, raised in hell up in Europe

pulling them from all parts of their wicked mischief — making life bringing them into the Middle East and grafting them in among the olive branches. That they may suck from the fat of the real owners of that piece of land. Mischief makers, trouble makers, that want to put one Arab against another, are you listening? So you got Saudi Arabia, the seat of Islam, having moderate Arabs, moderate in their leaning towards the West, but still with a common mind toward a common enemy. You got the Emirates, you've got Egypt pulled out from her Arab brethren by a peace pact with somebody that don't mean peace.

JIHAD³

So now the Arab world is divided just like us, their nations at war with one another but more devastating it is the Islamic world and here are Iraq and Iran-family members, brothers killing each other, leaving the real enemy to go. They destroy each other's build up in arms while the enemy is building up ready to destroy all of you. What the Arabs need is Arab solidarity but the Arab has become corrupted, going after the materialism of the West, negating the values that were his from Islam, from Christianity, from the religions that got revealed to Moses which was all among them, **now they are prostituting those principles and becoming world whores running after Western world values.** My dear Arab Muslim brothers, sisters, you gotta come back to each other and you must

find the path of solidarity. Gaddafi has risen up, many don't like him. "What you don't like about him?" "Well . . . he's a terrorist." "Who said so?" "Well . . . our Government." Your Government is the b-i-g-g-e-s-t l-i-a-r that is on the face of the earth. Your Government . . . Oh my God, Farrakhan, Is there nothing sacred to you, Farrakhan? Yeh, you're a bunch of liars. And you know it and I know it, the Bible teaches it and the Holy Quran too and I'm gonna preach everything that's in the Book for you and against you but most in the book is against you. Liars! Thieves! Murderers! Muslims, Muslims, Muslims, you must find the path of solidarity, it is the key to the Arab world's and the Muslim world's survival. That is a fact, Gaddafi is not an evil man, Gaddafi is committed to the masses who are struggling for justice, to the popular liberation struggles anywhere in the world and he is not selfish, he is willing to use the wealth of the Libyan people and share it with those who are struggling to throw off the shackles of imperialist adventurism, the blood suckers of the poor. The reason they call him a terrorist is because he frightens them, because they don't understand how his mind works. See a true Muslim revolutionary is one that the world don't understand. The world didn't understand Jesus, see Jesus was no milk-toast, punkified man, Jesus was a committed revolutionary who knew how to live and die for what he believed in. Understand this brothers and sisters.



1983 Theme: Mobilise and Consolidate the Liberatory Efforts of the Oppressed Masses

This world that puts profit above principle does not understand men and women who are willing to die for what they believe in. Jesus did not flinch, they lied on him, they trumped up false charges against him, conspired against him and he carried his own cross, according to the Book, according to the Bible. **I'm not talking about the white dude you got in the picture you call Jesus. I'm talking about the real Jesus and the real Jesus was not a white man and don't you ever forget, don't you ever forget, don't you ever forget. If all the rest of them want to argue we'll get on down, Jesus was a Black man.** Not that that makes any difference but it does make a difference to us, since you've been so careless in your painting of the true colour of him. He went on to die for what he believed in.

Brother Khomeni, Imam Khomeni, is a strange man. **It is hard to understand these kind of people whose whole life and being is committed to destroy an enemy.** So you don't understand this, but we do. When you become such a terrible enemy like this, God raises up people for you. The scripture says of these they won't love either silver or gold, so you can't bribe these, their whole mind is to lay the enemy low. They will take your little ones and dash their heads against the stones and rejoice as they *slaughter*. Are you listening? These are the minds that are coming up today all over the world to deal with the enemy of our solidarity. So the Islamic Jihad piles up hundreds of pounds of TNT. **They know that they are gonna die but happy, happy, happy, same way you are happy over some music, they pop their fingers to the dirge of death when they know they are gonna carry down a whole lot of imperialists and racists and demons with them. That's the spirit that's growing in the world today. It's the spirit of sacrifice for a cause that is bigger than your own life. The cause of liberation is bigger than your life and mine.**

IMPERIALISM

Arabs must find solidarity. Poor, poor Africa, our beloved home, torn asunder with tribal conflict and with the imperialist machinations putting the brothers against each other, trying to suck the blood of rich mother Africa, Southern Africa having all of those precious metals that America needs to compete in an atomic age. Reagan must have a relationship with South Africa to get those precious metals. But Reagan also and the Government of America must control the Congo or Zaire because there are precious metals that the West needs, so they must keep puppet governments in power, puppet regimes in power, but they reckon without the solidarity of the people and their willingness to die to rid the earth of those who oppose their solidarity. **It means**

that in a short time the brothers in Southern Africa, the sisters, the family is going to be freed. But don't think that freedom is without a price.

The scripture said blood will be up to the horse's bridle. Blood, blood ran in the depth of the Atlantic Ocean, *a hundred million of us lost our lives according to conservative estimates, in the Middle Passage.* Millions of us have lost our lives in America, I can never forget. **I was born to remember. I was born with the cries of those fathers in my ear, in the cells of my brain, I will never compromise, I will never bend my knees and bow down to this wicked enemy of our people, of our future.** You will soon see, you will soon see, there's a whole generation out there, that God has raised up. I know I'm looking at them. Born

you make, you break. I'm not your man. They did everything they could to try and break the Brother, then when they couldn't get me to go along with their game, they said I was manipulating the press, can you imagine that? When you're smart enough to out-think them, then they say you're manipulating them. Then you should know that you met with God. There never was a time that Blacks could manipulate you but if we are manipulating you now when you used to do all the manipulating, then you should know that a superior power has intervened on our behalf.

