

# FRANK TALK



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DEATH



THE



MASSIVE  
NO DOPPELP  
ON

New 'forum' may be  
national convention

'ANC has  
always  
wanted  
to talk

NATIONAL

Regina  
Munich  
Sunday, 12 noon



CONVENTION





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## OUR COVER

- 13H 00 Bomb Blasts
- 14H00 Nkomati Accord (s) Signed — Setback to banned movements
- 15H00 Raid on Azapo — Silencing internal resistance
- 16H00 Rumours of ANC — S.A. (oppressor) regime Talks
- 17H00 The Tricameral Parliament
- 18H00 The British Consulate siege—Treason Trials
- 19H00 Military Invasion of Black Townships
- 20H00 & 21H00 Imperialist agents in Azania — Whose interests do they represent?
- 22H00 P.W. Botha announces New Forum
- 23H00 Botha-Malan junta offers "Freedom" to political prisoners
- 24H00 Midnight — For whom does the Bell Toll? . . .

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# Editorial

White South Africa is swiftly reaching the realization that it is in a state of crisis. The Botha-Malan junta has a master-plan to ensure the survival of white supremacy in our beloved Azania. This master-plan has been hatched in conference halls in Washington DC, London, Paris and Bonn.

We know that Imperialism painstakingly studies liberation movements all over the globe and decides which of these movements are co-optable. We know that millions of dollars, pounds and marks are invested in infiltrating liberation movements and coming up with political "solutions" which ensure that the imperialists and their local gendarmes maintain a tight grip on economic power.

Imperialism has assessed the Azanian liberation movement and is now actively seeking to draw the "co-optables" within the broad liberation movement to a "national convention". The national convention will be designed to ensure power in the hands of the system of racism and capitalism.

It is up to all revolutionaries to be wary of the National Convention strategy and to join AZAPO in making that strategy untenable.

The National Convention strategy has already begun sorting out the wheat from the chaff in the Azanian liberation movement. It has created a mighty cleft on the Ted Kennedy issue.

AZAPO unequivocally rejected the Massachusetts senator on the grounds of his horrifying capitalist background and his undisguised imperialist ambition. This clearly put AZAPO in the forefront of those opposing the entire move towards a National Convention of which the Kennedy visit was a cardinal part. Naturally, this has earned AZAPO the everlasting ire of all those who support Imperialism, Capitalism and rampant Racism.

It is fitting to sound a warning to wolves donning sheep's clothing in the liberation movement that the Azanian people will scorn them forever for their selfishness and their criminal blindness in fighting AZAPO, denouncing it or betraying it.

In this issue of *Frank Talk* we focus on the much-vaunted "objectivity" of the white press and expose it for the charade that it is. This is a timely reminder of the dire need for alternative media which will spread the seeds of revolutionary thought far and wide. We earnestly hope that our sister publication *Azanian Focus* will evolve to meet this need. We require media which articulates the aspirations and yearnings of the Black workers. Only when what the

media says corresponds to the loves, hates, fears and frustrations of the Black masses will we accept it, take it as ours and rely on it to further the liberatory cause. The white press is an instrument of the system, it is tied hand and foot to the interests of racism and capitalism.

The rulers' efforts to perpetuate a shamocracy are being heightened by the revolutionary tide which is gripping the Black masses in every street, *pondokkie*, factory, farm and shop in Mother Azania. Life for the Black people has acquired an object: to eliminate exploitation, to govern themselves by and for themselves and to construct a free Azania. And the masses are well aware that liberation never comes as a gift from anybody, it has to be moulded with their own hands.

*Frank Talk* takes this opportunity to pay tribute to one of the greatest son of the Azanian Revolution, Onkgopotse Abraham Ramothibi Tiro who was murdered by a parcel bomb in Botswana on February 1, 1974.

## BANNED

*Frank Talk* Volume 1 Number 5 has been banned for distribution in terms of Government Notice 9563 of 18 January 1985 and the *Viva Azapo* calendar for 1985 was also banned on 21 December 1984 as their contents are "prejudicial to the safety of the state, the general welfare or the peace and good order."

Tiro's death is a painful reminder of all that we still have to accomplish in the Azanian revolution. Tiro was resolute in stating that nothing short of the repossession of vanquished soil will begin to satisfy Black aspirations. Not for Ramothibi the shortcuts of "national conventions", shamocracies, negotiation and procrastination!

We in Black Consciousness Movement do not promise any easy victories: we are aware that the struggle is long, tortuous and arduous. We have a duty to curb the growing list of martyrs — every day sees a Black father, mother, son or daughter killed by the murderous settler colonialists. And the only way to end this carnage is to actively dedicate ourselves to the cause of Black liberation.

The Fifth National Congress of AZAPO at Retreat, Cape Town saw revolutionaries soberly pondering the strategies of work stoppages, stayaways and boycotts and once again



Q. R. TIRO  
22/06/1945 — 1/02/1974

brought home the point that BC knows no holy cows. We wish the new Central Committee a successful year and remind them that we, the Azanian masses, are looking upon them for grit, determination and direction in the gruelling days to come.

The persecution of AZAPO member Comrade Dr Aubrey Mokoape by the racist South African Medical and Dental Council and their continued tardiness to prosecute the Biko doctors provokes us to consider whether the role of the physician in Azania ends with the stethoscope and the syringes. It is often the case that physicians from amongst the oppressed and the exploited have a stake in the system precisely because of the incomparably high standard of living that capitalism provides for them. Physicians in South Africa have to come to grips with their Blackness and employ their skills to participate fully in the ethos and pathos of the Revolution. Only then can we accept them as "our" doctors and technicians until then they fully belong to the murderous world of apartheid medicine.

Ali Shariati's piece on the self-rationalization of capitalism shows how the political strategy of the National Convention is complemented by the economic strategy of bourgeoisifying the working class.

It is hoped that the contributions in this issue will bring attention to the multiform strategies calculated to contain the Azanian revolution and annihilate the true liberation movement. Extreme vigilance combined with unrelenting action is necessary to *kill* the National Convention and usher in a free, anti-racist, socialist Azania.



# Frankly Speaking . . .

## GUERRILLA STRATEGY

• The Nkomati Accord has cast a brutal spotlight on the guerilla strategy pursued for the past 21 years by the ANC. The foolish notion that secure military bases could be built up in the "Frontline States" as the movement for liberation advanced down the African continent to the borders of South Africa and that *Umkhonto we Sizwe's* (MK's) armed actions would eventually cripple the state now lies in ruins.

It is in this context that I am forced to agree with the analysis of the ANC's position in the *National Forum* (July 1984). It is my sincere belief that the ANC leadership itself will be compelled to turn from its reliance on guerillaism to rely upon the movement of the working class, for no other force exists with the potential to take on effectively the power of the apartheid state.

The tactic of guerillaism made it easier for South Africa to turn the screws on the Frontline States, for the regime was able to use the pretext of attacking "terrorism" to cover its tactics of military aggression and economic strangulation.

I note that the National Forum Summit predicted that some elements in the 'national liberation movement' would participate in a "National Convention" (*op cit* at 15). I am familiar with the tension between the NFC and the UDF and I gather that the NFC meant that the UDF and ANC would be likely participants in such a sellout of the working class.

I am quite sure that such a sellout will not occur. Persistence in the bankrupt strategy of guerillaism can only lead to further defeats of the ANC in the future. But an acknowledgement of defeat, the causes of which are analysed, understood and made clear to everyone, can only drive the ANC to emerge with renewed vigour.

It is my belief that the UDF is the only hope for the working class in South Africa provided that it can analyse and correct the methods and approach pursued by the ANC in the 1950's. That period of mass struggle lacked nothing in courage, militancy and self-sacrifice, but saw the working class being crippled by the lack of a coherent revolutionary conception and a strategy on the part of the ANC leadership.

The problem with Black Consciousness is that it has abandoned the white working class to the capitalist class — thus leaving the white worker as a tremendous obstacle in the way of a victorious struggle. To classify all

whites as belonging to the enemy camp ensures that they remain there. The ANC and the UDF remain the only hope for working class victory in South Africa.

**EDMUND NENE**  
Watville, Benoni

• In response to the letter from Mark Ntshona of Lusaka, Zambia, in which he states that "Azapo and the NFC must not fall into the trap and try to improve their position by denigrating the PAC":

It has never been the attitude of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the National Forum to denigrate any organisation involved in the struggle against the Botha regime. It has been necessary at times to evaluate contributions to the struggle made by banned bodies — the Pan Africanist Congress, the African National Congress, the Black People's Convention (BPC) and the South African Students' Organisation. This has been done in order to formulate our own strategies as an internal movement. The socialist-oriented Black Consciousness movement has recognised the real enemy of the majority of the people as local capitalism and international imperialism. We have made it clear that these are enemies and focussed our aggression against them.

It is regrettable for me to say that some of our suffering brothers and sisters have had their frustrative energies manipulated by organisations that stand for the entrenchment of capitalist and imperialist interests in our beloved country.

The only national party in South Africa that expresses working class interests and is working towards the establishment of a socialist state is Azapo.

Mark Ntshona hits the nail on the head when he says: "Imperialism supports the Kliptown Charter because it compromises the land question and African majority rule in Azania." I say so because there is much to indicate that the UDF is pushing for a National Convention with the oppressor.

I would like to reassure Mark Ntshona that Azapo has never denigrated the PAC or any of the liberation movements in exile. We know that our enemy is capitalism and we will fight it until socialism is established firmly in Azania.

**NEIL KIEWITZ**  
Athlone, Cape Town



• I found the views of Minister Louis Farrakhan inflammatory in the extreme. How can *Frank Talk* print an article labelling Israel a criminal nation and Judaism a "gutter religion"?

