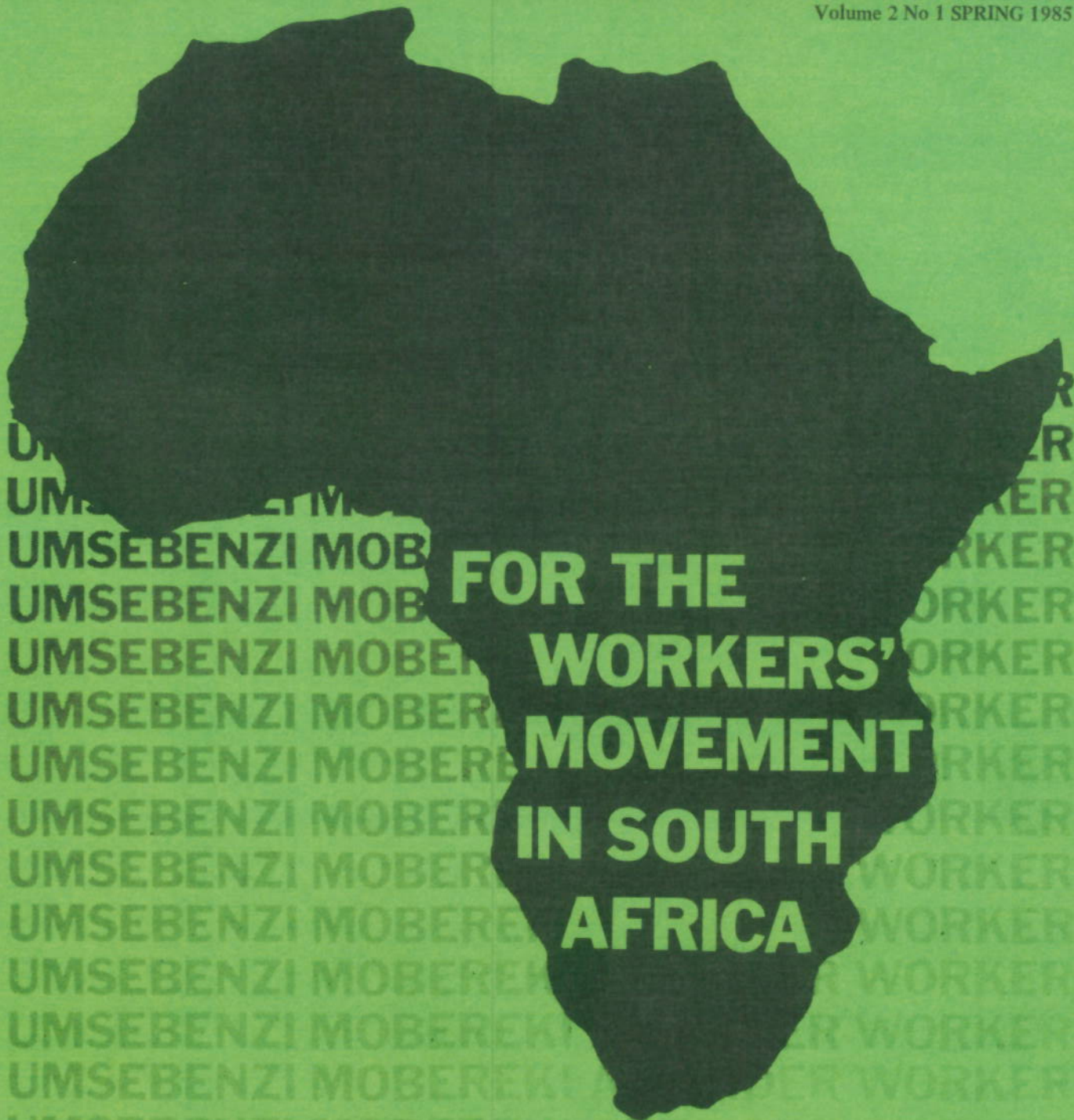

AZANIA

WORKER

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**FOR THE
WORKERS'
MOVEMENT
IN SOUTH
AFRICA**

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THE AIM OF AZANIA WORKER

1. The struggle for national liberation in South Africa is a struggle against white domination and racial oppression of the majority black population. White domination and racism are inextricably woven into the economic development of capitalism in South Africa. The elimination of white domination and racism can only be completed after the disappearance of capitalism. Thus the struggle for national liberation is a combined one with the struggle for socialism.

2. The leading role in the struggle for socialism is played by the working class. In South Africa at the present time, this role belongs to the black working class in industry, mining, agriculture and the domestic service of white households. The black workers and their families constitute not only a majority of the population but are also the most oppressed and most exploited section of the population and working class in South Africa.

3. The working class can only secure its leading role in the combined struggle for national liberation and socialism through its own independent political working class organisation which expresses its specific political, economic and social demands. We thus fully support the project of creating an independent political organisation of the working class in South Africa.

4. An independent political organisation of the working class is necessary because:

i) without an organisation of their own the workers will never in their own name and interests be able to struggle for, assume and maintain power; worker's power is a necessary condition for successful and meaningful social change that will bring an end to racism and capitalism and usher in a period of transition to socialism, an independent political working class organisation is the means by which the working class secures its interests and representation in any political conjuncture, now and in the future;

ii) without an organisation of their own the workers will not be able to press within the popular and national liberation struggle the political, economic and social demands of the working class and other dominated classes: the example of many former colonial countries shows that the popular and national struggles often end by serving the interests of indigenous middle class elites rather than those of workers and other toiling classes.

5. An independent political organisation of the working class can only be created out of the political and trade union organisations and the various socialist currents which exist at the time. For this organisation to have deep roots and a mass base in the working class itself, it cannot be built in isolation from the working class and the organisations in which the workers presently find themselves, nor can it be built by any one socialist current in isolation from

all others actively involved in workers' and mass struggles. There is a need, as a step towards the building of a working class organisation for all socialists to engage in discussion. Our journal is offered as an open medium of expression to all socialists actively involved in struggles, and remains non-sectarian in that it will publish contributions which may not agree with our own.

6. Without a relevant theory and practice of social change the working class can have no organisation worthy of its leading role. Our journal is further offered as a forum in which socialists from all political currents within the trade unions, student and national liberation movements can contribute towards the development of a relevant theory and practice of social change, and in which they can exchange experiences and lessons drawn from present and past struggles.

7. In a world dominated by capitalism the struggle against capitalism is an international one. We cannot therefore conceive of a political organisation of the working class in South Africa in isolation from the organisations, experience and history of the working class and toiling masses in other countries of the world. We offer our journal as a link between the struggle in South Africa and the struggles in other countries and, to this end, extend an invitation to socialists in other parts of the world to join us in developing a relevant theory and practice of social change and share with us their experiences of struggles in a manner relevant to the workers' struggle in South Africa. In particular we seek contribution of articles which will help in the understanding of questions such as race, class, culture, ideology, consciousness and subjectivity.

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EDITORIAL

A great deal has happened since the last issue of our journal came out. The Botha regime has tried to impose the new constitution on the people in the hope that it would effectively pull the 'Coloured' and Indian sectors of the black people onto the side of the ruling class or, at least, establish a buffer between the oppressors and the oppressed masses.

As is clear from the article on the restructuring of the South African economy which appears in this issue, economic developments in South Africa have led to a realignment of class forces and alliances, and the political concessions to the 'Coloureds' and Indians was an integral part of this process. Unfortunately for Botha and his new-found allies, nationally and internationally, the people decisively rejected this attempt to divide them. The abysmally low turn out at the elections to the new tricameral parliament was a body blow to the regime from which it will not easily recover.

Even before the current phase of active resistance in the Eastern Cape, which peaked after the massacre of 43 marchers on the anniversary of the Sharpeville bloodbath on 21 March twenty five years ago, there have been almost incessant struggles going on. In the traditionally militant townships of the Vaal industrial triangle, all efforts on the part of the regime to bring the black people to their knees have been broken against the massive wall of resistance. It was this resistance which caused the deployment of over 7,000 armed troops and police who swooped on Sebokeng last October, and it is clear that this was seen by the regime as an exercise to control not only the ongoing struggle but preparation for struggles to come.

Underlying causes.

What are the underlying causes for the intensification of the struggle, especially in the Eastern Cape? The immediate catalyst, of course, was the shooting of 43 unarmed marchers on their way to a funeral near Uitenhage. But this procession itself was to attend the funerals of previous victims of police violence.

Although in the past few years most attention has been focussed on Soweto, Sebokeng, Sharpville and the regions around the industrial complex of Johannesburg and Pretoria, all has by no means been quiet in the rest of the country. The Eastern Cape, in particular, has been giving the authorities cause for concern.

Nearly five years ago the government was given an intelligence report which gave warning that condition in the 75 black townships in the region were so bad that an eruption of violence, strikes and disruptions should be anticipated. According to the report, the main causes for this were inadequate housing and facilities. Dr George Morrison, then Deputy Minister of Cooperation, commented: "We were somewhat perturbed by the fact that, according to the reports

we had, conditions in some of the townships were appalling."

Although plans were drawn up to deal with these problems, it was not until last year, nearly four years after they had received the report, that the government approved the raising of more than £150 million for redevelopment of the townships of the Eastern Cape. In the meantime things had gone from bad to worse. The last two years have witnessed a massive increase in protests, boycotts and clashes with the authorities in most of the townships of the region. Shortly before the Sharpville day massacres, a three-day stayaway in Port Elizabeth resulted in the death of fifteen people in different townships in the region. In Cradock, protest actions took place against the dismissal of a school teacher who had led protests against rent increases in the Ilingelihle township.

But, while the Eastern Cape is currently the focal point of unrest, the growing protest movement is by no means confined to this area.

Trade Unions.

Undoubtedly, the growing strength of the trade union movement in South Africa has given a solid foundation to the confidence of the masses in their own power. With their militant resistance to all forms of economic and political repression, they can now count on the economic muscle of the organised working class. The two-day stayaway last November, and the strikes in the mines gave a great stimulus to this rising confidence.

More and more workers in both urban and rural areas are coming to realise that their economic hardships are not separate from but integral to the very nature of the apartheid regime, that every struggle they successfully undertake, however limited it may appear, is a blow against the system and the regime.

A great deal of the violence in the townships is being directed against the black collaborators: the mayors and councillors elected on a farcical minority vote, the black police and officials who try to run the townships on behalf of their white paymasters. One hundred and fifty black councillors have resigned since last September, and others have been eliminated by the people. Houses and cars of black police have been burned out. Increased rents and the increased cost of electricity and fuel have added to the hardships being born by the people. Since September of last year, the people in the Vaal townships have been refusing to pay rent. They were threatened that their water and electricity would be cut off. When this threat failed to subdue the people, employers were instructed to withhold the money involved from their wage packets. Confronted with the counter-threat of industrial action if they did this, many employers refused to comply.

The system of local government - the community councils set up under the Black Local Authorities Act of 1983 - which was purported by the government to be a first step towards incorporating the 'African' sector into the new constitutional set-up, has become practically a dead letter. Members of these councils are simply regarded as Pretoria's puppets. The people are not willing to accept these fake bodies as an answer to their demand for genuine participation at all levels of government in their country.

Faced with this revolt against the increasing economic hardships under which the black population is compelled to live - a situation aggravated by the growth of unemployment among blacks, which now totals more than three million - with the South African economy in recession, there is little the regime can do to ameliorate the deteriorating conditions of the masses, even if it had the will to do so.

The wave of revolt which is presently reaching its highest point in the townships around Cradock, Uitenhage, Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown, but which has been manifested in many parts of the country since the Soweto uprising in 1976, has involved all sections of the black population and people of all ages.

With the emergence and growth of the trade union movement, the working class is objectively in the position to place itself at the head of this movement. But in revolutions, and developments in the direction of revolutions, youth also plays an important role. In this, South Africa is no exception. Soweto itself was triggered off by the issue of compulsory use of Afrikaans in the schools. The courage and militancy of the pupils who stood up against tear gas, police dogs and truncheons, and then guns, helicopters and armoured cars, was the catalyst which set a nation in motion. Following the re-emergence of the trade union movement after the 1973 Durban strikes, Soweto 1976 can be marked on the calendar of history as the birth-date of the revival of black resistance against the tyranny of apartheid and the capitalist system with which it is integrally bound.

After Soweto.

The decade since the Soweto rebellion has been one in which the youth have continued to play an active role in keeping the fires of revolt burning. One of the objectives of the architects of apartheid was to put the stamp of inferiority on the black people in perpetuity. Their methods embraced both the use of force and ideology. The ideological thrust was to take the form of imposing on black youth an inferior education; which in the words of Verwoerd when he introduced his Bantu Education Act in 1953, would ensure that "natives will be taught from childhood to realise that education for Europeans is not for them. ...There is no place for them in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour."

In their arrogance, the white ruling class took it for granted that what the Blacks wanted was a "place in the European Community". To this the people have already given their answer by their rejection of the new dispensation as manifested in the new constitution; by the continued resistance to forced

removals, thus proclaiming their right to live as South Africans (or Azanians), in any part of the country where wealth has been created by their labour

Youth

After Soweto, the government changed the name of the Department of Bantu Education into the Department of Education and Training. But the change of name brought no fundamental change in the quality of education imposed on black youth. The past decade has witnessed an almost ceaseless struggle by black students and pupils for better education facilities, for genuinely representative Student Councils, for an end to the age limit for black students in schools and an end to corporal punishment. This campaign has intensified over the past twelve months and, as youth militancy increased, so has the support of parents and teachers.

