

# IKWU

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AFRICAN POLITICAL ANALYSIS

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**Revolutionary Black  
Nationalism in the  
South African  
Struggle**

**Revolution and  
Counter-Revolution  
in Southern Africa**

20p



# SUPPORT IKWEZI

IKWEZI\* aims to come out quarterly. Unlike "Sechaba" and the "African Communist" organs of the white dominated South African Communist Party which are printed gratis by the revisionist Press in East Germany the group of African patriots devoted to the liberation of the Black masses in South Africa and Southern Africa we have no money to start with. We are dependent solely on the support we get from ordinary people. If this Journal which speaks of the African Revolution from a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist point of view does not deserve the support of the African man in the street then it should die. If you care about the future of Africa then support this Journal. Get it distributed, talk about it, tell others about it and write for it. Help in whatever way you can. Help get it onto its feet. There are many enemies of Africa who would like to put it down.

The current events in Angola tell us that the vultures have not left Africa as yet. They still devour her. A new one, Soviet social-imperialism has come on the scene. More dangerous than all the others it is beginning to fish around in Southern Africa. The South African Communist Party which is nothing more than its agent — exiled as it is in London — is already gearing itself to deliver South Africa to the social-imperialists. This is of enormous portent to the future of Southern Africa and Africa in general because South Africa is the most powerful state in the whole of Africa.

In coming issues we will deal more fully with this problem of the South African Communist Party. In the meantime take out a subscription, help to sell IKWEZI.

\*IKWEZI is a Zulu word meaning rise of the new Star.

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# WHERE WE STAND

**IKWEZI is a Marxist-Leninist Journal devoted to a study of the political situation in South Africa in particular and Southern Africa in general.**

**Its publication coincides with the developing revolutionary situation in Southern Africa and the new developments in South Africa, the hub of the whole imperialist system in the region.**

**Its publication has also been provoked by the current "detente" by which Imperialism attempts to stifle the revolutionary thrust of the oppressed masses, by attempting to impose a neo-colonialist situation through its comprador petit-bourgeois agents.**

**The struggles in Southern Africa are both national and class struggles against colonial and imperialist domination.**

**In South Africa we have to combine the race/class struggle with skill; in particular the new Marxist-Leninist forces must learn to exercise hegemony in the struggle against national oppression/white racism. Only by mastering this initial aspect of the struggle will they be able to lead the national liberation struggle onto socialism.**

**There is a need for NEW LIBERATION THINKING and NEW LIBERATION FORCES because our political thinking has been too cluttered with old ideas and concepts which have held our struggles back (ideas like non-racial democracy, multi-racialism, etc). Ideas and beliefs which were a phase in the development of our struggle no longer serves us today in this era of the national liberation struggles of the Third World and proletarian revolution.**

**Our aim should be to put an end to all types of exploitation in the country. Behind the all pervasive superstructure of racism there stands the class forces of capitalism and imperialism wishing to subjugate us in new forms. The class basis of racialism in our country is the super exploitation of the Black masses as cheap labour.**

**The struggle in South Africa is not a straightforward struggle between Labour and Capital, a political struggle between the working class and bourgeois as the two main opposing protagonists. The oppressed Black masses must first win their democratic rights in their own land — Equality before the Law — before it can be established as a fact by extending the struggle for national democratic rights to the fight for socialism which attempts to put an end to the exploitation of man by man. The two struggles must be uninterruptedly linked. For this type of struggle to succeed there must be the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist Party based in the workers and peasants, with the working class as the leading element in this alliance. The working class is the most revolutionary class in history today. It is the last exploited class in the history of man and its liberation is synonymous with the liberation of society.**

**We speak of NEW LIBERATION FORCES because the revisionist South African Communist Party (SACP) is totally bankrupt and corrupt. Dominated as it is by white petty bourgeois intellectuals it has no real intention of leading a proletarian revolution in the country. It is totally devoted to serving the imperialist interests of the Soviet Union and is nothing more than its agent. Soviet social-imperialism is as much the enemy of the oppressed peoples of the world as US Imperialism. Its foreign relations with Third World countries is neo-colonialist and in some countries it aims to capture certain liberation movements in an attempt to bring them under its orbit.**

**The Slovos, Bernsteins, Hodgsons, Buntings, who have for too long manipulated the Congress Alliance will have to be totally cleared out of our movement.**

**The leading force in the struggle for a democratic South Africa are the Africans, the most oppressed section of society. Their main allies are the 1,000,000 Indians and 2½ million Coloureds who also have no political rights in the country. There are no antagonistic contradictions amongst them. These three groups must be firmly united. The new Marxist-Leninist forces must also work to create a firmer proletarian unity among the African, Indian and**



Coloured workers (Black workers) in the cities and the semi-proletarian landless peasantry in the countryside. The vast majority of African, Coloured, Indian (Black) petit-bourgeois elements if given firm proletarian leadership will support the struggle for socialism. The Black petit-bourgeois in the colonies has deep roots amongst the people.

Progressive whites must accept the leadership thrust up by the Black masses. The days when white communists/liberals could lead us as if we were little children are long gone. White paternalism and chauvinism of all hues must be thoroughly eradicated, particularly inside the Black liberation movements.

We support the progressive aspects of African nationalism but guard against its petit-bourgeois contents. We certainly do not need to be told by non-Africans that African nationalism is bad. These elements must first learn to regard themselves as Africans and identify themselves thoroughly with the aspirations of the oppressed black masses. Some of the super class theorists distort Marxism by failing to see that African (Black) nationalism is identifiable with the national oppression of the Black masses and that it is a powerful motive force of the national democratic revolution. It can be skilfully utilized by the Marxist-Leninists in the struggle for proletarian socialism. From a Marxist point of view the nationalism of an oppressed people is totally different from the nationalism of an oppressing nation, which is racist and chauvinistic. This African (Black) nationalism is an attempt by the oppressed masses to assert their dignity in the face of the attempts by white racism to humiliate and degrade them. Only those who are themselves chauvinistic can oppose this brand of revolutionary nationalism. This consists of a tiny section of non-African petit bourgeois elements who are themselves steeped in Western values and ways of thinking and cut off from the proletarian masses. This nationalism is not narrow either. It *definitely* does not exclude broad democratic alliances with other elements but only on the basis of recognising the assertion of African dignity, African rights and the African revolution.

It is not our task to fight for non-racialism. It is the task of those who practise racialism to give it up. Our task is to fight for the liberation of the Black man. In the initial stages it is necessary to remove from his mind all the destructive psychological effects of white racism, which limits him as a man and curbs his determination to fight back.

The Marxism-Leninism of the NEW LIBERATION FORCES must integrate itself with the concrete conditions of the South African reality. M-L teaches that while its basic principles are universally applicable the national peculiarities of each country must be taken into account. In effect this means taking into account the race factor — the popular consciousness of African nationalism Black Consciousness, etc — and relating it to the class struggle.

As Africans we identify with the struggle to create a free, prosperous, democratic and United socialist Africa throughout the continent. The Black masses of South Africa are part of the oppressed masses in the rest of Africa struggling to free itself from imperialist and neo-colonialist domination.

Our struggle is also part of the contemporary tide of the struggles of the peoples of the Third World against Imperialism, Neo-Colonialism and Hegemonism. This is today the main base of our support amongst the world's peoples. We feel closer to the struggles of the Peoples Republic of China, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos. The heroic and successful struggles that the workers and peasants have conducted under the leadership of their Revolutionary Parties are more germane to our experience. We believe in proletarian solidarity with exploited workers throughout the world.

We repudiate the bureaucratic leaderships of the Soviet Union and the East European countries who oppress and exploit their own workers and peasants and who have turned their countries away from the path of socialism.

We believe in self-reliance. For too long have the white liberals and communists taught us to look for freedom not in the organised power of our own African workers and peasants but in handouts, in useless international solidarity campaigns, etc. This dependence emasculates us. The international solidarity campaigns can only be complementary to our own struggles. An oppressed people must learn to stand up on its own feet. This is a political principle.