The Minister overlooks the historical fact that it was Ralph Bunche, a Black American, who led efforts as a UN negotiator in Palestine that resulted in bringing peace to the Middle East in the post-World War II period and the establishment of the state of Israel.

Nobody who is genuinely against oppression questions the right of Israel to exist. It is important to remember that many of the ethical and religious beliefs upon which Western society is founded came out of the womb of Judaism. If *Frank Talk* subscribes to the tenets of the Judaeo-Christian heritage, how can it be a party to casting aspersions on Judaism?

**JABU MGWAZI**  
Rockville, Soweto

*Frank Talk* is of the view that Israel has no right to exist, that the Western powers deliberately tried to salve their consciences by creating the Zionist state and by hounding the indigenous people (the Arabs) out of their motherland. Any genuine revolutionary knows that the Israeli regime is an illegitimate regime and the Palestinian cause is a just one.

Minister Farrakhan did not label Judaism a "gutter religion". This well-orchestrated calumny against the Minister emanates from the imperialist media. The Minister said the following at the National Press Club Conference: ". . . When I made the statement that Israel had not had any peace in 40 years and that she will never have any peace because there can be no peace structured on injustice, lying, thievery, and deceit using God's name to shield your dirty religion or dirty practises under His holy and righteous name this was termed to be an attempt on my part to discredit Judaism as a religion. . . There seems to be an unwritten law that Israel and Jews cannot be criticized particularly by Blacks for any one who does so must bear the

**CONTINUED ON  
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# DEATH TO THE NATIONAL CONVENTION



*The growing call for a National Convention will reveal many sellouts. The People's Movement however needs to be even more vigilant against vipers in our bosom.*

There is an agreement that the country is undergoing a crisis. What is dismaying is that there is no clearer perception of such a crisis. Various attempts are being made by various analysts to shed light on the state of developments and there is an increasing expectation of change among some of them. The subject of change and crisis is both wide in scope and topical and the danger in handling the subject "might generate more heat than light".

The liberal over-optimism of the past is rearing its ugly head again as P.W. Botha, the Executive President, of the country increases his tempo of making promises and concessions. Such over-optimism and baseless hope would in the end be proved wrong and dangerous to the destiny of the Black people in this country.

In the backdrop of P.W. Botha's "sophisticated hypocrisy" a growing list of political "blueprints for change" is being made by various academic mercenaries and elements whose interests are tied to the status quo — white supremacy and continued white settler colonialism. We hope the old anecdote of the Hundred Years' War in Europe should not be fulfilled in our country: "when the parties finally got together for peace negotiations nobody could remember what the war was all about or how it had began — and furthermore, whatever the original issues, they were now irrelevant to peace negotiations".

The real issues need not be clouded or mystified. Oppression and exploitation in our country are based on class, race, and national oppression and **the character of the struggle is therefore, a national liberation struggle whose principal contradiction is between the colonised and the colonisers, the exploiters and the exploited, the anti-imperialist and the imperialist and their local agents.** There is a convergence of the national liberation struggle and the class struggle. **The exclusion of Whites in this struggle is, therefore, non-negotiable.**

In essence "the national struggle" should be the point of departure. All indicators point towards a socialist revolution and reconstruction. A coalition of different social classes of **the colonised in the struggle should adopt correct theoretical and ideological positions in order to contend with the historical, economic and social reality of the country.**

The lesson in the words of Jesus Christ: "He that is not with us is against me" should inform our theoretical and

practical positions. We need not be hoaxed by those whose paternalistic feudalism is covered in a see-through dress of "participatory democracy" in liberal envisaged non-racial and multi-racial society. The colonisers and colonised, and specifically "labour and capital may be partners in theory, but they are enemies in fact".

Those who believe that the Black oppressed and exploited have a stake in the present system of colonialism and imperialist pursuits are placing irrational hope in the rising indignation of international imperialists on development in this country. They forget that imperialists and their agents know no other interests but of their own.

Those who believe in the legendary round table, holds that a National Convention can result in "co-operation and compromise" between the colonised and the coloniser. A National Convention is therefore for a national conspiracy of "all who share in the common objective of creating a peaceful and prosperous country with equal opportunity for all". Joyce Harris pointed out in a lead-in paper presented to the 1975 Black Sash Conference in Cape Town that the call for a National Convention was first made by the Black Sash in 1956 (Black Sash, November 1975). *In fact a similar call was made earlier.*

The issues raised in the lead-in paper are quite revealing. Fearing an explosive situation (total liberation of the Black people) a National Convention was seen to provide an "immediate and positive measure to defuse it and to create a climate favourable to peaceful change". The concerns for a National Conven-

tion were emanating from the fact that:

"There is *too much* inequity. There is *too much* discrimination — now euphemistically called differentiation. There is *too much* resentment and *too much* of its inevitable concomitant fear. There is *too much* abuse of power"

"And there is *too little* justice, *too little* regard for the rights and dignity of the vast mass of the people, *too little* attention paid to their valid demands" (Black Sash, November 1975 — emphasis mine).

The primary concern of the National Convention proponents is therefore, extending bourgeois democratic rights to the Black masses. The question to be asked is what is the basis for such concern. There is an unfounded argument that the country's capitalist system can under a benevolent management team satisfy the needs of the Black working class. Nothing is further from the truth. In a capitalist society private ownership of property (by the few) and a brutal pursuit of profit through the exploitation of workers is the ideal of the system.

As recent as 1980 the Black Sash co-sponsored "A Convention Movement" which had the goal "to demonstrate on as wide a basis as possible, grassroots support for the idea of holding a national convention where a new and acceptable constitution can be negotiated". The Convention with no pre-conditions, was proposed demanded a pledge in a belief in negotiation. **When was the question of negotiation and confrontation settled one may ask the authors?**



The debate on the confrontation or accommodation dispute cannot be resolved by those in disagreement on the actual nature of the struggle. The alternatives available in prosecuting the national liberation struggle in line with the aspirations and interests of the Black majority in the country is yet another field of dispute. There is no doubt that the "employment of certain sort of consideration (on the struggle and available alternatives) in itself, already support either the confrontation or accommodation oriented thought", there is no middle course.

The brutal lesson gleaned or supposed to have been learnt by the proponents of negotiation is that irrespective of arguments, on the contrary all White political parties which wish to accommodate Blacks would only allow it provided it would not deprive them of their (Whites) control. **There is no way in which those in a position of advantage and privilege can voluntarily engage in a process which must necessarily and typically take the form of a transfer of power to the African population.**"

Power sharing talk is the smoke-screen aimed at hiding the concentration of power in the hands of the representatives of White settler colonialism in the country. Kwame Nkrumah's words of the caution to his countrymen are decisive in this context: **"We do know that never in history has self-government been handed to a colonial and oppressed people on a silver platter. . . the dynamic must come from us"**. All other "humanitarian" or "benevolent" gestures by the oppressor and the exploiter will only make us "half slaves and half free". The success of such measures rests on bribery and corruption, both moral and factual, of the forces against White settler colonialism and the mankilling remnants of imperialism in the country. Reform and concessions by the for-

## At last, they've given each other a chance...



ces of oppression and exploitation is a strategy which knows no law beyond its own interest and it is natural that despite the pretensions of the agents of imperialism to justice and fair play, they always seek their interests first.

The ideological and psychological basis for the proponents of "the politics of the possible" was almost won when the rulers distorted and misrepresented the historical reality of the Black people in the country. The White settler colonialists argues that Black people are foreign to the Azanian soil. That Black and White people are fellow colonisers of Azania and thus the land belongs to *all*, Black and White. This mischievous school textbook argument has already been tried elsewhere in Africa with no measure of success. White colonialists in Zimbabwe tried to tell lies about the origin of the Zimbabwe ruins but new light by day is refuting all their ideologically motivated "archeological and historical findings". **The land is the Black man's inheritance and all those who remain on the land must face this reality.**

Proponents of economic determinism theories are inclined to believe

that the status quo can destroy itself. Without struggle they tend to suggest that apartheid can be reformed by various economic pressures made to bear on it. We are not naive to underestimate the ability of the system to adjust to such pressures in order to facilitate and maintain itself. We thus cannot assume that the present economic crisis facing the country has rendered the rulers incapable of employing "all measure of political violence and suppression at his disposal, and to withdraw into an armed laager or 'garrison state' in the face of the threats from inside and outside our borders".

Those who are genuinely interested in more than mere change should interrogate all the relevant facts around Reagan's imperialist influence in the region, the March 1984 Nkomati Accords, and related deals with "independent" neighbouring countries. One must admit that such accords and deals which have been entered into reflects power and its consolidation in favour of the White settler colonialists.

Who has bewitched the liberals and their careerist Marxists? Their call for or guarded support of the "National Convention Movement" is made in the backdrop of increasing warning from some sources that **"the National Convention will amount to a criminal betrayal of the working class in its struggle for a democratic South Africa free from exploitation and oppression"**. This is an echo of what was clearly spelled out by comrade George Wauchope in 1981 when he said: **"There can be no negotiation between non-equals"**. Joyce Harris and her fellow-travellers need to take her observations seriously. How does one interpret the following words: "Talks between strength and weakness are unsatisfactory and degenerate into appeals, demands, complaints on the one side, and acceptance, rejection, discrimination on the other". The most recent warning to be taken seriously too was spelled thus: **"Only free men can negotiate. Prisoners cannot enter into contracts"** (RDM 11-2-85).

Preconditions that various groups have laid down for a National Con-



*An aerial view of the Zimbabwe ruins. All that remains of an extensive city built between the 12th and 14th centuries. It was the centre of a highly organised and developed civilisation*



Implicit in the NFC's standpoint is the fear that a national convention might actually arrive at a formula for SA's future that would differ from the organisation's dreams and aspirations. That alone might be good enough reason to convene one.

vention are all steering clear from the question of "transferring complete power and the land to the indigenous owners". The Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) has been the uncompromising exception in this regard. AZAPO warned that a National Convention based on terms by various groups is "an exercise in futility".

