SOLIDARITY

official organ of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania

No. 9 1982

- On the National Question
- Containment of Revolution – A Visitation

PRICE 50p

SOLIDARITY
Published quarterly by the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania

Editorial Office:

BM BOX 4830
LONDON
WC1N 3XX

Distribution:

BCMA
BOX 13038
Washington, DC. 20009

410 Central Park West, Apartment 12D New York, New York 10025

Oppelnerstrasse 41,6900 Heidelberg, West Germany

SOLIDARITY

News, theoretical and discussion journal of
the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania

CONTENTS

No. 9

A Brief Look At Events Inside Azania

Fascist terror in South Africa has reared its ugly head in yet another form, this time with the introduction of the so-called "Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill". This Bill is aimed at the tighter control of migrant labourers (as if their position has been any better) from whom the S.A. economy so benefits.

The Blacks who qualify to remain in urban areas in terms of the Boers' laws are given palliatives such as inter-city mobility – a bribe obviously aimed at making him feel special and therefore "different" from the rural Black. A move obviously calculated to divide the people.

The Influx Control laws are being tightened against the rural Black such that if he resigns his job or his services are terminated before his yearly contract expires, he can't look for another job and will therefore be "orderly" shunted to the reserves where employment prospects are nil.

Coupled with this is the removal of people who have lived in a particular area since time immemorial to dry and barren land in order to make way for the consolidation of the so-called homelands. This is yet a manifestation of the cold-bloodedness of a selfish people bent on the destruction of the lives of Azanians.

To those fascists we say: Be warned! This is yet an addition to the further particulars to your lengthy indictment. When you face the wrath of the people do not say that you did not know. We shall destroy you and everything that you represent.

THE LABOUR FIELD

The country is swept by a strong current of labour unrest. Strikes are mushrooming throughout the country, the main reasons being the unions' refusal to register, their rejection of the Industrial Conciliation Act and its accompanying Industrial Court, disagreement with management on retrenchment procedure and their objections to their contributions to the Pension Fund being withheld on resignation and only payable at retirement age.

According to the Department of Manpower, for 1981 there were 342 recorded strikes and work stoppages. The number of workers involved it put at 92 842. Comparatively 1980 saw 207 strikes involving 61 785 workers. The 1981 strikes and stoppages cost industry 226 550 shifts which is about 30% up on the 1980 figure. The Manpower Commission Report published in 1981 confirmed that the number of shifts lost were more than double those in any other year since 1970, 1973 excepted.

It must be stressed that these figures reflect only those strikes or stoppages which were officially reported to the department. The figures do not take account of go-slows, overtime stoppages or other forms of worker pressure on management.

The significant thing about these strikes is the clear evidence of a growing awareness among the workers of the potential of industrial action. The most important development in the labour field has been the founding of a Black Mine Workers' Union. This is a healthy development and we wish its organisers all the success.

Since November 1981 to date, no less than 58 trade unionists were detained without trial for periods ranging from 6 to 18 months. Of these, 5 were charged and convicted, 1 was acquitted, 3 had charges against them withdrawn, 2 died in detention, 2 trials are pending and 44 were released without being charged.

ASSESSMENT OF THE UNIONS

Although the situation is fluid and developments too rapid, important new trends are discernible.

The Unity meetings held thus far have revealed how the different unions see such issues as union registration, participation in industrial councils and the all-important question of unity.

The conditions that gave birth to black unionism at the point of production will inevitably lead to trade union unity of purpose and action. It will not be easy, as can be seen by the differences in policy, but it is inevitable because black workers suffer under the same trying conditions: mass unemployment, transport, food and rent increases, discriminatory wages and political repression. These will inevitably make them opt for unity of purpose and political direction – the prerequisite for fulfilling their historical role, that of ushering in a new society – a democratic and socialist one.

resulted into the assimilation of the conquered tribe.

The last and most advanced of the aborigines were the Sotho tribes. Only among them do we see a new animal, the blacksmith and the trader who subsisted independently of agriculture. This activity based on the smelting of iron, copper and tin was still deep in the womb of tribal society. It yielded neither surplus nor compelled an armed presence all along the trading route to the north.

All in all these economies had only achieved private property in the ownership of stock but not of land. Lacking a strong economic impulse at subjugating each other, relations tended to be peaceful and "Hottentots (!) and Caffres (!) lived promiscuously near the Gamtoos river."[8] The Paramount Chief of the Mpondomise, Cira, was married to a Mthwa woman. The Tswana, until the Difaqane in the early 19th century, inter-married with and could speak the language of the Abathwa in what is now known as the Orange Free State.

These were tribes rather than nationalities. These were household economies producing use values. The cultivator had not yet been transformed into a *peasant* – the social basis of nationality. Distribution was effected through *kinship* relations – a feature of pre-nationality societies. The tribal dialect had not yet been transformed into a *language* – an ethnic feature of nationality. In short, the tribal *econmies* i.e. use of the wooden and iron hoe yielded no surplus to warrant the emergence of antagonistic contradictions *socially* i.e. classes and hence the oppression of one people by another i.e. the *national* did not arise.

TRANSITION FROM TRIBE TO NATIONALITY

The transition from tribe to nationality signalled the victory of the ox-driven plough and irrigation over the wooden and iron hoe. It was a technical revolution i.e. a revolution in the instruments of labour which stratified aboriginal society into social classes. It took an external force, setter-colonialism, to break the tribal shell.