Solidarity! Solidarity, this is what we want. Solidarity among Muslims, solidarity among the Arabs, solidarity among the Asians, solidarity among the oppressed in Central and South America. "But what about



Iran . . . Salaat and Jihad are integral to Islam.

warriors, born to give their life for the liberation of our people here and around the world. *These will not be used, these will not bend their knees, these will not apologise to white people.*

So now, now they are hurt because they see Blacks in America, Palestinians and Arabs sitting together. They don't like that, they don't like that. They don't like to see us and the Chinese and the Japanese sitting down, and the Vietnamese sitting down. "What you sitting down with him for?" When I came back from Libya I was on C.B.S., they won't put me on any more brothers and sisters. They have agreed, they have agreed to photograph what I say, to record what I say but they won't put it out in the public, I ain't even worried about it, I know who this is for. But boy let me tell you, I didn't need these lights and these cameras before and I don't need 'em now. Let me tell you something. The camera can't make the Movement and the camera can't stop the Movement, all it can do is record the motion of it. But anything that

the Europeans?" Hold on a minute. I must say this to my Libyan brothers and sisters, you all are too damn quick to forget what your enemies have done to you. I wouldn't do that if I were you. **My Arab brothers, you are too quick to forget what European power has done in Africa, you should never forget because the moment you forget it will happen all over again and they are planning right now while we're talking, to kill Gaddafi, to kill the Arab movement.** I see Europeans sitting down with you all, having tea. Even I remember Omar Mukhtar, I remember what he and the others went through, I can't sit down with the Europeans and say it's all over now just because you call me comrade. You're no damn comrade. I want to hear the talk of justice. I want to hear no damn comrade talk. You can't be my comrade until justice comes, don't call me comrade, give me justice, empty out your coffers that you have enriched yourself from sucking the blood of Africa, then call me comrade, then call me brother, but until you do,

I can't trust your comradeship. I can't trust your phony attempt at solidarity. But you need alliances, we stand a better chance being allied among all those that have been bitten by the same dog.

I know it hurts but hell let me tell you something about this little brother. You know I don't care about pleasing you, if I have to bridle my tongue. From the time I was a little boy, my mother always told me, son, bless her little heart, tell the truth. When I met the Honourable Elijah Muhammad thirty years ago, he never bridled my tongue, he said as long as it's the truth, tell it. So naturally when I hooked up with Reverend Jackson, they don't understand a brother like me 'cause you see I can't shut my mouth for some political consideration, I gotta tell the truth 'cause I'm not running for *no office*. The enemy is the enemy as long as you got the leverage and the power, he'll bow, the moment you turn your back on that enemy and give up the power that keeps him in check, he'll come against you again and if you doubt what I say, you will live to rue the consequence of your neglect of history. You can call me a hater if you want, I'm not a hater, I'm a practical teacher and watcher of history and I know that you don't change, I know your nature, I know your father, I know the thought when it enters your brain before it forms because God has given us that knowledge of you. So no matter how sweet you talk, I listen, but I will *never* think that you are a friend, not until you do the thing that makes you a friend and no good word makes you a friend of ours. Because that's all we've been hearing from you, all these good words.

NON-WHITEISM

Stop all this skinning and grinning up in the face of your open enemy. Cut it out and you Black women and men, *come away from your slave master's children*. And if you want a good woman, Black man, go get that Black woman and put her in your arms and hold that Black woman. I think it's time that we end all this. The Quran says "All mankind, surely we have created you from a male and a female and made you tribes and families that you may know each other." We were created into tribes and families but the tribe must become the family, the tribe must become the nation and the nation must reach out and form one World, that's where we're headed and you know something, when you reach that point of affinity, I must say this to the Arabs, the Jews are gonna help get you together, and once you get in near proximity to each other you gonna bond 'cause you naturally belong to one another. You must bond, and Israel as a common enemy is gonna force Arabs to come closer and when you get to a certain proximity of each other, a

new force will take place and that force is called affinity and you will become solid and you will become a new entity and then when we become a new entity here, our brothers and sisters in Central and South Africa become a new entity there, then we reach out here to there to the Caribbean, to Africa, to the Middle East, to the Far East and you know what happens under affinity, when the cells begin to multiply they all look alike, they all do a similar work, but at a certain point in their development, they begin to specialise and then you will notice cells, like that are gonna be the tissue for the brain, have come from all parts of the body can form the cells that form the brain and **when they have that kind of affinity they cast out the one that does not belong.**

See when we start coming together family, you know we're family, you can feel it, I can't see you because of the brightness of the lights but I can look out there and sense that you and I don't feel these divisions tonight, we feel like family tonight, is that right? We feel like family tonight, is that right? Now — name everyone else that has that same kinship with us and struggle, there's an affinity there and all we do is cast out the one who is the opponent of our solidarity and then with our global solidarity we have found the key, the key to ensure our survival. The Palestinian cause, the Arab cause, the cause of our brothers in Southern Africa, sisters, the cause of those who suffer in Asia, in the Isles of the Pacific, in Central and South America, *that struggle is one struggle*, it is our struggle on another level in another place, in another time and under other circumstances but it's really one struggle, and so beloved let's look beyond and reach beyond ourselves, first reach for yourselves, then reach beyond yourselves, but when you and I come into closeness with others, don't coalesce with others from a position of weakness, lest your struggle be co-opted and you become their struggle. We are not to be used by anyone who is struggling in the world, we are not to be used, we want others in the world to know if you think like this, "Well those Negroes in America, they're nothing so we'll use them to bring down the mighty ones, then we'll go free. You don't have to worry about them, because they are animals, they don't have a right to exist." If you think like that, if you think like that secretly, Allah will get rid of you because these people in America are very special. I want the world to know beloved that they participated — we had Africans, some Arabs, some Jews, some Europeans and Americans that put us in this condition. They participated in the worst holocaust in human history. Wait, wait, wait, wait. Listen because we have been brought to nothing, we are like Joseph in the Bible, sold

into bondage by our own family, but we became master in the land, but we were sold as slaves and all the other brothers had to come by us. Now I don't care what you do in the Middle East, in Asia, in Africa, in Central and South America, unless the brother and sister in America rise up and deal with this grotesque beast here, your freedom there means nothing. Hear me well. Now if that is true and it is, then you all listen you all should help us because we are in the vanguard of the struggle. I'm closing now.

Less than 6 million Jews are so strong and you have to admire this about them, they're strong, they are organised, exceedingly intelligent and manipulative. Oh yes indeed. Look what I'm trying to say is both the Democrat and the Republican party bows to their power and this government will make no policy toward Israel that will alienate 6 million Jews. Are you listening Black people. These are our Arab brothers and our African brothers and sisters, they suffer because of America's foreign policy. The whole Black world, "Third world" suffers because of policies made right here in Washington, D.C. Yes suppose we became solid, suppose we began to use our tremendous purchasing power of nearly 190 billion dollars and timed it inward so that at least that money would circulate among ourselves three or four times before it goes out of our community. Suppose we recognise what it means to be politically mature and economically strong. Hey, then we could put so much pressure on this government, we could change their policies toward Southern Africa, we could change the policies towards the Middle East, we could make the government have an even handed policy in the Middle East. You can't make them by talk "We think that you all ought to be more even handed and more moral." Well, you might as well get your handkerchief and go on to San Francisco, honey. That's the way you look but sister the only way America will bow is if she sees *leverage, power* and there is power in Black America and that's why they wanted to destroy Jesse, this is why they wanted to use Farakhan's words to embarrass Jesse, because Jesse was making a bid for real political power in this country and those that have it don't want to give it up. You got the potential to stop this beast from her beastiality and all of my brothers in Africa, Asia, Central and South America who recognise the value of us sitting right in the midst of the dragon, you ought to say those are our brothers and sisters, I think we ought to help them.