In a broad-based summit of the National Forum in 1984 where the issue of the National Convention was raised, delegates agreed that a Convention or accords can only serve the interests of the rulers and exploiters of the Black people. They hold the prospects of deflecting, diverting, and subverting the national liberation struggle into mere civil rights. The way ahead was seen as lying in a constituent assembly to let the people decide for themselves. The concept still begs further discussion and clarification if it were not to be abused and vulgarised like the other concept "National Convention" which is based within the Apartheid framework of national states, the United Party's racial federation, and the so-called geographic federation of the PFP.

Reagan's constructive engagement is inspired by the notion held by the proponents of the accommodation/negotiation approach of struggle. They both share an opinion that the South African Government can be encouraged and persuaded towards change, adaptation, tolerance, and a committed acceptance of the new, and employing the new to one's own advantage. This approach is based on rejection of principle in favour of a compromise strategy. It is not surprising that as early as 1970 President Felix Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast was quoted as saying "there is only one weapon — negotiation. We hope to succeed by dialogue". The President went on to argue that threats encouraged South Africa to accumulate more arms, together with a defensive reaction which would be vented against the Black States to the north. Dr Busia of Ghana argued against the policies of force and isolation in dealing with South Africa. In December 1970 he questioned the wisdom of maintaining these policies, and he indicated that a policy of dialogue might be more successful. The Lusaka Manifesto, adopted in 1969 also expressed preference to negotiation irrespective of its support for the liberation movement.

This harsh reality exposes the fact that other countries see the great

potential of material benefits — the trade, financial and technological for their own countries and people. It is therefore clear that these countries are unlikely to endure continuous hardship in support of a protracted liberation struggle in Azania. Evidence suggests that these countries would be quick to counsel that ours is a "hopeless struggle" and thus urge for the redefinition of the purpose of struggle. Intervention by a foreign country in our favour is a misplaced and dangerous delusion.

One observer of the South African scene concluded that "Afrikaner power in South Africa excludes and aims to prevent the politics of negotiation on a basis of equality". The Afrikaners will not engage in any genuine exercise to transfer power and land to Black people without being confronted by equal forces who would leave the Afrikaner with no other option than suicide.

The above has been stated only to show that the long-held hope in the influence of external pressure on South Africa has its limitations and demerits. It can influence our strategies and tactics in a most fundamental manner. The downfall of the ICU's leadership in the 1920's can precisely be traced to the disproportions reliance on outside pressure than the essential organisation of the people inside the country. International allies shall never be the backbone of the national liberation struggle essentially because freedom and emancipation can never be imported and for that matter it can never fall from the sky.

The fact that our organisational base ensures our strength, the enemy shall do everything in the textbook to divide and rule the oppressed and exploited in Azania. Co-optation is increasingly used by the system in order to cushion itself from the angry and determined blows of our people. The emerging Black middle class as well as the working class and its organisations should do well to guard against the economic lures. The co-optation strategy tends to exploit the tendency and inclination among the oppressed towards immediate material needs.

In the midst of all arguments, the oppressed and exploited have a challenge and a task to confront a people who can still at this age declare: **"We have no guilt complex about land which are supposed to have taken, injustice which we are supposed to have committed, a feeling of temporariness, and urge that other people must decide about our future"** (Die Vaderland 8-1-82). The road ahead is long and the connection and tension existing between principles and facts of the national liberation struggle should be kept in its proper perspective. We have to uphold the principles and moral basis of our struggle and simultaneously take cognisance of essential facts which form the struggle.

In conclusion we must point out that the latest concessions made by P.W. Botha in his parliament are "nought for our comfort". It would be dangerous to interpret recent trends as channels leading out of the wicked grip of the White settler colonialism. There is nothing new in making empty promises to the colonised of this country. The optimism of the 1920's which was based on limited advances flowing from conferences organised by the Dutch Reformed Churches, unofficial joint conferences, and other government-sponsored conferences and committee hearings suffered a rude and painful fate in the years following 1948. Deals among various elites, "consociational democracy" and other elite theories of the rulers should be properly understood as a modernised strategy to maintain the savage system of national oppression, exploitation, and white supremacy in the country. There is an urgent need for the liberation struggle to transcend the limitations which led to one political analyst to state: "The harsh reality is that while blacks limited themselves to constitutional protest, to isolated industrial struggles, to civil disobedience, they did not manage to present a serious challenge to the *status quo*". **It would be sad if the "armed protest" or guerilla struggle should be designed to meet challenges limited to the narrow objectives of a National Convection.**





# ELEPHANT BILTONG *by Jay Zuenne*

It was the day of the big indaba. The long-mooted "national" convention was about to begin, and the venue was thought to be as neutral as anybody could get. It was Sun City — the pleasure resort, not its jail version near Diepkloof, Soweto.

In attendance were people from the coloured House of Representatives, others from the Indian House of Delegates (if they are Indians, why don't they go to Punjab?) and people from the supreme Parliament where only Makhulu-Baas and his volk sit.

Also seated at the table were some of the biggest sell-outs the world has ever known, some of whom even Judas Iscariot would not have wanted to be seen dead next to. But as sell-outs go, these men went very far and years of trading their own people for the thirty pieces of silver had obliterated any semblance of conscience from their minds.

Also present was Joachim, in his capacity as representative of Mozambique. Whatever else preoccupied his thoughts, there was no doubt that the subject of apples was never very far from his mind.

Someone else represented Swaziland, and was so fawning that even Makhulu-Baas felt very ashamed at times.

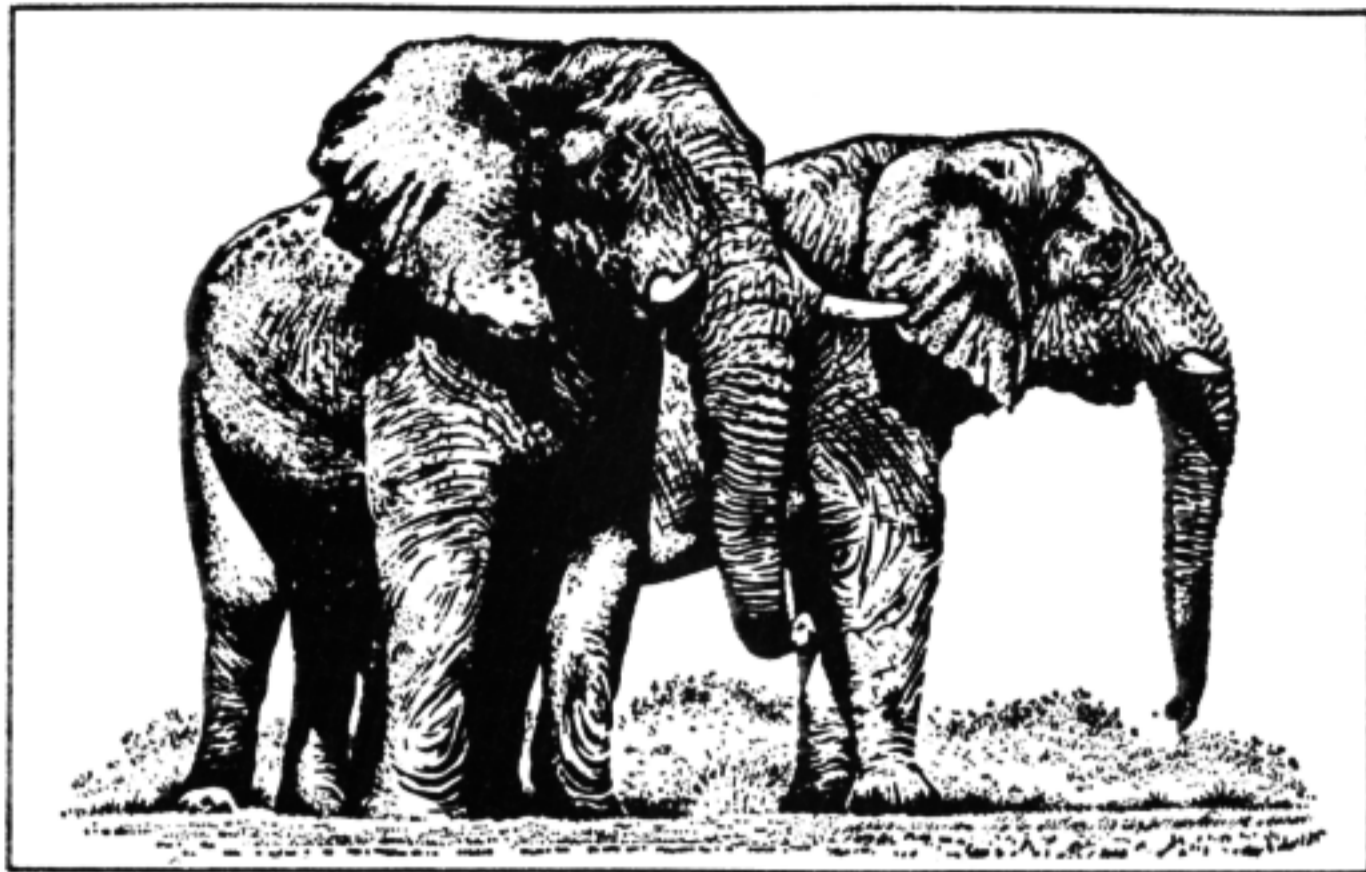
And then there was Makhulu-Baas himself, looking every inch as oppressive and exploitative as he had always been. He smiled hugely from ear to ear as he surveyed the motley crowd assembled for his "national" convention.

Makhulu-Baas cleared his throat and swallowed quite a cupful of spit in the process, and declared the meeting open.