The crisis in black education is endemic and has fueled a network of strikes and protest movements throughout the academic and school world. These have taken many forms. Protests against lack of proper representation, refusals by university authorities and schoolboards to discuss student and pupil grievances, solidarity actions with striking workers, rent protests and participation in the struggles in the townships at all levels.

Of special significance is the support given by students and pupils to the struggles of the workers. This was particularly illustrated during the two-day stayaway in November of last year when 153,000 students stayed away in the East Rand, 93,000 in the Vaal Triangle and 30,000 in the Eastern Cape, support organised by two black national student organisations COSAS and AZASM.

What next ?

The purpose of this editorial is not simply to re-hash a potted history of the last few years. These events are probably well known to most of our readers and certainly to the growing readership in South Africa. What we have tried to do is to place the recent events in the Eastern Cape into focus, to show that these are not isolated incidents but part of the ongoing struggles of the people of South Africa against the racist-capitalist regime.

We have to try to draw the significance of these events for the future of the liberation struggle in South Africa. This is not at all an easy task. We have no magic crystal ball into which we can peer to get a clear picture of the future. Is South Africa, indeed, to quote Minister of Law and Order Louis le Grange, "moving into a potentially revolutionary situation?". Was the head of the South African police right when he said, addressing students at the University of Pretoria that "South Africa was experiencing a unique type of uprising not experienced anywhere else in the world?". These are the questions which the ruling class is asking.

Two necessary ingredients for revolutionary or pre-revolutionary situation are already undoubtedly present in South Africa. We have a ruling class increasingly uncertain whether it can go on ruling in the old way. Certainly the realignment of class

forces in the ruling alliance, as spelled out in the article on "Restructuring", with the resultant break-aways of some of the traditional supporters which have up to now underpinned the National Party regime, has brought with it anxieties with which the ruling class is finding it difficult to cope. The second ingredient - a population actively determined to end their oppression - is manifested in the rising tide of revolt since 1976 and which the regime can now only try and contain by blood-baths. The attempt to buy off a section of the oppressed has, as shown above, miserably failed.

The third factor to turn a pre-revolutionary into a revolutionary situation is leadership. To all appearances, the uprisings in the Eastern Cape seem

to be spontaneous but undoubtedly a variety of forces are at work which give directive to the struggle. The Eastern Cape has a history of producing some of the country's outstanding leaders. It is the birthplace of Nelson Mandela (ANC), Robert Sobukwe (PAC) and Steve Biko, one of the founders of the Black Consciousness Movement whose aspirations are today best expressed through AZAPO. It is also not far from Pondoland, the site of the historic revolt in 1960, and was the scene of some of the earliest battles between the Africans and the white invaders in the 18th. century. Only time will show how long the regime will be able to contain the rising tide of revolt and when the struggle itself will produce a leadership which can give it the coherence and direction necessary for victory.

**FORWARD TO A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIALIST AZANIA!**



ALLIANCES

— A discussion paper.

Introduction.

The subject of this analysis is the issue of alliances. As the terms of reference of the title remain rather vague, it is necessary to sketch the broader contours of the discussion. But, before proceeding to isolate a few pertinent issues, under the rubric of alliances, a few words of caution are needed to clarify what this analysis is not.

The principal object is to open up the discussion on unity and class alliances in the 80's, taken against the backdrop of contemporary South African socio-economic and socio-political development.

It is, then, a contribution that remains part of an ongoing dialogue within the ranks of the oppressed and exploited. It is, furthermore, obvious that all the highways and byways of the concept of alliances cannot be dealt with here; but the intention is to isolate a way (method) of approaching this issue - who we can work with, and why - based on the concrete realities of South Africa.

The issues of unity and alliances—have been the most debated questions of our time. They remain crucial questions that any oppressed people must confront in their fight for liberation. Unity and alliances are, by their very nature, political questions. How we approach them is, therefore, crucial, and an incorrect political orientation can sow the seeds for sectarianism in both its ultra-left form or the most reactionary and conciliatory form.

This analysis starts from the premise that the movement of society and history is through the process of class struggle, and the economic, political and ideological struggle. (The role of armed struggle, although vital, cannot be discussed here) Therefore, unity and class alliances are political and class questions.

To answer the basis of unity and the alliances that have to be forged, if lasting liberation and genuine freedom from the shackles of oppression and exploitation is to take place, we must understand the conditions of our struggle and the developing organisational forms. And, although we will be analysing the specific national conditions, they have to be understood in the context of South Africa's place in the world capitalist system - as a vital link in the imperialist chain.

Classes in South Africa.

In South Africa, the ruling class is made up predominantly of a white imperialist and national bourgeoisie, and has the support of the majority of white wage-earners. It is through this alliance, propped up by brutal and repressive measures, that the entrenchment of white privilege and prosperity has existed and been secured.

South African capitalism rests on the exploitation of the vast majority of the population (principally black workers) and the denial of even the most elementary bourgeois democratic rights (such as the franchise) to the majority. This has become the unquestionable basis on which the bourgeoisie, and its assorted bag of class allies, has maintained its class rule.

Colour, linguistic, cultural and religious differences have all been employed by the rulers to separate territorially and entrench differences so as to ensure maximum division among South Africa's dominated classes. Thousands are forced to relinquish their South African citizenship and are herded into Bantustans. The oppressed and exploited are forced to live in separate areas, subjected to strict control over settlement and movement in urban areas, and subordinated to the unrestricted violence of the police and judiciary. These are the realities of the South African way of life.

Thus all black people are denied democratic rights in South Africa's pigmentocracy. But of all the classes, it is the black proletariat who suffer the full effects of racism and capitalist exploitation. The black middle class, while suffering under racism, do not necessarily suffer capitalist exploitation, but their existence as a class is threatened by the advent of monopoly capitalism. It is in this immediate sense that we should understand their revolutionary/radical character against capitalism. Thus the black working class and the radical elements of the black petty bourgeoisie have common cause to remove the injustices of racism and domination.

But the questions are :

Who is the driving force in the S.African struggle?

What is the political objective ?

What is the nature of the alliance ?

Although there are other sections of the dominated classes, such as the reactionary collaborationist middle class, the hand-maidens of apartheid and the rulers, they will not take up much of our time except to say that they should be destroyed with apartheid and capitalism.

A peasantry is virtually non-existent, the majority being either industrial or farm workers.

Economic and political tendencies since the 60's.

In the last twenty years South Africa has become increasingly important in world politics. Its importance in the imperialist chain as a dependant industrialised nation cannot be disputed. Despite the pernicious system of apartheid, the political and ideological feature of capitalism in South Africa, the imperialist bourgeoisie has always appreciated the strategic significance of South Africa in the high stakes of economic exploitation. South Africa has remained an important regional base for imperialism,

and the main counter-revolutionary force in the sub-continent.

The defeat of the national liberatory movement(s).

Since the early 1960's, after the defeat of a number of national liberatory movements, South Africa's triumphant regime presided over the biggest boom ever experienced. There was a real growth rate of between 7 and 10%. Foreign capital poured into the country. Between 1960 and 1970, South Africa's total foreign reserves grew from R3,024 million to R5,818 million. South Africa's industrial development during this time indicated a major shift in the pattern of economic development. Manufacturing became increasingly important. In 1970, the value of manufacturing output was 27.1% of G.D.P. while mining and agriculture were 11.7% and 9.5% respectively. This was a development quite different to the trend in the rest of Africa.

The employment tendencies in the late 1960's, also reflected the booming nature of South African capitalism, as more skilled labour was required, indicating the technological transformations being made, especially in the manufacturing sector. Out of an economically active population of 7,040,000 in 1970, manufacturing and construction industries employed 1,589,000, mining employed 675,000, and agriculture forestry and fishing employed 1,980,000 people.

During this period, close cooperation between state corporations and the private sector was also established, for example in the chemical and explosives industries, in the energy sector (Escom), and in the emergence of many para-statal such as Armscor, Iscor, and Foscor.

No country in Europe, let alone Africa, could compete with these developments in South Africa. The tendency then, and it continues unabated today, was towards the increasing concentration and centralisation of capital. The fusion and interpenetration of capital, the growth of transnational corporations as the major agents of imperialism, and the increased cooperation between the state and the national bourgeoisie and international capital were indications that South Africa was in the monopoly stage of capitalism. Today South African Breweries, Premier Milling, Southern Sun, and Old Mutual are good illustrations of the continuation of monopoly capitalism in our country. These tendencies are present not only in secondary industries. Large agricultural enterprises, owned by the agricultural bourgeoisie also have close links with the state, and are subjected to labour and economic strategies of a capitalist character.

Thus through the earlier period, right until the 1970's, South Africa's demoralised, defeated proletariat, together with Malawian, Mozambican, Angolan and Botswana migrant workers, were forced to work for meagre wages, under appalling conditions in South Africa's mines, farms and factories. On the other hand, South Africa's white working class, protected by means of legal job reservation, and artificially high wage structures, remained an important supporter class for the apartheid policy.

Politically, the liberation movements were crushed

and driven underground. South Africa's oppressed and exploited were defenceless under the dominance of an assertive ruling class which was now consciously building a sophisticated military machine, one of the most powerful in Africa. Stark indicators of this military preparedness were the defence budgets which grew from R44 million in 1960 to R272 million in 1968/69. By 1970 expenditure for defence stood at R1,350 million.

It was only in the late 1960's and early 1970's, with the emergence of SASO, SASM, BCP and the Black Consciousness Movement, that a new political impetus was given to the oppressed and exploited. Although relatively weak, and dominated by a cultural-psychological perspective, which lacked a class analysis of the South African struggle, the BCM was nevertheless a refreshing breeze after a period of relative quiescence.

The 1971 Ovambo strike, and the 1973 Durban strikes, which revolved mainly around working conditions and low wages, signalled the start of a new era in South Africa's labour movement. These spontaneous worker actions in response to depressed living conditions, indicated the mood of South Africa's industrial proletariat. The world recession of the early 1970's, the devaluation of South African currency, increased food prices, unemployment and the drop in the gold price - together with decisive moves by the anti-colonial movements in Mozambique, Angola, and Zimbabwe to intensify the armed struggle - were all factors which shaped the economic and political scenario in South Africa.

Strikes became common and this stimulated the growth of the unofficial black trade union movement. In 1969 there were 13 'African' trade unions with 16,000 members. By 1974 there were 22 'African' trade unions with 40,000 members. Throughout this period student and worker struggles occurred regularly. Examples of student actions which readily spring to mind are the Turfloop student struggles, Fort Hare student resistance, and the 1973 University of the Western Cape walkoff. On the workers front, statistics at the time (1974) revealed that there were 300 strikes involving 75,000 workers in an 18 month period. Most of these strikes concerned wages, and the most strike-prone area was the iron and steel and metallurgical sector with 39 strikes, followed by textiles with 30, clothing with 22 and the building industry with 18.

All these struggles converged into the mass resistance of 1976 which began with Soweto but quickly spread throughout South Africa. Thousands of students and workers, ordinary men and women, received their political baptism on the streets of Soweto and Eldorado Park, Langa and Athlone. The unity which was forged between workers and students symbolised the re-awakening of the oppressed and exploited.

This intense resistance, and political tapestry, continued through to the 1980's. To catalogue a few examples: in 1980 there was the meat workers strike and the boycott of red meat in the Western Cape, as well as the bus boycott; in 1981 there was the Leyland workers strike in the Eastern Cape, and the 'Rainbow Chickens' strike; there was the rents boy-

cott in Durban; there was the generalised rejection of state institutions (the Coloured Representative Council, the South African Indian Council, the Community or Management Committees) and of the Bantustans.

The early 1980's reflect broadly mass protest and resistance to an intransigent state and capitalist class. These struggles, however, were not fought only by workers, but also included participation by the radical petty bourgeoisie ('black' and 'white'). In these struggles important political questions were posed about class alliances, political line and the direction of the liberatory struggle.

The ruling class response.

The ruling class was shaken to its foundations. Mass rejection of apartheid and capitalism, although weakly demonstrated, nevertheless forced the ruling class to re-examine their strategies. Increasingly, the ruling class - from academics and cabinet ministers to representatives of monopoly and national capital - called for an investigation into the crises of the 1970's. The state responded by setting up a number of commissions of enquiry, all designed to examine different aspects of the rulers' policy and to seek ways of adapting it to the changes that were occurring in South Africa. The 'onslaught' against South Africa was characterised in the following way by Major-General Charles Lloyd of the SADF :

"The onslaught against South Africa is a total one, as is the case with South West Africa...Enemy actions are directed against the RSA in the political, economic, psychological and security fields. It speaks for itself that all these actions are to be orchestrated towards the achievement of common objectives."

The rulers had to respond collectively, and their response was known as the "total strategy". This is a comprehensive economic, political, ideological and military, urban and rural programme designed to re-structure the internal and sub-continental relations between the rulers and the dominated classes. The "total strategy" is aimed at defusing the crisis situation in which the rulers of South Africa find themselves. The various commissions set up - Wiehahn (labour control), Rieckert (relocation, resettlement of blacks), De Lange (education), Sohlebusch (South African constitution) - were first steps in the direction of coming to grips with the crisis at hand.

It is against this background that we should understand the latest ruling class initiative - the President's Council / Koornhof Bills. This new initiative forms part of a well-organised plan to reorganise the conditions and pattern of class domination in South Africa by incorporating sections of the dominated classes as participants in stemming the rising tide of working class militancy.

State of the movement.

Despite intense resistance, and the mushrooming of popular organisations, South Africa's liberatory movement is still very weak. In particular, South Africa's working class movement - the driving force of the South African struggle - is still small and

has no national political character. The trade union movement - arguably the most important component of the working class movement - is still very weak in relation to its potential. After repeated meetings we see the possibility of a Trade Union Federation which will assist in the growth of the working class movement considerably. With only 10% of South Africa's workers unionised, a momentous task still remains - to draw railway workers, mine workers, farm workers and thousands more into the mainstream of South Africa's militant industrial life. While, on the other hand, thousands still remain trapped in the clutches of the reactionary trade unions.