The NEW LIBERATION FORCES must seriously prepare the Black masses for a People's War (armed struggle) — for the overthrow of the white fascist state. Such an armed



struggle must be based in the masses and flow from the struggles of the masses. They must not be adventuristic gimmicks of the type the SACP likes to engage in to delude people it is leading a struggle. It must be the highest wisdom of political organisation based on Marxist-Leninist theory of tactics and strategy of armed revolution and seizure of power from the bourgeois. In this regard we must study and learn from the great examples of China, Mozambique, Vietnam, etc. The theory of Peoples War as enunciated by Mao-Tse-Tung and General Giap is a first step. It must be applied to the concrete conditions of South Africa, a highly industrialised country with several major cities.

IKWEZI does not separate itself from the heroes of the Liberation struggle who have laid down their lives or who languish in Robben Island. We carry on the fine work of these sons and daughters of the soil; their heritage of struggle is ours. The fine traditions laid down for us by the example of Nelson Mandela, Robert Sobukwe, Neville Alexander, Billy Nair, Tiro — of the best of the ANC, PAC and the Black Consciousness Movement is ours.

The Black people of South Africa have suffered for over 300 years from the jackboot of white racism. They thirst for freedom as a man in a desert thirsts for water. The task of Black revolutionaries is now to seriously prepare to bring to a complete end the vile system of apartheid and give to our people the freedom they so richly deserve.

*Mayibuye!*

*Izwe Lethu!*

## **Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Southern Africa**

The need for a Journal dealing with the specific problems of the Southern African situation has been felt for some time. In the context of the general African situation Southern Africa is the exploding point, where the national and class struggles are most acute. Africa from Zaire down to South Africa is beginning to reveal a line of single involvement. The link between the Zaire and the current Angolan situation makes this pretty clear. More than in any other portion of Africa the type of revolutionary politics that we see emerging in several of the Third World countries, particularly those which are socialist or those which pose a radical petit bourgeois challenge to imperialism, are occurring here. This is not to minimise the efforts of revolutionary patriotic forces in Ethiopia, or the current struggles of the PRP in Eastern Zaire. Undoubtedly the internal class struggles in several of the African countries north of Zaire are sharpening and will sharpen. But what is generally felt is that much of the pace of the class struggle in other parts of Africa will be set by the struggles in the revolutionary South.

The Mozambiquan struggle was a turning point in the history of Southern Africa. It was one of the first struggles of the modern epoch which in line with the concept of Peoples War as fought in Indo-China actually ended in a defeat for the Portuguese colonial forces. Not only did this struggle (together with the struggle in Guinea-Bissau waged by the PAIGC and the current struggle in Angola accelerate the demise of Fascism in Portugal itself and create the opening for a new revolutionary society in that country) but its impact was felt immediately in South Africa still groaning under apartheid fascism. There the people held a spontaneous demo to celebrate the great event. As a result of this demonstration several SASO leaders were held and charged with terrorism.



But the struggle in Mozambique is unique for another fact. Here where mass involvement in peoples war was a fact from the very beginning and where socialist concepts were wedded to the struggle, there is the very clear chance that we might see evolve here the new type of society that we associate with China and the Indo-Chinese countries of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Certainly anybody who has been to Mozambique will acclaim that it is the most political country in Southern Africa today. The revolutionary base areas that were set up in the course of the struggle practised new types of human relations based upon a concept of creating a non-exploitative socialist society. How the new Mozambiquan government headed by Samora Machel will meet the new tasks ahead is still to be seen, but we feel optimistic about what sort of society might evolve.

We are not starry-eyed about Tanzania but we feel that the Arusha Declaration is a good starting point for the construction of a socialist society in Tanzania. Thus far there has been more rhetoric attached to the Arusha Declaration than a practical realisation of its aims. Could the new situation in Mozambique push Tanzania towards more positive socialist changes. There are those who will contend that events might work the other way and that Tanzania might hi-jack the Mozambiquan revolution as it did with Zanzibar where a genuine peoples revolution had been initiated.

Mozambique itself faces formidable difficulties. Amongst these is the commitment to total changes further South involving Zimbabwe, Azania and Namibia. How long will it be before Mozambique cuts off the supply of labour to the gold mines in South Africa. What sort of arrangement will the new government eventually arrive at on the question of the Caborra Bassa Dam. How will she react to South Africa's detente offensive that makes little difference to the 13,000,000 Blacks. Can Mozambique for long hold to the more conservative positions of Zambia on this particular question.

Crucial to the whole Southern African issue at the moment are the questions of South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe. Here a diversity of diplomatic fronts have been opened up involving all the major participants. If we are to judge by what is happening at Angola at the moment the situation in these parts could become even more complex as the different interests battle to consolidate their positions.

Both Zimbabwe and Namibia demand immediate solutions to their problems.

In Zimbabwe while Imperialism pretends to take a back seat a triangle of operation has been opened up amongst the Rhodesian nationalists, Vorster regime and Ian Smith, and Kenneth Kaunda, the Zambian President.

The situation in Zimbabwe as in the rest of Southern Africa under the jack-boot of white racism proceeds from the fact that for the white racists the writing is on the wall. But the different interests on the one hand are now uniting to wrench a negotiated settlement. Kaunda restive about his copper supplies, and apprehensive of a major guerrilla struggle on his borders that will strain his economy and involve him with the superior military might of South Africa is anxious that the Rhodesian settlement be negotiated as speedily as possible. He little bothers what sort of Zimbabwe emerge from these negotiations. Hence his intolerance of Zanu, several of whose militants languish in his prisons. This appears to be the other side of a deal with Vorster who is said to have withdrawn about 2,000 South African soldiers from Rhodesia. Evidently the two participants who are doing all the running for a negotiated settlement have agreed that they will do everything in their power to avoid an armed confrontation in Zimbabwe.

What is new about this situation — although it is something which does not startle anybody familiar with the class nature of politics — is that Vorster, the



arch racist should be amenable to the idea of a Black government on his borders.

But Vorster understands neo-colonialist politics well — through his dealings with Bantustan chiefs and the leaders of Swaziland, Lesotho, Botswana; and no doubt too his French, American and British imperialist backers must have cautioned him about the new situation and its dangers.

South Africa's policy of detente has lessons for all of us. As the most powerful industrial state in Africa, South Africa is willing to play a sub-imperialist role with regard to African states. There is for these states much needed economic aid.

Inside South Africa Vorster is undertaking the removal of petty apartheid in an effort to deceive the world. But Vorster is not deceiving anybody. His antics are petty and amount to nothing. On the contrary the repression in South Africa is as fierce as ever.

The changes that the "progressive" elements in the Nationalist Government wish to bring about does not go any further than that proposed by the Progressive Party many years ago. The Progressive Party which represents the interests of the more far-sighted capitalists in the country had called for these changes in an effort to avert a revolutionary confrontation and to gradually absorb Blacks into the government of the country in a way that would be amenable to the interests of the whites. Harry Oppenheimer and his Anglo-American Corporation not only could not entertain jeopardising their fantastic economic interests in the country but they also wanted black labour to fill in the labour shortage.

But the promotion of Blacks to jobs previously held exclusively by whites means nothing more than that whites are promoted to even better jobs from which Blacks are debarred.

But Vorster's detente squares in with the interests of Imperialism. Imperialism's economic interests in Southern Africa are enormous. And how the Western and (white) imperialist countries react to the situation in Southern Africa determines to a large extent their standing with other Black nations, and this, at a time when third world countries are uniting to challenge imperialist interests. The situation in the southernmost tip of Africa can have a chain reaction throughout Africa and elsewhere. The unity that the African and Arab countries can forge on the question of the rights of Palestinians and against Zionism pales before the potential unity in the interest of the Black peoples of Southern Africa if and when the confrontation becomes head on.

After its defeat in Indo-China — a defeat whose revolutionary effects are yet to be seen — Imperialism dare not engage in a full scale People's War. It has learned its lessons — such a war cannot be won against the combined might of a united people. It was for this reason that it suddenly changed its strategy to negotiate a settlement with the Mozambiquan guerillas. Perhaps the most authoritative statement on this volte face is the Kissinger study on Southern Africa, undertaken in the light of Western imperialist interests in the region.

## DETENTE

Detente viewed through Vorster and Imperialism is definitely the policy currently pursued by these vested interests. But does it square with the interests of the African peoples. Vorster's detente is a joke. What he pursues abroad and with certain African countries is not in line with what he does at home. White supremacy reigns in South Africa.