As indicated before the White settlers brought neither land, cattle nor vegetables to effect their mandate. The ensuing struggle for dispossession was carried out in both the ideological and military spheres. Imperialism's most far-sighted ideologist, the missionary, extolled the civilising virtues of western civilization but conveniently omitted to mention that its entire edifice was built on the sweat and blood of Black slaves. As Rev. Wilberforce of the London Missionary Society explained civilization involved teaching "the poor to be diligent, humble, patient and obedient and to accept the lowly position in life ....."[9] This humbling process was undertaken by the likes of Dr Phillip among the Xhosa, Revs. Kichener and Edwards among the Abathwa, Revs. Read and van der Kemp among the Khoikhoi, Moffat among the Tswanas and Rev. Owen among the Zulus. By the 1830's i.e. approximately 30 years after their arrival, Dr Phillip could claim that "at present the Colonial government does nothing as to relations with the independent native tribes without consulting me."[10] Afterall "while our missionaries....are everywhere scattering the seeds of civilization .....they are extending British interest, British influence and the British Empire...."[11] Thus, in the face of Maqoma's complaint about the treatment the governor meted out to his people, Rev Phillip advised turning the other cheek. It is instructive to quote him in full for the language he used is reminiscent of the White liberal's in the 1930's on the eve of the introduction of the Hertzog Bills: –

> "If they (the soldiers) drive away your people at the point of the bayonet, advise them to go over the Kieskamma peaceably. If they come and take away your cattle, suffer them to do it without resistance. If they burn your huts, allow them to do so.....and I am convinced you will have no occasion to repent of having followed my advice"[12].

[8] M. Wilson and L. Thompson, *Ibid., p.*

[9] N. Majeke, *IBid.*, quoted from !lkwezi' No. 15, October 1980, p.21.

[10] *Ibid.*, as quoted by W.M. Tsotsi, op cit. p. 31

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32

[12] N. Majeke, Ibid., p. 27

Azania. With their strategic positions right in the heartland of aboriginal territory, the mission posts served as ears and eyes of civil authority. In 1806 Dr van der Kemp who "will be of greatest assistance in retaining the Hottentots(!) in their present favourable opinion of the English, as well as in communicating with Gaika" received special mention.[13]

If we stress the role of the missionaries in destabilizing tribal society, it is because they also played a leading role in the creation of an African peasantry. Needless to say, it was the sheer military might of British capitalism that dealt a devastating blow. Add to this the havock wrought by the Cattle Killing of 1857 among the Xhosa tribe where an estimated 30,000 out of an initial numerical strength of 105,000 tribesmen were rendered homeless, then you get a picture of a society in flux. Slightly more than 30,000 had to opt for the hated demeaning labour in White farms. Slightly earlier and to the North, Tshaka's incomparable attempts at empire building left, in their wake, a destruction that boggles the imagination. As complete tribes were uprooted, torn asunder, hurled at each other there emerged MaNthatisi, Chieftainess of the Tlokwa, who laid waste to everything in her path as if to symbolise, somewhat emphatically, the death of the old order. Society was in a state of an agonising flux. Many died, many sought employment and others took to the plough. It was in the latter role that the ever extended hand of the missionary left an imprint on the revolutionary change that swept the country. His mission station comprised a church, a trading store and fields for cultivation. Soon the tribesman got hold of the oxdriven plough and, in so doing, laid the foundations for the transition to nationality.

The ox-driven plough enabled the former cultivator to produce for personal consumption, for exchange and for investment into production. From the 1920's onwards, the plough swiftly replaced the wooden and iron hoe. By the 1870's 1 out of "ploughs, harrows and such like agricultural implements were being introduced in great quantities."[14] The Transvaal and the Orange Free State were not excepted. The settlements stretching from Dordrecht, Indwe-Cala to Griqualand East and the Eastern Transkei to Pondoland were under cultivation. The African peasantry particularly in the Cape and Natal posed a serious threat to and often outclasses White farmers. Eyewitness reports said of the Ixopo district that "at present the natives grow most of the mealies consumed"; of Newcastle – "...the principal crop producing people are as yet natives," of Alfred country – "...and nearly all the produce of the country (was) grown by Natives." In the Cape the domination of the market by the African peasantry was more complete. The Peddie and Herschel peasantry estalished themselves as the national suppliers of everything from maize and corn, to vegetables and to wool and hides. But the area around Alice which, in 1876, marketed 250,820 lbs. of wool of "superior quality";Queenstown which sold £50,000 worth of wool and other merchandise worth more than £70,000; the Transkei, Griqualand East and Pondoland were not far behind. Contemporary reports had it that "Europeans cannot compete with the natives. The labour kills them"; Africans "seem to be able to raise sheep here, the Europeans not"; "the natives can live by agriculture, but not the white man."[15]

The peasant's economic way of life revolved around producing for a market. Distribution was effected through exchange rather than through kinship. His was paid as opposed to family labour. The dialect he spoke gave way to literary Nguni or Sotho as it adapted itself to the new conditions. His children who the missionary insisted he send to school further developed the dialect and thereby transformed it into a language. His sense of spatial belonging transcended the limited tribal world as he worried about the disruptive effects of war to his trade with distant Cape Town. His whole frame of reference geared him towards paying allegiance to as yet an illdefined

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 19

[14] C. Bundy, *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry*, p. 71

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 114

territorial entity. He had gained membership to a larger group entity, the nationality.