To develop the form and content of this working class movement are the responsibilities of workers and activists today.

On the political front we have seen the resuscitation of old traditional organisations, such as the Transvaal Indian Congress, and the Natal Indian Congress. We have also seen the growth of community organisations such as the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee, the Durban Housing Action Committee, the Combined Residents Action Committee in the Transvaal, the Federation of Cape Civic Associations, and many others. There is also the consolidation of the Black Consciousness organisation and, lastly, still relatively small, scattered tendencies and groups espousing a more militant left proletarian line. This gives some idea of the political spectrum (The perspectives of the different tendencies will be explained later, although very schematically). It is against this background that we must decide the way forward.

Some reflections on unity : so where to now ?

To combat successfully the rulers' policy, unity is important within the ranks of the oppressed and exploited. Over the last period, despite the public outcries and appeals for unity, we are somehow surrounded by signs and practices of disunity and division. It is obvious that many sincere and committed people mean different things by unity.

For all serious political practitioners, unity and the building of unity on a mass level is a vital ingredient and practical prerequisite for waging a successful revolutionary struggle. There are different types of unity that we have to build, but all must be understood in the context of the following overriding concerns about the nature and principal content of our liberatory struggle.

These facts flow out of an objective appraisal of the correlation of class forces inside Southern Africa, and what is historically and politically possible in our quest for freedom. These are interlinked aspects of a single struggle. There are thus not two or three stages, but one political task on the agenda

These interlinked aspects are :

1. The struggle being waged in South Africa is an anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist struggle. It is a struggle led by the oppressed and exploited (urban and rural) workers, in alliance with the radical elements of the petty bourgeoisie. It is

a struggle for an independent proletarian state.

2. The struggle is a national, non-racial and anti-racism struggle. It is a movement which embraces all genuine class fighters and supporters of the anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist struggle.
3. The struggle forms part of the African and global movement against imperialist expansion, which attempts to subordinate the vast majority of the world to a life of misery, poverty, illness and homelessness. This international aspect enables the South African proletariat to internalise the lessons which it draws from the treasure-house of world experience. This develops the gang planks, through solidarity, for successful worldwide worker struggles.

It is on this perspective that we decide all our actions. For, without an informed theory, there can be no purposeful action. As a great leader of the workers movement said : "Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement."

There are two tasks of unity that we should distinguish. Both are important, and neither can successfully take place and be deepened if we do not consciously work on the other. These tasks are :

I. Building unity in mass organisations by bringing the broadest layers of the oppressed and exploited into organisations of worker and popular democracy. We must encourage all the oppressed to directly participate in charting the course and destiny of their organisations. These organisations range from trade unions, residents' women youth and cultural organisations. The objective in developing these structures is to break down the divisions and isolation, which are all effects of capitalist exploitation and class domination, by encouraging -through common experience and struggle - unity of understanding, purpose and action on the day to day issues.

II. Build an organisation composed of the most far-sighted sections of the working class into a coherent and politically effective fighting force. It is this vanguard organisation which must coordinate and unify the mass struggle, must lead the assault on the capitalist system, so as to destroy all its manifestations.

A correct orientation on these tasks is important. In fact, this remains the central problem, which subsumes all others, viz : how to combine effective proletarian political leadership with broad mass participation in order to achieve a radical transformation of society. It is necessary to explain the implication of the above formulation :

To say that the historical task of the workers' struggle is the destruction of the capitalist/apartheid system, and the inauguration of a workers' state means that all your tactics and alliances must be governed by this strategic perspective. Calling for a workers' state (that is a society on the way to eradicating exploitation and oppression) does not mean

that one is ultra-left or ignoring the realities of the South African struggle.

Instead, one is recognising the historical options possible which are engendered not by our wishes or designs, but by the contradictions of the capitalist/apartheid system, and the class struggle. This enables us to arm our cadres, and the oppressed in general, with a scientific view of the struggle and proletarian methods of struggle. By patient and persuasive mass work, trade unions and residents' womens' youth and cultural organisations are, in fact engaged in a battle for democracy. They are fighting for the recognition of organisations which are not of the rulers' making but forged through their own struggle sweat and blood. This is the basis of self-reliance and political independence. Through organisational struggle we build the organs of popular democracy, which are parallel structures in the womb of the old society, and which extend the frontiers of worker power.

It is in these organisations that we create the foundations of the new order. It is here where the proletariat and its allies are schooled in democratic practices and vigilance. This is the extra-parliamentary movement which challenges directly the ruling order.

Tendencies in the movement.

Many tendencies have evolved representing different sections of the oppressed and exploited. For reasons of simplicity we can divide them broadly, although we must appreciate different shades, into 3 positions

1. The Right - Black Nationalists
2. Centrists - Popular Front
3. The Left - United Front

The Right

The right conceptualise the problems only in colour terms. It is only so-called 'race' oppression which impedes the freedom of the dominated classes. The removal of these ugly warts off the face of South Africa is merely a stepping stone to bring equal partners in the free enterprise system. They cannot see beyond racial discrimination, and they range from Black Nationalist forces to the liberals. Their main concern is the removal of apartheid.

Their alliance would, therefore, comprise anti-apartheid forces, but depending on their constituency this would vary. For example, Black Nationalists might want to exclude 'white' participation, while the liberals would extend the areas of cooperation. Thus, they may differ in their working arrangements, but their objectives are the same : the defeat of the proletarian movement and the maintenance of bourgeois dictatorship.

The Centrists

They see the connection between colour and class, but they do not understand the implications of this connection in the light of South Africa's history. They see two stages to the South African struggle. The first stage is the 'National Democratic' struggle

and embraces all class forces who reject apartheid, while the second stage, left for undetermined time, is the struggle for socialism.

The first stage of the struggle is to unite all anti-apartheid forces into a democratic front, and it sets limits on the present tasks of work. Although the workers and the working class struggle are often mentioned, this remains mere rhetoric for the mass meeting and publications.

In the first stage, unity is based on a national democratic programme, with the objective of true democracy (whatever that may mean). The alliances advocated do not draw a distinction between the proletariat's specific class interests in relation to the general interests of the dominated classes. In theory, they seem to argue that the interests of all the oppressed are the same. The Broad Democratic Front is basically a populist movement based on a respect for the bourgeois order and property.

This ideological and political orientation has emphasised demands such as a National Convention. What remains unclear is how the working class - the driving force of the South African struggle - is to ensure political and organisational leadership of the class struggle.

This strategic perspective also contains a 'Four-Nation' thesis to characterise South Africa's oppressed people, and historically this goes against the grain of talking of the nation.

Given the orientation about the immediate task - the removal of apartheid - the alliances here embrace sections of the ruling class in the form of a popular front. The effects of the popular fronts in Germany and other European countries, prior to the Second Imperialist World War, and also as witnessed in Chile more recently, are well known.

This type of politics and alliance disarms the proletariat in struggle despite all protests to the contrary. This is not some purist criticism, but a concrete lesson from the international working class struggle. Popular Frontist tactics do not permit (given the constraints of the working arrangements) organisational independence and self-reliance for the oppressed people. And it does not educate the mass movement about its historical task. Popular Fronts are basically conciliatory working arrangements which encourage reformist politics in the proletarian mass movement, with an objective to refashion the bourgeois economic and political edifice, and not to destroy it. For the nascent proletarian movement in our country, it is a suicidal course of action.

The Left.

As explained earlier, the smallness of the working class movement, and the absence of independent working class traditions in South Africa, are facts. Many small groups and tendencies, still subsumed in parochial activity, have made relatively small contributions to the growth of that movement. However, because many of these portray themselves as the

licensed keepers of truth and custodians of all knowledge, and are more concerned with their particular interests - not considering the needs of the whole movement - they have bred various brands of sectarianism.

Some of the Left see only class and do not understand the complex relationships between colour and class in the South African liberatory struggle. Yet there seems to be consensus on the strategic objective. This agreement has been forged in the form of a United Front. But the United Front has remained a front composed of activists of organisations with a very small base. There is a difference between unity of the 'leadership' and unity at mass level. But the United Front does represent the most important step forward that can develop the two tasks of unity, discussed earlier :

1. mass level unity
2. unity to create a working class leadership

The United Front tendentially paves the way for a long-term tactical alliance of mass organisations - worker and non-worker - under the leadership of the working class. A United Front cannot be a front only of workers' organisations. It has to combine all non-proletarian organisations - but not ruling class and collaborationist organisations - all at different levels under proletarian political, ideological and organisational leadership.

Because the United Front indicates a theoretical agreement on the strategic objectives, it permits through democratic discussion and struggle the forging of tactics to strike a death blow to the enemy. To fail to unite the radical elements of the petty bourgeoisie under the leadership of the working class only strengthens the hand of the rulers. To unite the elements of the radical petty bourgeoisie under strong independent political organisation of the workers strengthens the revolutionary camp. But extra-ordinary vigilance is the watchword.

It is only if we recognise the contradictions inside South Africa, the principal as well as the secondary contradictions, that we can successfully wage a struggle for workers' power. A lesson of all major revolutions has been this : that change is the result of the efforts of working people, and not hand-selected or self-appointed leaders of the working people.

The United Front is a forum of the 80's to strengthen and contribute to the growth of a unified working class movement through discipline, unity and vigilance. The proletarian movement suffers, ideologically as well as in practical and organisational respects, from fragmentation. It is important that all serious militants pay attention to building up this movement from a principled yet non-sectarian position. But as one comrade remarked :

"No single brave act, no profound statement is sufficient."

It requires relentless economic, political and ideological struggle.

AFTER THE AUGUST ELECTIONS

— Address to the national Forum Workshop of 22nd December 1984.

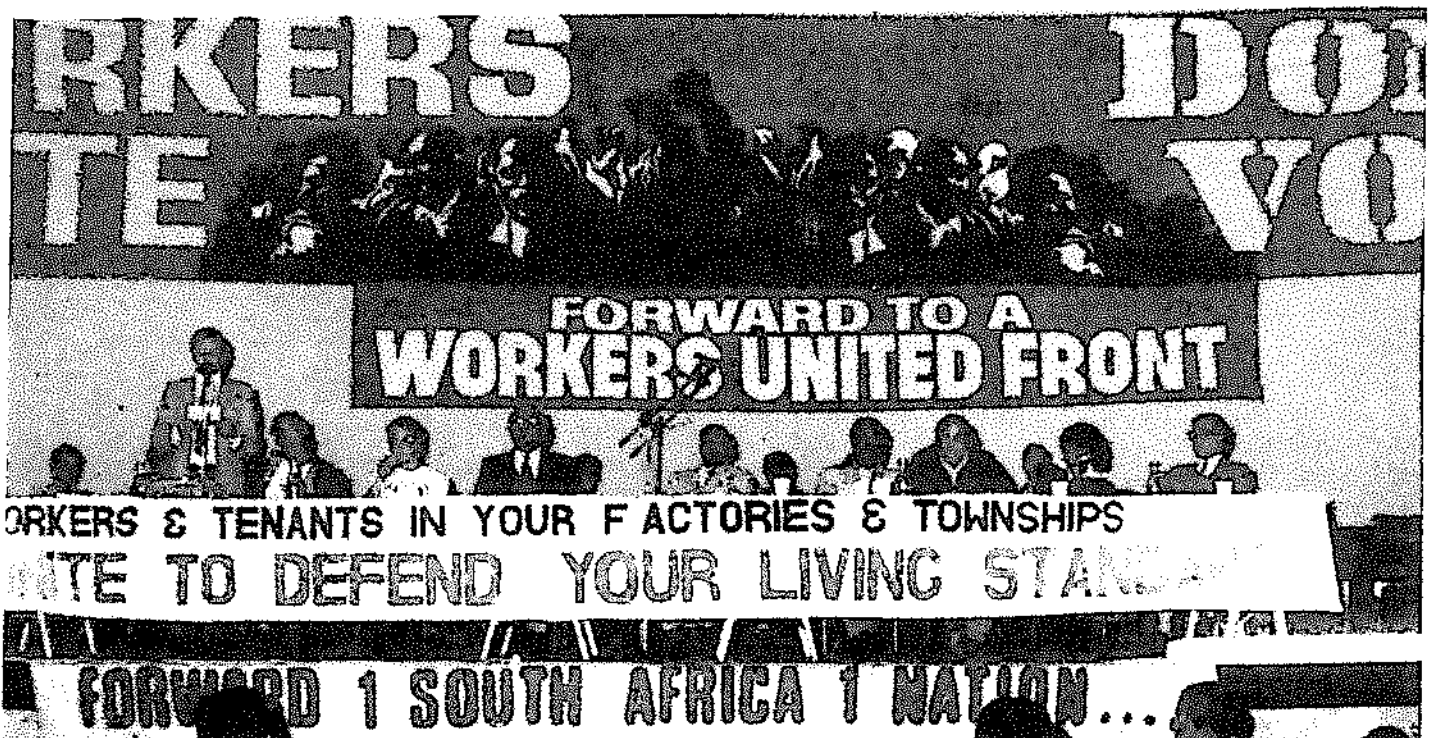
What was the purpose of the August elections?