Imperialism's concept of detente is different. It is quite prepared to see the emergence of full Black rights in the Southern African countries. It has no objection to Black capitalism, but it finds that the white regimes that it itself spurned



stands in the way. Having acted as Imperialism's agent in these countries and having built for themselves a powerfully privileged position on the back of Black exploitation in the process they now are too reluctant to give it up.

Politically, detente means that concessions are to be made to the rights of the Black masses on a piecemeal basis. It means integrating the blacks into the white power structure from the point of view of safeguarding the interests of the whites. It means creating a Black middle class that have different class interests from that of the Black workers and peasants.

But can the political concept of detente work? We believe that it cannot for the demand for full and equal rights is something that the white regimes are not prepared to concede. They cannot meet this from an economic point of view for it means an erosion into the privileges of the large number of whites (workers and the middle classes) as much also into the profits of the capitalists who have to curtail super-exploitation of the Black workers. The current negotiation over Zimbabwe reveals this.

Ian Smith is being pushed into negotiations both by Vorster and Imperialism who takes a much longer range view of the Rhodesian problem and realise that he cannot hold out for long. There is the simple logistics of both geography and human resources. In terms of human resources white Rhodesians are outnumbered 6 to 1. Over 60% of the white Rhodesians also have not been longer in the country for more than 10 years and they do not feel called upon to die for a country to which they have just emigrated. In terms of geography too, how long can he hold out against the pressure of the adjoining Black states.

Smith himself is torn between his own desire to create in Rhodesia a sort of white laager barricading himself against the "winds of change" and the pressures of Vorster and Imperialism. Behind him there lurks more extreme forces prepared to hold out until doomsday.

His best hope is to see Joshua Nkomo come out on top. The moderate Nkomo will accept not the demand for full democratic rights (one man one vote) but a more toned down settlement. Smith no doubt is doing everything to encourage a split along these lines within the ANC or to see to it that ZAPU eclipses ZANU in the struggle for the leadership in the country. ZANU's best hope in the circumstances is to forge ahead with the guerrilla struggle and if there is to be serious negotiations to negotiate from a position of strength. The people of Zimbabwe are receptive to the idea of People's War ending in a fuller liberation from white repression. ZANU also controls areas in the countryside and has launched the guerrilla struggle on a pretty firm footing. At the same time ZANU should try to unite the African liberation groups and the Black masses on the basis of a principled political programme that does not shift an inch from full democratic rights for Africans in Zimbabwe.

But imperialism's device of settlement through negotiations has set the cat amongst the nests. ZANU itself is unfortunately split on the question and the liberation movements have still to attain that firm unity without which any successful struggle is impossible.

For there can be no doubt that ZANU's militancy is what the enemy fears most, and its successful guerrilla struggle is what is propelling the current negotiations.

Whilst Vorster is eager for a settlement in Rhodesia what is his attitude towards Namibia. Here the South African regime exercises direct control over the territory, although one mandated by the United Nations as a Trust territory. The UN has passed many resolutions calling for S.W. Africa to be handed back to the



indigenous African people. Thus far Vorster has firmly violated the Resolutions.

But in the United Nations at the moment there is a new situation, which could prove disastrous for South Africa. This is the growing strength of the Third World nations in the world today, which cannot be ignored. It reveals its power in its ability to be able to expel Israel from the world body. It is a known fact in diplomatic circles that the expulsion of South Africa, if it persists in its policies, is only a matter of time. Whether expulsion will in itself compel South Africa to change its attitude is another question also. But Namibia has been showing a growing militancy of late. There has been sporadic guerrilla fighting there, militant strikes, the killing of a Bantustan chief. S.W. Africa has also a small population of whites. In the general situation of Southern Africa today where the psychological climate is slowly changing in favour of the liberation movements how long can the Vorster regime hold out there. SWAPO, the leading liberation movement is well organised within the country, and not far off from organising a formidable guerrilla force itself.

Vorster's detente solution for S.W. Africa will not work either. SWAPO has already firmly rejected it. Vorster's solution is a Bantustan one. He wishes to balkanise the country as he attempts to do in South Africa, with the best land and the wealth in the hands of the white settlers. In the meantime while Vorster pays lip service to UN Resolutions on Namibia the repression goes on unabatedly.

But given the fact that Vorster is strenuously pursuing a policy of detente in Rhodesia is he not likely to pursue a similar type of policy in Namibia. Will he eventually succumb to the UN on this question. Either Vorster will swallow his pride and recognise reality and even be prepared to see a SWAPO government next to him. Either this or an eventually SWAPO initiated guerrilla warfare will force his hands. But whichever way it goes the winds of Black liberation there will be breathing heavily upon Vorster.

This effect in South Africa will have to be coupled with the psychological changes towards Black pride and combativeness that the Black masses are developing in the country, an attitude for which the Black organisation, SASO, has largely been responsible.

Into this Southern African jigsaw the territories of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland are fully integrated economically with South Africa. Any real sign of rebellion from this position of subservience will mean the severance of important economic links. But with more nationalistic and militant governments they could be used as bases for Southern African guerrillas. The same applies with Banda, but who prefers to be Vorster's "house nigger". Even if they were likely guerrilla bases the South African government will not hesitate to violate these territories as it has done in the past when pursuing South African revolutionaries sheltering there.

Malawi is a good example of neo-colonialism that Imperialism wishes to promote in Southern Africa today. Banda was at one time the fire-eating Black nationalist but no sooner was he installed as the government (and it is a one-man government) then he ate his own fire. The British imperialists understood him better than he understood himself. They were not unduly perturbed by his black nationalism and all those blood-curdling threats against the whites. Today Malawi is as safe a haven for Black political refugees as Robben Island itself. The most ardent Black nationalist is also a good friend and admirer of Vorster! Will Nkomo turn out to be another Banda. Banda fervently looks after British imperialists interests today and he has done precious little to better the lot of his own people who are as worse off as when they were under British rule.



While Imperialism pursues detente which aims to make Southern Africa safe for its interests the Soviet Union pursues its own particular interests. This is currently being shown in the Angolan situation.

Precisely what is the Soviet Union's role in Angola? Is she promoting the best interests of the peoples there by supporting one liberation movement rather than another. What is the Soviet Union's role too in world affairs today. Is she social-imperialist, as China claims.

We believe that the Soviet Union has long abandoned the road of revolutionary struggle and the interests of the oppressed peoples of the world.

## ANGOLA

In the current Angolan situation the Soviet Union is busily arming MPLA against the other liberation movements. She is giving MPLA arms that she did not give her during the liberation struggle against Portuguese colonialism. Angola is rich in agricultural and mineral resources of all kinds, resources that the imperialists covet. Between Soviet social-imperialism and Western imperialism we see a fierce contention in Angola. We have no illusions about the sorts of organisation that UNITA and FNLA are, but one way or the other all the three organisations in Angola are objectively nationalist organisations. In the common interests of their peoples they should come together and form a united government and not allow themselves to be manipulated either by the Soviet Union, Mobutu or the Western imperialist Powers. If there is one lesson to be learnt from what is happening in Angola it is that if the nationalist organisation do not achieve unity then they are liable to be manipulated by the Superpowers. Tribalism becomes the channel through which these powerful vested interests operate.

We believe that the role of the Soviet Union in Southern Africa as in the rest of the world is one of manipulation and control through its agencies which can be either Communist Parties like the South African Communist Party or liberation movements. Against this the genuine liberation forces have to guard themselves.

Tribalism forms a formidable problem in the emergence of viable and stable nation states in Southern Africa. The exploitation of tribalism is always bound up with class forces that exploit it for their own narrow ends. In their contention for nationalist hegemony in several of the liberation movements certain nationalist organisations opportunistically base themselves on tribalism, disrupting the unity without which no liberation movement can win in the struggle against imperialism. The liberation movements must make it a priority the building of one African nation state cutting across tribalism. If this is not done the internal and external reactionaries will use it to subvert our liberation goals.

This is what the South African reactionaries are trying to achieve with their Bantustan policies.

The role of Soviet Imperialism is to be seen more clearly in Uganda where she is busily arming Idi Amin and threatening the sovereignty of Tanzania. The Soviet Union will more and more attempt to embrace certain liberation movements and bring them within its sphere of influence. The aid too that the Soviet Union gives is no different from that of the Western imperialist powers. In Southern Africa the Soviet Union has not shown its fangs as clearly as it has done in the Middle East, India, Cambodia, but understanding the nature of Soviet society today we should have no illusions about its intentions in our countries.

