

# CALLING ALL AZANIANS!

**O**n this 1st day of January, 1990 the Frank talk Editorial Collective offers this draft Declaration, forged through painstaking, comprehensive discussions and principled struggle, to the Azanian people for careful study, intensive deliberation and vigorous application.

## Preamble

There is no doubt that Azania is poised on the threshold of momentous events during the last decade of the 20th Century. We, the Azanian people, are confronted with the extremely serious responsibility of further unifying our ranks and preparing for the tremendous challenges and critical battles shaping up ahead. We are fully conscious of the tasks expected of us and are proud to accept and act in accordance with our historic responsibility.

## The World Situation

At the current conjuncture, national developments have never been more profoundly affected by developments on a world scale. The contradictions between various imperialist powers, the contradictions between imperialism and the oppressed peoples and nations and the contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the imperialist countries are accentuating rapidly.

We are witnessing how the post World War II "division of the world" is coming apart at the seams. We have seen Black people rising up in Miami, USA (January 1989) and we have seen the Siberian coal miners rising up in Novokuznetsk, USSR (July, 1989). We have watched the troops of "Emperor" George Bush invading Panama (December 1989) to bring their disobedient former hitman, Manuel Noriega in line and we recognize that "Emperor" Mikhail Gorbachev is attempting to suppress the struggle for national self-determination in the

Soviet republics. Righteous rebellion against social-imperialism and various state capitalist bourgeoisies has gripped Eastern Europe and the *intifaada* (uprising) of the Palestinian people continues unabated.

Mao tse Tung's statement "Either revolution will prevent war, or war will give rise to revolution" takes on urgent importance as the rivalry between the two imperialist blocs led by the USA and the USSR respectively expresses itself on an unprecedented scale.

**The meaning of taking responsibility for the future of humanity is to meet the challenge of making and accelerating revolution and under all circumstances seeing the struggle through to the abolition of imperialism and all systems based on exploitation and enforced by murder and destruction.**

## Southern Africa

While we are fully conscious of the many differences between Southern Africa in the 1990's and Western Europe in the 1870's we nevertheless call to attention the similarities between Chancellor Otto von Bismarck, his role in the "Unification of Germany" and the establishment of South Africa's hegemony over Southern Africa.

Bismarck, acting in the interests of German capitalism, united various feudal principalities into a single German nation. P W Botha and his successor, F W de Klerk, acting in the interests of Western imperialism, are completing the task of integrating the entire sub-continent of Southern Africa into a single economic entity. The Nkomati Accords and other similar non-aggression pacts, the regular raids into "independent" neighbouring states, the sponsorship and deployment of counter-revolutionary forces and the sabotage of the beginnings made by the Southern African

Development Co-ordination Conference all show how Southern Africa's geo-political map is being re-drawn with quicksilver rapidity.

On 25 June 1975 the People's Republic of Mozambique was born. At Nkomatipoort on 16th March 1984 Mozambique capitulated to racist South Africa when she signed "The Agreement on Non-Aggression and Good Neighbourliness." In 1989 Mozambique dropped all pretences of following a socialist path.

On 11 November 1975, the Portuguese flag was lowered in Luanda. What replaced Portugal in Angola was not an independent and liberated society. The MPLA government which took office during February 1976 has presided over a society which makes for a case study in Soviet neo-colonialism.

The "negotiated settlement" arrived at at Lancaster House in 1979 saw the Zimbabwean revolution being seriously compromised.

The installation of an "independent" Namibian government on a pattern and pace determined by South Africa, the USA and the USSR with the neo-colonial trappings of Resolution 435 and the 1982 Agreements show the dangers of revolutionary vigilance being abandoned for diplomatic adventurism.

**In the final analysis, the question of true self-determination for the peoples of Southern Africa is inextricably bound up with the making and sustaining of revolution in occupied Azania itself.**

## Azania

The *pretoriastroika* being promoted by F W de Klerk is premised on the "release, unban, dismantle, negotiate" framework - *release* political prisoners, *unban* banned organisations, *dismantle* repressive apartheid laws and *negotiate* with those claiming to represent the Black majority. It

is no coincidence that the grand design of *pretoriastroika* overlaps exactly with the Harare Declaration adopted by the OAU Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa on 21 August 1989.