Before we can assess our successes and failures in regard to the New Deal elections, we need to remind ourselves why these elections were held. Stated as simply as possible, we can say that the elections were calculated to give legitimacy and credibility to those Coloured and Indian collaborators who - in the unfortunate phrase of David Curry - had decided to "go inside". Judged from that point of view, these elections were a complete farce, a crushing defeat for the collaborators and their masters, a brilliant victory for the oppressed and exploited people of Azania. A few figures illustrate the position accurately: under 20% of those who were allowed to vote, went to the polls. In some constituencies votes were given more easily in persons than in percentages! No single party can boast of having the support of more than about 5% of the eligible voters. None of these parties, therefore, is even remotely representative of the people they claim to speak for. Hendrickse's Labour Party, Rajbansi's People's Party and all the other little parties have no legitimacy. They do not represent any significant number of the oppressed and exploited people.

But this was not the only purpose of these elections. If we could dispose of the matter thus easily, we would have to conclude that the government of South Africa took a stupid gamble. There is no doubt that they expected a large-scale boycott of the elections even though the extent of the boycott

shocked them and represented a political setback for them. We should not forget, however, that the elections were undertaken as part of the larger plan of co-opting the black middle class in order to give medium-term stability to the South African state. In this regard, the National Party government has to carry out two mutually reinforcing tasks at one and the same time. On the one hand, they have to convince middle-class blacks that it is worth their while to "go inside"; on the other hand, they have to get middle and working-class whites to accept the idea of "sharing power". This government strategy has been defined rather nicely as "trying to find the secret of sharing power without losing control". (see H. Giliomee, "Adapted strategies for the maintenance of white rule". Paper no. 36 of the conference on Economic Development and Racial Domination, University of the Western Cape, October 1984, p.11). The entire purpose of this strategy is to stabilise the capitalist system of white supremacy in South Africa after the destabilising shocks of the period 1974-1980. Since we have discussed the ruling-class strategy so often and at such length in our conferences and meetings, I shall only draw your attention to a few aspects which are important for our purpose.

There can be no doubt that the elections helped to achieve the government's purpose of accustoming the white electorate to the idea of sharing power with other population registration groups in the limited sense in which they intend the phrase to be understood. Newspaper reports, opinion polls and actual practice demonstrate this clearly.



For overseas consumption, especially, the National Party government wanted to give the impression that the new constitution was born out of a democratic debate in which extreme left and extreme right were given equal rights of participation as long as they did not throw bombs or stones to make their particular points. There can be no doubt that until the actual elections the rulers assumed an impressive pose of confidence. Political debate was tolerated to a surprising degree even though always within the suffocating grip of the threat of the reality of censorship, detention and general police harassment. As we all know, this mask of democratic tolerance was dropped on the night of Monday 24 July at Bishop Lavis, here in Cape Town, when a phalanx of policemen was deployed to whip and pursue Cape Action League and other activists and supporters who had come to question the Labour Party's speakers. This party, which for so many years had tried to make everyone believe that it was against apartheid and part and parcel of the Liberation Movement, on that night finally exposed itself as a tool of the ruling class and an enemy organisation. From that evening until 28 August when the now notorious showdown took place between the police and Azapo/National Forum demonstrators and protestors, we saw a wave of arrests and harassment which has not stopped up to this day.

In brackets, I should perhaps mention that all these clashes between the police state and the people were reported by most local and overseas newspapers and other media as being between UDF supporters and the police. In a number of attested cases, when demonstrators were asked whether they were UDF supporters, they denied this only to read next morning (or to see on SATIV) themselves described as being UDF! The media had helped to create the UDF and were not willing to let go of their own creation. Indeed, there are many photos and much TV footage of non-UDF or even anti-UDF activists demonstrating with placards about Azania and the National Forum, which bear captions or commentaries that describe them (to their eternal embarrassment) as UDF supporters! The wheel turned full circle two weeks ago when the UDF became the runner up on the Pretoria Press Club's hit parade as the second most "impactful" newsmaker of the year!

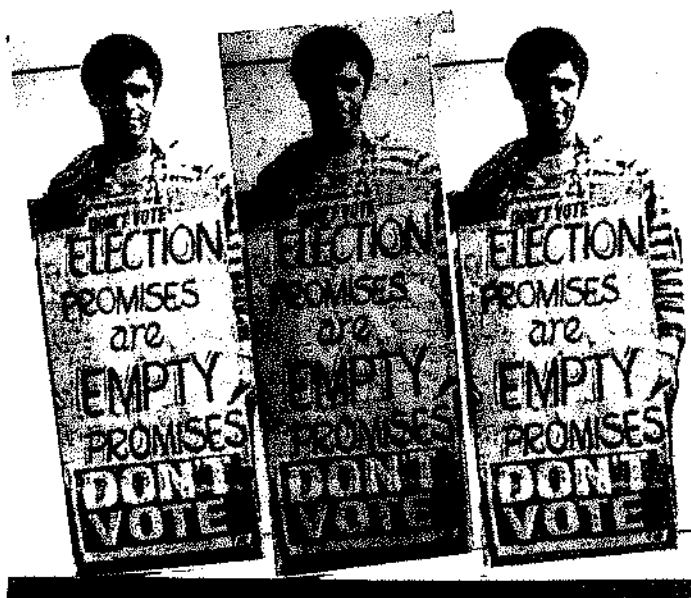
All that this means is that in future campaigns we have to consider very carefully what attitude to adopt towards the media. We can certainly no longer believe in the nonsense that the press, radio and television report what really happens in the world. Indeed, we must more and more begin to accept that these media try to make that happen or appear to happen that suits them and their masters who pay the salaries of reporters, editors sub-editors, photographers, etc. To set out to play to the media is to put our struggle in danger in the deepest sense of the term because it is not the concern of the media to give a true picture of the situation. Their main concern is to earn money for their owners, to market a commodity called "news" even if they have to fabricate it by turning non-events into events or vice versa.

Ethnic consciousness and the nation

The elections were an element in the grand design of neo-apartheid strategy to divide and trap the black workers by creating and reinforcing a number of ethnic identities. This simply means that black people are to be encouraged to act as though they were "ethnic groups", in this case "Coloureds" and "Indians". They were to be made to believe that their interests and their destinies were different. They had to accept and follow Coloured and Indian leaders just as the African masses in terms of the Bantustan strategy are supposed to follow tribal chiefs as leaders. For this reason, even the elections were held on different days in spite of the inconvenience thereof.

This was (and remains) the reason why we insisted on putting forward the slogan of ONE AZANIA ONE NATION. This is the answer of the black working class to the divisive ethnic slogans of the ruling class and of the conservative middle classes. There are comrades towards the left who believe that this is itself, at worst, a middle class slogan, at best an unnecessary or a mistaken slogan. I can only repeat what I have said on numerous occasions, viz., that if you do not acknowledge this slogan in theory you do so in practice. Our critique of ethnically conceived organisations such as the Transvaal Indian Congress, which at the time was said to be malicious, has been validated beyond all doubt. There is floating around in South Africa an astounding pamphlet apparently published in England by the Catholic Institute of International Relations and called "South Africa in the 1980's". It is one of a generation of such documents the sole purpose of which is to propagate the UDF and to denigrate any tendency that disagrees with the UDF. These supposedly well-researched documents feed on one another and simply take over from one another the legends spun by the fecund minds of party hacks. In this document, you can read the following revealing statement among many others:

"The ethnically somewhat closed 'Indian' communities in the Transvaal and Natal, strongly influenced by Islam, with a large class of traders and a tradition of creative thought from their intellectuals, were a unique challenge. It was not feasible to mobilise Muslim households with the secular language of modern socialism, nor were attacks on 'racial capitalism' easily assimilated by traders and businessmen. With the exception of a small group of intellectual radicals, 'Indians' were a relatively unpoliticised community potentially vulnerable to government inducements to join a tri-cameral parliament. To respond to these realities a Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) was formed and the corresponding body in Natal (NIC) powerfully put forward the needs of these communities in UDF. For purists the formation of TIC was seen as a lapse into 'ethnic politics' and its role was hotly debated."



There is no need to comment on this except to say that it confirms in the clearest possible manner what we have said about the assumptions, analysis and consequences of organisations such as TIC, NIC and others. It destroys any claim in UDF circles that they have adopted a non-racial approach. They certainly need to be saved from their overzealous friends lest these latter expose more awkward slips than this.

The Liberal response

The government's New Deal strategy, which embraces at the same time the Koornhof Acts and the relocation of African people in Bantustan concentration camps, threatened to unleash a flood of working-class militancy and action. Since 1980, almost every significant mass action in South Africa has carried the imprint of the black working class. Socialist solutions to the system of racial capitalism were common coinage among the youth and in workers' organisations. This development was and is feared by the petit bourgeoisie and by the liberal bourgeoisie.

Liberals of all colours and shapes thus tried to ensure that the mass movement against the New Deal would not be placed under the leadership of the working class. The instrument that they chose for this purpose is the so-called United Democratic Front, an alliance of organisations which is neither united, nor democratic, nor, as its leadership itself insists, a front. This is not the place to assess the UDF in detail. That can and should be done at another place and time. Suffice it to say that despite the fond illusions of some self-proclaimed leftists in the UDF, the reins of that bandwagon are firmly in the hands of middle-class leaders whose vision and practices do not extend beyond opposition to the superficial symptoms of apartheid. Men have been built up through the newspapers and by other means who can now steer the bandwagon almost in any direction they choose.

One of their destinations is a national convention. They are creating a climate in which people are made to believe that peaceful methods of negotiation and talking between "real leaders" are going to solve our problems. This is the way in which the radical militancy of the working class is to be defused. Needless to say, every imperialist agency and symbolic individual from the Nobel Committee to Senator

Edward Kennedy and a host of smaller, lesser known names is being inspanned to get the supposed juggernaut to this destination of the national convention. An orchestrated series of moves is being undertaken in which the South African government is a not unwilling participant to try to use the present discontent and radical upsurge of the working masses to find an accommodation that bestows some dignity on the black middle class, theoretical "freedoms" on the masses but does not change the foundations of racial inequality and class exploitation.

We all know how our critique from the left and our practices in mass-based organisations together with the consistently sceptical attitude adopted by some of the larger trades unions forced the UDF to abandon one opportunist position after another. From initial suggestions in certain circles that the people should "go inside" to use the tricameral institutions as a platform from which to preach so-called revolution (which idea is a dead horse in the South African context), to calling on white voters to vote NO in the ethnic white referendum, to serious divisions over whether or not to call for and participate in Coloured and Indian referendums, up to the final absurd suggestion about putting up "boycott candidates" to oppose the collaborationist parties: every opportunist ploy was proposed by prominent UDF leaders so as to deflect the resistance to the New Deal from the only consistently democratic non-racial path of struggle in the circumstances, viz., a mass boycott movement involving all the oppressed and exploited people. They failed on every attempt as militants inside the UDF, partly out of conviction, partly because they were put under pressure by our critique, opposed these moves and forced the UDF leadership to go the way of the rest of us, like it or not, in order to avoid suicidal splits.

But let us not deceive ourselves. The UDF, because of the hundreds of thousands of Rands that back it, has indeed made an impact on the mass movement. Because of the deliberate government policy of harrassment of leaders, banning of meetings, detentions, etc., that impact appears to be a radical one in the short term. In fact, of course, the middle-class leadership can at any time use the tradition that has been created to suit its own purposes. Only the organised workers' movement can ensure that this does not happen. Only our consistent critique of middle-class tactics, accompanied by active participation in mass struggles that point the way to alternative strategies, can prevent the present militant mass movement from being deflected into a historical cul-de-sac, or worse, into some unholy compromise between "Afrikaner" and "African" nationalism.

What did the National Forum achieve?

Tell no lies, claim no easy victories. Let these famous words be our guide in the assessment of ourselves. The triumphalist style of some UDF circles has shown just how dangerous it is to crow from the rooftops when you have done no work on the ground. The shamefaced abandonment of the much-vaunted Million

signature campaign and, more recently, the fiasco of a bus boycott in Cape Town, called by the UDF against the explicit advice of workers' and other people's organisations, were, among many other instances, a crushing demonstration of this ancient wisdom.

We who adhere to the National Forum have to face the truth squarely if we want to go forward. Our accomplishments can be listed briefly because there are not many of them even though they are of an extremely important kind.

- * We have brought about a certain measure of unity among a large number of organisations of the oppressed and exploited people. At the first National Forum in June 1983, we managed to get a number of diverse political tendencies to adopt a firm boycott stand based on a careful and common analysis of the New Deal strategy. The subsequent practical political organisation and mobilisation by which these organisations tried to implement the Forum's decisions showed that it was possible to concert our efforts after consultations on a democratic and equal basis.
- * Together with other organisations, we demonstrated to the entire country and to the world that the oppressed and exploited people of Azania are essentially united in spite of the divide-and-rule policies of the ruling class. The organisations that adhere to the position of the National Forum, can take much of the credit for torpedoing the the August elections even if their efforts were largely ignored in the media. This knowledge, I believe, is one of our greatest strengths. We should not hesitate to make it known and to build on it.
- * We have created many new organisations in town and and country. Our house-to-house and day-to-day organisations (always with a bare minimum of funds) has raised the political consciousness of the oppressed people and today there are groups and organisations in the most unlikely places.
- * We have helped to create a strong and sophisticated core of activists who have been steeled in struggle through clashes with the machinery of state. These young (and older) people represent an invaluable layer from which the leadership of the future will come as the guarantee that the struggle shall continue.
- * Above all, we have the Manifesto of the Azanian people. This statement of principles and demands that came out of the First National Forum is already known among all serious activists in South Africa. It has given rise to one of the most creative debates in the public history of our country and has forced people to look again at older political programmes. It is a document that sets us clearly on the road to a socialist Azania. It is also a document that has to be completed in detail and implemented in practice. The Azanian Manifesto has provided us with a political outline to which we have to give theoretical and practical content. This, in fact, will be one of the major tasks of the liberation movement in the next few years.