What role has the OAU in the Southern African cauldron? Will it itself come out refined from it or will it attempt to hamstring the efforts of genuine liberation. How are we to define the OAU from a revolutionary point of view?



As regards Southern Africa the OAU is concerned basically with its liberation from white racism. It would prefer to attain this through negotiations but as it has already shown it will give full support to the armed struggles of the liberation movements as in the case of FRELIMO, etc. The OAU's revolutionary aspirations do not go any higher than this. Whatever its limitations from a revolutionary socialist point of view the OAU is genuinely committed to the democratic liberation of South Africa. The radicalism of the OAU will also be reflected by the class composition of its members. As its members take up a genuinely anti-imperialist position so will this be reflected in its attitude to various issues. But imperialism also wishes to deflect it from this course — another major reason for its detente policies. Genuine revolutionary armed struggles directed towards socialist goals can have a similar impact upon a number of neo-colonial African countries.

It is South Africa, of course, which is the linchpin of the whole Southern African situation. It is a country too that imperialism wishes to maintain firmly in its embrace. South Africa is not only a country of enormous resources it is also the most industrialised country in the whole of Africa. Already it has been marked out by imperialism to play a sub-imperialist role, a role that she is already fulfilling. She sees herself controlling the markets right up to Zaire. Recently she has stepped out of her isolation to woo — quite successfully — the more reactionary regimes in Africa.

In South Africa also we have a state that is strong, well armed and prepared for armed struggle from the Black masses. All this should not deter us since it is people and not weapons that is the most important element in revolutionary struggle. The Vietnamese revolution which defeated the most powerful military machine that the world has ever known — a machine that is a thousand times more powerful than that of the South African fascist regime — has made that quite clear. Those who say that the terrain of South Africa is unsuited for guerrilla fighting forget Amilcar Cabral's teaching: "The people are our mountains."

White leadership — both of the liberal and communist variety — and there is basically no difference between them — destroyed to a large extent the fighting militancy of the African people. Right from the days when the first white settlers came to South Africa the African people resorted to armed struggle. In the course of this struggle we produced such heroic figures as Chaka, Dingaan, Adam Kok, etc. They had heroically led the African people in armed struggle against the white settlers. The armed struggle lasted over hundreds of years but with the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910 they found themselves shackled in the new urban environment, an environment that required a new type of armed combat and which the African people were not yet able to master. The oppressors also set up a new type of military-bureaucratic machine that made the grip of fascist oppression so much tighter.

## **SOUTH AFRICA TODAY**

The formation of the African National Congress in 1912 also saw the birth of a new type of African politics — that of non-violent resistance. This was also carefully fostered by our white patrons, the white liberals, who for a long time had a hegemonic hold over our movement. When we kicked the liberals out our movement we saw that they began to wear another garb, that of communists. But they had the same motive in mind, to restrain the fighting combativeness of the African people. In an effort to brainwash us also they peddled the ridiculous notions of multi-racialism, a concept behind which lay a whole philosophy of white ideological control. The concept of multi-racialism attempted to brainwash us into believ-



ing our main objective was to see to it that all the races lived together without one injuring the interests of the other. This is pure nonsense. The white are oppressors – and like any ruling class in any country – they are to be regarded as the enemy if they do not change their ways. There is a clear demarcation between black and white in our country and it is on this realistic basis that the struggle has to be conducted. It is little wonder that the Comintern of Lenin's Third International considered the setting up of a Black Republic as the first step in the liberation of the South African peoples.

Today this ideological and political hold of white communists (if communists they can be called) still attempts to divide our movement and to sabotage our revolutionary struggle in the interests of the white oppressors who have usurped our land, our culture and our dignity. Recent events concerning the ANC External Mission show that this clique of whites – whose numbers have never grown since they first entered the struggle in 1948 – do not wish to change their ways and that they have disdain and contempt for the African people. This is an intolerable situation and the small number of Blacks who are prepared to play this quisling role for the white revisionist communists should re-examine their attitudes.

Right from the time of the formation of the APO (African Peoples Organisation) to the Non-European Unity Movement, the rise of the PAC (Pan-Africanist Congress) to the present day Black Consciousness Movement and the great dissent in the African National Congress the main current of African thinking has been consistently marked – that of African nationalism. The one represented by multi-racialism, and reflecting the ideological and political control of whites, is minor tendency in our movement. But the handful of white communists still cling tenaciously to this and attempt to sabotage our struggle. (See article on Revolutionary Black Nationalism.)

Mention must also be made that this minority current which is reflected in the now usurped African National Congress is fiercely tied to the Soviet Union and works in the interests of the world interests of the Soviet Union. The South African Communist Party which is perhaps the most revisionist Party in the world has always firmly backed the Soviet Union in the Sino-Soviet dispute.

The elimination of this multi-racialist and pro-Soviet bias in our movement, which works against the interests of Blacks in South Africa is an urgent task of the liberation movement.

We are not going to fight against centuries of oppression only to see our country handed over to another Superpower in the name of socialism. We will fight this tooth and nail.

The Pan-Africanist Congress must also put its house in order. Internal splits has fragmented the effectiveness of the PAC. It too must develop its ideological foundations and stop mouthing the slogans of bygone days which have little relevance to the struggle today.

In terms of the liberation movements the time has come for a well founded unity based on crystal clear ideological understanding of the national and class struggle in South Africa. The mainstream of Black nationalism, embracing specifically the Africans, Indians and Coloureds cannot be ignored, but has to be developed further.

The Black nationalist/revolutionary socialist (pro-Peking biased) line and the multi-racial/pro-Soviet line represented by the South African Communist Party/section of the African National Congress will have to fight for the hegemony of the African revolution, and support of the African masses.

Apart from the problems of the liberation movements the circumstances for



the launching of a successful liberation mass and armed struggle in South Africa becomes more and more favourable. The South African guerrilla forces will be able to find stable bases in Mozambique, and get even more added support with the emergence of independence in Zimbabwe and Namibia. In this sense time is on the side of the Black masses. Imperialism and Vorster also realise this. They make tiny concessions and they try to divide the Black masses amongst themselves. But not all the arms and all the reactionary policies will save the South African white regime from the blood debts which must be paid to her. That day draws nearer and nearer as a new mood of defiance grips the Black masses, which has been shown so heroically in the work of the Black Consciousness movement. We salute the members of the Black Consciousness movement who have done so much to get rid of the passive thinking amongst the Black masses and to give them a new and much needed pride in their dignity as Black men, something that all whites, reactionaries, liberals and communists – have attempted to deprive them of.

In South Africa as has already been indicated (as elsewhere in Southern Africa) a clear ideological position on the nature and direction of the struggle is bedevilled by the confusions over race and class. Liberation is popularly meant liberation from white racism. There is nothing wrong with this except that its class nature is often overlooked. Therefore the class nature of the national struggle against white racism is often overlooked and revolutionary nationalism is therefore the main trend of the major African liberation movements. While we do not condemn the good aspects of this revolutionary nationalism it is necessary to link it to genuine socialist goals from a Marxist-Leninist point of view.

The first stage of the struggle in South Africa (and indeed Southern Africa) is against national oppression (white racism). It needs the political national democratic revolution to overcome this. But this revolution which grants full bourgeois democratic rights to the Black masses is to be linked uninterruptedly to the socialist revolution. The socialist revolution is to put an end to all types of exploitation of man by man.

This is the road forward for the whole of mankind . . . it is this road that we in South Africa and the rest of Southern Africa must take . . .

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## SACP KEEPS UP THE GOOD OLD TRADITION

According to a recent report in *Sechaba*, organ of the non-Africans in London, published in the name of the ANC, Barry Feinberg attended the revisionist Afro-Asian Writers Conference in Cairo.

Barry was lucky that no member of the Black Consciousness Movement was there. He would have been told that as a white person he had no qualification to speak on behalf of the oppressed Blacks.

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## BRAM FISCHER'S WILL

When Bram Fischer, one of the White Communist leaders in the Rivonia Trial died, he left an amount of R89,000. (£56,000 approx), according to a report in the *Johannesburg Star*. No mean amount for a Communist!

Of this he left R200 (about £100) for the "faithful service of his lifelong (African) servant." That is exactly what we would expect Vorster to leave his African servant.