It is no coincidence either that the Harare Declaration makes the absurd call for *the Pretoria regime* – the custodians of the apartheid-capitalist system – to join in the noble effort to end the apartheid system" (sic!) at point 11.0. Far from realizing the ANC's professed goal of seizing the "initiative" from the enemy (Report on consultation between the ANC, the UDF and COSATU – 6 June 1989), the Harare Declaration places the initiative squarely with the Pretoria regime.

Even the South African Law Commission's Working Paper on Group and Human Rights – which unequivocally calls for the consolidation of the *status quo* – falls far to the left of the Harare Declaration when it insists that the statute book be "purged" of all "provisions inconsistent with the bill of rights" (14.69 on Page 442). The Harare Declaration merely calls for Pretoria to repeal all legislation "designed to circumscribe political activity" (at 19.4).

The revealing language of the Harare Declaration dilutes our consistently stated goal of achieving a unitary state – it merely calls for a "united" state (at 16.1), quite clearly aiming at the retention of the bantustan human dumping grounds. No wonder that the concept of an "anti-apartheid bantustan" (sic!) – with Transkei and KaNgwane being held up as shining examples – is actively being promoted.

Like its fount, the Lusaka Manifesto adopted by the OAU Heads of State during September 1969, the Harare Declaration makes a fetish of "international support and aid". We must insist that the struggle must be executed and directed by the Azanian masses and be informed by the interests of the Black Proletariat.

As much as the Lusaka Manifesto recommends the protection of the "rights" of the white minority (at point 9), the Harare Declaration seeks to protect the interests of the white set-

tlers as against those of the dispossessed. The ANC's Constitutional Guidelines – presented at Lusaka during March 1988 – amount to no more than a re-hash of the hopelessly flawed Kliptown Charter adopted on 26 June 1955.

While the Kliptown Charter subordinates the interests of the masses to those of the white ruling class, another pernicious tendency exists of denying and negating the struggle for national liberation by promoting the idea of a single "socialist" revolution. This latter tendency usually concentrates on the day-to-day struggles of the Black workers and an overall worship of the "average" worker. While it is impossible to build a revolutionary movement and lead it to victory without paying attention to the battles for daily existence of the masses, such work must always be conducted in such a way as to facilitate the moving of the masses to revolutionary positions.

*We therefore have no hesitation in declaring that:*

- (a) *The Lusaka Manifesto and the Harare Declaration amount to a betrayal of our long, arduous struggle for total liberation;*
- (b) *As much as the efforts of international agencies and governments is appreciated, we – the Azanian people – reserve the sole right to determine the agenda and direction of our liberation struggle including the role and limits of foreign aid and support;*
- (c) *The democratic ethos – with the principle of accountability and report-back firmly in place – demands that we thoroughly peruse and deliberate upon all documents issued in our name and we reject with contempt ANY attempt to fob off such documents as representative of our aspirations without the democratic process running its full course;*
- (d) *Abbreviated conferences which are preceded by no consultation about the agenda and documents to be presented, procedure to be adopted and formula for representativeness amount to stunts which the liberation*

*struggle can do without;*

- (e) *The Conference for a Democratic Future held on 9 December 1989 – while it must be criticized in the terms of paragraph (d) above – nevertheless firmly exploded the myth of numerical superiority propagated by the UDF/COSATU alliance;*
- (f) *A sustained effort at uniting all organisations opposed to the negotiated settlement option for immediate and unrelenting action is a categorical imperative;*
- (g) *It is essential that the achievement of the maximum unity of the oppressed be achieved and that a political situation is created wherein centralism and democracy, discipline and freedom and unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness are combined;*
- (h) *The establishment of a true revolutionary press which arms the masses with an all-round view of society and the world is of the highest priority;*
- (i) *The elaboration of the basic points outlined in the Azanian People's Manifesto with due regard to the immediate national democratic tasks of the revolution must be crystallized and popularized post-haste;*
- (j) *The key to achieving national liberation is the independent role of the Black Proletariat and its ability to establish its hegemony in the liberation struggle;*
- (k) *Widespread political education must be disseminated and the theoretical and ideological level of the masses raised with awareness of the dangers and consequences of an imperialist war;*
- (l) *Our revolutionary vigilance must be sharpened and our political, organisational and ideological readiness to achieve – and maintain – genuine liberation must be maximized.*

## **Afterword**

**Revolution is the only solution.**

**Do we really dare make revolution? We dare not fail to make it! ■**