To put this development in its proper historical perspective, it should be understood that disintegration of tribal society was followed by the slave, feudal and capitalist nationalities. Feasant society was the starting point for the evolution of capitalist nationalities. These nationalities further developed into fully fledged capitalist nations with the industrial proletariat rapidly replacing the peasant. The point of transition from nationality to nation is not always easy to specify. The reason is in the nature of things. An unfolding process retains, at some point, equal portions of the old and new as the latter fights for a position of dominance. There is a point in the course of evolution where it is difficult to differentiate between a plant and an animal, ape and man, liquid and steam. This is due to the fact that the old (nationality) is the new (nation) in embryo. The ox-driven plough generates a distinctive community of economic life which constitutes the social content of nationality. The peasant economy with its scattered state of production eventually yields to the centralizing productive forces of the industrial production that we have come to associate with a capitalist nation. A developed internal market with a clearly defined area within which a particular currency is used as a medium of exchange is a *sine qua non* for a capitalist nation.

In the case of Azania the Xhosas, Zulus, Sothos, Indians and the so-called Coloureds constitute that many different nationalities.[16] But because they suffer from the same economic disabilities – landlessness and structured propertylessness – they also constitute a single Black nationality. Their further evolution into a nation cannot be effected without a revolutionary transformation. The repossession of land and the consequent seizure of political power is an absolute necessity for the achievement of nation-hood in the specific conditions of Azania. By the same token and precisely because they have gone through their bourgeois democratic revolution, the white settlers have constituted themselves into a nation. It should be noted, however, that the acquisition of political power does not necessarily mean the achievement of nationhood. Such countries like Zambia, Uganda etc. gained political independence before the process of nation-building reached maturity. The acquisition of state power should, however, speed up unity and identification witn a clearly defined territorial entity. It therefore follows from the above Marxist theory of nation formation that nationalities and nations are but transient group community forms that man goes through. They do not stand in position to the class struggle and could never be detrimental to the struggle of the working class.

LENIN ON SELF-DETERMINATION[17]

Proletariat internationalism with respect to nations received expression in Marx's famous dictum that "no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations." In his polemic on the Polish question, Lenin strongly denounced those who employed circumlocutory language in calling for the right of the Polish people to self-determination. He labelled as vague such pronouncements as "depriving the Polish people of the opportunity of deciding their own fate themselves" and such political phraseology as they "will break the fetters of national oppression" in order to destroy "all forms of foreign rule." He described such language as the language of European chauvinism. Blinded by its racism, White European chauvinism assumes airs and refuses to acknowledge the presence of nationalities and nations among the Black races. Such language opens the door to racist opportunism. Lenin insisted that the so-called democratic struggle should be called by its proper name, a struggle for self-determination.

Azania has its own share of European chauvinists who masquerade as Communists. To them Azania has become a prostitute that "belongs to all who live in it, Black or White." The do-gooders, ever eager to derail the struggle, would go so far as to formulate the programme of a national liberation movement.

[16] An ethnic group does not usually exceed a few thousand people and is defined on the basis of such ethnic features (as opposed to social) as territory, language common ancestry, mores, psychology etc.

[17] V.I. Lenin, 'Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-determination', *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, pp. 143-154.

It will be instructive to quote at length the report of an eyewitness: –

> "People who sat in the inner councils of this alliance (Whites, merchant class Indians and ANC leaders at Kliptown) stated privately that the ANC tended to accept instructions rather than to participate decisively in the formulation of policies. Dr Wilson Conco who was for a long time Luthuli's deputy in the ANC, presided over the Kliptown gathering, in 1955, which produced the Freedom Charter; but on his return (to Durban), he said he had seen the document for the first time at the conference. And Chief Luthuli himself had not known who had drafted the charter. The co-ordinting Committee of the allance was a matter of fact not the real originator....."[18]

The White liberals', "communists" or social democrats' determined resistance to the slogan of a 'Native Republic' is only surpassed by their concerted efforts at reducing the struggle for self-determination to an anti-apartheid skirmish. The position of the Communist Party of South Africa from the days when they supported the racist slogan of 'Workers of the world unite for a White South Africa' has hardly changed. The novel doctrine that characterises relations in Azania as those of internal colonialism is a not so subtle concession to the heightened political consciousness of the Black masses. If settler-colonialism is internal, this can only mean that the White community has a legitimate claim to Azania. To them, and certainly not to Lenin, the 1949 programme of the ANC Youth League which called for self-determination is no more than one of the many documents adopted "at a regular session of Congress". Having consciously split the national liberation movement, the chauvanists in the South African Communist Party now live a parasitic existence in the body politic of the ANC. Alarmed at the joint ZAPU/ANC operations of 1968 which occurred 'behind' their backs, the SACP resorted to amending the Constitution of the ANC to include Whites and "merchant class Indians" into membership at a conference held in Morogoro in 1970.[19] In no time and in the name of democracy, they wormed their way into its Military Revolutionary Council. Thus you had one window dressing African Chairperson, one White, the inevitable "merchant class Indian" and a so-called Coloured person. A perfect balance it was, non-racialism carried out to its logical conclusion. And what was the result? Extension of ANC membership to White chauvinists from New Zealand, Australia, England etc. while denying membership to Black nationalists from Azania.

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT – THE BEGINNINGS

The organizations that go under the umbrella of Black Consciousness are the only ones that have successfully fused the national and the social question. Born out of historical necessity, at a time when there was a gaping political vacuum, the South African Students' Organization (SASO) was founded by Black University students who were reacting to an untenable situation wherein the White led National Union of South African Students not only failed to address itself to the problems of people who were both black and students but consistently turned a blind eye to the gross inconveniences that attended Black students who had journeyed to NUSAS conferences. Denouncing White tutelage, the Bikos and Mapetlas effectively refuted the inevitable allegations of racism with answers disarming in their simplicity. Racism is "discrimination by a group against another group for the purposes of subjugating or maintaining that subjugation." A Black person is he whose political, social and cultural discrimination is structured into the political system is structured into the political system – a political definition. Then the *practical* problem that arose was what to do with non-university students, recent graduates and other members of the Black community. This led to the formation of the South African Students' Movement (SASM) for high school students; the National Youth Organization (NAYO); the Black Parents' Association, organizations for

[18] 'Ikwezi', Number 15 of October 1980, p. 6.