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# **Black Revolutionary Nationalism and The Struggle in South Africa**

The issue of race and class has always been a confusing issue in the South African liberation movement. The confusion over this issue has led to theoretical and ideological misunderstandings on the question of political organisation, and tactics and strategy of the revolutionary struggle.

The South African Communist Party (SACP), the supposed repository of the wisdom of Marxist-Leninist Thought, should be able to throw light on this problem, but has failed to do so, and indeed cannot do so because of the peculiar nature of this Party. This aspect of the SACP forms a major theme of this article. The SACP is itself unfree from the organisational problems related to this question. There is nothing in the whole gamut of SACP literature which suggests that they wish to approach this problem seriously. Recently when one of its ex-members, Ben Turok, attempted to throw some clarification on this very important question he was reviled by the SACP.

What we will attempt to show in this article is the persistence of Black revolutionary nationalism in the South African struggle and its relevance to the race/class issue. In relating this revolutionary nationalism to the whole question of non-racialism and the role of white progressives in Black liberation politics in South Africa we will be touching on an aspect — but a very important aspect — of the national question.

This matter has now come to a head with the dissensions inside the African National Congress (the second major dissension of this sort inside the organisation) on the role of African nationalism and white comrades in the Liberation Movement in South Africa. This dissension — which has taken place in the External Mission of the ANC — coincides with the emergence of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa, a Black movement which attempts to unite all the Africans, Indians and Coloureds under a single umbrella — under the classification of Black — and wishes to have nothing to do with whites.

This has been a long-standing question in the liberation movement in the country but more recently it first took its organisational form when a large section of the ANC, which was later to call itself the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) broke away. The PAC stood four square on the question of African nationalism. It regarded this as the major driving force of the African revolution. It counterposed this to the concept of the Congress Alliance, a multi-racial body composed of an African National Congress (ANC), Indian Congress, Coloured Congress (now dissolved) and Congress of Democrats (COD). The four organisations had parity on matters of policy, even though each worked within its respective race group. The COD, which consisted mainly of white communists had enough members to be squeezed into a peanut, but nevertheless on matters of policy affecting the Black masses they had a say out of all proportion to their numbers. Effectively they ran the organisations of the movement, the weekly *New Age* and monthly *Fighting Talk*. But the COD was



much more heavily represented inside the SACP and indeed controlled it. Since some of its leading members also held leading positions in the Alliance their say was even greater.

All this would have been piffling matters compared to the more titanic matters affecting the liberation of the Black masses were it not for the fact that the position of whites in leading positions of influence would confuse the whole nature of the struggle and retard its development, a problem as far as the ANC is concerned has not been overcome to this day.

The Congress Alliance based its political philosophy upon the concept that all the races must work and live together and the aim of the movement was to create a non-racial democracy. Up to the time of Rivonia the ANC wanted to share equal rights with the whites. It had no idea of taking up arms, putting a total end to white rule and leaving the Black imprint on the South African state. The presence of the white COD went to ensure this. On the opposite political pole was the belief that the liberation of the Blacks was the main criterion and everything else was subservient to this.

The PAC broke away from the ANC attacking the latter's concept of multi-racialism. It also accused the ANC of having failed to implement the militant line of the 1949 Programme of Action. It seemed to suggest that there was a link between the all-race Alliance and the lack of militancy characteristic of its own brand of African Nationalism. Certainly the PAC after the break did show more militancy and launched a series of brave campaigns that culminated in Sharpeville and the POQO events. The PAC and its advocacy of militancy was nearer to the mood of the African masses at a time when it was generally felt in the country that the road of non-violent struggle long practised by the Alliance had led to an impasse. The PAC also argued that the African masses, the most oppressed section of the oppressed masses, had the greatest interest in revolutionary struggle in the country. This philosophy of militancy was embodied in its African Nationalism:

**“And the illiterate and semi-literate African masses constitute the key and centre and content of any struggle for true democracy in South Africa. And the African people can be organised only under the banner of African Nationalism in an All-African organisation where they will by themselves formulate policies and programmes and decide on the methods of struggle without interference from either so-called left-wing or right-wing groups of minorities who arrogantly appropriate to themselves the right to plan and think for the Africans.”**

The PAC declared that South Africans of every race should call themselves Africans without asking for special privileges as members of minority groups. To do otherwise would be to “transfer to the new Africa the very antagonisms and conflicts bred in the history of South Africa.” The PAC also thought in terms of the whole continent of Africa and thus injected into the South African struggle an even broader African concept.

But PAC's practical position was not this simple. In its more specific attitude towards the minority groups it held other positions. It regarded the whites as a hostile foreign minority. The Indians were also a foreign minority group “that came to the country not as imperialists or colonialists, but as indentured labourers” They were also an oppressed minority. But it added:

**“there are some members of this group, the merchant class in particular, who have become tainted with the virus of cultural supremacy and national arrogance This group provided the leadership of the Indian people in South Africa. And all that the politics of this class have meant up to now is the preservation and de-**



fence of the sectional interests of the Indian merchant class. The downtrodden, poor 'stinking' coolies' of Natal, who, alone, as a result of the pressure of material conditions, can identify themselves with the indigenous African majority in the struggle to overthrow White supremacy, have not yet produced their leadership. We hope that they will do so soon."

Here the PAC held a peculiar mixture of a race and class analysis. The analysis also showed little understanding of the relation of class forces in the national democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. One can say that the analysis was based on the assumption that the Africans population constituted a proletarian mass whereas the Indians had a middle class and working class.

(Whereas in reality the national democratic stage of the revolution would involve the Black masses of all classes in the struggle to put an end to the white fascist regime since they were all oppressed — in the latter stage — under the leadership of its Vanguard Proletarian Marxist-Leninist Party — the main base would be the mass of proletarianised workers of all races (excepting the whites, since they were an integral part of the privileged white structure) and the semi-proletarians peasants in the countryside.

Towards the so-called "Coloureds" the PAC took up the position that they were offsprings of Africans and therefore part of the African people. No difference here between the middle class Coloured (the element that regarded itself as the appendage of the white man) and the Coloured worker.

Thus while the PAC denied the necessity of recognising the existence of races in the country yet in their own practical analysis they paid more attention to race than to class. Although in recognising the fact that the Africans were the most oppressed section in the country and African Nationalism the emotional expression of its frustrations and aspirations the PAC was not wide off the mark. But the class content of African Nationalism the PAC never seriously analysed. Was it a petit-bourgeois nationalism or revolutionary nationalism of a doubly oppressed race that could be harnessed to the struggle for proletarian socialism.

The PAC was correct in emphasising that South Africans of all races — in effect the minority groups — should overcome their own racial exclusiveness by regarding themselves as Africans and in understanding that their own liberation depended on the movement of this mass of semi-literate Africans. But this could only be the beginning of the national and class struggle in South Africa. A much sharper class analysis as indicated above was needed to put the race/class perspective in proper focus.

The proven militancy of the PAC's African Nationalism embarrassed the ANC as the latter saw the thunder stolen from it.

After Sharpeville as the repression in South Africa intensified tenfold both the major liberation organisations sent out External Missions to the African States. The PAC's militant African nationalist line was favourably received by the African states, further eclipsing the stature of the ANC. The ANC began to edge away from the Alliance. The other members of the Alliance felt left out in the cold. In an effort to counter the greater impact of the PAC the ANC became sectionalist.

## **SACP CHALLENGES ANC**

The South African Coloured People's Congress (SACPC) challenged the ANC on its new attitude. The CPC re-examined the race question and the organisational basis of the Black groups and in a remarkable series of documents challenged the whole concept of multi-racialism. The CPC stated:

"It is clear at this stage in our history that the continued existence of racially



exclusive organisations within the framework of the national liberation movement is incompatible with the real interests of the enslaved masses. Racial organisations can finally only serve the diabolical schemes of white supremacy whose aim is the creation of white provinces of paradise, Coloured shanty town republics, Indian ghettos and Bantustan backwaters.”

The CPC attempted to conduct a principled debate but the ANC would not respond similarly. The CPC accepted PAC’s assertion that the members of the minority groups should consider themselves as Africans and on this basis join it as individuals and work to put an end to apartheid. The CPC also dissolved itself. Implicit in the concept put forward by the CPC was the notion that the only effective unity that could be forged against apartheid would be among the three Black groups.