1. Peace be upon you.
2. Prayer.
3. Holy war.

ONE PEOPLE ONE AZANIA



Zimbabwe: Problems and Prospects of Socialist Development



Comrades, friends, ladies and gentlemen,

I am very pleased to have been invited to discuss Zimbabwe with you. In coming here this evening I am reminded of my own university days and how it was amidst the academic walls of the medical school that my political awareness was fostered. In those days I and my student friends were already becoming aware of the inequalities that existed both in Zimbabwe and also in South Africa. At the same time, we recognised our position of relative privilege and were guiltily (and not so guiltily) enjoying the good life. We realised that for us there was a choice. We could work towards qualifications and the advancement of our own position or we could direct our thoughts and mould our attitudes towards a more austere way of life, with a more altruistic set of goals. Whatever the decision, as students, it was one which we could ponder at leisure after classes. We could support demonstrations, engage in debate, increase our factual repertoire, but delay the decision for total commitment.

After graduation there continued to be an apparent choice. The role of a busy doctor, spending his time ministering to others, being called out at all hours, was one which could provide a relatively adequate alibi. The lack of total commitment could be rationalised away as due to the urgent demands of the job; and in between the good life continued.

RECONCILIATION

I need not describe the march of political events of the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s. Suffice it to say that the relentless greed of imperialism in Zimbabwe knew no bounds. The suffering of the masses was disregarded, ignored and aggravated by the brutality of those who were themselves victims of the class struggle. The system of colonialism and imperialism was one in which pious sadism flourished. As those of our leaders who timidly asked for a plate at the high table, for a small share in the affairs of the state, were banned, imprisoned or simply 'disappeared', the struggle for basic rights took on a more acute dimension. In desperation the leaders turned to armed struggle. With the commitment to armed struggle, there was no longer any room for choice.

An address given by Dr Ushewokunze at the University of Zimbabwe on 31 July 1981, this paper highlights the problem of a liberated country and the dangers of national conventions. Dr Ushewokunze was Minister of Health in Mugabe's cabinet and is presently the Minister of Home Affairs.

At the moment, resolve narrowed the horizon — to permit of only one lifestyle — a life directed solely to victory.

During the years of the war there was great unanimity of opinion — in fact, one could say there was no sustained disagreement. We shared a common enemy and as brothers we fought for equality, and many, many died for this. It can be said that we revolted against our oppressors and participated in the revolution. We were the revolution. We were very clear in our thinking; contradictions were resolved.

It was as revolutionaries that we came to Lancaster. It was there that we were asked to gamble our reputation, based on actions not words, for our freedom.

When our President Comrade Mugabe asked, as Prime Minister, for reconciliation, he was acknowledging, amongst other things, that our former foes now required liberating alongside us. We understood that not only our former enemies but also our own people required educating in order that they choose equality rather than pay lip service to it. When the gun was put to rest, the dialogue was started. For many of us this dialogue appears repetitive. It enunciates statements that are well known to us, we become impatient for more overt change. But we must remember that for most of our number, who have been denied access to books, access to genuine knowledge of the meaning and workings of socialism that this is a new uncharted territory. How did the suitors in Shakespeare's play choose when faced with the three caskets? Which contained the reward? Was it the golden casket, the silver one, or that which was made of lead?

SOCIALISM

What, then, is socialism? Is there a single definition? Is there a single path to it? At which stage is it achieved? We do know that socialism is not welfare capitalism. Welfare capital-

ism is the benevolent paternalism whereby a portion of the privileged's wealth is doled out for free schools, free health, good roads, low-cost housing, subsidised food, and the poor are protected from the worst excesses of poverty, provided that the numbers of the ever present poor are not too great, and provided that economic power remains essentially concentrated in the same hands as before. At a certain stage the giving stops to protect the goose that lays the golden egg.

Since Independence it has openly been acknowledged that although we may be politically free — and even this is doubtful because of the Lancaster House Agreement — we are still not economically free. Land, raw materials and industry are substantially in private hands, often directed from abroad. As will be shown later in this discussion, of Zimbabwe's fifteen leading manufacturing companies, twelve are foreign owned, as are a majority of the commercial banks. The same is essentially true of mining and agriculture. In these fields, multinationals, whose names are household words, have developed an octopus-like power hitherto unresponsive to any control or even to the wishes of the masses. In our lifetime, food, oil and other materials have become powerful weapons in the hands of the political forces often operating behind the scenes to prevent socialist change, without appearing to be directly involved. For these reasons it is imperative that the land and the nation's natural resources and industries should be predominantly under public control and scrutiny. It is apparent that ultimately the struggle for socialism in Zimbabwe cannot be divorced from that in other countries. We need to be aware of, and constantly on our guard against, the dangers of tribalism, incipient corruption, destabilisation and loss of purpose that may be fostered by the enemies of Zimbabwe.

We know that socialism is concerned with equality (and not merely

equality of opportunity), brotherhood and freedom.

What then is the prerequisite for socialism in Zimbabwe? It is agreement to have socialism. We do not require the agreement of the neo-colonialist forces for this, but the essential agreement is that of the masses of Zimbabwe. Our overwhelming problem in Zimbabwe is how to achieve this agreement. Our people, who have nearly a century of oppression and humiliation to recover from, are timid, are afraid to relinquish the bourgeois material effects which they have. In many cases these possessions are pathetic bits and pieces painfully collected over a lifetime of hardship. As the new Zimbabwean begins to stretch his limbs with new found confidence he does not yet appear to be ready to make sacrifices when he considers himself to have so little. The emerging Zimbabwean is an easy prey to the forces of capitalism, of neo-colonialism. **The deliberate policy of the former racist regime was to exclude us from training in essential skills, and this lack of trained manpower has added to our vulnerability.** We have seen it take its toll on the African continent. We may well ask ourselves, what has independence done for some of our brethren on this continent who seem to have been mesmerised by welfare capitalism? Has the neo-colonial ideology ushered in equality and a fairer world?