On the debit side, we have to face a number of unpleasant facts.

- * We have not reached the point where we can say that the differences that keep us in separate organisations have disappeared. We are not in a position to form a national movement in spite of our acceptance of the Azanian Manifesto. There remain many differences of principle, strategy, tactics and style. These differences often give rise to suspicion and rumour-mongering in spite of the hope that joint action will make people trust one another more.
- * We have hardly begun to organise in the countryside and in some of the cities we have only a nominal presence. This organisational weakness has to be overcome if we are to be able to speak with some semblance of representativeness.
- * We have not managed to get the people's organisations in the UDF and many of the trades unions to co-operate systematically with us. Even though there are friendly relations and contacts between us and some of these organisations they have not led to more than occasional joint actions. Some of these, such as the Joint Rally held in Cape Town in August, were undoubtedly of great significance but they have not been followed up. We have constantly to affirm our commitment to the maximum unity of the oppressed and exploited under the leadership of the working class and should leave no stone unturned to give effect to this goal as long as we do not betray our principles.
- * We have not really managed to increase our material resources significantly. In a modern society such as ours we cannot do without organisers, offices, motor cars, etc. This is an area to which every one of the organisations that hold the National Forum position has to give urgent attention.

Conclusion

I believe that if we are willing to give serious attention to all these questions and if we use this workshop to examine ourselves seriously, we can only emerge strengthened. Allow me to end off this talk by saying that in 1985 the main political task that will face us will be to struggle against the local authorities which are supposed to implement the New Deal. Community Councils, Management Committees, town councils, and whatever other fancy names will grace the disgraceful collaboration of people who have sold out, have to be destroyed. They must be shown to be unworkable and unrepresentative. This, together with the ongoing task of fighting against Bantustan authorities, against resettlement and against the economic policies of the government and of the bosses which exploit the working people, will confront us with a political challenge second to none that we have faced before.

A luta continua

For a socialist workers' republic of Azania

Workshop paper prepared for the NATIONAL FORUM Summit held at the Kismet Cinema, Athlone, Cape Town, 16 December 1984.

CHANGING CLASS RELATIONSHIPS

— by Enver Mohamed

Recent events in South Africa cannot be fully understood without looking back at the pattern that has been unfolding over the last decade or so. The dominant process has been 'restructuring', by which is meant changes in the relationships between classes and within classes, between the state and the economy, and within the state itself. What are the underlying forces, or 'dynamics', that have brought about this restructuring, and what has been their net effect?

Base

Firstly, there have been changes in economic structure. Most fundamentally, monopoly capital has become dominant in all sectors of production. This has involved the concentration and centralisation of capital, and the interpenetration of 'local' and 'foreign', 'English' and 'Afrikaans' capital. It has led to a dominant capitalist interest being formed - that of monopoly capital.

The effect of this shift on the working class has been twofold. On the one hand, monopoly capital has increasingly demanded a small, semi-skilled and stable labour force, rather than a large, cheap, migrant labour force. The process is far from complete - in fact it has hardly even begun to touch many sectors of the economy - but the general tendency is clear. The basic cause here is the need of South African industry to remain competitive in international terms, and hence the need to import increasingly sophisticated and labour-saving technology. On the other hand, it has meant the existence of permanent, structural unemployment for large numbers of workers. Ways of controlling and policing the mass of unemployed, both urban and rural, has become a major problem for the state.

Superstructure

Secondly, and based on these changes in economic structure, there has been a change in the nature of the dominant class formation, and in the relationship between the dominant classes and the state. The National Party took power in 1948 on the basis of a class alliance of farmers, white workers, and an emerging and ambitious Afrikaner petit-bourgeoisie. Through the use of state power this petit-bourgeoisie has become a fully developed capitalist class, and has over time merged with 'English' and 'foreign' monopoly capitalist interests.

This has led to a reconstitution of the class base of the National Party (N.P.). Increasingly, the N.P. has become a party representing primarily the interests of monopoly capital. This has meant in turn that monopoly capitalist interests have become dominant at the level of state policies.

Struggle Responses

Thirdly, the last decade has seen the re-emergence of organised opposition to the apartheid state from within the ranks of the oppressed themselves.

The 1973 strike wave in Natal, taking everyone by surprise, led to the development of a militant independent trade union movement. After 1978/9, when the South African economy moved out of recession and the Wiehahn reforms were proposed, working class militancy increased dramatically. Strikes abounded, the number of organised workers grew enormously, and many new unions began to be formed. In the 80's the first moves were made towards a federation of independent unions, and organisation has continued to make gains even in times of severe recession.

The striking features of the independent trade union movement are its strong emphasis on democratic structures and its location of organisation and action at the workplace itself, rather than within the formalised structures of a conventional industrial relations system.

The factory has not been the only site of struggle however. The major political event of the seventies was in fact the 1976 students' revolt centred in Soweto. Not only did a new generation of militant youth mount a major challenge to the repressive educational system, but wider layers of the community were drawn into struggle as well, as evidenced by the two major stayaways in support of the students. A similar pattern was seen in the students boycotts of 1980. Student, youth, community, womens, detainee support and other organisations have mushroomed in recent years. These have mostly been local in origin and organisational scope, and have often been formed in response to specific issues. Fierce struggles have been fought over rising transport costs, heavy rent increases, and oppressive educational structures.

Growing out of these localised forms of organisation and struggle, a national politics has re-emerged for the first time since the early sixties. Two major strands are strongly represented: that which aligns itself broadly to the programme set forth in the Freedom Charter (a tendency nationally co-ordinated since 1983 by the UDF); and the Black Consciousness strand, now explicitly anti-capitalist in orientation. Organisations such as AZAPO and CAL are at the forefront of this initiative, loosely co-ordinated by the National Forum.

While internal political resistance and mobilisation is perhaps the most notable feature of the response of the dominated classes to the changing conditions of the last decade, 'armed struggle' waged by the externally based liberation movements has scored some spectacular successes too. After 1976 large numbers of young people left the country. Many

were recruited into the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the subsequent period saw a dramatic increase in the number of sabotage attacks conducted by armed insurgents returning to the country. Some were of great symbolic importance, (eg. the Sasol and Koeberg explosions), and the overall result was a growing identification with the ANC amongst many of the oppressed majority.

Class Changes

A fourth dynamic of importance has been the changing nature of class differentiation within the dominated classes. A small black capitalist class has begun to emerge, and a layer of blacks has been incorporated into existing capitalist enterprises, mainly as managers and skilled professionals. On the other hand, the dominance of monopoly capital has provided the conditions which make possible the emergence of a relatively privileged urban working class, privileged at the expense of the mass of the unemployed and the 'subsistence' producers in the dumping grounds of the 'homelands'. A conscious strategy on the part of the ruling classes to encourage and entrench this split within the oppressed has not yet succeeded, but this remains an important site of struggle.

A fifth factor of importance has been the changed balance of forces within the region as a whole since 1974. Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe's successful struggles for independence, together with the increased level of activity by SWAPO in Namibia, have influenced and encouraged the growth of opposition within South Africa, and made it easier (pre-Nkomati at any rate) for the ANC to launch guerilla incursions into the the country.

Lastly, the influence of the major imperialist powers must be given due weight. These aim to secure the whole region for the operations of the multi-nationals and to ensure the West's access to both the strategic minerals produced in South Africa and to the oil tanker route around the Cape. Their interest is therefore in stability; which results in a certain pressure to 'modernise' (ie. to make stabilising changes) at the same time as support continues to be given to the dominant classes.

Constants

If these have been the underlying forces bringing about a restructuring of the political economy of South Africa, it is important to keep in mind the constants in the situation. These provide the framework within which the changes have taken place - a framework which may ultimately itself be exploded if the tensions brought about by the restructuring process prove to be not containable by the ruling interests.

The constants are:

- (a) At root and base the South African economy is a system of racial capitalism, ie. is based on the exploitation of a labour force still largely defined in racial terms.
- (b) South Africa is still crucially dependent on exports of mineral and agricultural products,

which earn the foreign exchange needed to purchase goods for the industrial sector. It is therefore a dependent capitalist economy.

- (c) The South African economy is integrated into the world capitalist economy, which has been in crisis since the early seventies. South Africa, despite its reserves of gold, cannot escape the effects of that crisis.
- (d) The South African state is a powerful instrument of domination, and has been in the hands of the National Party for nearly forty years. It is accorded an enormous amount of legitimacy by the white population and by a small but significant group within the black population. It has at its disposal a large and efficient military machine, a police force well versed in the ways and means of brutal repression, and an all-encompassing net of security laws.

Reform and Repression

Thus far what has been identified are structures and processes of change, (within a framework somewhat less amenable to change), at the roots of South African society, at its base. How do these 'deep structures' relate to the more easily perceived events at the surface of political life? Do they help us to understand the present conjuncture, the present moment ?.

Firstly, the concept of restructuring helps us to understand the two major ruling class projects of the last decade - 'total Strategy', formulated in the late seventies, and more recently, the 'Reform Deal'. Total Strategy has been defined as "the comprehensive plan to utilise all the means available to a state according to an integrated pattern in order to achieve the national aims within the framework of the specific policies". (Defence White Paper, 1977). While at one level it can be understood as signalling the growing power and influence of the military within the state, fundamentally Total Strategy reflects the response of the ruling classes to the restructuring process, a response which can be summed up as : control. While recognising the inevitability of change, the strategy attempts to retain control over the process, to 'manage' the transition to the new situation, to maintain the base relations of political and economic domination while allowing them to take new forms.

Externally, Total Strategy has achieved some major successes - Nkomati being the major example. Internally, the new constitution dispensation has seemingly failed as an attempt to widen the state's base of consent and legitimacy. Bringing elements of the black middle class into the formal power structure, without in any way threatening the interests of whites, has not brought any major divisions within the ranks of the black majority, and has not succeeded in heading off the demand for full political participation. If anything, the strategy has rebounded on the state by uniting the forces of opposition and giving them an opportunity to openly campaign against the state. This in turn has forced the state to take retaliatory action, thereby exposing the 'New Deal's' basic fraudulency.

Reform and repression : a contradictory package, but a coherent strategy all the same, and openly backed as such by the Reagan administration. At the same time, however, restructuring has opened a space for internal political opposition, a space which has been seized upon and widened by activists of all persuasions.

This, then, is the second major effect of the restructuring process - the resurgence of open political organisation and mobilisation within South Africa itself. And more than a simple resurgence, for the traditional modes of organisation, the well-known programmes and charters, have themselves been challenged by a rising new star within the forces of opposition.

Class Independence

The novel feature of the independent trade union movement is not only its size (now approaching half a million organised workers, larger than ever before in the South African context), but its independence. Independent of the state; of the established, conservative trade union structures; and, most significantly, independent in large measure of the two dominant tendencies within the tradition of black opposition. While the decision of the largest and best organised unions to stay out of the UDF at once symbolised this independence and proclaimed it to the world, the massive stayaway in the Transvaal of November 1984 clearly showed that this independence is not maintained in the name of some brand of apolitical, reformist-cum-economistic trade unionism.

This is not to deny the existence of tensions, disagreements and differing organisational priorities amongst this group of unions. These exist, and no doubt help to account for the long delay in getting the new federation off the ground. It is also not to deny the existence of other unions (notably, perhaps, SAAWU) which make no secret of their affiliation to the Charterist tradition, or of those which place themselves firmly in the Black Consciousness camp.

But the signal fact is that a major new force has entered the political arena in South Africa - a force representing what has recently been characterised as an 'independent worker' position. With its emphasis on democratic structures, on strong shopfloor organisation, on building up the organisational capacity of the working class itself and on fighting (and winning, often) battles that materially improve the lot of their members, this brand of trade unionism has significantly altered the balance of forces within the South African political economy. This is reflected in the fact that any group on the left now has to proclaim the principle of 'working class leadership' to have even the minimum of credibility, while big business is forced to solemnly declare that 'free and independent trade unions' are an essential part of any meaningful package of reforms.

The contention here is that this innovation cannot be understood primarily as the work of a few activists of a particular ideological persuasion. Starting with the '73 strikes and continuing through to the present, the essential process to grasp is the self-organisation of the South African working class.

Of course, the organisers and activists are, and will continue to be, extremely important. But the extraordinary growth of the unions, often stretching them way beyond their own resources, can only be understood as an elemental social process, as the self-activity of a class beginning to become conscious of itself as a class.

Proletarianisation

Why is this happening ? The main thrust of this article is to emphasise that this process has its roots in the deep-going restructuring of South African society over the last decade, and in particular, changes in the relationships between the major social classes and changes within those classes.

- (1) The urban working class started to become much more skilled, more indispensable to monopoly capital, and more central to the continued economic growth of the whole society.
- (2) At the same time, some blacks began to enter the middle and ruling class, and some forms of 'petty apartheid' began to be abolished. As the problem of a serious shortage of skilled labour raised its head, so the first steps towards 'deracialisation' of the economy were taken. The logic of capitalism meant that labour began to overflow the boundaries of its racial categorisation.
- (3) The other side of the coin was growing structural unemployment, and even further declines in the ability of the rural areas to sustain an out-of-work population. Survival for many families has increasingly meant relying on the link with the factory job, rather than the link with the maize fields of 'home'.

Consciousness is determined by material existence, and material existence for the majority of South Africans has become more and more proletarian: geographically, economically, culturally - and now in embryonic form, politically as well.