The SACP condemned this principled move by the CPC and brought in Reggie, September, a former Secretary of the CPC and member of the Communist Party, to prove that the CPC was very much alive. The SACP, of course, disliked the manner in which the ANC had ditched the Alliance and therefore isolated members of the Communist Party from effective decision-making since members of the CP held leading positions in the different Congresses. Exiled from South Africa they were further exiled to languish in London.

The SACP has never been a mass organisation of the workers and peasants in the country. How could it in any case when the majority of its members were white bourgeois intellectuals who had no intention of giving over the leadership to its non-white members, and over whom they maintained an intellectual dominance.

If the SACP was a mass organisation it would have been able to force the ANC into an Alliance with it – probably through some sort of United Front. The proletarian and semi-proletarian mass of workers and peasants instead of rallying to the banner of the ANC would have rallied to the banner of the SACP. Instead it itself lacking a mass base, and being dominated by white petty bourgeois intellectuals it had to work opportunistically through the existing mass organisations in a manipulative way by having its members in leading positions in the Alliance.

But evidently the exiled-based SACP was biding its time. While now it would opportunistically defend the ANC against the CPC when the latter dissolved itself, it would on another occasion do an about turn as we will see.

During this period of its isolation the SACP was fruitlessly trying to break into the ANC stronghold and to have a say in the decision-making policies of the body. It was a policy it would relentlessly follow.

Whilst the CPC had unwittingly stated that Africans, Indians and Coloureds had common interests and should unite to form a common organisation what it had not brought out was that as long as the Congress Alliance was dominated by the Communist Party and as long as the Communist Party was dominated by white petty bourgeois intellectuals then the question of this unity would be gravely impaired – simply because an extraneous factor would intrude into this question of Black alliance – that of accommodating the white communists.

The desire for unity amongst the various non-white groups has existed in the history of the liberation movement for a long time. One of the earlier organisations to understand this need and to attempt to forge this unity was the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM). (The term Non-European is not currently used but the word is historically conditioned. The term Blacks is now used.)

In a recent edition of his book, *The Awakening of a People*, I.B. Tabata, veteran South African freedom fighter says:

“The NEUM stressed the community of interests, the common oppression and the common goal of all the oppressed, namely Africans, Coloureds and Indians



... It was the first attempt to find a collective term to embrace all of them ...”

The NEUM also had a federal structure similar to that of the Congress Alliance, but what distinguished it from the latter was that it consciously thought in terms of uniting those who should be united – the Africans, Indians and Coloureds. Whereas the Congress Alliance included the whites (Congress of Democrats) NEUM did not bother about any such Alliance with whites. The movement though had individual whites who played important roles in it:

“If the Movement is called the NEUM this is dictated by the objective conditions existing in South Africa today, whereby the various Black groups are subjected to specific racial oppression over and above economic exploitation.”

The NEUM – although it made important theoretical contributions to the struggle – was unable to forge any great unity amongst the Black masses mainly because its practical politics were too sterile for their response. Its composition was mainly petit bourgeois. And while the NEUM in the Forties started off with a dynamic 10-point Programme its abstention from practical politics in the name of non-collaboration allowed the ANC to steal the leadership from its hands, even though the latter had no clear cut programme or analysis of the South African situation until the Freedom Charter was drawn up in Kliptown in 1956.

The NEUM struck some roots mainly amongst the Coloureds in the Cape and Africans in the Transkei. The South African Indians larded with a merchant class leadership and used to a policy of compromise with the white Government would not join the NEUM.

During this period the multi-racial approach of the ANC dominated. But it did not help in forging any unity amongst the Black groups. Whilst the white fascist government did everything to keep the different Black groups apart yet the subjective leadership for this integration could have taken place. Moreover, as the history of the liberation struggle amply shows the Black groups fought side by side with each other, the material conditions of their unity, their common oppression was there. Today Mandela and Sobukwe are as much heroes of the oppressed Black groups as Dr. Dadoo was at one time when the Indian masses were in the forefront of the struggle.

(Despite its 10-point Programme, which it described as its minimum programme leading to a democratic state in South Africa, and despite the fact that it used Marxist jargon the NEUM did not correctly understand the national question.)

## **BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS**

### **MOVEMENT (BCM)**

But it has been the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) which has spoken out most eloquently on the question of Black unity and which has taken steps to achieve this. A unique political movement in the country, coming too after the banning of the major liberation organisations, the ANC and the PAC, it was free from the ideological trammels that afflicted so many of the members of the old movement. With the BCM there was no argument about multi-racialism and non-racialism. It stated from the very beginning that the three Black groups constituted one oppressed Black mass in the country, and refused to do anything with the white groups like NUSAS – which in the heydays of the Congress Alliance held a position of authority over Black students. SASO, the Black students organisation and the larger organisation of Black people, the Black People’s Convention (BCP)



went on to develop separate Black organisations in every field. It gave to Black people a sense of pride in themselves as Black people free from the paternalistic liberalism of the white progressive — liberal or communist. It was something long awaited in the history of our country which the Congress Alliance in the days of its dominance of the liberation movement in the country held back with its gibberish talk about racial harmony etc.

Undoubtedly the BCM was responding to the Black Power Movement in the US. Black leaders like George Jackson were popular with the BCM — as much as to the ever burgeoning trend of our times — the rise of the peoples of the Third World, the victims of centuries of European imperialist abuse.

The rise of the BCM clinches the fact that a Black nationalist consciousness, embracing the three groups — Africans, Indians and Coloureds — constitute the beginnings of liberation politics in South Africa, in opposition to the now solely Communist Party approach.

But the Congress Alliance — mainly an instrument of the white dominated Communist Party will soon begin to take a strange new turn that left all political principles hanging in the air. Whereas previously it supported the Congress Alliance since it was the only way in which it could exercise control over it, it would soon abandon it when the ANC dumped the Alliance following PAC's militant African Nationalist line. It became obvious to the CP that it would have to take over the ANC. And so it did with a cynical and unbelievable disdain for Africans — some of whom were members of the ANC for 30 years and were expelled — by a small coterie of whites and their other non-African stooges. So that today we have a situation in London where the ANC offices are staffed entirely by non-Africans, members of the Communist Party. The Buntings, Slovos, Bernsteins, Hodgsons, etc. — speak in the name of the ANC without a single African being in their presence. Such is the determination of the white communists to control Black liberation politics in South Africa. The barnstorming of the ANC was the result of a number of efforts by the Communist Party to get the ANC to open its doors to non-Africans, something which goes against the ANC constitution however. (See article in Appendix for more about this.) We see the cynical way in which the white communists twist the national question throwing all Marxist-Leninist principles to the wind. It is their control which is the sole criterion for them. So once again the question of alliances vexes the ANC.

The white communists and the small unrepresentative Black hangers-on — totally condemn all talk about African Nationalism, Black Consciousness, Black Power, etc. The "African Communist" organ of the SACP describes this as racist. For them the only reality in South Africa is the creation of a non-racial democracy. Translated in real terms it means that there can be no question of liberation for the Black man if the future of the white man is endangered. This is a view we thoroughly repudiate. The attitude to be taken towards whites can be judged solely from the position they take towards Black liberation. "The worst crime on the part of revolutionaries would be to give the smallest concessions to the privileges and prejudices of the whites. Whoever gives his little finger to the devil of chauvinism is lost. The revolutionary party must put before every white worker the following alternative: either with British Imperialism and with the white bourgeoisie of South Africa or with the black workers and peasants against the white feudalists and slave owners and their agents in the ranks of the working class."

It was for these reasons also that historically the Comintern in the days of Lenin completely supported the idea of a "Black Republic" in South Africa:



“When the theses say that the slogan of a ‘black republic’ is equally harmful for the revolutionary cause as is the slogan of a ‘South Africa for the whites’ then we cannot agree with the form of the statement. Whereas in the latter there is the case of supporting complete oppression, in the former there is the case of taking the first steps toward liberation.”

The Comintern supported decisively and without any reservations the complete and unconditional right of the blacks to independence.

Because the white communists oppose this point of view we regard them as being equally racist as their white brethren, however much they garb it with pseudo-socialist phrases. They have for long held back and sabotaged the Black Liberation movement and they continue to do so to this day. I.B. Tabata in his *Awakening of a People* has this to say about them:

“The preponderating conscious element in the Communist Party is drawn from the white petty-bourgeois intellectual section. It is this element which is responsible for formulating its policies. And it is just this section which is particularly susceptible to ruling-class ideas. Their daily existence connects them with this class in manifold ways, through social and economic bonds.”