EXPERIENCE

We in Zimbabwe are fortunate in that we have already chosen to develop solidarity with and secure assistance from socialist countries throughout the world, and we are able to learn from their experience of socialism stretching over decades. We know from such experience that mass education, on which our government has rightly placed emphasis, can facilitate socialist awareness. Here the mass media can play a powerful part in fostering knowledge, awareness, a sense of solidarity and questioning of the outmoded institutions and values. Those who presume to educate the public should be imbued with a sense of responsibility to the public. Here the government has made a start in freeing the press from South African control and establishing the mass media trust.

Similarly, the government has made a useful, if modest, start in encouraging worker participation in industry and in establishing co-operatives and collective farming. Banks and finance corporations should be subjected to greater public scrutiny and control — already the government has a majority shareholding in one bank and a 40 per cent shareholding in another bank in Zimbabwe. Public financing should be characterised by a fully developed system of public

accountability. The labour movement should be seen to be in alliance with the government. The Party should act as intermediary between the masses and the government. Individual members of parliament and senators should remain in constant touch with the people, so that the permanent black majority in parliament ensures the momentum towards socialism.

In the end our prospects depend upon our choices. No, not our, *your* choices. The future of our country and of our advance to socialism depends upon the commitment that each one of you makes to conquer the enemy, greed and ignorance. You have a duty to enhance your own self-awareness, to recognise your duty to work with, alongside and through our Party to reach the people of Zimbabwe so that, with their enlightenment, we can achieve that for which we have fought.

TRANSITIONAL PHASE

Let me now as a political-scientist take a calm and cold look at our beautiful country — Zimbabwe. I believe we are going through a national democratic revolution whereby society and its institutions have to be democratised. It is a transitional phase to socialism and the guiding principles are socialist. Our Prime Minister has made it clear that we envisage a socialist society in the final analysis. Let us, however, remind ourselves how early in the process of defining a new Zimbabwe the present moment is, and let this serve too as a warning that humility and caution are in order in commenting on such a situation. Where then do we begin an analysis of 'problems and prospects of socialist development in Zimbabwe'?



Obviously, in trying to make an analysis of socialist development in Zimbabwe much will depend upon our reading of the character of ZANU (PF), of the class forces which it represents, and of the kind of politics and ideology which it has come to embody — of how well, in short, ZANU (PF) itself really has 'learnt its dialectics'. Such a reading is no very straightforward exercise, however. The evidence is slippery and the scope for difference of opinion and of emphasis vast. For this reason, there may be some point in bracketing temporarily the ZANU (PF) question in order to look

at the actual terrain for manoeuvre which confronts our government. It is, in any case, a way of posing the issue from which scientific socialists can hope to learn.

Lenin's enforced reversion to the new economic policy, Mao's early post-1948 dalliance with China's 'national capitalists', suggest that in the transition to socialism, the shortest distance between two points is not necessarily a straight line, that hurried and unprogrammed change can sometimes be as dangerous as going too slow. What of the Zimbabwean case in this regard?

Certainly, the inherited terrain is formidably congested and the need for tactical dexterity patent. A good starting point would be to remind ourselves that Zimbabwe possesses a notably dependent capitalist economy. It is well endowed with minerals, with gold almost the country's largest foreign exchange earner, while on the agricultural side, as much as one-half of Zimbabwe's agricultural production is exported, contributing a third or more of foreign exchange earnings. Nonetheless, this is also an economy where a quite highly developed manufacturing sector accounts for about a quarter of gross domestic product.

FOREIGN INVESTMENTS

Despite such diversification, however, concentration of ownership and a very high degree of external control has remained one of the economy's two most distinctive characteristics; the other being the fact that black Zimbabweans are estimated to control no more than 12 per cent of the productive capacity of the economy! Thus, domestic capital — in agriculture, light industry, commerce and services — merely fills gaps in an economy in which 7.6 per cent of manufacturing firms produce 68 per cent of total output, and where, of the country's fifteen leading profit-making companies, twelve are foreign owned (as are three banks); in which mining production is almost entirely dominated by foreign firms (88 per cent of jobs and 95 per cent of output), and in which, even in agriculture, perhaps as much as three-quarters of profits accrue to externally owned plantations and estates.

A number of very large companies control key sectors — Turner and Newell (asbestos), Union Carbide (chrome). Lonrho (mining and manufacturing), Delta (South African breweries) — while the South African giant, Anglo-American, which is in mining (nickel, copper, coal), iron and steel, agriculture (Hippo Valley for sugar, Mazoe Estate for citrus), and milling, and which has one or more directors on eighty-two different companies, has spread itself right across the economy.

Of course, these firms almost all rely on migrant and low wage labour and have almost all been involved in high levels of remittance of repatriated profits and dividends — two things any socialist government can be expected to bridle at. The big question is: can the possession of bargaining counters by the Zimbabwean bourgeoisie make private capital relatively immune from radical government action? This remains to be seen as no one knows what lies in the womb of time.

Some economists say that it is hard to find a sub-Saharan African example comparable to the Zimbabwe case, in which the role of foreign investments has been so long established, so deeply integrated into the sector producing the bulk of the output, so strongly interconnected with local capital, and in consequence probably as difficult to foresee being quickly altered. This is the major problem in the way of socialist development in Zimbabwe. That is why the statement in the ZANU (PF) electoral manifesto must elicit objective sympathy. I quote: **'One of the existing practical realities is the capitalist system which cannot be transformed overnight' and the attendant formulation that 'private enterprise will have to continue until circumstances are ripe for socialist change'. These 'circumstances' are the problems in socialist development in Zimbabwe.**

It might be tempting, were it not for the circumstances which are not yet ripe, to present as some material approximation to socialism the substantial state sector which does exist — marketing boards, electricity, railways, airline, posts and telecommunications, an industrial development corporation, all these together accounting for one-third of the country's total economic activity — and the quite diverse assortment of available state control — over-prices, imports, foreign exchange, new projects. This is an overt prospect in socialist development in Zimbabwe.

It, however, goes without saying that in this national democratic revolutionary phase forward-looking people ultimately would be much more comfortable with a production pattern which, even at the minimum, serviced the 'basic needs' of the population in ways that 'market forces' are never likely to do. There must, therefore, be advocacy for the movement from political to 'economic independence'. This would create 'ripe circumstances' for the controlled nationalisation of certain institutions, extended control over industry and mining and significant regulation of private sector investment decisions. In addition, this would widen the scope for the establishment of workers' control in all economic sectors. Again, the problem of the terrain being what it

is, no precipitate or unconsidered measures would follow from this approach. The general thrust must, nevertheless, be generated and sustained. Majority shareholding must remain inside the country and projects re-invested.