Unions, Class and Party

There is no space here to explore the articulation of this growing proletarian consciousness with the awareness of racial, 'National' oppression. What is important to recognise is that this emerging class consciousness is deeply rooted in the way South African society is organised, at its material base, and the independent trade union movement is an expression of this fact. It may begin to be necessary to look beyond some of Lenin's formulation ("trade unionism means the ideological enslavement of the workers by the bourgeoisie", and "socialist consciousness is something introduced into the proletarian class struggle from without"). It might even be opportune to return to Marx: "All political parties whatever, without exception only arouse the enthusiasm of the mass of workers for a period, momentarily, while the unions win mass support permanently. Only the unions are capable of forming a real workers party and setting up a barrier to the power of capital."

AFTER KENNEDY

— by Dambisa



Introduction

This article was prompted by the reactions to the recent tour of South Africa by US Senator Edward Kennedy. As is well known by now, one of the things that this visit ironically dramatised was the disunity among the organisations representing the oppressed. The disunity reflects an on-going debate on the nature of alliances the oppressed people's organisations must forge in the course of the struggle.

To what extent can the oppressed people of South Africa go on building and maintaining alliances with sections of imperialism and capitalist classes which say they are opposed to apartheid? Tutu, Boesak, the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the African National Congress (ANC) are saying that all and sundry, provided they condemn apartheid, are friends of the national liberation struggle.

On the other hand, the National Forum affiliates such as the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) and the Cape Action League (CAL) regard Kennedy as an imperialist. These organisations see in Kennedy a foe of their allies, for example, blacks in the United States or the Palestinians, and a friend of their enemies, for example, Israel.

As an activist, I do not pretend a scholar's ability to analyse these differing positions and what subsequently resulted in the responses to Kennedy's visit. All I am trying to do is to provoke more discussion on these divergent views. I must also add that my own position is support for Black Consciousness and AZAPO and, hence, support for the demonstrations against Kennedy. Nonetheless, I do hope that out of what I have to say there will emanate a wider and instructive discussion with people who supported

the Kennedy visit.

To add a little more to the two basic responses to Kennedy's visit. Both sides, at least at face value, seemed to have good points. The pro-Kennedy position held that Kennedy, because of being outspoken against apartheid, was therefore an ally. At a more sophisticated level he was even portrayed as a tactical ally. If taken around South Africa and shown all the horrors of apartheid, he would return to America to strengthen the anti-apartheid now building up there. It was also a position not supported by everyone in UDF. For example, UDF president Oscar Mpetsha dissociated himself from the visit and refused to share a platform with Kennedy.

The other view differed sharply. This view saw in Kennedy a 1988 US presidential aspirant who was launching his campaign three years ahead of time by taking advantage of the rise of anti-apartheid sentiment in the US. Having recently reasserted a strong anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist position in the adoption of the Azanian Manifesto, this view saw no consistency in Kennedy as an imperialist and as an opponent of apartheid. Moreover, as a member of a ruling class in a racist society, Kennedy has no need to acquaint himself with the horrors of racial oppression and exploitation.

Since these views were not just views in the wilderness but represented definite formations among the oppressed, it is important that these views should be examined and be seen for what they imply for our struggle. These are indeed political positions which bear crucially on the aim of our struggle and how we conduct the struggle — in particular who to look at as an implacable enemy or a tactical ally.

Kennedy and Imperialism

To mention Kennedy's connection with his family, his late brothers, one of whom rose and the other aspired to the Presidency of the US, is not to visit Kennedy with the sins of his forbears and his class. He himself proudly upholds the connection which has come to be known as "the Kennedy legend". He supported the administration of his late brother who, as President of the US, bears a heavy responsibility for US imperialism's strategy of counter-insurgency in every country of the world where popular liberation movements are on the threshold of winning power. In US politics he has earned himself the reputation of being a Liberal: he supports "welfare state" programmes such as Medicaid and Foodstamps, and is even heard speaking up against some aspects of US foreign policy and Reagan's "constructive engagement" policy with the apartheid regime in South Africa. But he has not once distanced himself from the global interests of imperialism. He may disagree on matters of detail or tactic but never on the primary objective of imperialism to politically dominate and economically exploit the peoples of the world.

Edward Kennedy is thus not an insignificant member of the American ruling class, the leading ruling class by virtue of its location in the world's number one imperialist state. He has no hope of ever winning the US presidential election unless he pledges himself to work in the interests of the US and its people which, without euphemism, means the interests of imperialism. To understand Kennedy is to understand that he cannot sell the interests of imperialism for the sake of our national liberation.



Kennedy and our struggle

That Kennedy abhors apartheid does not mean that he has broken ranks with imperialism. Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher also say they abhor apartheid. Indeed, all three would argue that apartheid is incompatible with capitalism.

Not all people who abhor apartheid mean the same thing as some of us who actively struggle against apartheid. For a start, we believe that apartheid is born of capitalism. So our struggle against apartheid is a struggle against capitalism. People like Kennedy, in contrast, see our struggle as simply a struggle for civil rights. In fact, Kennedy brings to our struggle the experience of the white American ruling class which, over long periods of time, has been largely successful in diverting the socio-economic condition of blacks in the US into a civil rights problem. As a result, the black middle class in the US has in the last 20 years made material progress. But the majority of blacks in the US continue to remain poor. "Far from being at the starting line, most blacks are not even in the stadium" as one commentator recently remarked.

Kennedy therefore has in mind an agenda for our struggle which is at odds with the way some of us see struggle against apartheid and capitalism as one and the same struggle. Kennedy's agenda holds out no promise of social change for the overwhelming majority of the oppressed people of our land. What it does promise, like the civil rights solutions in the US, is a race relations industry with upward mobility for the black petty-bourgeois. Driven by personal ambition rather than a commitment to real social change, large sections of the black petty-bourgeois in South Africa have welcomed with open arms the intervention of Kennedy in our struggle. The City Press columnist Percy Qoboza expressed the black middle-class faith when he wrote that "our future may hinge on what Kennedy tells the US."

Not every opponent of apartheid is an ally

In the general movement for national liberation there have evolved different ideas and positions as to what our struggle is all about. These different views have given rise to a diversity of liberation organisations each with a substantial following among the people. Any organisation claiming to be democratic and striving for hegemony in the Gramscian sense of leading in a democratic way all the oppressed people in our country must come to terms with the plurality of liberation organisations outside of itself and engage with them in a way which contributes to united struggles and unity. Whilst recognising this diversity in a constructive way, we should at all times guard against tendencies that may prove treacherous to our struggle. One such tendency is the one which believes that our future depends on behaving ourselves "well" in front of Senator Edward Kennedy.

Another tendency which we must continuously guard against is the one which stubbornly refuses to accord a leading role to the black working class. By universal consent the black working class is seen as the backbone of our struggle. But to simply recognise the significance of the working class without conceding the need for an independent political organisation of their own, through which to express their leadership of the struggle, is tantamount to using the working class only as cannon-fodder in the struggle. As long as there is not a working class

political organisation to assume the leading role for so long will our struggle continue to be led by petty-bourgeois elements who seek to solve our problems in consultation with Kennedy.

It was Bantu Biko who taught us that "the mistake blacks have made is to regard every opponent of apartheid as an ally." In asking what Kennedy represents, so as to decide whether he is an ally or not, it is not enough to know that he openly abhors apartheid. As a member of the US ruling class he is obviously not enamoured with a working class which can act in defence of its interests and strive to bring about a radical social change because this could spell an end to profits reaped by US imperialism. But even if we excused Kennedy for his inability to become anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist, we would still find it difficult to regard him as our ally. Because if Kennedy was indeed an ally he should also naturally be an ally of all oppressed people throughout the world. He should have been an ally of blacks in the US ghettos. He should have been an ally of the Palestinians. He should have been an ally of the Irish struggle.

Accusations against AZAPO

The columnist Percy Qoboza not only pinned his faith on Kennedy. He went on to attack AZAPO for demonstrating against the Kennedy visit: "The deep sense of hurt, as judged by the letters newspapers have been receiving on AZAPO's protests against Kennedy - and therefore, by implication, Tutu - should make AZAPO's leadership take stock of its priorities."

In the same edition of City Press which carried Qoboza's attack on AZAPO, the ANC was invoked to show how "misguided" the demonstrations were against Kennedy. The reporter Howard Barrel (also authored a long apology for the ANC in Work in Progress No. 35) quoted an ANC spokesperson as saying "Nobody who is seriously working for a democratic South Africa could possibly be against the visit to South Africa of a man (sic) like Kennedy One wonders if the reason for these demonstrations is that for some elements in AZAPO, this is the only way left for them to try to make themselves relevant." He went on further: "A worrying aspect is that one sees these people forming a strange alliance with the Government, with Chief Buthelezi and the PFP."

Bishop Tutu also equated AZAPO to the apartheid government of South Africa. In closing the public meeting at Regina Mundi Cathedral where demonstrators prevented Kennedy from making an address, he said "I have very sadly to conclude that in my own community we cannot receive a visitor because the system is afraid." It was AZAPO, not the system, as was plain to everybody, that was making it impossible for Kennedy to deliver his address. The system itself, though finding him an irritant, had allowed Kennedy to come to South Africa, waived the Group Areas Act so he could spend the night with Tutu in Soweto and provided him with police protection. Tutu also said that in his travels abroad (facilitated by the system granting him a passport) he had met with the leaders of the PAC and ANC: "I assure you that both sets of

leaders are fully in support of what is being done by some of us in the struggle."

I do not wish to argue that the interests of the capitalist proprietors of City Press (and the rest of the white-owned "opposition" press in South Africa) are the same as those of the ANC. To do so would be to exchange one smear for another with the ANC spokesperson Howard Barrel alleges to have interviewed. Hopefully, there is no dispute that Kennedy and City Press, in the short run in any case, share identical interests. That is why City Press was such an ardent supporter of the visit by Kennedy. And so to discredit the demonstrators against the Kennedy visit, City Press invests the ANC with authority and then quotes an ANC spokesperson supporting its position on Kennedy.

Tutu also uses exiled liberation organisations in the same manner as City Press. He says that the leaders of the ANC and PAC in exile support what he is doing. This tactic is one that was first used by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi who used to say, with much justification, that everything he was doing was with the blessing of the organisations in exile, in particular the more prestigious ANC. If there are any "worrying aspects", to use the phrase of the ANC spokesperson quoted in City Press, then these are the "strange alliances" which the ANC has from time to time, tacitly or otherwise, entered into with Gatsha Buthelezi or Tutu and Kennedy.

It is a plain fact commonly known that Black Consciousness and its leading exponent, AZAPO, have never compromised in opposition to Gatsha Buthelezi and all those who in one way or another collaborate with the apartheid regime. The rejection of Kennedy is in pursuance of this policy of having no truck with collaborators. Up to 1980, AZAPO stood alone in militant opposition to Buthelezi. Only the students' upheavals of 1980, which Buthelezi opposed, forced the ANC to break open ties with Buthelezi. It is errant nonsense, therefore, for the ANC spokesperson to talk of an alliance between AZAPO and Buthelezi. This spokesperson further displays an ignorance of the class solidarity between Kennedy and the PFP as the party, led by Helen Suzman and patronised by Oppenheimer and big business in South Africa, representing imperialist interests. What is more, AZAPO has consistently rejected any collaboration with the PFP whereas organisations like UDF, approved by the ANC, have kept their doors open to the PFP. The student body NUSAS whose membership is largely pro-PFP is in fact affiliated to UDF.

Conclusion

The Kennedy visit to South Africa was a dramatic reminder of the differing perceptions individuals, groups and organisations among the oppressed have of the national liberation struggle. I find nothing alarming with this as it is a reflection of the different ways we experience racial oppression and degradation within the same society. What is important for us, as I pointed out earlier, is to learn to respectfully recognise our differences and constructively explore all avenues to united struggles.

STRUGGLES IN EDUCATION

— An address delivered on 16 December 1984 to the Annual Conference of Education Co-ordinating Council of South Africa.

The dramatic and often heartbreaking struggles which have shaken the Bantu Education structures from top to bottom during 1984 demand a careful examination of the position in the educational arena today. If we are not to get trapped in the vicious circle of indefinite school boycotts - police repression - shutdown - drop out and, perhaps, - exile, we need to inform ourselves in as precise a manner as possible about the objective constraints on mass action in education. We need to look with great care at the possibilities for short- and long-term action by students, teachers and parents.

DE LANGE AND THE WHITE PAPER

It is necessary, first of all, to state as bluntly as possible that the appointment of the De Lange Commission was a defensive response on the part of the government to the traumatic events of 1976-81. It was appointed to defuse the dangerous situation that had developed in the schools. Some such commission would undoubtedly have been appointed somewhat later as part of the series of similar commissions (Wiehahn, Riekert, Steyn), the main purpose of which was to "modernise racial domination" by, *inter alia*, co-opting the black middle class and controlling the leadership of the black working class.

The National Party government was compelled to appoint the De Lange Commission long before it had wanted to do so, because the 1980 schools boycott threatened to develop along lines that would have led to even more catastrophic economic and socio-political consequences than in 1976. In particular, the initial involvement of mainly students classified coloured - the children of the very group that was about to be wooed with so-called political rights in the fraudulent tricameral dispensation - was a warning signal to the tacticians of the National Party.

This point is being made simply to stress that, viewed in the context of government's total strategy, there is absolutely no reason for surprise and least of all for disappointment because the White Paper appeared to negate the supposed concessions recommended by De Lange. It is indeed one of the misconceptions of what one can only call Liberal analysis to make a spurious distinction between the Report and the White Paper. The Commission was as much a part of government strategy as the views

enunciated in the White Paper. It was part and parcel of a crisis management manoeuvre that fitted squarely into the global strategy of the National Party.