"So now, kêrels, you say you want an end to apartheid. Very well, though it shows you do not read newspapers regularly. Don't you remember that a few years ago ou Piet, he of a million promises, told Americans in a public speech that apartheid has long been dead?"

He glanced around the room to see if anyone wanted to challenge the statement. Instead, Luke lifted up his hand in support and actually said the fact that a multiracial crowd was gathered under one roof at Sun City showed apartheid was not only buried but its corpse had long been devoured by the worms.

Lennie from down south also raised his hand, and Makhulu-Baas turned to him and said: "Yes, Len. I see you want to say something. Why, man,



you look quite smart in that suit and it almost makes you look like a twin brother of Patrick's over here."

Lennie took exception to being compared with Patrick, whom he loathed because it was generally accepted among collaborators that Patrick was the stupidest and ugliest of the bunch.

It must be mentioned here that the suit Makhulu-Baas spoke about was one of several he had offered for the lackeys, so that they must be nicely dressed for the occasion. The suits were made by patients of Loskop Mental Asylum, who because of their state of mental health, had sewn trouser legs where sleeves should have been on the jackets and by the same token had placed jacket sleeves where the legs should have been on the trousers.

But such had been the pleasure of the collaborators at attending the gathering — making history, as Makhulu-Baas termed it — that they had not been in the least bothered by their state of dress, which made them look every inch a bunch of priceless asses.

When Lennie took too long to state his objections to being compared with Patrick, a coloured member of the House of Representatives rose on a point of order and said Lennie was out of order. The coloured was seconded in his view by an Indian, and Makhulu-Baas ordered Lennie to sit down.

"As you can see, this is a very important and representative convention to discuss our problems," proceeded Makhulu-Baas. "We have here peoples of different cultures, peoples from the three pahlaments, from the Native Reserves — sorry, I mean bantustans. No, I mean homeinds. Hey,

what am I talking about? I mean we also have here today peoples from the national and independent states."

The delegates laughed heartily, and eagerly pointed out that it was Makhulu-Baas who was behind the times. How could he talk about Native Reserves, bantustans, homelands, national and independent states when those had been dead ages ago? The "in" thing was black states, they reminded him.

"Oh yes, oh yes, you are right. There are no more bantustans and Native Reserves, or anything of the sort," he said and the motley crowd of participants yea-yeard in unison, and it was time to pass to the next item on the agenda.

The Swazi delegate rose on a point of order before the next item. He wanted to praise Makhulu-Baas, but did not know where to begin. So he chose to extol Makhulu-Baas' talents as a statesman.

"Your speech reminds me," said the Swazi, "of the occasion when the other Makhulu-Baas gave us an elephant to slaughter for our young Crown Prince. It was such a lovely speech he gave, telling us how to make elephant biltong in the good old-fashioned Karoo manner."

Here Joacqum saw his chance, and seized it. He told of the time when six million tons of apples arrived in Maputo, and said he had never heard in his entire life a speech as beautiful as that delivered by Stephanus Gerhadus Johannes Poggenpoel at the ceremony when the fruit was handed over.

The Indian from the House of Delegates thought it was now open season for general comments, and said had the Swazis consulted him when



they made their elephant biltong he could have freely supplied them hot chilli from the cayenne plantations of Bangladesh. It would have made all the world of difference to the biltong.

A coloured from the House of Representatives said Mozambique should have consulted him about how to make nice apple chutney, and Patrick said the fat worms his followers plucked from Mopane trees in the Northern Transvaal were something out of this world. Whereupon Lennie said the biltong would have gone down well with "umnqusho" — the mealie samp from down south where it was the staple diet.

Makhulu-Baas called for order, and said the meeting should move to item three on the agenda.

"Kêrels, we can all sing together but we can definitely not talk together. Now Mr Tanabhai, you said something about hot chilli from the plantations of Bangladesh. Where is that place? Surely not in some corner of the Free State, because you know the law Mr Tanabhai," said Makhulu-Baas.

The delegate thus addressed gave all assurances that Bangladesh was as far from the Free State as could be

imagined, and reaffirmed his total obedience to the laws which ensured a lily-white Free State.

Five hours later the convention was over, but a few important resolutions had been unanimously adopted.

- The first was that, in the interest of good neighbourliness, next time an elephant was donated to Swaziland that country should contact Mr Tanabhai for hot chilli from the plantations of Bangladesh.

- The second, based on mutual trade and the interdependence of all the people of the subcontinent, each time Mr Tanabhai was approached for hot chilli from Bangladesh he should also remind Lennie to provide mealie samp from down south.

- The third, taking cognisance of the constellation of states policy, required Mr Stephanus Gerhadus Johannes Poggenpoel of the Apple Board to be appointed chief PRO (perishables division) to carry on with his excellent speeches each time apples arrived in Maputo.

- The fourth, recognising the need for vital economic growth in the region, gave Patrick of the Northern Transvaal full support to grow plantations of Mopane trees from which fat

worms would be plucked.

- The fifth and final resolution gave Makhulu-Baas unwavering support for his statemanship, and thanked him hundredfold for the beautiful suits he had dressed some collaborators in. In his vote of thanks, Makhulu-Baas promised the men more clothes from the skilful hands of the inmates of Loskop Mental Asylum and said in cases of emergency he would ask the patients of Kopdraai Psychiatric Hospital to assist.

Three days later a worldwide message which was issued from the White House in Washington, was beamed to millions of homes on television and was also printed in hundreds of thousands of newspapers.

It was brief but simple: "The Reagan Administration once more reiterates its total belief in the South African government's intentions for real change. It is for this reason that the Administration pledges its total support for Pretoria, because the national convention just ended in Sun City has once more shown how vital and effective our policy of constructive engagement with South Africa is."

 **ONE PEOPLE ONE AZANIA**

## CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

burden of being called an anti-semitic . . . Black political, civic and religious leaders who repudiated me on the basis of a lie without ever contacting me or getting my words to find out what I actually said run the risk of being looked upon as pawns of Jewish leaders and Jewish interests and therefore cannot lead in the best interests of Black people. The religious scholars and scientists who advised presidents and politicians have gravely misunderstood the scriptures where Israel is concerned and have misapplied these scriptures to justify taking land from the Palestinians by force and they used these same scriptures to justify America's continued support of Israel . . . We can prove that the Israel that is the creation of the Zionists with the help of England and America is not the fulfillment of Divine prophecy and has no Divine power behind it and before too many days pass it will prove to be the destruction of the power of the Western world."

*Frank Talk* subscribes only to the heritage of Black Consciousness and to the revolutionary culture of the oppressed and the exploited of the globe.)

### FARRAKHAN

- I was glad to read Minister Louis Farrakhan's address in *Frank Talk* Volume 1 Number 5 page 14. The Minister's strongest call is for unity

and for all Black groups in the USA to talk to each other and link up in a united front.

Is it not high time that AZAPO took the same initiative as the Nation of Islam and sat at a table with the UDF and Inkatha? We cannot afford divisions which the white oppressor can exploit, especially when it spills over into Black-on-Black violence as in the numerous clashes between UDF and Inkatha and between AZAPO and the UDF. I am firmly of the view that responsible leadership in the liberation movement has a positive duty to unite all the warring factions and make sure that all our energies are harnessed against the common enemy.

**ERIC YAWA**

Mdantsane, East London

### "ZANJI" DEROGATORY

- George Wachope's explanation of the meaning of the word "Azania" (*Frank Talk* Volume 1 Number 5 page 7) fails to mention that the word *Zanji* is a derogatory term for Black people used by Arab slave-traders. Thus the name 'Azania' actually celebrates racist terminology and negation of the human beingness of Black people.

It is a well-known fact that the Arabs enslaved many Black Africans: can we afford a name for a liberated South Africa which has such ugly connotations?

**DELIA LAING**

Kuils River, Cape Town

- The arrogant attitude that is so characteristic of the Botha regime in its attitude to the aspirations of the black working class in this country seems to have found a home in the Manenberg, BBSK and Parkwood Tenant's Association.

On the one hand the Botha regime has made the black working class suffer under the avalanche of anti-working class legislation it has propounded over several decades. The black working class has struggled to find its feet and at most times it has expressed itself against the ruling class and its puppets by spontaneous violent action. An example would be in the anti-rent protests in the Vaal Triangle in which the regime's puppets — the community councillors — were murdered and their properties destroyed.

On the other hand a group of intellectuals that has grown up in working class environments seeks to treat the black working class in this and neighbouring countries, with disdain. This little group considers itself a "super-revolutionary" force that takes "super-revolutionary" theory and attempts to mould reality to it. This group has cast its theory upon Mozambique and because Mozambique has not fitted into its snide categories, this group condemns Frelimo's efforts in Mozambique.

**CONTINUED ON  
PAGE 30**



# KENNEDY, THE MEDIA AND AZAPO

by Vanesco Mafora



The hypocritical capitalist world has a marvellous ability to fashion and twist concepts according to its own convenience. Bourgeois democracy employs the finest sounding rhetoric to justify living off the shrinking hides of the downtrodden and the oppressed. It strives to relegate the oppressed to another world, to be "discovered" whenever "philanthropists" want to feel virtuous.

## OBJECTIVITY

The capitalist world makes far too much of the "objectivity" of the media. Let us accept that **any journalist worthy of the name would never distort the facts and would treat facts as sacred. This is mainly because facts speak for themselves.** However, it is common place to ignore facts which are uncomfortable to the journalist's or the management's world-view and to marshall those "facts" together which would suit their predilections and biases.

Social analysis lacks the precision of mathematics. **It is virtually impossible for two observers from different social classes to arrive at the same conclusions given the same set of facts because their perceptions of reality are totally different.**

The quest for objectivity and the farce of "investigative journalism" parallel the unending search for certainty- an illusion in the natural sciences let alone to the world of social or political research.