Robert Mugabe meeting Lord Carrington, Minister of Foreign Affairs, during the Lancaster House negotiations.

LAND QUESTION

The second conditioning factor in Zimbabwe's political economy is the land question, source of much of the heat behind the country's revolutionary thrust over the years and now a policy area of considerable challenge to our government. It provides a compelling argument for structured change. The problem is the grip on productive agricultural land by the private sector as a fundamental factor in determining the shape of such land reform initiatives as are likely to be forthcoming. One of the problems in socialist development vis-a-vis the land question is the compromise we made during the Lancaster House conference, at British dictate, to accept the entrenchment (effectively for ten years), in the constitution's Declaration of Rights, of a stringent section on 'freedom of deprivation of property'. The implications of this can be summarised as follows.

Compulsory acquisition can only take place when it is for the 'public benefit' or 'in the case of underutilised land, settlement land for agricultural purposes'. Acquisition can only be lawful provided there is 'prompt payment of adequate compensation', remitted abroad 'within reasonable time'. The provisions are justifiable and thus the supreme court could have a vital role to play. Much is left to the judges, since there is no definition of underutilised land, adequate compensation or prompt payment. In short, the British, with this section in the constitution, have tried to corner the new Zimbabwe government and thus control the pattern of socialist development in Zimbabwe even more effectively than they cornered some of their former colonies.

This can be seen as a compromise that cost us the pace of socialist advance. This carries the dangers which, if less dramatic than short-term economic crises, are perhaps even more serious in the longer run. For there is the very real possibility of becoming trapped on the terrain of short-term calculation, circumstances never quite so ripe for socialist change as to make realisation of such change a straightforward exercise.

RISKS

Then, with powerful forces acting quite self-consciously to reinforce pragmatism and caution, long-term goals of transformation may, without ever being quite ripe, merely wither on the vine. I have been told that a transition to socialism is never risk-free. **The deftest (and most successful) of revolutionaries have been those who have pushed carefully but creatively at the margin of risk, expanding that margin and increasingly controlling it.** This round of Zimbabwean revolution is much more fraught with complexity than the armed struggle which preceded it.

Nor are the Zimbabwe government's calculations with reference to this complexity being made in a vacuum. Bourgeois commentators summarise the other side of the Zimbabwean coin by talking of a possible 'crisis of expectations'. This is not a contradiction which is easily resolved. Yet even if some greater risk is likely to be envisaged in meeting some of the goals like free schooling, free health services, more and better paid jobs, social security, etc. — problems in socialist development in Zimbabwe still exist, for, viewed from another perspective, such expectations are real class demands, coming from those exploited classes in Zimbabwean society who not only wish to redress their historic situation of deprivation but who also have every reason in so doing to see the settlers and the multinationals as their class enemies. **Moreover, it is precisely in the class conflictual nature of mass demands that there lies the possibility of workers and peasants coming to see in socialism a broader solution to their deprivation aimed at the fundamental transformation of the productive relations of Zimbabwean society.** Equally, it is when such a transformation project is not in train that class demands can dissipate into mere 'expectations' (the understandable, but economic, drive for more education, more health, more pay, more land) and the movement's response transmuted into mere welfarism.

In the latter event, such demands are then too easily construed as 'problems' to be dealt with administratively — the social democratic trap — rather than becoming the substance of prioritisation and self-

conscious planning by the deprived classes themselves. Class alliances fragment, and (we) politicians, far from being catalysts of socialist consciousness, begin to outbid each other to deliver sectoral and regional favour. Or, alternatively, we turn ourselves into instruments of suppressing what we think are unreasonable demands altogether. This is the problem inherent in our socialist development and which could then be interpreted, not so much as failure to 'satisfy popular expectations' but as demobilisation of the class struggle.

WHITES

Let us turn for a moment to the bourgeoisie, whose whites — only a couple of a hundred thousand in a population of some seven million — who nonetheless continue to dominate the infrastructure of the Zimbabwe society virtually across

the direction of the judicious Africanisation of established structures.

Nonetheless, the multinational fraction of the 'bourgeoisie' does have considerably more room for manoeuvre in the long run than its 'settler' counterpart, and can be expected to continue to use it in an attempt to pre-empt radicalisation of Zimbabwean nationalism in the direction of socialism. The game of the most intelligent of this bourgeoisie must now be — in Fanon's words — 'to capture the vanguard, to turn the movement to the right, and to "disarm" the people'. Part of the tactic here consists of threat, tacit or otherwise, i.e. capital flight, flight of personnel, industrial and agricultural collapse, and part will consist of the most obvious carrots, i.e. promotions, directorships, even bribery. But part of it,

will sometimes intervene. Dealing with this aspect of racism will divert us from our socialist course.

BLACK MIDDLE CLASS

At this point in Zimbabwe's history, Maynardism must be, will be, even more urgently the white-cum-bourgeois strategy: the creation of a black middle class. For Mr Maynard, self-evidently, had learnt his dialectics. This will present problems to socialist development in Zimbabwe. Viewed in these terms and in continental perspective, it would be surprising if there were not such recruits and more in Zimbabwe — even among you here today.

Despite massive educational deprivation at the base, and real shortfall in black skills relevant to our situation, Zimbabwe does have a large pool of trained Africans —



Multinationals: The Long Reach

the board. This is far from a uniform group, being roughly divided between settlers (i.e. farmers, skilled workers, small businessmen and civil servants) and those local actors who are attendant upon, or employed by, large multinational enterprises. **It is the settler group which has felt itself to be most threatened — in their land, in their jobs, in their lifestyle — by African advance, and most supportive of limitations upon reform inherent in our advance to socialism.** Multinational capital thinks it can live, on the terrain of neo-colonialism, with a much more adventurous version of black advance and plans to do so. The interests of these two elements of bourgeois society show considerable overlap of self-identification and interest. In any case, multinational capital must certainly be fearful of too precipitous a rate of change, even if such change were merely to be in

too, will be to draw 'the vanguard' even more firmly on to the cultural terrain of international capitalism and to make the values and *modus operandi* of this global system the 'commonsense' of the new African petit-bourgeoisie-in-the-making. It will be a part of the class struggle which will be fought not in the bush but on such prosaic 'battlefields' as the sundowner circuit, the ministerial office and the business meeting over lunch at some posh Salisbury hotel or club. It will be fought by the more sophisticated white civil servants, businessmen, local managers of multinational firms as they regroup on the ground, and by the purveyors of aid, capital and technology. It would be a mistake to underestimate the importance of this aspect of the problem in our socialist development in Zimbabwe. There are limits upon such bourgeois action, of course; white supremacy is not merely a calculating machine and sheer racism