What, in brief, is this strategy? At the inevitable risk of oversimplification, the long-term strategy of the present regime can be characterised as follows. Because of changes that have occurred through economic and social development (from export-oriented extractive primary industry to domestically and export-oriented secondary industries, rapidly increasing urbanisation of the entire population with the consequent growth of the domestic market for manufactured commodities, the expansion of the tertiary sector, bottlenecks in the supply of skilled labour, etc.) and through the decisive political developments in Africa and in the World, the South African ruling class has found it necessary to "move away from discrimination based purely on race". One of the consequences of this realisation was (and remains) the Bantustan fragmentation of the black people into eight so-called nations and two or three more incipient "nations". The labyrinthine intricacies and amazing ramifications of the theory and practice of Bantustan nationality have been analysed and commented upon in countless works. By and large, however, the Bantustans are deemed to accommodate adequately, for the present, the economic, political and social aspirations of African people in the rural areas. They are, in theory, also supposed to constitute an adequate framework for the accommodation of the aspirations of so-called urban blacks but, in practice, the regime is preparing to deal with this question along lines that are formally different from the Bantustan path.

Another way of seeing the strategy by way of a first approximation is to accept that the economic and social developments which have generated new classes and new objectively possible alliances, necessitate a broadening of the base of the state. On the narrow base of the white capitalist class (underpinned by foreign capital) and the white middle class supported by the white working class, the South African state could not survive the explosive changes that started in the 1960's and continued into the 70's and 80's. To have continued to exclude the black middle class and the aspiring black bourgeoisie from the corridors of power would have rendered the entire system endemically unstable.

The fact, incidentally, that the Afrikaner National Party has been willing and able - within narrow

limits - to alter course from the rhetoric and practices of Verwoerdian apartheid to the rhetoric of Brazilianisation, liberalisation and "reform" should serve as a warning to the simple-minded us that, however crude some of the exponents of the strategy may be, we are faced with a cunning, positivistically informed but ruthless indigenous privileged caste of politicians and strategists that has a very good idea of what it is about. First the Bantustan middle classes and now the urban (African, Coloured and Asian) middle classes are to be co-opted or, at least, neutralised, given a semblance of power until their vested interests in maintaining one or other liberalising variant of the status quo transforms them into implicitly trustworthy allies of the ruling class, at which point more and more real power could devolve on them. One of the infallible criteria for the degree of their trustworthiness is undoubtedly the extent to which they will go to exercise the repressive powers of the apartheid state against their "black brothers" and "black sisters". By this rule of thumb, people such as the Sebes, Matanzimas and Mphahlele are indeed far gone. Clearly in line with this analysis, the Labour Party, the Reform Party and the others have - in their own words "gone inside".

Their task, at its bluntest, is to control the black working class in the interests of the ruling class. Every ideological fabrication, every economic carrot and every political illusion is to be deployed in the process of debilitating the black workers, who hold the key to the country's future in their hands. The black middle classes are to be taken on board without the process rocking the boat by setting off or encouraging radical revolution on the part of the black workers or counter revolution on the part of the white workers and the more backward sections of the white middle classes.

It is this delicate balancing act that explains - in the short-term - the apparent zig-zags and vacillation of government policy in all spheres. As long as the regime has to take cognisance of the voting power of the white electorate and as long as it cannot be sure of the "loyalty" of the black middle class it is not going to abolish any of the pillars of racial discrimination. For as long as this is the case, we are doomed to repeat the sickening dialectic of reform and repression. Until, of course, the black working class in its organisations finds the answer to our strategic dilemmas and develops the power to negate the apparent impregnability of the rulers of South Africa. We are, if all things remain equal for the rulers, to see a gradual process of "reform" during which the whites are to be educated to tolerate the theoretical equality of all blacks and the occasional corporeal presence of black middle class people in business, at hotels, theatres, cinemas, private schools, etc. They are to become accustomed to a thin layer of relatively prosperous black people moving around furtively among them while the vast majority of the urban and rural poor remain ghettoised and confined to resettlement (concentration) camps providing the labour as well as the reserves of labour that make the wages system

function for the profit of the capitalist class.

While a small number of black people are to be given a little more of the cake, the capitalist system of social inequality is to continue to be reproduced as a system of racial inequality because the wealth of the country (land, mines, machines, shops, factories etc.) remain concentrated in the hands of white capitalists. Fiscal and other budgetary measures to transfer some of this wealth to people classified black will never (and are not intended to) penetrate beyond the thin line of the black middle class.



IMPLICATIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT STRATEGY IN THE EDUCATIONAL ARENA

These propositions have very clear implications in the educational arena. For people in the urban areas we can expect slow but definite improvements in the material conditions under which schooling is carried out. There are not going to be any once-and-for-all dramatic solutions if the government has its way. In the words of Jennifer Shindler, the government's proposed new policy for financing education is the following :

- a subsidy formula is being designed in terms of which the government's financial responsibility towards each racially-based education department will be determined;
- the education departments for each race group will be authorised to supplement their available financial resources by means of levies; and
- the possibility of financial contributions by parents is being investigated (with the proviso that the educational opportunities of children of needy parents should not be impaired)."

(J. Shindler. "Separate but equal : some comments on De Lange and the White Paper." SAIRR Topical Briefing 31/8/84. p.6)

Needless to say, this is simply a disguise for continuing white privilege in education while allowing some physical improvements in the education of black children.

One misconception that we should clear up forthwith is that we are not to get a single ministry of education. It is incredible that so many people are simply repeating this facile and superficial notion of a single ministry of education as a panacea for all the ills of apartheid schooling. The simple fact is that as long as we have a single government in South Africa, we have a single ministry of education no matter how this may be disguised through bureaucratic fragmentation. I, for one, do not believe that there is more than one government in what was previously called the Union of South Africa. All the so-called Departments of Education (15 at the last count) on our national territory are mere sub-departments carrying out a single, carefully-orchestrated policy of racial discrimination in education. By merely bringing all these sub-departments formally under one minister we shall change very little.

The problem is not one of administrative structures. The problem, as we know too well, is one of ruling-class policy. We have to change the policy, not simply the administrative structures. Of course, in a symbolic and ideological sense, it would constitute a gain if we were to revert to the pre-Verwoerdian days of one Ministry of Education for all. But, as those very days demonstrate all too clearly, education for whites and blacks would still be completely different and unequal precisely because racial discrimination and class exploitation constitute the basis of South African educational policy. To believe otherwise, or to try to make

others believe otherwise, is to deceive oneself and to disarm oneself tactically.

We can expect government to make available more funds in order to improve "education for employment". That is to say, immediate steps will be taken by both the government and the "private sector" (local and foreign businesses) to improve the quality of training (not of education in any serious sense of the term) so as to eliminate eventually the skilled labour bottlenecks.

"According to Mr. Dennis Etheredge, former chairman of the gold and uranium division of the Anglo American Corporation, the private sector is obliged to be, and is, interested in contributing towards education reforms and improvement, because a more equitable system will contribute towards industrial peace and will help in the provision of the skilled manpower which South Africa needs."

(J. Shindler, "Separate but equal : some comments on De Lange and the White Paper". SAIRR Topical Briefing 31/8/84, p.8)

Frantic but largely superficial attempts are already being undertaken to improve the qualifications and training of black teachers. Inadequately trained teachers are, clearly, one of the main sources of the inferiority of the schooling of black children. We can expect much more money to be spent on the technical and scientific training of black children since such training, as we have noted, will contribute directly to countering the skilled labour shortages.

But all these initiatives will be undertaken mainly in the urban areas in the short term. It is to be expected that the rural areas in general and the Bantustans in particular will continue to be overlooked or disadvantaged as far as the financing of

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education is concerned. This, as ought to be clear, fits in with the present global policies of the government. We should also expect that government educational policy will tend to stress in the content of all subjects taught at schools the superiority of confederal and perhaps federal systems of government, as well as ethnic pluralist approaches to social and cultural studies. Crude racist and overtly apartheid approaches will tend to disappear, at least from prescribed textbooks but ethnic consciousness and a multiplicity of ethnic identities will be encouraged to flourish.

RESISTANCE : GOALS AND MODALITY

Most progress in education (as in other spheres of South African society) has come about because of class struggle and resistance to ruling-class policy and practices. It is only by putting the powers-that-be under constant pressure that they are brought to undertake significant reforms. In this sense, it is clear that educational policy can be and is determined within certain definite limits by the consumers of education, i.e., the students. Teachers, too, the retailers of the commodity education, ought to be able to influence the quality and the content of education. For a number of reasons peculiar to South Africa, teachers in this country have, as a group, had very little power to influence the educational process other than as mere instruments of the rulers.

The recurring cycle of resistance to Bantu education by students, particularly since 1976, reflects not merely the cumulative frustration of students with an educational system that they reject with contempt but, more significantly, the "revolution of rising expectations". Out of the negation of the existing system new ideas and notions of education as a phenomenon are being generated. Students are no longer satisfied with saying NO! They are saying loudly and clearly what it is they want. And what they want is not simply a "better" apartheid education or even the phantom of an "equal" education which liberals are trying to insinuate into their analysis. Students and progressive educationalists are clearly demanding a democratic system of education in a democratic, free and united South Africa. Almost every single student pamphlet, speech or manifesto stresses these points among other short-term demands:

- * Democratically elected students' representative councils
- * Democratic and humane teaching methods including
- * the abolition of corporal punishment and sexual harassment
- * Free education including free books and free transport to school
- * Properly qualified teachers.

Students have become much clearer about the need to distinguish between what they call long-term demands (those which can only be realised in a post-apartheid society) and short-term demands, which can be brought about even in the present set-up. Hence

calls for the abolition of corporal punishment and sexual harassment are seen as being realisable today. Others, such as the demand for free education, SRC's, etc., are only partially realisable today since they tend to subvert the structures on which apartheid education is based.

Today, however, many a young student has begun to understand in a concrete manner that it is only through changing the social system as such that fundamental changes in the educational system will be brought about. Students see, for example, the direct linkages between higher rents in the townships, low wages in the factories and the inferior quality of their education. They see how the detention of a popular teacher for her/his "political", i.e., community activities represents a direct inroad into their schooling. As in 1976 and 1980, students in different parts of the country are demonstrating once again that our children refuse to swallow the poison of inferior tribalised schooling to become the passive workforce of neo-apartheid South Africa.

Careful and detailed attention to strategy and tactics has become inescapable if our students are not to become unnecessary victims of the cycle I described earlier. Unless there are very good reasons to suggest it, students have to abandon the naive beliefs on which the tactic of indefinite boycotts is based. While this is often a popular slogan, it constitutes a self-inflicted wound on the student body in a situation where there is no chance of toppling or changing the government. Entire platoons of students are wasted as in a badly conceived battle. The weapon of the boycott needs to be carefully studied and deployed. Like any other weapon, it cannot be used recklessly without lethal consequences.

The uneven political development in different regions of South Africa at different times is another decisive constraint on mass action. Because of particular economic or social problems in a given region or community, a heightened militancy may obtain which is absent in other regions or communities. One area may have more solid organisation or better leadership tradition than another. All this, and more, means that a homogeneous response cannot be expected from all students. The false expectation of such a uniform response can lead to disastrous tactics including intimidation and misdirected violence against potential supporters and allies. Some attested instances of wanton thuggery in recent events have given many of us cause for concern.

Political sectarianism has become a scourge in the student movement as in the rest of the liberation movement in South Africa. Apart from the cruder manifestations of this sectarianism such as physical assaults by one student group on another, we have today the less obvious phenomenon of historical falsification perpetrated by slick practitioners of the craft in journals for students such as SASPL NATIONAL. Of course, any editorial group is entitled to do as it pleases but the rubbish which passes as the "history of the student movement" in journals such as SASPL NATIONAL is no different in principle from the kind of garbage that is dished out in

National Party texts. For reasons that they know best, the authors of these tracts commit the same kind of intellectual rape on the minds of uninformed young students who have little or no access to alternative sources of information. As the examples of the late unlamented Hitler and Stalin show so vividly, this kind of practice must boomerang on the perpetrators eventually. Besides becoming the captives and victims of their own propaganda, unable to penetrate to any semblance of the social and historical reality, they are eventually dismissed in bewilderment and disgust by their disillusioned followers once the truth is exposed, and reviled and dethroned (deNazification, deStalinisation campaigns) by their sycophantic core of activists who forthwith seek new "heroes" to raise on high.

Without quoting any concrete instances here (and there are many, believe me), let me say that the sole effect, if not the intention, of this kind of "historiography", which mirrors the "politics" of these circles, is to open up and to deepen the divisions which exist inevitably in the liberation movement. These sectarian divisions make it difficult to plan joint action on a national scale. It happens, however, to be one of the constraints on mass action which can be eliminated by means of mature leadership and a willingness to create a principled basis for unity in the student movement without glossing over real and important differences that keep different groupings and tendencies in separate organisations.

ALTERNATIVE PERSPECTIVES AND INITIATIVES

Because of the cul de sac into which the rulers have steered education in South Africa, more and more alternative perspectives and initiatives are being generated. Let me state clearly that by "alternative" I mean those educational projects that are conceived of as part and parcel of the general struggle for national liberation and class emancipation in South Africa. I do NOT simply mean any non-state or "non-formal" educational project, nor do I mean any such project undertaken by a community or student organisation or perhaps by a trade union. It is a known fact that some of the most conventional, status-quo entrenching educational operations are very often run precisely by community groups, students groups and conservative trade unions.

By way of concluding this paper, I should like to refer briefly to two of the most significant alternative initiatives now gathering momentum in South Africa. These are the Education Charter Campaign and the Education Co-ordination Council of South Africa (ECCSA).