[19] African Nationalists, 'Statement of the Expelled Eight ...'

workers, journalists, priests and many others. But lack of an overall mouthpiecxe for a people united across class affiliation led to the founding of the Black People's Convention.

The 'united front' of Black people cherished certain basic ideas. They strenuously fought to obliterate the slave mentality that had ground the people to a halt. In rejecting white values, they turned their backs against the ideology of the liberal bourgeoisie. In rejecting Community Councils and Bantustans, they said 'NYET' to the administrative structures of a rapacious settler-colonialism. This non-collaborationist policy found expression in the favoured dictum – 'Black man you are on your own'. This new awakening of the people contributed in no small measure in igniting the fires that led to the December 1973 Durban workers' strike. This series of strikes inturn ushered in a new era in the Black workers' class struggle against the settler-colonialist bourgeoisie. Having shed off the lethargy that had gripped the '60s, Black Consciousness paved the way for June 1976. The students, ever the barometers of society, took issue with one of the main pillars of Which domination – Bantu Education.

It should be noted at this juncture that the founders of the Black Consciousness Movement did not have any pre-conceived theoretical frame. After a period of apparent lull, the objective situation called forth the filling in of a political vacuum. They acted with regard to a business that affected them as students. In so acting they encountered practical problems. In solving them they created a national 'united front' to bring together a people on the basis of a programme for self-determination. There was accomplished a unity between theory (the programme) and practice (the organization). To boot, and as constantly repeated by the leadership, theirs was a holding operation. So then with the outbreak of Soweto, eyes were cast across the border. The anticipation was of a final assault by exiles who would find a warm welcome. Such was the esteem with which the African National Congress, The Pan Africanist Congress and the Unity Movement were held in the eyes of Black Consiousness.

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT – THE LESSON OF SOWETO[20]

The main lesson of Soweto was the need for a closer correlation between the national and the social. During the rebellion students often resorted to compelling the Black working class to join the ranks. That this lesson has been driven home is evidenced by the pre-occupation of the Azapo sponsored symposium held in April 1981 at Hammanskraal with all aspects of the social question. Leaving nothing to the imagination, the definition of and the interconnection between such categories as the Black working class; the rich and poor peasantry; the international, national, comprador and petty bourgeoisie was clarified. Thus, in his concluding remarks, the President of Azapo, announced the pledge to go forth and organise the only class capable of leading the Black nationality out of the present impasse – the Black working class.

The position of the movement on the dialectic between race and class is contained in what has come to be known as the Azapo Conference Papers of April, 1981. In its hunt for superprofits imperialism dispossessed the aborigines as a people. The consequence, be it in Australia, New Zealand, the far East, Palestine or North and South America was to put Black against White. Dispossession led to the super-exploitation of the Black races. Whites became the privileged group, Blacks the underdogs. Thus, for the colonial world, race determined class. Hence in Azania, British imperialism roped in the defeated White Afrikaner into the ruling class family. The 1910 Act, that vestige of colonialism, served to seal the partnership. The dispossession of the aborigines had found consolidation politically. Setter-colonialism extended the political consolidation to include the Indians. What was hitherto a struggle between imperialism and the aborigines was formally extended to a struggle between settler-colonialism and Black people.

That the White labour aristocrat long identified with the ruling class hardly needs substantiation. A most fervent supporter of

[20] Soweto being used as a symbol for the national rebellion.

Afrikaner nationalism, the White labour aristocrat forms the core of the repressive state apparatus. At the factory floor level he wields the whip that is the symbol of bondage. There is simply no point of contact between him and the Black worker that is devoid of friction. With their material interests diametrically opposed, there can be no unity between the two.

Black nationalism, born of land dispossession, is the driving force of the Azanian revolution. Since there is no black bourgeoisie, the only class capable of effecting a revolutionary change to bring about a socialist transformation is the working class. Such is the dialectic between race and class.

THE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT OF AZANIA – THE BCM(A)

Beginning early '70's the BCM sent delegations to exile to urge unity among the warring national liberation movements. At the same time it despatched a ranking official to establish a Directorate in Botswana. His mandate was to establish links with the three movements and to raise funds for home based activities. There were many impediments to unity including that of the ideological split between the PAC and the ANC. If there was any hope for unity at all, it was soon dashed with the outbreak of Soweto as the exiled organizations scrambled for recruits in the wake of the mass exodus from Azania. Repeated calls to form a united front fell on deaf ears. It took four years of intensive debate for the disillusioned pockets of BC exiles to decide to found a national liberation movement. The Black Consciousness Movement of Azania – BCM(A) – was formed in April 1980 as a unitary organization dedicated to waging a war of national liberation.