trained both locally and abroad. Complementing those already *in situ*, many of those trained abroad will be returning, and some have already done so, to claim their place in the sun, often from western-sponsored programmes which have been more or less self-consciously designed to groom them for such a moment — the middle-class or Maynardism moment. In addition, there are in most sectors, public and private, skilled and semi-skilled Africans whose advancement up the job ladder has been artificially constrained by racist definitions of competence. Such facts present both an opportunity and a danger, the danger lying in the possibility that some fundamental characteristics of the white economy in particular the extreme inequality in wealth, income, land distribution and decision making, will survive, with the skilled and educated blacks slipping into white shoes, and thereby creating themselves as

a black middle class with interests directly at variance with the majority of the population and in support of growing integration with and subordination to the world capitalist economy. Thus a 'new' or 'bureaucratic' petit-bourgeoisie will begin to form around the state and corporate hierarchies, and perhaps in future there will also be private sector opportunities for the latter to exploit for themselves. In short, black advancement will now be the name of the game, and in that context it will not be the availability of recruits for 'mere Africanisation' which is in question. Rather, the crucial factor will be the political and ideological context in which such potential recruits now find themselves and in which they must define their practice. **Marcellino dos Santos, a senior FRELIMO leader, once said that the most important way to guarantee against such deprivation as just spelt out was to popularise the revolutionary aims and to create such a situation that if, for one reason or another, at some future time some people start trying to change their aims, they will meet with resistance from the masses.** This is a prospect in our socialist development in Zimbabwe.

PEASANTRY

What are the prospects for a people's politics to safeguard the integrity of the present phase of the Zimbabwe revolution? An initial key to this should lie in the role of the peasantry, since it was among the peasantry that the Patriotic Front alliance found its popular base for advancing the armed struggle as effectively and differentially as it did. Perhaps the key is to be found

in our programme of collectivisation — peasant agriculture will be the basis of collectivisation — such collective agriculture will be by 'persuasion rather than compulsion'. When established, such units will provide the socio-political basis for the peasantry's organisation as an even more fully self-conscious class — an insurance for good prospects for socialist development in Zimbabwe.

Such collective units should not be allowed to degenerate, as elsewhere in Africa, into mere instruments of state control of peasant agriculture and peasant surpluses. There must be developed methods of political work which simplify persuasion. There must be countervailing mechanisms of popular participation and control, there must be a balance between leadership and mass action. This assumes the instinct for democratisation will remain as it is now. It is the way in which this instinct is given current expression in the rural areas as institutionalised and focussed peasant power that will be the litmus test of the prospects of socialist development in Zimbabwe.

WORKING CLASS

What of the Zimbabwean working class, an obvious guarantor of a socialist transition? Of course, the category 'working class' is a slippery one under Zimbabwean conditions because much of the workforce is in migratory movement between urban and rural settings and sometimes from beyond our borders and, therefore, not that easily categorised. Moreover, this workforce is quite diversified. The

bases for extreme working-class discontent are also patent. Between 1965 and 1975 the wage gap between black and white had actually doubled. Given the vast discrepancies in income and life chance in Zimbabwe, one must be cautious about using labels like 'economism' or 'labour aristocracy' to characterise the thrust of such labour action, even when it does come, as is sometimes the case, from those sections of the workforce which are, relatively, least deprived and best organised.

Two difficulties arise, however. First, it must be emphasised that the terrain for working-class organisation has hitherto been partially organised culminating in the recent formation of the ZTCU. Despite settler-government restrictions, there are a number of African trade unions, many with some history of struggle, albeit struggle defined, by and large, in quite apolitical terms and directed towards fairly narrowly defined objectives. Less satisfactorily, some such unions have a history of extensive penetration by the most dubious of western influences, and these are influences which are at present again zeroing in on the African working class in preparation for the destabilisation of the good prospects for socialist development in Zimbabwe. Only the development of a self-conscious alliance of workers and peasants — with appropriate political institutions — capable of arbitrating competing demands by the popular classes and resolving such contradictions relatively non-antagonistically provides the key to good prospects of socialist development in Zimbabwe.

Race, Caste and Class in South Africa

This contribution by A. Sivanandan, editor of *Race and Class*, a journal published by the Institute of Race Relations in London, England is intended to stimulate discussion on the Azapo policy that race is a class determinant. Sivanandan takes issue with Dr Neville Alexander who considers it a "scientific fact that 'race' is a non-entity". (*National Situation* at 31; *Nation and Ethnicity* at 20).

I have certain grave misgivings about the analysis of race, class and caste proffered by Dr Neville Alexander and published in the papers "Nation and Ethnicity in South Africa" (*Frank Talk* Volume 1 Number 1, February/March 1984 pages 19-23) and "The National Situation" (*Mobilise and Consolidate*, February 1983 pages 25-34). Alexander's discussion of course centres around Azania, but the questions he raised are not unrelated to the problems of other Third World countries. And it is for that reason — and in a spirit of enquiry and friendly discourse — that I take issue with him.

The crux of the matter lies in Alexander's discussion of "colour-caste" and the implications of his analysis for revolutionary practice. I will consider terminological and conceptual issues before proceeding to Alexander's central thesis.

RACE

1. Alexander seems to be saying that to accept the concept of race — however used (anthropologically, biologically or sociologically) — is to accept a racial classification of people, giving each (race) a weightage or, in the alternative, denying its weightage (and therefore a hierarchy of superiority) altogether. It follows from this that the assertion that race "A" is superior or inferior to race "B" is to be condemned because it assumes the existence of groups of human beings called "races". The assertion that "all races" are equal in their potential for development and the acquisition of skill is to be condemned for the same reason.

So that, for Alexander, it is as meaningless to say that some races are superior to others as it is to say that all races are equal. Hence there is no such thing as race.

But you cannot do away with racism by rejecting the concept of race.

2. Alexander denies the reality of race as a biological entity. Hence he denies the existence of racial groups. For the limited purposes of a genetic science, however, he is prepared to describe such groups as 'breeding populations' — since 'such a description has no coherent political, economical or ideological significance'. (see No Sizwe *One Azania, One Nation*, London, Zed Press, 1979). But however you describe them — and however 'inherently' neutral the description — some 'breeding populations' do think of themselves as superior to

other 'breeding populations' and act out that belief to their own social, economic and political advantage. Changing the description does not change the practice — but the practice can taint the description till that ceases to be neutral (so that for racism we merely substitute 'breeding populationism'.)