Not only do we say this about the white petty bourgeois intellectual but it applies also to the white worker who constitutes an aristocracy of labour totally integrated into the white power structure.

## THE SACP TODAY

The SACP is also firmly committed to serving the world interests of Soviet Union, a social-imperialist power in contention with that other imperialist monster, the US, for world domination. The SACP has such an incredible slavishness towards the Soviet Union that one would think that South Africa is a province of the Soviet Union. This sort of childish politics has for too long riddled the Black liberation movement. Allegiance to the Soviet Union has been substituted for a serious M-L analysis of the South African situation.

Today the attitude of the white-led communist Party fits in with the “detente” and “peaceful co-existence” policies of the Soviet Union. We do not believe that the CP is serious about a revolutionary armed struggle in the country for the simple reason that it is impossible for any white person to be a serious communist taking into account the enormous privileges and power he enjoys. In his speech from the dock the late Bram Fischer, leader of the CP, stated quite clearly that the CP never intended to engage in armed struggle and he quoted Khrushchev and his policy of peaceful co-existence on this.

Whatever sort of “armed struggle” that the CP might engage in will simply be an attempt to force imperialism into negotiations for change. They are more concerned about averting a racial bloodbath, as it is called, than in seeing the Black man free.

It must be apparent to all serious Black revolutionaries that the opportunism of the CP will have to be cleared out of the liberation movement. This will have to be done ideologically and *organisationally*. Sooner or later a new M-L Party will have to be formed that will conduct both the national and class struggle with skill.

It is noteworthy that at the time when the Sino-Soviet dispute was just beginning, the Durban Branch of the CP was more inclined towards the Chinese position. And in Cape Town, the courageous Neville Alexander had set up an organisation called

Yiu-Chiu-Chan Club. Already then the tilt away from the sort of politics that the



CP represented was taking place. But in the circumstances of the fierce repression these could not flourish.

From the analysis described here it must be quite apparent that the tendency represented by the white communists and their black hangers on is a minority tendency in our struggle.

The Black Consciousness tendency allied to firm Marxist-Leninist politics will have to organise itself. The situation for this is favourable.

Some first steps (albeit in London) have been taken when members of the Unity Movement, PAC and dissidents of the ANC came together.

This sort of organisation has now become an urgent matter for our struggle. IKWEZI will be dedicated to helping in the formation of this sort of movement. For this reason we welcome South Africans wherever they are to take advantage of this Journal and use it to form a united movement based on a revolutionary Black Consciousness and Marxist-Leninist politics. Unlike the CP we see no contradiction here.

We are, of course, aware of the limitations of the BCM from a class point of view. But the assertion of Black dignity and pride in the South African situation is in itself revolutionary and marks a necessary psychological change in the first stages of the revolution. Nobody who calls himself a revolutionary can condemn this. But we are also aware that it is necessary for the Movement to give the edge of a deeper class analysis.

Here in this article we have touched on one aspect of the race/class issue. In coming issues we will deal with this question on a more comprehensive level, looking at the totality of the national question, the question of the minority groups, the white workers, the bourgeois-democratic and proletarian socialist revolutions and the class compositions of these different stages of the revolution, etc.

## Appendix

### "WHITE RUSSIANS" HI-JACK LONDON AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC)

Robert Resha, a member of the National Executive of the ANC towards the last few years of his life was isolated, reviled and slandered by the white-dominated SACP (South African Communist Party). He was an old stalwart of the African Liberation Movement who gave over 30 years of his life to the ANC.

During a recent Memorial held for him by members of the ANC two important speeches were made by old members of the ANC. We produce them here because of the light they throw on the machinations of the SACP, and of the current dispute inside the ANC.

#### SPEECH BY ALFRED KGOKONG MQOTA

In 1966 a situation arose in London among the South African freedom fighters that required the attention of the National Executive. It is not an easy situation to explain but it involved the growing feeling of dissatisfaction with the role which the non-African section was playing in the liberation struggle abroad. Many efforts were made to draw these former members of the Congress Alliance in South Africa into the work performed by the ANC External Mission. It should be remembered that the Congress Alliance had to be dissolved in South Africa on two very important grounds, namely, that some of its constituent parts like the ANC and the Congress of Democrats (Whites) were outlawed in 1960. The ANC decided to go underground and continue the struggle. The Congress of Democrats (Whites) decided to disband. The other reason was that the ANC decided to adopt the policy of armed struggle. Some of the legal constituents of the Congress Alliance such as the South African Indian Congress, the South African Congress of Trade Unions and the South African Coloured Peoples Congress could not adopt this new policy. So the Congress Alliance functioned imperfectly and under tremendous



strain as its main stream, the ANC, had gone underground and machinery for consultation on practical issues of struggle was inadequate or non-existent in the new conditions.

In Britain the non-African section of the defunct Congress Alliance – that is, that part whose organisations continue to function legally in South Africa to this day albeit under the pressure of heavy bans, house arrest, detention without trial, etc., pressed for a realignment of forces that would effectively have revived the defunct Congress Alliance in exile. In 1966 matters came to a head when a meeting was held under the auspices of the ANC National Executive Committee to review work and discuss problems of the revolution, including the discontent felt by the non-Africans in Britain. The meeting was held in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and lasted several days. Among the participants were Joe Slovo, the late Michael Harmel, Reggie September, Alex la Guma, Ray Alexander, Joe Matthews, Robbie Resha, Joe Matlou, Moses Mabhida, Mzwai Piliso, Dr. Y.M. Dadoo, M.P. Naicker, Raymond Kunene, Alfred Kgokong, Moses Kotane, the late J.B. Marks and O.R. Tambo. The main controversy seemed to revolve around two issues, namely, the formation of a Council of War in terms of a document that the non-African contingent had prepared that would include people from all races as was the case in the defunct National Consultative Committee of the Congress Alliance before it disbanded. The ANC rejected strongly and unanimously this attempt to revive the multi-racial Congress Alliance machinery in which the principle of racial parity operated irrespective of the organisations (and their social weight) represented by the individual delegates. Indeed this type of machinery if operated on a basis of racial parity would always put the African voice in the minority in view of the numerical advantage of the non-Africans. But the main basis of the ANC rejection was on the ground that the non-African contingent and their organisations had to consider the repercussions for all involved where some organisations had adopted a policy of armed struggle whilst others had not. This is not and was not an attack on the preparedness of individuals to join the armed struggle in which case they could not claim to be representing organisations. This question has been conveniently swept under the carpet since the 1969 Morogoro Conference. The very machinery that was so clearly rejected by the ANC in 1966 in the presence of the most senior combatants and leaders in the struggle was deemed to be suitable under various guises and the questions of principle were ignored.

The other issue in 1966 was the creation of a formal but non-public body to co-ordinate the ANC activities abroad with those of the non-African contingent of the Congress Alliance now living in exile. Again this idea could not be adopted in that form. Instead the ANC decided to set up a Commission in London that would act as the liaison between these revolutionaries and the ANC. The NEC appointed Robert Resha to assume the duties of a one-man commissioner and transferred him from Algeria where he was head of the ANC mission, to London. As Commissioner Robbie set up various committees with different functions and saw to it that ANC delegations included members of all racial groups where this was possible, such as the ANC delegations to the First Tri-Continental Conference in Cuba that included Dr. Dadoo and Reggie September, to the World Peace Council and to the 1968 Khartoum Conference in support of the liberation movements in Southern Africa.

All these efforts did not satisfy the non-African group who never abandoned their demand for representation on the ANC committees dealing with matters related to armed struggle. A new strategy was now resorted to, namely a demand for direct membership to the ANC even though separate organisations for Indians and Coloureds existed in South Africa. The question of open membership of the ANC especially to Whites was rejected in South Africa at a National Conference held in Johannesburg in 1958 when Ronald Segal applied for membership. Oliver Tambo the Acting President of the ANC had presided over that 1958 ANC Conference which clearly laid down national policy on this matter. But, owing to unrelenting pressure for membership of the ANC by the non-African section of the Congress Alliance, an ANC Conference held in Morogoro in 1969 hurriedly opened its doors to Whites, Indians, Coloureds and anyone else who wanted to join. The criterion was supposed to be support for revolutionary struggle regardless of race.