The formation of BCM(A) is based on solid theoretical grounds. Firstly, it fills in a gap that has never been filled in by any of the three movements. The bureaucratised ANC, effectively controlled by the White "communist" Piper who calls the tune, has been reduced to an anti-apartheid movement. Having consciously rejected its own Youth Leagues' programme for self-determination, the leadership of the ANC resorts to communicating with Botha through the good offices of the Buthelezis and reassure the White settlers by publishing conditions for negotiation before the first shot is fired. While the Pan Africanist Congress is a thoroughbred nationalist organization, it nonetheless rejects the class basis of the struggle. If it does go into battle, it can only halt the struggle this side of socialism. The Unity Movement whose programme calls for a non-racial democracy that will be qualitatively and telescopically transformed during the course of revolution through the agency of a Marxist leadership, speaks the language of the revolutionary intellectual. Its refusal to state explicitly that the issue is self-determination deprives it of the only language that is capable of galvanising the masses. Their insistence on the vanguard role of the peasantry reflects a tenacious clinging to an Azania of the pre-1945 era. In a nutshell, the BCM(A), with its activism of the ANC, the nationalist programme of the PAC and the organizational structure of the Unity Movement has travelled further to merge the national with the social.

THE BCM(A) – EXCLUSION OF WHITES

We have already made passing mention of the interests of the White labour aristocracy as diametrically opposed to those of the Black working class. unlike in the classical capitalist economies, the interests of this labour aristocracy are structured in the very fabric of the Azanian economy. It did not so much gain them through the normal course of the class struggle as much as by virtue of pigmentation. Their structuring receive daily reaffirmation in the racist ideology of the ruling class that the labour aristocracy has so thoroughly imbued. They receive further entrenchment in the anti-Black working class activities of this same aristocracy which gain formal recognition in law. A worker is defined not just in terms of his relation to the means of production. What completes the definition is the fact that this relation should give him a peculiar psychology, the revolutionary psychology of the proletariat. Against this standard, South

Africa's White workers cannot be called a working class in the classical sense of the designation. As already pointed out, they are not just a labour aristocracy that plays a leading role in the institutionalization of racism.

In the Azanian context the difference between the White liberal and the White "communist" is not so much on principle or strategy as it is on tactics. The former believes in a smooth constitutional adjustment to include Blacks in his 'body politic' with such acceptable tactics as non-political strikes and negotiations. His ultimate objective is the creation and controlled nurturing of a reasonable Black bourgeoisie that can be counted upon to defend 'democracy'. The "Communist" would adopt such scare pressure tactics as hitting at the economic pillars of society with a view to forcing the ruling class to a conference table. He seeks the uninterrupted development of a class-conscious as opposed to a colour-conscious Black working class which will then ally itself, as a junior partner, with his imagined White working class to bring about a socialist transformation. Since the emergence of the envisaged Black working class cannot occur without the corollary development of an equally colour-blind Black bourgeoisie, this puts him exactly in the same position as his White liberal counter-part. It should be noted that the logic of our White "Communist's" strategy forces him to hold the struggle for self-determination in abeyance while the material conditions that are to yield his colour-blind Black working class are maturing. Since such a strategy is a utopia, his differences with the White liberal are then reducible to the level of tactics.

It is in the light of the above that the exclusion of Whites from membership in the BCM(A) should be viewed. The most radical among them are thoroughly imbued with racism. BCM(A) does not have the time or energy to invest in politicising and watching over a potential enemy within its ranks. Because their racism does not have a genetic origin but is a product of social conditioning, their exclusion is NOT based on principle but on stragegy. Be that as it may, Azanians cannot wish away their practical experience of the Afrikaner, the White labour aristocracy, the liberal and the White "communist". There is simply no basis for trust between the two population groups. The BCM(A) does not have to be apologetic about the exclusion. What should be more surprising to the uninitiated is the inability of the White "communist" equipped, as he is, with the Marxist method of analysis, to come to grips with this simple truth. His refusal to do organizational work among the people he feels have a revolutionary potential, his White working class, is unbecoming of the revolutionary he so ardently professes himself to be. He is unwilling to form his own mass organization and deal with Black people on an organization to organization level. Marx aside, his sense of elementary decency should teach him better than to interfere in an act of liberation that must be accomplished by the people themselves. His unrevolutionary insensitivity is born of a deep fear which inturn generates a desire to control other peoples' liberation movements. Oblivious to Lenin's warning against the imposition of unity on other people from above, the White "communist"-cum-social democrat still has to learn that trust is earned.

BCM(A) – SOLUTION TO THE NATIONAL QUESTION

The BCM(A) has inherited the political tradition dating back to the days of SASO. Its political and programmatic statements which touch on the national question are contained in its basic documents, 'Our Urgent Tasks' and the 'Preamble' to the Constitution. These receive further elaboration and comment in its quarterly 'Solidarity'.

The BCM(A) argues that the primary issue in Azania is the reconquest of the land and its restoration to its rightful owners, the Nguni, Sotho and the so-called Coloured nationalities. In administering the conquest, settler-colonialism put the Indian nationality in the same political category as the aborigines. Thus, the driving force of the Azanian revolution is Black nationalism.

The BCM(A) further asserts that socialism provides the only solution to the national question. To appreciate this, let us go back to the fundamentals.[21] The designations tribe, nationality and nation are transient historical social group forms that have nothing to do with skin colour. At the root of their definition lies the community of economic life that binds together the members of each transient social form.[22] Needless to say, the community of economic life of a tribe differs from that of a nationality. In a capitalist country the community of economic life for the working class consists in the fact that it neither owns the means to produce wealth (machinery, raw materials) and the riches so produced although it produces both but has to make do with a wage i.e. the amount that is absolutely necessary for its own upkeep. The community of economic life for the capitalists who jointly make up the bourgeoisie consists in the fact that they own the means of production and the wealth so produced at the expense of the producers i.e. the working class. The White English bourgeoisie (one nation) exploits the White English proletariat (another nation). That is why the BCM(A) defines Black persons as those "who are by law and tradition, politically, socially and economically discriminated against as a group in the South African society and identify themselves as a unit in the struggle towards self-determination." Such a definition has nothing to do with skin colour.