The English language press in South Africa favours the free enterprise system. This is its choice of ethics and informs its interpretation and analysis. As the Afrikaner establishment moves towards endorsing "non-racial capitalism" also, the differences between the English and the Afrikaans media becomes miniscule.

It was in 1980 that the MEDIA WORKER'S ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH AFRICA (Mwasa) rightly pointed out that every journalist is condemned to make a choice and that Mwasa

needs to create its own value-system bereft of the smokescreen of liberal jargon. (Kwasa January 1981 at 6). To quote Ameen Akhalwaya: "The challenge Mwasa throws to the media is to **re-define the value system enshrined by the media and to re-orientate themselves in finding new norms rather than perpetuating the values of the West in an African environment. What black journalists want is for the media to realize that Blacks refuse to be co-opted into the media system of the West but prefer those moral imperatives which best reflect the ideals and aspirations of people seeking an alternative to a decadent and dying Western culture.**" Mwasa dedicated itself to "commitment journalism", to BC rather than "the reformist patchwork of the liberals". (Ibid)

The weakness in that stand by Mwasa was also perceived by Akhalwaya: "In the final analysis, the question is not whether the media ought to be objective **but which interest group controls the media and for what purpose.** It is imperialism and Capitalism which control the media and such a controlled media will not tolerate any point of view which truly articulates the aspirations of the colonized and the enslaved.

## Congress

No issue illustrates this better than the treatment of the principled stand taken by AZAPO against the visit of that representative of the "Democratic" brand of Yankee imperialism, Edward "Ted" Kennedy. The action against the proposed visits of Kennedy and the Reverend Jesse Jackson was in line with the following resolution adopted at the Retreat Congress on 18 December 1984:

This 5th Congress of AZAPO;

Noting the proposed visits of Edward Kennedy and Jesse Jackson to South Africa;

And noting further that such visits only give credit to the settler regime and further imperialist designs, Resolves that:

1. The visits of Edward Kennedy

and Jesse Jackson are not in the interests of the Azanian people;  
2. Such visits can only take place on the clear mandate of the Black people of Azania.

This resolution was hardly a surprise at the AZAPO Congress in view of the very first solidarity message read. That message was from the African National Reparations Organization (ANRO). Mikail Alimu wrote:

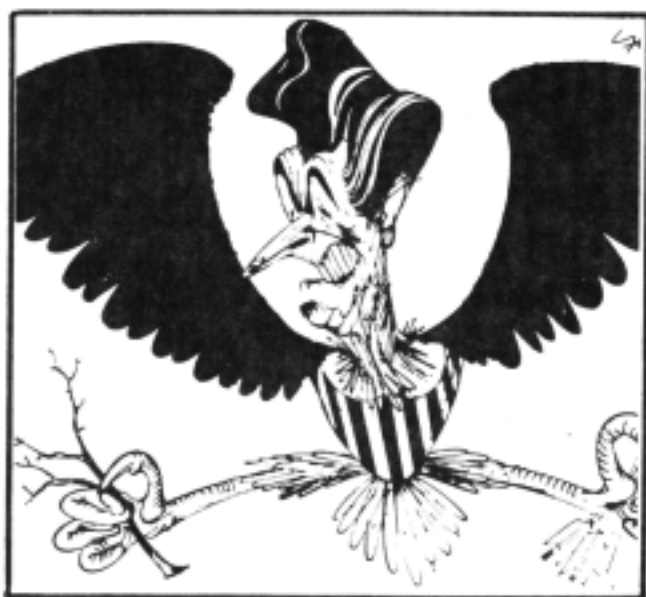
*"Pro-capitalist Black leaders like Jesse Jackson, Benjamin Hooks and Andrew Young have been stunned by the Democratic Party's sound defeat. These so-called leaders are without an independent black political program or direction leaving our people confused and, consequently, open to neo-colonial Black leadership. This is a critical moment in our protracted struggle against national oppression and imperialist exploitation. This is true for our people whether living in Azania or the United States."*  
(Italics mine.)

*Minister Louis Farrakhan, the guest speaker, outlined in no uncertain terms that **Black Americans rejected the two-faced beast of American Imperialism. The Democratic version displays a smiling liberal welfare visage while the Republican version demonstrates a snarling, fascist military visage.***

## Reasons

AZAPO made it a point to contact Bishop Desmond Tutu who had extended the invitation to Edward Kennedy. On 3 January 1985, Bishop Tutu admitted that he made a mistake in inviting Kennedy without canvassing the views of people's organizations and assured AZAPO that he understands it's stand, Tutu remarked that he had extended the invitation on the spur of the moment.

Kennedy himself admitted that he had not canvassed the views of Black organizations on his intended visit at a meeting of journalists on 7 January. He angrily remarked: "I an-





nounced my trip six weeks ago. Why did Azapo not write and tell me not to come?" (Maud's Word, Star Africa 12 January 1985) A white racist at his arrogant best. Note that he says "announced" his visit — he would have come with or without Tutu's approval.

Faced with the announcement of Kennedy's itinerary which included a series of public meetings, AZAPO announced its reasons for rejecting the Kennedy visit in two press releases (3 January and 6 January). Briefly, these reasons were:

- Kennedy was engaged in a campaign to use the South African issue as a plank in his platform to win the 1988 Presidential Elections. **Azarians** believe that both the Democratic Party and the Republican Party have never done anything to benefit the liberation struggle and **refuse to carry the remnants of international capitalism on their shoulders.**

- Teddy Kennedy is an inextricable part of the Kennedy clan. Joseph Patrick Kennedy ("Papa Joe") provided the money, the power and the vision for his nine children to carve a nefarious empire. **Kennedy is an avowed capitalist who could only come to South Africa to encourage stability and not real change.**

- Kennedy must be seen as a representative of the Democratic Party and the liberalism of his brother President John Fitzgerald Kennedy (JFK) and Robert (Bobby) Kennedy. This constitutes a horrifying background. **The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) plotted the murders of revolutionaries such as Malek Shabazz (Malcolm X), George Jackson, Che' Guevara, Kwame Nkrumah and Patrice Lumumba precisely during JFK's rule (when Bobby was an attorney general and Teddy a senator - a situation that can prevail only in the Ciskei's and the Transkei's of the world! They also attempted to murder Fidel Castro and engineered the Bay of Pigs fiasco as well as the invitation of the Vietnam war and the escalation of the Middle East war and the slaughter of people in Central and Latin America. AZAPO believes that murderous imperialists can never be allies of the Azanian people.**

- There is a concerted attempt to sell the idea of a National Convention. It fits this diabolical strategy to propagate the idea that Reagan's constructive engagement policy and not American imperialism itself is our enemy. **AZAPO is committed to destroying the National Convention strategy and creating a free, socialist Azania.**

- Kennedy is on record as saying that his visit to South Africa was intended to show to the "people of South Africa" that the South African government "is an enemy of the West and all that the the West stands for" (Natal Mercury 28 November 1984). **AZAPO considers it impossible that the visit of this CIA agent was innocent.**

- Black Americans have had to suffer



(Malcolm X)

Ché Guevara



Kwame Nkrumah Patrice Lumumba

under the whip of successive Republican and Democratic governments and consider Kennedy as just another slave-master.

- **The Azanian people do not need liberators from abroad. They are quite capable of fighting their own battles and they will decide whom to invite and when.**

In other words, AZAPO was putting into practice its oft-repeated maxim that **the struggle against apartheid is only the departure point for a struggle against the monolith of racism and capitalism and that imperialism needs to be extirpated root and branch from Azanian soil.**

Given these reasons, it came as no surprise that the imperialist media chose not to publish AZAPO's reasons but rather to record AZAPO's demonstrations against Kennedy and take every opportunity to hurl abuse at the authentic People's Movement.

### Black Press

Leading this infamous crusade were those representatives of the Afrikaner

establishment, the Perskor group (which controls the major Afrikaner newspapers) via their mouthpiece *City Press*. Percy Qoboza in his columns of CP devoted themselves to a virulent anti-AZAPO campaign.

Let us lay to rest the myth that there is a Black press in Azania. The major newspapers directed at the Black community are owned by capitalist giants South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN), Argus and Perskor. **The so-called Black press represents the most rabid non-whiteism.**

### Red Herrings

It is significant that few newspapers bothered to challenge AZAPO's reasons for rejecting Kennedy. All of them chose to concentrate on red herrings in order to fan the flames of hysteria and hostility amongst the ranks of Black people. Let us focus on a few of these:

- "Today it is acknowledged that AZAPO is the most important representative of the tradition of the banned PAC — although it emphasizes its independence from the PAC." (Rapport, Vaderland 15 Jan '85)

**AZAPO can only repeat that it owes allegiance to nobody except the Black masses of Azania.**

"For the first time in its seven-year history, the small, radical Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO), found itself on the side of the ruling white Afrikaner National Party and feted in the pro-government press and on state-run television for protesting Kennedy's visit." (Boston Globe 14 January 1985; see also "Percy's Itch", CP 13 January 1985, Letters to CP 30 January 1985, "Zisha Ngani" Natal Witness Echo 17 January 1985, cartoon in Rand Daily Mail January 16, 1985)

The notion that AZAPO is a tiny organization without mass support shows the capitalist media caught in its own trap; they have consistently at-





tempted to ignore AZAPO's existence and because they have done this, they claim AZAPO has no popular support. AZAPO is under no delusions: AZAPO is no paper tiger, it does not perform circus tricks for the media.

Much mileage has been made of the media publicizing an Organization it has hitherto ignored. Surely that says more about the double standards of the media than about the Organization concerned!