Whilst such a principle would not be objectionable as an ideal it sadly ignored the relationship of social forces in South Africa which calls for the closest national unity of the African people in the vanguard of the national liberation struggle.

In the face of the determined Balkanisation of the African people on tribal lines into ethnic Bantustans, the ideal of fighting for the national unity of the African people in the struggle to emancipate themselves and the whole of South Africa from White minority racist domination is still a priority in our strategy and tactics. It is important as a challenge to Bantustan tribal ideology. If the Bantustan policy of tribal division of the Africans succeeded it would constitute a greater obstacle to the creation of a non-racial democracy than the 'broad alliance' theory poses.

The broad alliance theory becomes muddled on this question and justifies itself on the



basis of a class analysis that does not admit the national peculiarities germane to the South African system. The question "what are the social forces to be allied and what form of organisation shall that alliance take?" has come to be reduced to a simple formula that we are all revolutionaries and should belong to a single organisation. This approach ignores the hard historical realities of our situation. It leads to bickering, manoeuvres at bogus conferences for leadership and in general, internal disunity.

Robbie opposed the "Council of War" and the "open membership" proposals. He advocated revolutionary unity based on work and on the performance of revolutionary duties. He supported Moses Kotane's view in the 1966 Consultative meeting that every revolutionary had to carry out revolutionary tasks and "subordinate himself to the will of the African people without demanding membership". For holding some of these views and expressing them fearlessly as was characteristic of him, Robbie was pilloried, maligned and ultimately very cruelly isolated from the mainstream of ANC activities. He was branded as a nationalist, anti-communist and racist.

When he died on 7th December 1973, memorial services were held in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, the United Nations Chapel in New York and in the ANC Offices in Tanzania and Zambia. At his birthplace in Bolotwa the service was conducted by the Rev. W.S. Gawe, one of the accused in the 1956 Treason Trial, while in the service held in the Johannesburg Cathedral there was an unoccupied chair to the front marked "Robert Resha".

Even in his last days he never gave up hope. He urged us to stand firm on matters of principle in the struggle especially those that partly led to his isolation. He believed in the cause of African Liberation and for him African nationalism as a driving force for the oppressed people was not misguided because he also believed in the broad democratic alliance of revolutionary forces. What he did stress was that the national unity of the Africans for which the African National Congress was formed in order to fight for liberation should not be allowed to disappear in the effort to build alliances. As a man who had subordinated himself completely to the liberation struggle his contribution to that struggle is too great to be summarised in this short assessment. A revolutionary of his stature will always live in the minds of those with whom he worked and struggled. His convictions and the just cause of the oppressed people of South Africa will triumph.

#### **SPEECH BY MZIMKULU AMBROSE MAKIWANE**

The late Robbie was a former member of the National Executive Committee and former Deputy Volunteer-in-Chief. He was a foundation member of the ANC Youth League having joined the ANC in 1939. Robbie was a staunch patriot and a man of action and remained true to the aims and objects of the ANC. The African National Congress was founded to build the unity of the African people and nationalism was to be the instrument used to achieve this objective.

Robbie threw himself in this task with all his heart. He understood well that the ANC was Africa orientated.

This is shown in the ANC anthem — God bless Africa. From the earliest times the African people of South Africa were viewing the South African situation in the broad context of colonised Africa. Their nationalism, their urge for freedom and unity was not limited to the narrow confines of their national boundaries. To them, their struggle was the struggle of the whole of Africa and all the African people abroad languishing under the yoke of colonialism. The ANC flag symbolises this and the fact that the anthem and the flag have been embraced by some African countries, is a farsightedness of the founding fathers of the ANC. Further, Africa and the world do realise that until South Africa is free, the Continent is not free.

Revolutionary struggle and armed struggle are instruments of the African people with which to attain the goal of independence — the goal of freedom. In this revolutionary struggle, all people opposed to apartheid irrespective of colour, race or creed, have a part to play. The non-violent pressure by students, workers, churches and social organisations have one objective. The people of South Africa have to be organised under the objective of fighting the system of racialism on which the government is based and this system has to be replaced with a system of equality and political independence where merit and merit alone shall be the criterion of individual advancement. The trouble the African people have at present is that our strategy and tactics are in the hands and dominated by a small clique of non-Africans.

This is the result of the disastrous Morogoro Consultative Conference of 1969 which opened membership of the ANC to non-Africans. At this conference Robbie opposed this on the grounds that that was a violation of the policy of the ANC. All that was in vain. Robbie went to his grave having not submitted to the humiliation of the African by this small clique whose actions have brought a terrible set-back to our struggle. This small clique quickly consolidated itself, reorganised representation of external missions to suit its aims and carefully



selected delegations to conferences so that they acted robot-fashion. Nationalism is poo-pooed. Those who espouse it are either isolated or branded as racists. The label of racist which the non-African clique uses against all Africans who oppose the control and the manipulation of the ANC by non-Africans is an anomalous one. It is anomalous because Africans suffer from the jack boot of white racism from the cradle to the grave, in their own country they are made aliens. Now this cruel form of white racism is extended, albeit covertly to the Africans' own national organisation whereby opposition to non-African domination of the ANC carries heavy political penalties like isolation, character assassination and alienation.

Since 1969 the Executive Committee of the ANC has never functioned with full complement. Either some of its members are dead, sick or in full-time employment and the remainder are attending all international conferences, of course, under the aegis of this small clique or visiting certain countries whilst others are taboo. The resultant effect of this has been the estrangement of the ANC with many countries and many organisations and its dependence for support on few countries.

In 1971 an extended executive meeting of the ANC was convened in Zambia. Amongst other things, the meeting having observed that stagnation had set in in the ANC decided on the establishment of a national secretariat whose task would have been to revamp the organisation. Robbie was a member of this secretariat together with other leading members of the ANC. At the instance of the non-African clique, the secretariat was dissolved.

Robbie never accepted the dilution of African leadership of the ANC. This is the view of the African membership. He died championing and correctly reflecting the views of the African people. The realities of the South African situation reflect this. This is so because South Africa is an African country. The African is the most oppressed. He suffers the worst deprivation and exploitation. This is not being racist, it is a fact, it is an objective reality.

If the African people are to achieve their independence, they have to unite. Robbie believed in unity. Robbie fought and died for unity — the unity of the African people. The manner in which we are to cherish the memory of so dedicated a leader of our people is to do the best we can to build this unity. The African people cannot be expected to wait indefinitely on the fringes of their organisation whilst non-Africans exercise the leadership function though unable to accept responsibility for the consequences of their actions. If nothing else, the radically changed situation in Southern Africa now favouring the struggling masses of South Africa calls for fundamental changes in the manner in which the ANC operates abroad. The ANC must be redirected to its true nationalist course. And the first step is for the members of the African National Congress to press relentlessly for a representative conference of the ANC with a view to putting its own house in order. Amongst the first to be done in that conference is to cauterize this small non-African clique. *If this small non-African clique claims to be non-racist, it should from now on acknowledge that the essence of non-racism lies in accepting the dignity of the African and the fight for liberation for freedom from domination, from control from all sides both inside South Africa as well as outside South Africa. The Africans hate the domination of the Communist Party of South Africa.*

## NELSON MANDELA'S TRIBUTE TO ROBERT RESHA

Our Dear Maggie,

Nelson Mandela 466/64.

It seems that the old and stable world we once knew so well is beginning to crumble . . . leaving us with nothing but painful memories . . . The commanding figures who kept us together in difficult times and who helped to show the way forward are no more . . .

Today it is the death of Robbie that we mourn, and we write to give you our deepest sympathy . . . Few will deny that our Robbie was a man who left behind an impressive record . . . He was a man capable of making sacrifices and played a significant role in the development of the present outlook which gives direction to our dreams . . . It is men like those who make the human race move forward; who can educate, persuade, arouse, inspire and without whom progress would have been impossible . . . We would like you to know that tomorrow we hope to gather the rich harvest of laurels planted by all those who have gone before us. When that day comes Robbie will count as one of those who played a key role . . . He lives in our hearts.

All have asked me to convey to you and the family their condolences.

Love and fondest regards from all of us.

Sincerely, Nel.

81/14398 B Group, Robben Island Prison, South Africa. — January 1974.