When it comes to some colonies, the same imperialist British bourgeoisie is forced by the logic of land dispossession to single out the dispossessed as the prime target for exploitation. But simply because the inhabitants of the colonial world are Black people who, for concrete historical reasons, have not yet reached the same standard of historical development, imperialism gives an ideological justification for its real intentions, namely, the exploitation of another people. In such cases the rate of exploitation usually assumes an acute and intense form. Since it is primarily directed at a phenotypically distinct and identifiable people, elaborate political-administrative structures are created to keep the Blacks in a subject position. This fact coupled with the racist chauvinism of Europeans observed by Lenin adds another dimension – an unbearable oppression of a people as a race. But because of the above stated reasons, race and class affiliation coincide. The settler colonialists (including our White "communist's working class) become or certainly objectively behave as a bourgeoisie does in relation to Blacks who become, or certainly objectively behave as a revolutionary proletariat. This constant conjunction finds a fundamental reflection in the fact that the Black nationality is none other than our old friend, the working class nationality. Such is the correlation between the *national,* Black oppression and the *social,* class exploitation. This is why the Motor Assembly and Component Workers' Union of South Africa (MACWUSA) is seriously unable to differentiate between the factory worker and the community dweller. Hence BC's call to organise the working class on the basis of Black nationalism to lead the Black nationality out of the impasse.

It should be noted that with the reconquest of the land, a national democratic regime shall have been born. Since there is no Black bourgeoisie, the leadership of the revolution can only reside with the Black urban and rural proletariat and also with migratory labour. Under the leadership of a politically conscious BCM(A), national democracy assumes a revolutionary character. The regime so established becomes, properly speaking, a revolutionary national democracy. Because of the commitment of the BCM(A) to socialism, measures that have a strong working class bias shall be instituted. It is in this sense that revolutionary democracy is a transitional regime to socialism One of its duties would be to see to a correct re-orientation of the former settler-colonialists in order to prepare them to take up their place as Azanians. Their acceptability to Azania is conditional on their willingness to accept democratic majority rule in which case they shall become true Africans.

[21] See *Leninism And the National Question* by Inst. of Marxism-Leninism.

[22] Language, territory, mores, national consciousness are but ethnic features of nationality/nation. They distinguish, identify and serve to unite members of nations.

Bibliography

1. BUNDI, C. *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry,* (London, 1979)
2. Institute of Marxism—Leninism *Leninism and the National Question,* (Moscow, 1977)
3. LENIN, V. 'The Socialist Revolution And the Right Of Nations To Self-Determin-ation', *Collected Works,* Vol 22, (Moscow, 1964)
4. TSOTSI, W. *From Chattel To Wage Slavery,* (Maseru, 1981).
5. WILSON, M. & THOMPSON, L. *The Oxford History of South Africa,* Vol 1. (Oxford, 1969)
6. ANC (Nationalist) 'Statement On The Expulsion From The ANC (SA).....', (London, 1975)
7. 'Ikwezi' Number 15 October 1980, Stockholm

Containment Of Revolution — A Visitation

Dumo Baqwa

It is a known fact that in quite a few situations people have been involved in struggles for change with quite specific aims in terms of what they want to achieve. However, what has turned up in the end in these situations is something quite divorced from what was aimed at. In some cases "the something achieved" turned out to run decidedly counter to the interests of the broad struggling masses.

It is our fundamental duty to engage in a continued examination and analysis of the forces at play as we continue with our struggle. It is only in this manner that we can avoid whatever pitfalls crop up on the way.

The significance of Azania to the international community is without question. To cite an aspect, the abundant presence of essential raw materials which are of vital importance for the advance of technology puts Azania at the centre in terms of relations with the international community. It is important to note that these relations have been determined through a very deliberate plan by powers that be in Azania and the imperialist community. It is also important to note that the imperialist community shall bring immense pressure to bear towards the maintenance of these relations. The reason is simple: the advancement of technology has come to mean everything in terms of the advancement of western society.

The significance referre to here in relation to essential raw materials holds for large parts of Africa. Let us examine how relations have been maintained with those parts of Africa that are now independent. Through this we want to show the form and the nature of pressure that has been brought to bear on independent Africa by imperialism.

The turn in terms of relations to most parts of independent Africa came with World War II. Apart from the rumblings that had begun in Africa itself, we must look at the role of the United States of America in the whole scheme of things. After WW II, the USA emerged as the leading and most powerful country within the imperialist community. The country abounded in capital that it sought to invest elsewhere. The country desperately sought markets where it could dispose of its surplus wares. At this point, all colonised parts of the world were under strict control by their colonisers. Britain put up protective tariff barriers around its colonies to prevent the infusion of capital from other imperialist countries. France did the same. it was the order of the day. But then, WW II had depleted France and Britain of resources to maintain their colonies to a point where they had to turn to the USA for assistance. The USA was reluctant to help because it wanted the tariff barriers around the colonies to be broken.

This would open the colonies to USA capital. The USA was motivated by its own economic interests when it refused to help the colonising powers. However, when the USA took a stand that was pro-decolonisation to a point where the then President of the USA, Roosevelt, was projected as championing the rights of the colonised, some confusion was caused in the circles of those that were struggling for change in the colonies in relation to the interpretation of the stand of the USA vis-a-vis decolonisation.

The political effort exerted by political organisations in Africa, the incursions carried out by guerilla units in a number of countries in Africa and the role of the USA in the decolonisation programme were the combination of forces that led to decolonisation. This is without doubt a very interesting combination!