We may add that when the Conservative Party (CP), the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), Azapo, the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) all rejected the tricameral parliament, nobody even whispered about an alliance between these diverse groups. AZAPO does not believe in a knee-jerk fashion. **We refuse to be enslaved to the extent of doing the opposite of whatever the oppressor does. People who behave in a knee-jerk fashion will always be slaves**

• "If Senator Edward Kennedy's visit was 'suspicious', I doubt whether Winnie Mandela would have played host to him at Brandfort." (Letter to CP, 30 January 1985).

There is a disturbing tendency to personalize issues and pit the behaviour and views of individuals against the principled stand of the authentic People's Movement. One can only echo Comrade Pule Richard Monama: ". . . **I regard the Black working class as the vanguard of the struggle and not any intellectually malnourished politicians whether he be from America or right here in Azania. I can't see myself calling Senator Kennedy 'comrade' just because he went to Mzimhlope Hostel, just because he chose to sleep in Soweto (and we can't be fooled he enjoys diplomatic immunity so the group areas act does not affect him). He can't be my comrade just because he speaks out against apartheid. No, he can't be my comrade when millions of Black people undergo the same suffering as us right there in America. Black people can't have 'comrades' in the White house. If there is any Uncle Sam or Uncle Tom who desires to be the Azanian people's comrade, then he should empty out the coffers with which he has enriched himself from sucking the blood of the oppressed people here and abroad; then I can reconsider my position and I am sure the Black people will do the same. I am against any form of liberal sweet talk especially when that sweet talk comes from a person who has serious connections with global imperialism, racism and capitalism. To shout heavy political slogans is not good enough; to hug Tutu, Boesak and Winnie Mandela is not good enough. We want to see the total rejection of value systems that keep us in perpetual servitude; we want to hear the call for the overall transformation from capitalism into socia-**

**lism.**" ("Open Letter to Mr Percy Qoboza, 15 January 1985; see Muslim News Page 20 January 1985)  
• "It is time AZAPO piped down. Who said Senator Kennedy was here to liberate this country? Kennedy and his hosts know he cannot change this country's political system. He was here to see things for himself. AZAPO shouldn't use this visit to boost their ailing political image." (Letter to CP, 30 January 1985).

Percy Qoboza wrote his column on 13 January 1985 under the revealing banner: "Our fate may hinge on what Kennedy tells U.S." In the same column, Qoboza pontificated: "The deep sense of hurt, as judged by the letters newspapers have been receiving on AZAPO's protests against Kennedy and, therefore, implication, Tutu should make AZAPO's leadership take stock of its priorities." This is significant in the light of the CP's letter columns in the weeks following this column and in the light of the fact that letters submitted by AZAPO members and supporters to CP were never published.

• "As someone who was politically baptised by BC I feel compelled to comment whether the dignity of B.C. is likely to be damaged. . . . I hate to regard AZAPO as a true BC movement - especially because it was formed after a ban on all BC organizations in 1977. . . . AZAPO also failed to play a role in protecting the dignity of Black people. One must always have the Black people in mind when doing something - instead of doing things that belittle Blacks." (Letters to CP, 27 January 1985).

As if to underline the point that these letters were carefully concocted in the northern suburbs, there is a drawing of the late Comrade Steven Biko with the caption "BC's Steve Biko" and a drawing alongside of Comrade Imraan Moosa with the caption "AZAPO's Imraan Moosa" (sic;). The attempt to suggest that AZAPO has deviated from the basic principles of BC is totally unsubstantiated and needs to be rejected with utter contempt. We may add that **Black pride asserts itself in those who, recognise the Imperialist threat and work to combat it. Those who consort with blood sucking imperialists surely lack human dignity.**

• "Ted, believe you me, I think AZAPO is behaving like a bunch of small boys. It seems that whenever the UDF is involved, they rush through to discredit, without first thoroughly studying the merits of the issue" ("Zisha Ngani!" by Khaba Mkhize, Natal Witness Echo, 17 January 1985)

It is certainly news to us that the UDF invited Kennedy. The UDF issued a statement supporting Kennedy's visit on 4 January, insisted that they had not invited him on the 5 January and published a list of pre-requisites to meeting Kennedy including the following:

• that he does not meet Govern-

ment and homeland leaders.

• that he meets Nelson Mandela. Only when Kennedy had failed to meet these conditions, did the UDF again support his visit (9 January). Writes David Breier: "A stormy UDF Western Cape general council meeting this week refused to associate with the Kennedy visit. As a result, senior UDF executives were absent from the stage during the public meeting in Athlone. Recalcitrant UDF Western Cape executives refused to allow the meeting to be held under UDF auspices. . . . The crowd was singularly cool to Senator Kennedy himself. They were particularly quiet when Senator Kennedy denounced those who 'foolishly' treated the Soviet Union and its satellite states as a model. Senator Kennedy was effectively snubbed when, immediately after his speech, the crowd sang a song expressing solidarity for the Cuban and Soviet people. This attitude is seen as a strong reaction to the visit by the politician." (Sunday Star 13 January 1985; see also Sunday Times 13 January 1985) **We salute the people's organization within the UDF who opposed the Kennedy visit as well as the leadership of the National Union Mineworkers (NUM) and the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU) who did not turn up at the January 8 meeting held at the offices of the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA)**

". . . Attempts to persuade the Senator not to support disinvestment will ultimately be in vain." (Patricia Cheney and Ray Joseph: see also John Matisonn in Sunday Express January 13 1985: ". . . This does not mean there will be blanket sanctions. What there will be is a few more slices off the salami. . ."; (Gary van Staden in the Star:) **"The businessmen waited with bated breath for the Senator's reply, his stand on disinvestment - it never came."**; Die Vaderland 15 January 1985)

There was a deliberate attempt to suggest that Ted Kennedy supports disinvestment. However, Kennedy expressed support for selective disengagement (Sunday Express 13 January 1985) which implies that he was very careful to protect his own business interests.

• "If the Senator expected to find a black oppressed mass on one side and a bunch of smug white oppressors on the other with no further issues complicating the matter, he was badly briefed." (Gary van Staden: "Kennedy: Circus or Boon?" Star; see also Daily News 7 January 1985 and 18 January 1985)

While van Staden's comment is a fair one, it must be seen in the context of the bogey of AZAPO's alleged anti-whiteism raised by eg the Daily Dispatch January 4 1985; Letter to CP 27 January 1985; Citizen 24 January 1985.



We find it quite unnecessary, even on charitable grounds, to repeat our commitment to anti-racism. The spectre of anti-whiteism is raised to cloud issues. Zahed Cachalia remarked on *Capital Radio* (14 January 1985) that AZAPO would not protest against Jackson because he is Black. He caustically added that this is the way that is the way that AZAPO operates. Needless to say, AZAPO's message to Jackson was crystal clear; come and attend Tutu's installation as Bishop of Johannesburg but do not engage yourself in community controversies. Jackson made a telephone call to AZAPO President Ishmael Mkhabela on 9 January 1985 asking if it was advisable for him to come to S.A. AZAPO had already made its stand clear on Jackson's proposed visit in June 1984.

• "... There are some AZAPO supporters who think the Senator is doing a good job . . ." (Peter Sullivan, *Star* January 13, 1985; see also *Rand Mail* 11 January 1985; *City Press* 20 January 1985).

Journalists participated in a blatant attempt to divide AZAPO members over a tourist. There was no division whatsoever in AZAPO over this issue; it was a Congress decision and Congress is AZAPO's highest policy-making instrument. A subtle attempt to suggest dissent within AZAPO over the Kennedy issue was a story entitled "Cooper steps down as AZAPO leader" in the *Sunday Times* 13 January 1985. This story appeared between two other stories - one containing AZAPO's stand on Kennedy and another containing AZAPO's stand against Jackson. **As Comrade Cooper points out, AZAPO is committed to the principle of collective leadership and does not tolerate leadership cults and his commitment to every AZAPO decision is total and unwavering**

• "The (Jackson) associate said that people had the right to protest but he wondered how AZAPO could think Senator Kennedy was the problem. 'I think they have picked the wrong target', he said." (*Star*; see also *Daily News* 10 January 1985).

AZAPO had very good reasons to choose Kennedy as a Target. Anton Harber wrote in the *Rand Daily Mail* (12 January 1985) that the Kennedy tour was an elaborate, costly affair, but the US GOVERNMENT paid the bill for Kennedy and his staff. So much for the differences between Reaganism and the Democratic Party. We are hardly unfair when we call the Kennedy tour a CIA-sponsored whitewash.

• "What is worrying . . . is the increasing evidence of black extremists who profess strong opposition to capitalism and free enterprise". . . **Bishop Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak . . . are perceived in London as moderates who want a negotiated, non racial, semi-capitalist settlement to the South African situation while**

**(AZAPO) seeks Marxist-type worker power in a socialist state.** Whatever white South Africans think of Bishop Tutu, Dr Boesak or the Zulus' Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, many moderates in Britain and Europe, not to mention America, see them as the last of a generation prepared to negotiate a settlement with the white man. In some areas, the African National Congress is seen in the same moderate context as an organisation that has reluctantly turned to the East for arms and support only because the West has said 'No.'" (John D'Oliveria, *Star* 16 January 1985; see also "My View" by Allister Sparks in the *Star* 16 January 1985 and Sparks "Anti-Americanism gains in South Africa" *Washington Post*; Anthony Lewis *Boston Globe* 12 January 1985)



FROM TOP TO BOTTOM: appearing with Kennedy: Bishop Tutu; Gatsha Buthelezi; Reverend Boesak.

Time will tell about the rightness or wrongness of the perceptions of D'Oliveria, but this article indicates that the capitalist media knew the issues involved and especially the thrust towards the National Convention only too well. Nobody can argue that the anti-AZAPO campaign launched by the media was anything but deliberate.