In the final analysis, it is the practice that defines terminology, not terminology the practice. The meaning of the word is *not* the action it produces. If so, to destroy the word would be to destroy the act — and that is metaphysics. On the contrary, it is action which gives meaning to a word — it is in the act that the word is made flesh. In the beginning was the act, not the word. Thus 'black', which the practice of racism defined as a perjorative term, ceases to be perjorative when that practice is challenged. Black is as black does.

You cannot do away with racism by using a different terminology.

3. Similarly, the use of the term ethnicity to differentiate between human groups that 'for some natural, social or cultural reason come to constitute a (temporary) breeding population' is equally irrelevant. In fact, it is "dangerously misleading". For, in trying to remove the idea of group superiority while keeping the idea of group difference, ethnicity sidles into a culturalism which predicates separate but equal development, apartheid. It substitutes the vertical division of ethnicity for the horizontal division of class, political pluralism for class conflict, and freezes the class struggle.

4. The concept of national groups implies "a fragmentation of the population into potentially or actually antagonistic groupings", and thereby facilitates "the maintenance of hegemony by the ruling classes". And the concept of national minorities is essentially a European one and one that once again obscures the essential class nature of society.

5. But 'race' in its original sense of 'a group of persons or animals or plants connected by common descent or origin' (*Shorter Oxford*

Dictionary) is no less neutral a term than 'breeding populations'. And that there are differences between such groups is an observable fact. What is *material*, however, is neither the term nor the group differences it implies, but the differential power exercised by some groups over others by virtue of, and on the basis of, these differences — which in turn engenders the belief that such differences are material. **What gives race a bad name, in other words, is not the racial differences it implies or even the racial prejudice which springs from these differences, but the racist ideology that grades these differences in a hierarchy of power — in order to rationalise and justify exploitation. And in that sense it belongs to the period of capitalism.**

CASTE

6. Alexander's 'central thesis', however, is that 'colour-caste' best describes 'the officially classified population registration groups in South Africa' (*Nation and Ethnicity* page 22) — and that it is of 'pivotal political importance to characterise them as such' (No Sizwe). About the importance of correct analysis for correct political action I have no disagreement. But, for that very reason, I find the characterisation of South Africa's racial groups as colour-castes not only wrong, but misleading.

The argument for using the caste concept is made on the basis that South Africa's racial system (my phrase) has the same characteristics as the caste system in India. These refer to such things as rituals, privileges, mode of life and group cohesion ('an integrative as opposed to a separarist dynamic'). And whether or not 'the origin of the caste system in India is related to the question of colour', the crucial difference is that in India it is 'legitimised by cultural-religious criteria', whereas in South Africa it is 'legitimised by so-called "racial" criteria'. But in both, caste relations are 'social relations based on private property carried over in amended form from the pre-capitalist colonial situation to the present capitalist period'. To 'distinguish it in its historical specificity', however, Alexander would characterise the caste system in South Africa as a

colour-caste system — in which 'the castes articulate with the fundamental class structure of the social formations . . .' (No Sizwe).

But, in the first place, these are analogies at the level of the superstructure, with a passing consideration for the 'historical specificity' that distinguishes the two systems. They relate to ideological, cultural characteristics adjusted to take in considerations of class and social formations, but they do not spring from an analysis of the specific social formations themselves — they are not historically specific. That specificity has to be sought not in this or that set of religious or racial criteria, but in the social formation and therefore the historical epoch from which those criteria spring. The social formation in which the Indian caste system prevailed is qualitatively different to the social formation in South Africa, and indeed to that of India today. Secondly, it is not enough to say that caste relations are 'social relations in private property carried over in amended form' from a pre-capitalist era to a capitalist one, without specifying at the same time that private property in the earlier period referred mainly to land, whereas in capitalist society it refers also to machinery, factories, equipment. And that alters the nature of their respective social relations fundamentally. Thirdly,

and most importantly, Alexander makes no reference to the *function* of caste. Caste relations in India grew organically out of caste functions of labour. They were relations of production predicated by the level of the productive forces but determined by Hindu ideology and polity. But as the productive forces rose and the relations of production changed accordingly, caste lost its original *function* — and, un-needed by capital, it was outlawed by the state. But because India, unlike South Africa, is a society of a thousand modes, caste still performs some function in the interstices of its pre-capitalist formation and caste relations in its culture. South Africa, however, has caste relations without ever having had a caste function. Such relations have not grown out of a pre-capitalist mode; nor are they relations of production stemming from the capitalist mode. They are, instead, social relations enforced by the state to demarcate racial groups with a view to differential exploitation within a capitalist system.

To put it differently, caste as an instrument of exploitation belongs to an earlier social formation — what Samir Amin calls the tributary mode — where the religio-political factor and not the economic was dominant and hence determined social relations. The Hindu religion, like all

pre-capitalist religions, encompassed all aspects of human life. Hindu ideology determined social relations from which the state could extract the maximum surplus: the caste system. It is in this sense that India's great Marxist scholar Kosambi in *The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India* (London, 1965) defines caste as 'class at a lower level of the productive forces'.

CLASS

In the capitalist system, however, it is the economic factor which is dominant; it is that which determines social relations and, in the final analysis, the political and ideological superstructures. And how these are shaped and modified depends on how the economic system is made to yield maximum surplus value with minimum social dislocation and political discontent. Exploitation, in other words, is mediated through the state which ostensibly represents the interests of all classes.

Since European capitalism emerged with the conquest of the Black world, the exploitation of the peoples of these countries found justification in theories of white superiority. Such attitudes were already present in Catholicism, but, muted by the belief that the heathen could be saved, found no



The economic exploitation of the colonies went hand in hand with the development of racist social systems. This picture, of bales of cotton ready for shipment to Britain and Indian cotton workers with their colonial overseers, is typical of what was happening all over the world.



Calvin (left) and Darwin (right) . . . they shook hands over the chained body of the black at Union.

ideology of racial superiority and their institutionalisation in the state apparatus).

SOUTH AFRICA

But not in South Africa. Here, though the economy is based in the capitalist mode, the superstructure bears no organic relationship to it. It does not on the whole respond to the economic imperatives of the system. And that inflexibility in turn inhibits the base, holds it down, prevents it from pursuing its own dynamic. Hence, there is a basic contradiction between the superstructure and the base.