The one crucial point that arose after the war was the control of finances. The Bretton Woods System gave answer to this. According to the stated intention, this system would work towards the control of the world economy. The Bretton Woods System embodies the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. These were, and still are the organs that control the flow of finances between the former colonies and the imperialist community. It was this control that, in the very essence, ushered in the concept of neo-colonialism. This control does not only stop at finances. Its immediate corollary is the control of the distribution of technological know-how. Technological expertise is extended to the neo-colonies to enhance the productive capacity of a given country, only to the point where production meets the interests of the country being given technological knowledge. The methods used in this control are multifarious. An an example, the imperialists send their trained manpower to the colonies and then employ a multitude of tricks and excuses to make it impossible to train an adequate number from the indegenous masses to take over and run any of the projects they operate in the neo-colonies. The control exerted by the Bretton Woods System and the vicious and strict control of technological know-how define and determine the extent and the nature of the hold the imperialist world has on the neo-colonies.

The October 1917 Revolution in the Soviet Union has had a deep and continuing impact on relations in the international community. This revolution heralded the emergence of socialism. A number of countries have followed suit and implemented socialism. This has led to conditions whereby the imperialist bloc has made it its duty to work out an elaborate strategy to fight the survival and any further emergence of socialism.

The defeat of the USA in Vietnam had such an impact on the imperialist community that there was a significant change in the strategy towards containment of revolution. Declarations were heard at the Pentagon to the effect that the experience of Vietnam had proved the theory of "limited wars" untenable. It was through the tenets embodied in this theory that the USA reserved the right to intervene in any area where US interests were said to be threatened. Then the Pentagon set about working on a new approach. The strategy that emerged was as follows:

(a) The USA should not be seen to intervene in troubled areas any more. It should protect its image as the leader of the "New Economic Order". It should be seen to be acting in "partnership" with all those it entered into agreements with. It should actively encourage "co-operation" with the "third world". For this reason, it was decided that the USA must arm nations so that, *inter alia,* the nations concerned shall have the capability to protect the interests of the USA on its behalf in their specific areas. (Let it be stated that a given neo-colonial government would have to use the arms against its own people!)

(b) The USA would have to develop its war machinery to a point where, if it became absolutely necessary for it to intervene, it would conduct a lightning operation: that means, it would strike and "destabilise" the concerned area and be back at base before anyone has time to react.

(c) The USA would identify areas which it considers of strategic importance to it. The USA declared that it would not move from these areas even if it meant World War III! These areas would be under special consideration in a sense where, among other things, they would be intensively armed and they would be under continued surveillance by the USA. Among the areas identified were Azania and Palestine (Israel). It should be noted that these two areas form the gateways into Africa and their control gives the controller immense possibilities in terms of access into Africa.

(d) The USA would identify those areas which were of no serious strategic importance to it. In these areas, the USA would yield to the pressure of the Soviet Union if and when the Soviet Union chose to move into them. These areas would be considered "selective gifts" to the Soviet Union.

Apart from the schemes worked out after Vietnam, there is a programme that has been worked out, independent of the Vietnam experience, for the spread of US influence. This was dubbed "Operation Tar Baby". This strategy was aimed at the control of the lives of the people in the neo-colonies. It was directed at political structures where politicians were bribed and bought. For governments that were considered important for this strategy but remained intransigent and did not yield to it, coups d'etat were arranged. The case of Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah and the former US president, Lyndon B. Johnson is a case in point. Politicians who stood up in opposition in government that were prepared to move along with the USA were eliminated. The strategy was aimed, quite decidedly, at the elimination of all opposition.

It was also directed at the educational structures and the media which influenced forms of behaviour, social patterns, cultural norms and value systems. The Peace Corps would be used as a bridge-head in the onslaught on the educational structures. Students would be taught, among other things, about the greatness of the USA. The newspapers, radio stations and television networks would be brought under the influence of this programme. This would be done simply by staffing them with man-power that identifies itself with the USA. This programme was also designed to use those areas where the USA was felt to be well-entrenched as forward bases, launching pads for further and continued onslaughts into the neo-colonies. Our land, Azania, was one such area. It would be used to launch further inroads into the rest of Africa.

The shifts and changes in the imperialist strategy have taken very interesting forms. Whereas the imperialist community adopted a hostile attitude towards socialist organisaions, there is very clear evidence of a shift in the approach. This came after the victories of FRELIMO, the MPLA and PAIGC. During the struggles of the courageous masses in these countries, the imperialists sent in their armies to "fight and destroy" the efforts of the people in these countries. They are still involved in programmes intended to "destabilise" the People's governments in these countries. However, a new dimension has emerged. The imperialists are no more waging wars of destruction only and in the single-minded fashion in which this had been carried out. There is an intensive drive to get socialist movements and parties to sit at the same table with imperialist governments. This was evidenced in Zimbabwe and is being evidenced by the present approach to the liberation Movements in Namibia and Azania.

The imperialists have also realised that through the hostilities that they have displayed heretofore, they remove the possibility of interacting with the People's governments when they take over. The idea now is to make friends and create an atmosphere that would make it possible to maintain their interests in the people's republics, and also open the way to further negotiation and agreement.

These are the main areas to which the imperialist schemes direct themselves. They are the factors that lie at the root of these invitations. These invitations also serve the purpose of giving the imperialists a chance of studying the areas where liberation struggles are going on. This they do by examining the various delegations they receive from the various movements and parties and scrutinising the information they give. Then they move on to use their findings in identifying the force that would best suit their schemes.