• "Biko's followers once had the reputation of being the most sophisticated of South Africa's Black politicians — **but if they believed (that Kennedy's was in South Africa to win the 1988 Presidential elections) they must have become too consciously clever for their movement's good.**" (Anthony Delius *Natal Witness* 24 January 1985)

Of course, Frederick Cleary (*Star* 5 January 1985) argued that it was quite possible that Teddy Kennedy would be President in 1988. Cleary mentions the pressure on Ted to "pick up the fallen standard of the family ambitions." Percy Qoboza even advised those who shook hands with Kennedy not to wash them until 1988 (Percy's *Itch CP* 6 January 1985) In any case, AZAPO loses nothing if Kennedy does not stand for President in 1988: he remains a high-profile representative of Imperialism.

• "(AZAPO's) BC concern has been rather overshadowed by its socialism in recent years" (*Financial Mail* January 18 1985 at page 48)

"Neville Alexander, a socialist intellectual who served 10 years on Robben Island . . . is largely responsible for the ideological change in AZAPO, incorporating a class analysis into its policy, which has been based entirely on race." (Allister Sparks "Anti-Americanism gains in South Africa", *Washington Post*)

**AZAPO's very first Congress and the preamble to its Constitution emphasized its race-class analysis and committed it to socialism. The likes of Alexander (who is not a member of the BCM) have not contributed anything to AZAPO's analysis that race is a class determinant and that the Black working class is the vanguard of the struggle for liberation.**

• "It is a basic principle of any struggle that you do not create enemies out of people. Instead, you reduce foes and multiply friends . . . It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the demonstrators were planted agents of the enemies of the liberation struggle in South Africa. The urgent issue in South Africa is not socialism versus capitalism. It is the elimination of minority rule and apartheid." (*The Sunday Mail* January 20, 1985)

AZAPO does not accept this superficial and paternalistic analysis of the problem in Azania. It does not surprise us that this analysis is spewed out by Willie Mushararwa, who would have been the Minister of (Dis)Information had the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) taken power in Zimbabwe. ZAPU has conclusively proved itself an enemy of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe. **It is the Azanian people who will decide the priorities of their struggle and not any effete politician.**

It is to be noted that the ANC has also dubbed the AZAPO protests as "immature": "Nobody who is seriously working for a democratic South Africa could possibly be against the visit in South Africa of man like Kennedy — who has spoken out correctly on some of the burning issues in our society and who has concentrated his visit around these issues." (*CP* 13 January 1985) **It is a pity that we have to repeat a basic tenet of**



**BC to people who should know better: we do not need Kennedy, Reagan, Chernenko or the Pope to liberate us - we are our own liberators.**

• "Senator Edward Kennedy's Soweto appearance was wrecked by AZAPO demonstrators yesterday. And churchmen and UDF figures had to ward off angry sections of the 2500-strong crowd bent on attacking the demonstrators. In an attempt to save the meeting, Nobel Peace Prize Winner Bishop Desmond Tutu warned the protestors they were helping the system. He declared: 'The system is determined that this meeting should be disrupted. I don't want to give the system that joy. The system is not foolish. It knows how to use us against ourselves.' Bishop Tutu took a vote among the audience on whether to give Senator Kennedy a hearing. Only about 120 members of the Azanian People's Organisation stood to vote 'No'. The rest of the crowd gave a vociferous go-ahead. Immediately thereafter part of the crowd threatened to engulf the demonstrators at the front of the hall, but were blocked and dissuaded by community leaders including the UDF's Frank Hikane (sic) and Jabu Ngwenya and the South African Council of Churches' Tom Manthata. At this point Bishop Tutu announced the meeting would be abandoned. 'I have sadly to announce in my own community that we cannot receive a visitor because the system is afraid

of that visitor,' he said. Bishop Tutu added that he was deeply saddened especially because leaders of the PAC and the ANC had recently expressed to him their support of what was being done by some in the struggle. The UDF has been non-committal at a national level on the Kennedy tour. It refrained from co-sponsoring the meeting in Soweto's Regina Mundi Church, but a large contingent of its activists were in the audience prepared to hear Senator Kennedy speak yesterday. . . . "(Jo-Anne Collinge *The Star* January 14, 1985) — there was a photograph alongside this article of Mr Frank Chikane grabbing a pro-Kennedy man with the caption "Peacekeeper") Refer also *Rand Daily Mail* 14 January 1985; *Sowetan* 14 January 1985; *Post Natal* 16-19 January 1985)

I have quoted Collinge's article at length because it is a textbook

example of the widespread distortion about the Regina Mundi meeting. Let us first note that Bishop Tutu met an AZAPO delegation on 7 January 1985. He was told that AZAPO would picket at the proposed Regina Mundi meeting. The Bishop replied that if AZAPO chose to picket at Regina Mundi, "other people" would be very upset and would deal with AZAPO accordingly and blood might flow. On 12 January 1985 the UDF instructed its activists "to help in whatever way that may be required by the organizers of the Regina Mundi Church rally". This came in the aftermath of the meeting in Cape Town where demonstrators were physically assaulted by UDF members.



TOP LEFT: Nick Tucker being arrested at Jan Smuts Airport during the demonstration against Kennedy. He is facing charges of demonstrating in airport buildings and is presently on a diplomatic offensive of the U.S. and Europe.

TOP RIGHT: Demonstration at Lekton House. From the extreme left is Haroon Patel (AZAPO Projects co-ordinator), Thabo Sehume (AZAPO — National Organiser) and AZAPO members.

MIDDLE LEFT: At Louis Botha Airport. MIDDLE RIGHT: At D.F. Malan. BOTTOM LEFT: Outside Regina Mundi. BOTTOM RIGHT: Inside Regina Mundi.



For its part, AZAPO issued a statement on 9 January 1985 to say that the protests were directed at Kennedy and not Tutu. **AZAPO remarked that the enemies of Tutu were its enemies but not all Tutu's friends were its friends.**

It becomes clear that there were efforts to stoke the fires of a confrontation. Tutu's remarks at the Regina Mundi meeting were designed to inflame emotions for he clearly equated the "ladies and gentleman of AZAPO" with the system. The imperialist media has distorted the actual number of AZAPO members and supporters at the Regina Mundi meeting, but it goes without saying that a tiny minority could never succeed in stopping a majority from exercising its will. **There were 500 Azapo members in the hall and 700 members outside.** Collinge's attempt to suggest that the UDF members present were urged to exercise restraint is particularly mischievous. AZAPO has a record for responsible behaviour: **the Movement was simply not prepared to compromise its stand and was prepared to deal with any eventuality.** Incidentally, the Regina Mundi meeting was never disrupted: Kennedy had already decided not to appear.

As for the suggestion that the police protected AZAPO, this must rank as a singularly malicious statement. It was Kennedy who was protected by South African security policemen throughout his tour. Listen to Louis du Boisson in his account of Kennedy's landing: "And here now is a sight that lends new meaning to the word irony: South African security police forming a protective cordon around this enemy of the Government they serve, to protect him against another enemy of the Government!" ("Kennedy Media Blitz") *Avenue March* 1985 at 21) On the 5 January in an attempt to protect Kennedy

security policemen and railway police assaulted and arrested AZAPO members. On 8 January 1985, police teargassed a crowd of AZAPO demonstrators in Wanderers Street, Johannesburg and the police again attacked demonstrators when Kennedy landed in Cape Town. Each of these attacks saw AZAPO members being arrested and interrogated by the police.

**The identification of Kennedy with the settler regime was best illustrated when a Kennedy aide asked Cde Zithulele Cindi, the Co-Ordinator of the Black Farm Workers Project to produce that badge of slavery, the *dompans*!**

The *City Press* (13 January 1985) contained a "Souvenir Supplement" which mentioned Kennedy's speech at Regina Mundi as a *fait accompli*. CP placards were plastered all over Johannesburg reading "Bishop Desmond Tutu, Reverend Allan Boesak and Senator Edward Kennedy invite you to a meeting at Regina Mundi." Talk about objective journalism!

It should be obvious that the liberation movement faces serious problems from multi-national communication systems. A problem which any liberated country has is the cultural imperialism of the communications media. **If AZAPO is seriously indulging in nation-building towards socialism, it has to grapple with the practical problems of an alternative media.** The press and broadcasting media determine what people know, what they talk about and to an important but lesser degree, how people act.

**The mass media must be transformed into an agent for change. It must convey the message of change, the need and the revolutionary direction.** We do not want to simply inherit foreign-owned and controlled public communications

systems, press, broadcasting and external telecommunications which are motivated by and programmed for profit. A nation whose mass media is dominated and manipulated from outside is no nation.

It must be emphasized that censorship is not merely a matter of silencing *individual* conscience. When the *collective* conscience — that of peoples, civilizations and cultures — is muzzled, that also is the crime of censorship. Censorship is an aspect of existing power relationships and is itself a part of the game of power. The question that has to be asked repeatedly is whose voice is being silenced?

Peregrine Worsthorne has to be correct when he asserts: **"The more open the society, the greater the opportunity for the media to get things seriously wrong, which is why a free Press is best secured in closed societies which deny it enough rope to hang itself."** (*Time & Tide*, Winter 1984 at 64).

**ONE PEOPLE ONE AZANIA**

**THAT GREMLIN AGAIN**

• Really, EC, how could you? You've labelled Sonny Leon "David Curry" in *Frank Talk* Volume 1 Number 4 page 19!