Where that contradiction is located, however, is in that part of the superstructure which relates to the black working class — and black people generally. In effect, there are two superstructures (to the same economic base) — one for the whites and another for the blacks. The white superstructure, so to speak, accords with the economic imperatives — and is modified with changes in the level of productive forces and of class struggle. It exhibits all the trappings of capitalist democracy (including a labour movement that represents the interests of the white working class) and of capitalist culture (except when it comes to mixing with the blacks). For the blacks, however, there is no franchise, no representation, no rights, no liberties, no economic or social mobility, no labour movement that cannot be put down with the awesome power of the state — no nothing. The 'black superstructure', in other words, is at odds with the capitalist economy, sets the economy at odds with itself, and inhibits its free development — so that only changes in that superstructure, in racism, can release the economy into its own dynamic. **South Africa, therefore, is an exceptional capitalist social formation.**

In the second place, South Africa's racist ideology, compared to that of other capitalist societies, has not changed over the years. Instead, it has gathered to itself the traits, features, beliefs, superstitions, habits and customs of both pre-capitalist and capitalist social formations. Its caste features bear an uncanny resemblance to the Hindu caste system of medieval India, though we know them to be inspired by Calvinism, the religion of capital. It combines, in Ken Jordaan's exact phrase, 'the Afrikaners' fundamentalist racialism with the instrumentalist racism of British imperialism'. ('Iberian and Anglo-Saxon Racism,' *Race & Class* Vol 20, No 4, Spring 1979). It finds authority in religion and in science both at once — in the doctrines of the Dutch Reformed

ideological justification in scripture. The forces that unleashed the bourgeois revolution, however, were also the forces that swept aside the religious inhibitions that stood in the way of the new class and installed instead a new set of beliefs that sought virtue in profit and profit in exploitation. 'Material success was at once the sign and reward of ethical superiority' and riches were 'the portion of the Godly than of the wicked' (R.H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, London 1975) — and each man's station in life was fixed by heavenly design and unalterable. You were rich because you were good, you were good because you were rich — and poverty was what the poor had brought upon themselves. But to fulfil one's 'calling' was virtue enough.

In such a scheme of things, the bourgeoisie were the elect of God, the working class destined to labour and the children of Ham condemned to eternal servitude — 'a servant of servants . . . unto his brethren'. Each man was locked into his class and his race, with the whites on top and the blacks below. And between the two there could be no social mixing, for that would be to disrupt the race-class base on which exploitation was founded. To prevent such mixing, however, recourse was had to Old Testament notions of purity and pollution. Social or caste barriers, in other words, were not erected to preserve racial purity; rather, racial purity was 'erected' to preserve social, and therefore economic, barriers. The reasons for the racial divide, that is, were economic, but the form their expression took was social.

Thus, the racism of early capitalism was set in caste-like features — not

ordained by religion, as in Hinduism, but inspired by it, not determining the extraction of surplus but responding to it. The Calvinist diaspora, 'the seed-bed of capitalistic economy', (Gothein) would sow too the seeds of racism, but how they took root and grew would depend on the ground on which they fell.

In general, however, as capitalism advanced and became more 'secular', racism began to lose its religious premise and, with it, its caste features and sought validity instead in 'scientific' thought and reason — reaching its nineteenth-century apogee in Eugenics and Social Darwinism. Not fortuitously, this was also the period of colonial-capitalist expansion. But at the same time, with every advance in the level of the productive forces and, therefore, in the capitalist mode — from mercantile to industrial to finance and monopoly capital — racist ideology was modified to accord with the economic imperative. Slavery is abolished when wage-labour (and slave rebellion) makes it uneconomical; racism in the colonies becomes outmoded with the advent of neo-colonialism and is consigned to the metropole with the importation of colonial labour. And within the metropolises themselves, the contours and content of racism are changed and modified to accommodate the economic demands (class) and political resistance (race) of black people. *Racialism* may yet remain as a cultural artefact of an earlier epoch, but *racism* recedes in order that capital might survive. (Racialism refers to attitudes, behaviour, 'race relations'; racism is the systematisation of these into an explicit



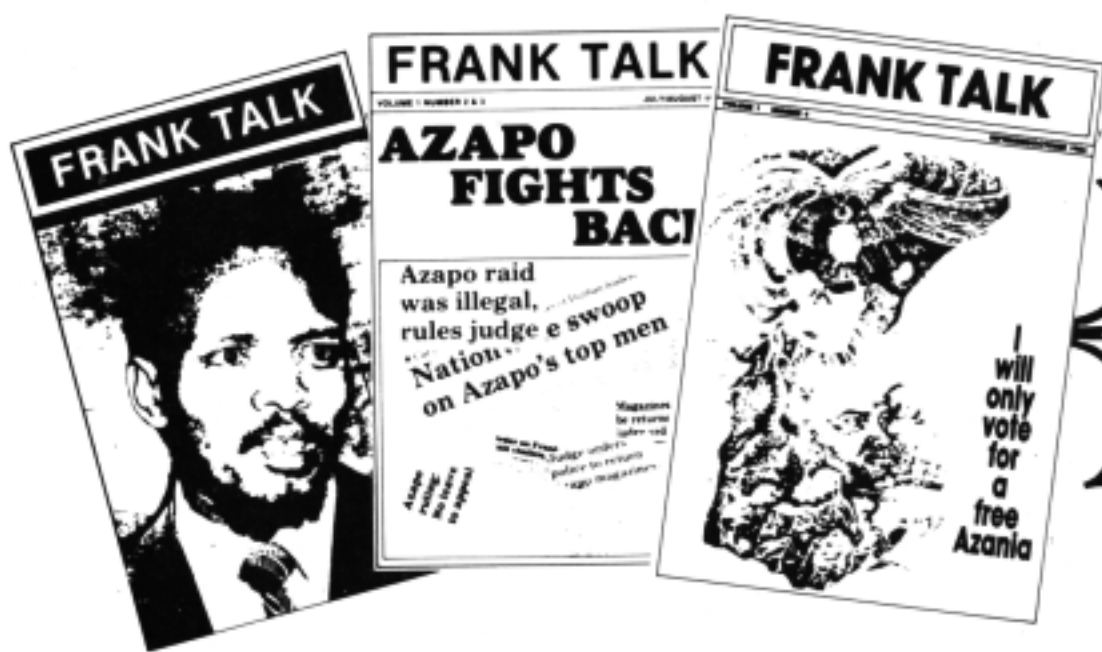
The whites on top and the blacks below. This picture shows officers (always white men) and lascars (black seamen) on HMS Hardinge during Lord Curzon's tour of the Persian Gulf, 1903. Black crews were taken on, whenever required, from all over Britain's Empire. They were paid much less than white crews.



SETTLER REGIME IN CRISIS . . . OPERATION PALMIET

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