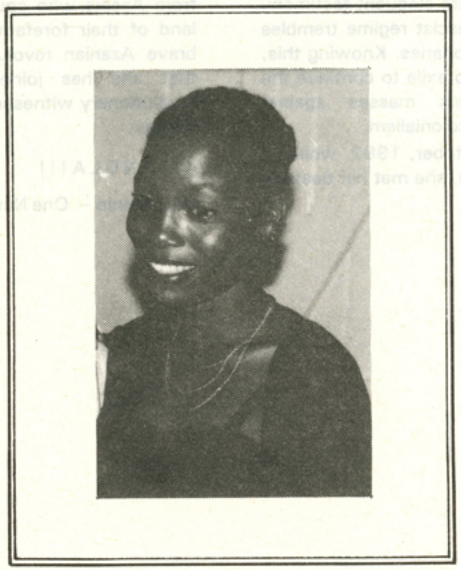
The next stage is to create the kind of conditions that would make it most conducive for the chosen force to operate unhindered and unfettered. This assumes various forms. An intensive propaganda campaign is mounted to get the chosen force to be accepted by the international community as the only "authentic" force. All the organs under the control of imperialism are employed to ochestrate this phenomenon.

From this point, the imperialists move to eliminate or neutralise all other patriotic forces that are rightfully involved in the struggle. Even the fascist regimes, against whom the people are engaged in battle, are made to work on preparing the ground for the ultimate

the nature of the objective and subjective condition of this class (high level of education, political awareness etc.) it is the stratum which most rapidly becomes aware of the need for freedom from foreign domination. However, the petty bourgeoisie as a class that is not directly involved in the process of production, can never possess political control since this is based on the economic capacity of the ruling class. This assertion does not seek to undermine the revolutionary role played and still being played by individuals that have come from the petty-bourgeois class. It seeks to expose the fact that, and this has been proven historically, the petty-bourgeoisie as a class does not and shall never have the capability to possess political control. In order to ful-fill the role in the liberation struggle, the revolutionary petty-bourgeoisie must be capable of commiting suicide as a class in order to be reborn as a vanguard of the revolution completely identified with the deepest aspirations of the people. To this extent, the revolutionary petty-bourgeosie must strengthen revolutionary consciousness. The revolutionary petty-bourgeoisie must identify itself with the working class and promote the normal development of the revolutionary process. Our organizational structures must adapt themselves to this process. They must provide room for movement towards the estalishment of a true vanguard of the revolution.

The emergence and survival of socialism demands the consolidation of the solidarity of all socialist and progressive forces. It is through this solidarity that we shall be able to defeat imperialism at its schemes to destroy socialism. It is through this solidarity that we shall be able to create platforms and occasions where we shall examine and learn from the experiences and mistakes of comrades that have troden this path. It is through this solidarity that we shall attain complete and genuine freedom and also contribute towards the closure of this historical phase where man exploits the other.

Tribute To Comrade Makgano Mogashoa: A B.C.M.(A) activist, revolutionary and daughter of the soil



Through the philosophy of Black Consciousness, made indespensable by the objective and subjective conditions of fascist and racist South African capitalism, Cde Makgano Mogashoa, in solidarity with the B.C. comrades, refused to accept the starvation, the thirst and exposure of the workers and poor peasants of Azania as immutable. She came to the important conclusion that revolutionary consciousness is a significant precondition to revolutionary praxis. Dominant bourgeois ideology which countless of the black masses had imbibed over the years has to be smashed and replaced with worker and peasant consciousness. What is more, she grasped the all important fact that classes are not homogeneous entities. There are internal differentiations which are important in determining political strategies. She treated with the contempt it deserves, the accusation that B.C. philosophy is racism in reverse, knowing that the organisational framework she chose to operate in draws its membership from the oppressed of mixed racial origins. She knew, as a consequence of her understanding of the Black Consciousness philosophy, that the so-called white workers in South Africa are an aristocracy too deeply

immersed in the privileges of white society to participate in revolutionary struggle. Having grasped this, Cde Makgano threw her lot with the only real workers and poor peasants of Azania – The Black workers and peasants.

But as history has proven again and again, the ruling classes of every epoch, faced with the true struggle of true revolutionaries, will not hesitate to unleash the forces of violence even to the point of committing brutal, murderous acts. In South Africa, the butchering of Onkgopotse Ramothibi Tiro, Mthuli Ka Shezi, Mapetla Mohapi, Steve Biko to name but a few, bears eloquent testimony to the truth that the fascist regime trembles before genuine revolutionaries. Knowing this, Cde Makgano went into exile to continue the struggle of the Black masses against imperialism and settler-colonialism.

On Saturday, 2nd October, 1982, while on business of the struggle, she met her death in a car accident.

We do not mean to cultivate any personality cult, but wish to pay tribute where it is due. We salute a fallen hero, a comrade, to draw strength; to take stock of ourselves, to ponder over issues of direction and perspective. Our purpose is to put the death of a gallant fighter in its proper perspective.

As Azanians we are painfully aware that we come from a fascist, racist society where those who wield power decide where we should be born, go to school, go to church, be buried and how. The cold parts of the soil of Botswana have swallowed many a comrade from Azania who could not be buried in the land of their forefathers. As we salute this brave Azanian revolutionary, we are aware that she has joined a whole cloud of revolutionary witnesses. And to her and them we say:

AMANDLA!!!

One Azania – One Nation.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

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

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

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

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

(5) In response to the popular struggles of the masses for political, social and economic emancipation the current strategy of imperialism as represented by the South African regime is shifting emphasis from expressing itself in purely race terms to a sharper class content, as witnessed by its overtures to the black middle class. This underscores the class essence of the struggle against national oppression.

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

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

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