The Education Charter Campaign (ECC) was first conceived in 1982 when "Azaso and Cosas decided to spearhead a campaign which would collect together the education demands of all South Africa's people". (SASPU FOCUS vol. 3, no.2, November 1984, p18). It is intended, according to Azaso President, Simphiwe Mgoduso, that "the Education Charter must steer the campaigns and struggles that lie ahead and be the guiding document in all our struggles around education issues" (ibid). It is intended to approach

and involve as many organisations as possible in the making of the Education Charter. This process itself, so it is hoped, will help to ensure the democratic content of the Charter. Committees are to be set up in all parts of the country to co-ordinate the campaign which should culminate in a national conference in 1985 where the Education Charter will be adopted. The Charter is self-consciously linked to the Freedom Charter by the campaign committee. According to the organisers as quoted in SASPU FOCUS November, 1984 :



"The ECC is trying to explore the education demands set out in the Freedom Charter and to give them greater content. The doors of learning and culture shall be open to all that is still our demand. Now the question we must ask is what specific demands in the long and short-term will help us to force those doors open".

This linkage to the Freedom Charter and, more significantly, the failure of the organisers to invite relevant educational organisations to the preliminary discussions could turn a potentially powerful mobilising instrument against the movement. That is, if those people who are critical of the Freedom Charter and who find the sectarian midwifery of the Education Charter repugnant do not transcend their initial distaste. I consider it vital that they do so. For, whatever the criticisms of the Freedom Charter that individuals or organisations might have, there cannot be any serious person who disagrees with the demand that "The doors of learning and culture shall be open

to all". This is the essential point of departure of the ECC and it is vital for the success of such a campaign that all the oppressed and exploited people (or as many of them as possible) participate freely in this campaign. Only then will an Education Charter be a unifying and not a divisive document, only then will such a campaign turn out to be a milestone on the road to liberation. We who are gathered here today can only hope that the leadership of this campaign as well as its critics will adopt a mature attitude that transcends the obvious but by no means insurmountable obstacles to united action in this very important undertaking.

Owing to the recurrent crisis in the formal schooling of black children, independent educational organisations began to consider ways and means of intervening in a constructive but large-scale manner in the educational sphere. In fact, the expulsion of hundreds of students from Fort Hare University in 1982 forced a number of those organisations that sponsored students (bursars) at the university to come together in a consultative conference to consider what they should do in view of the imminent loss of thousands of Rands implied, for the umpteenth time, by the expulsion of so many students. A series of meetings during 1982 eventuated in the founding of the Education Co-ordinating Council of South Africa (ECCSA) in August 1982 and the public launching of the organisation on 9-10 September 1983.

The preamble to the constitution of ECCSA reads, in part, as follows :

A growing number of non-state organisations are now operating in the sphere of education outside formal schools and even on the periphery of the schools. Because of the expertise, equipment and funds concentrated in these organisations, they are potential sources of both cultural and political power. In order to wield such power for the benefit of the oppressed majority of our people it is essential that these organisations cease to operate in isolation from one another. To put it differently, these organisations can only exert potential influence if they can reach broad agreement on educational and cultural strategies consistent with the emancipation of the oppressed people...

In view of the inevitability of radical socio-economic and political change in South Africa, it is essential that a nucleus of people and other resources be created; people who have gained administrative and creative experience of a new kind of education in the soil of South Africa itself. Such an educational infrastructure as the one envisioned would provide a possible base from which a new educational system could be planned and initially executed.

If the preamble demonstrates complete clarity regarding, and commitment to, an alternative education system, the aims and objectives of ECCSA capture concisely the practical concrete tasks implied by that conception.

These are stated as follows :

(a) Generating and proliferating educational strategies and practices relevant to a

changing South Africa.

- (b) Co-ordinating policies and practices concerning the granting of bursaries, scholarships, loans and other forms of financial assistance to black students.
- (c) Co-ordinating the establishment of resource centres, reading rooms, libraries and related community education structures and resources.
- (d) Rationalising the training of personnel.
- (e) Co-ordinating responses to major events in and arising from the educational sphere. The recent examples of the De Lange Commission and the Fort Hare expulsions are cases in point.
- (f) Serving as a national advice and information centre for all local community and worker education projects as well as for students, parents and teachers.

The basic idea of ECCSA is clearly to bring together every independent community and worker project that has an educational dimension. It is premised on the belief that such a pooling of resources will give rise to qualitative changes in the conception and execution of educational strategies and policies at all levels. The oppressed will get a sense of the cultural and political power that is latent in the thousands of little organisations that are "doing their own thing" in every nook and cranny of the country. Once this happens, it is inevitable that government policy in the sphere of formal schooling will be influenced in one direction or another.

Allow me to conclude by stressing that ECCSA's activities are deliberately and passionately conceived of as part and parcel of the process of nation-building which goes hand in hand with the struggle for national liberation. In my speech at the first ECCSA conference in which I spoke on the subject of "Education in South Africa, Limits and Possibilities of Interim Action", I maintained that the advantages of Co-ordination can only be realised

if there is some broad ideological agreement that can make the hundreds of community, worker and educational organisations cohere. I believe that this ideological cement can be nothing other than the process of building the nation, i.e., the struggle for an Azanian/South African nation in which oppression and exploitation shall have been eliminated. It is only when organisations and individuals have come to realise or to accept that this is the eventual goal of their efforts, be they small or large in scale, that they will be able to find one another and to tolerate the peculiarities and idiosyncracies that all of us have...However, it is vital that we accept that our differences are not antagonistic ones; that a necessary part of the struggle for national liberation is precisely the ideological conflict among different groups and tendencies with different visions of the future. Through democratic debate and through mobilisation of the masses of the people, these differences will be ironed out and our historical practice will confirm or refute our theories, our visions and our dreams.

DOCUMENTS

Open letter to Archbishop Hurley, President of the Catholics Bishops Conference.

13 June 1984

Your Grace,

We are amongst those who are horrified at the action of the Bishop of Rome, the Holy Father, who presented the head of the repressive South African regime with a gift - a silver medal. We feel hurt and disappointed at the Pontiff's political insensitivity. The Prime Minister and his entourage represent the perpetrators of injustice. Perhaps you need to be reminded that they head a government and belong to a political party that despises black people. They discriminate against black people on the basis of their skin-colour. For decades they have reserved skilled labour positions for whites. In 1979 the labour laws changed, but discrimination in the labour market continues unabated. Separate and unequal educational facilities have done untold harm. Bantu education has been and continues to be a control-mechanism, ensuring that blacks remain unable to compete with whites in any sphere of life.

This government has uprooted 3 million people from their ancestral homes in order to streamline the apartheid policy. These uprootals have been done against the will of those concerned. At times the police and their dogs have been brought in to force people to new barren areas. This government has crushed every form of resistance. People were killed at Sharpeville, black school children were shot in cold blood in Soweto, Langa and Guguletu. Blacks have been jailed, banned and even killed for flimsy "political reasons". Families have been broken up because of the influx control policy. People have been humiliated because of the Mixed Marriages Act and the Population Registration Act. To crown it all, blacks have been deprived of their South African citizenship. We are being forced to belong to Bantustans. Of late, the "Coloureds" and Indians are being wooed from the ranks of the oppressed only to be made second class citizens. Thousands of black youth are in exile where they have no decent accommodation, no employment and no opportunities for furthering their education.

This is the work of the racist regime whose head the Holy Father has deemed fit to honour with a gift.

There is this empty phrase which church leaders hurl around saying that the church ought to be on the side of the oppressed. The gesture of the Roman Pontiff contradicts this. Or is his gesture indicative of St Paul's position that he is "all things to all men"? Apparently the black man's (sic) oppression means nothing to the Pontiff. He is too distant to understand it. Blacks are not Polish. So why bother. To come closer home, one suspects that the white church leadership might also be in the same position, sympathising with blacks but owing loyalty to their own white people. It therefore does not come as a

surprise when blacks murder white priests and nuns in the process of self-liberation because they are not sure on whose side they are.

Surely the Southern African Catholic Bishops could have influenced Rome to refuse the perpetrators of injustice an audience - a simple gesture of solidarity with the oppressed millions of blacks in South Africa. Some countries, organisations and individuals overseas have continuously campaigned against the racist policies of this country but Rome has seen it fit to be polite at the expense of blacks.

If the Pope were to visit one of the missions tomorrow he certainly would not be offered as much as a glass of water. He is after all one of them.

Exchange of gifts or not freedom will surely come.

Fr Buti Tlhagale
Rev M.J. Mkhize
Rev M.R. Makobane OMI
Rev M.K.E. Shomang
Rev T.L. Malotsa

Response to open letter from Father Buti Tlhagale.

26 June 1984

Dear Father Tlhagale,

Your open letter of 13 June also signed by Fathers M.J. Mkhize, M.R. Makobane OMI, M.K.E. Shomang and T.L. Malotsa came to my knowledge when you handed me a copy of it on Tuesday evening, 19 June, in Khotso House, Johannesburg. By that time quite a few people, especially of the press, seemed to be acquainted with it. They were in fact asking for my response before I had seen it. Having now returned to Durban I am taking the first opportunity available to me to compose this reply.

Your letter indicates the agony in your heart over the discrimination practised against black people in South Africa, the oppression inflicted upon them and its attendant sufferings and humiliations. You refer with deep resentment and abhorrence to many of the evils of apartheid. While I say that I understand, I have to confess that because of the colour of my skin personally I have not shared your suffering. Nevertheless when you write "perhaps you need to be reminded" may I ask that the record be allowed to speak for itself.

The contention of your letter is that the Holy Father should not have received the Prime Minister and his party in audience and engaged in the conventional exchange of gifts, because in doing so he honoured the racist regime of South Africa, demonstrated political insensitivity and showed that the oppression of blacks means nothing to him since he is too distant to understand it.

That is one interpretation that can be placed upon the audience and I can understand what bitter resentment inspires it. But it is not the only interpretation. Jesus himself had resentful interpretations placed upon his behaviour when for the sake of the Kingdom he ate "with tax-collectors and sinners" (Matt. 9:11).

My good friend Bishop Desmond Tutu has conveyed to me that your interpretation is a common one among the people that he and you can be said to represent. Far be it for me to condemn this interpretation, but I claim the right to suggest an alternative. Since Jesus, in promoting his Father's kingdom, did not hesitate to communicate with sinners the Holy Father obviously feels that it is not wrong for him to communicate with political leaders of whose policies he does not approve, in the hope that he can do some good. You are clearly convinced that no good can be done, but is that not placing an absolute and unjustifiable limit on the grace of God? What answer do you give to the question of Jesus: "And if you save your greetings for your brothers, are you doing anything exceptional?" (Matt. 5:47).

The Holy Father was well briefed on the situation in South Africa and though we do not know what was said in the audience the statement issued by the Vatican after the audience gives some indication of what was conveyed to Mr. Botha. I quote in full the unofficial translation from the Italian published in the South African press on the day before you wrote your open letter:

"As is noted, the Pope receives heads of state and of government and political personalities of different regimes that request to be received. Such meetings, while they do not mean per se approval of the politics that a government follows, offer the occasion to make the point of view of the Holy See and the Church on specific questions known to the interlocutors.

1. The orientation of the Holy See is known:

about some problems that regard the entire region of Southern Africa, and particularly the independence of Namibia, hoped for by the Pope, even in a specific mention in his speech to the Diplomatic Corps of last January 14;

about the situation among bordering states marked by guerilla activity that even afflicts some areas of missionary activity;

about the tensions with African people obviously opposed to any form of colonialism and racial discrimination.

On some of these problems a positive evolution is noted following recent accords between South Africa and Mozambique, South Africa and Swaziland and contacts between South Africa and Angola.

2. The worry and reserve that the Catholic bishops of South Africa have publicly manifested many times concerning the orientations of the internal politics of apartheid judged to be against the christian principles of equal dignity for all men are known.

3. Equally known on the racial question is the clear teaching of the supreme Pontiffs of the Church, inspired by the Holy See's adherence to the International Convention of the United Nations on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination on May 1, 1969."

You may consider infelicitous the reference to a positive evolution " following recent accords between South Africa and Mozambique, South Africa and Swaziland, and contacts between South Africa and Angola." However suspect the behaviour that has produced these accords and contacts, the frontline states seem to have welcomed them, as the presence of their diplomatic representatives at Nkomati on March 17th in support of President Samora Machel indicates.

You say that "surely the South African Catholic bishops could have influenced Rome to refuse the perpetrators of injustice an audience". Because they did not, suspicion arises in your mind that "the white Church leadership might also be in the same position (as the Holy Father) sympathising with blacks but owing loyalty to their own people". It was the Administrative Board of the Bishops' Conference that had to consider a recommendation. There was no division of opinion among them though six of the thirteen members are black.

I write to suggest that an interpretation different from yours can be placed on the audience granted to the prime minister by Pope Paul II, and to hope that when you have got over the worst of your resentment you will regret the unkind and disparaging language you used about the Holy Father. Your final comment that "if the Pope were to visit one of the missions tomorrow he certainly would not be offered as much as a glass of water; he is after all one of them" is the unkindest cut of all. I am sure that a visit of the Holy Father to a parish with a black community would prove you overwhelmingly wrong. In keeping with a recommendation of the Bishops' Conference I avoid, as far as possible, the use of the term 'mission'.

If there ever is such a visit may we celebrate the occasion together in love and loyalty and in united pursuit of our common goal of christian liberation for South Africa.

Fraternally yours in Christ,

+Denis E. Hurley OMI
Archbishop of Durban
President: Southern African
Catholic Bishops' Conference

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To our readers:

We hope you find this issue of our journal interesting and useful in the struggle. We look forward to receiving your support and criticisms. This is *your* journal. Treat it as such.

The Editors

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