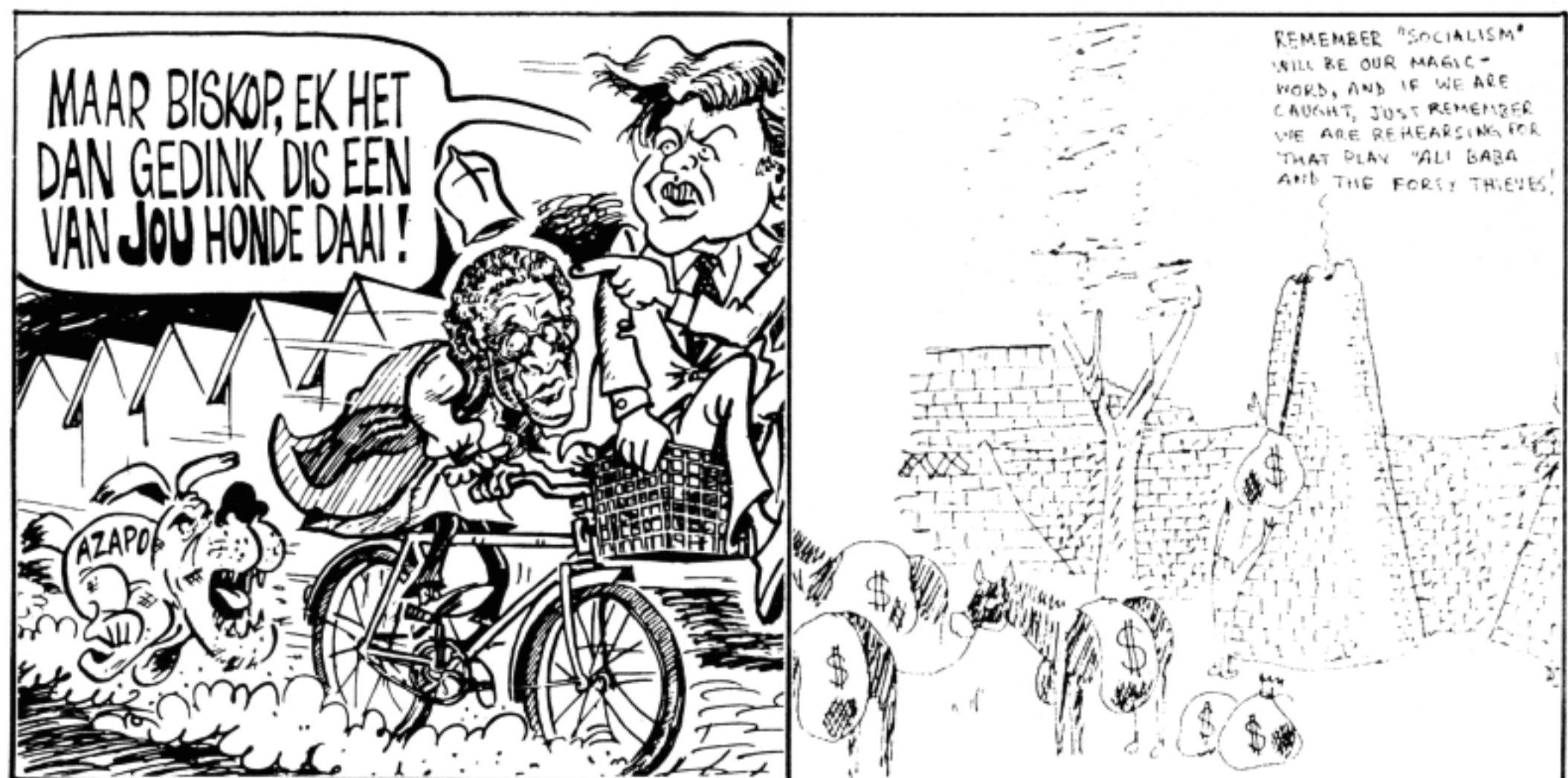
**DARRYL DUNN**  
Ixopo, Natal

(We find it quite difficult to distinguish between non-whites — EC)

• EC, please let us in on the secret: why the space in *Frank Talk* Volume 1 Number 5 at page 26?

**INNOLENT LUJIZA**  
Mdantsane, East London

(It was the printer's gremlin again. Here's the cartoon which was meant to fill space:





 **UMBUTHO WESIZWE**  
**RESIST - DEFEND ADVANCE**  
AZAPO 5<sup>th</sup> NATIONAL CONGRESS



**AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION**  
**AZAPO! AZAPO!**  
  
**ON THE MARCH** *facing the challenges*



 **UMBUTHO WESIZWE**  
**RESIST - DEFEND ADVANCE**  
AZAPO 5<sup>th</sup> NATIONAL CONGRESS



**AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION**  
**AZAPO! AZAPO!**  
  
**ON THE MARCH** facing the challenges



# BEYOND THE STETHOSCOPE AND THE SYRINGE

by Meshach Khaile

THE SOUTH AFRICAN MEDICAL AND DENTAL COUNCIL (SAM & DC) must have nightmares about its many tangles with the BCM. The SAM & DC has consistently emerged with egg all over its lily-white face and it seems that this pattern is destined to continue.

On 30 January 1985, Judge President W G Boshoff of the Transvaal Provincial Division (the very same Boshoff who convicted the SASO/BPC Nine) found there was a *prima facie* case (i.e. a case calling for an answer) against the Biko doctors- viz. Drs Ivor Ralph Lang and Benjamin Tucker- of "improper or disgraceful conduct" or conduct which, when regard is had of the professions of these doctors, is improper or disgraceful. The Judge President ordered the Medical Committee of Preliminary Inquiry of the SAM & DC to arrange to have the Biko doctors prosecuted.

This judgement was preceded by the following:

- On 9 January 1978, Chief Magistrate Prins who presided at the Biko inquest, transmitted that portion of the Inquest record which related to Doctors Lang, Tucker and Hersch to the SAM & DC. **The Chief Magistrate and his assessors (both professors of Forensic Medicine) took the view there was *prima facie* evidence of improper or disgraceful conduct on the part of Lang and Tucker. The SAM & DC did not institute an enquiry into the matter.**
- On 20 December 1977, one Eugene Roelofse, of the Ombudsman's Office sponsored by the

South African Council of Churches, directed a letter to the SAM & DC asking them to constitute an enquiry into the conduct of the Biko doctors.

- On 16 January 1978, Roelofse again wrote to the SAM & DC and drew the attention of the Council to press clippings which reported the evidence which the Biko doctors had given at the Inquest. **He also posed 14 questions in respect of Lang and 13 questions in relation to Tucker relating to medical ethics and professional standards.**
- On 24 April 1980 the Inquiry Committee of the SAM & DC resolved that no further action be taken against the Biko doctors. Their press release dated 17 May 1980 indicated that they had found that there was no *prima facie* evidence of improper or disgraceful conduct on the part of the Biko doctors.
- On 17 June 1980 the SAM & DC voted 18-9 to confirm the action of the Inquiry Committee.
- On 17 February 1982 Professors Frances Rix Ames, (head of the Department of Neurology at Groote Schuur Hospital) Trefor Jenkins (of the South African Institute for Medical Research) and Phillip Vallentine Tobias (of Witwatersrand University) amongst others, **lodged a long list of clearly specified, fully detailed and properly motivated charges and complaints running into 88 pages and containing allegations of improper or disgraceful conduct**

**against Drs Lang, Tucker, Hersch and Keeley. They emphasized that their charges and complaints were not a continuation of the complaints of Roelofse nor an appeal against the dismissal of Roelofse's complaint, but new and independent complaints which had never been dealt with by the Council.**

They also emphasized that the Inquest record did not contain all the relevant evidence and that even that record contained material conflicts between the doctors *inter se* and between the doctors and the police witnesses. (see "Room No 619", Frank Talk Volume 1 Number 4 at pages 12-15) The new evidence before the SAM & DC included evidence given by Keeley to an *ad hoc* committee appointed by the Medical Association of South Africa (MASA) and the rest of the inquest evidence.

- On 18 March 1982 the Health Workers Organisation and certain medical practitioners including Doctors Yosuf Variava (former National Forum Committee Member), Dumisani Mzamane and Timothy Wilson lodged a 26-page list of clearly specified, fully detailed and properly motivated charges and complaints (in substance much the same as the 17 February dossier) against the Biko doctors.
- On 4 March 1983, **the Inquiry Committee of the SAM & DC resolved that no action be taken against Doctors Lang, Tucker,**



Dr Ivor Lang: 'I could find nothing organically wrong with the man'

Dr Tucker and Dr Hersch. Both examined Steve Biko before he died; neither expressed any serious indication of brain damage at that time



**Hersch and Keeley. The Inquiry Committee found that all the material evidence had been considered by it when it dealt with Roelofse's complaint and that no new material evidence had emerged from the dossiers before it.**

- 29 members of the SAM & DC confirmed this decision of the Inquiry Committee on 25 April 1983.

Doctors Variava, Mzamane and Wilson and professors Ames, Jenkins and Tobias brought an application to the Transvaal Provincial Division to set aside the resolutions adopted on 4 March and 25 April 1983 and to order the SAM & DC to institute an enquiry into the professional conduct of Lang and Tucker.

**The Court found that the Inquiry Committee and the Council failed to appreciate the nature of their respective function viz to determine whether the evidence furnished by Variava, Ames et al to them supported the charges and complaints disclosed prima facie evidence of improper or disgraceful conduct on the part of Lang and Tucker. The Inquiry Committee & the Council chose merely to consider whether the evidence submitted by Variava, Ames et al was the same as evidence submitted by Roelofse. Even in performing this limited function, they erred in finding that no new evidence was placed before them.**

Of course, the Court was not concerned about the merits of the charges and complaints and directed that the SAM & DC hold a proper inquiry into the professional conduct of Lang and Tucker. A special meeting of the SAM & DC ON 16-17 February 1985 resolved not to appeal against the decision in *Variava v SAM & DC* and the inquiry into the conduct of Tucker and Lang will begin in June 1985.

## CONTRAST

In grotesque contrast to the foot-shuffling of the SAM & DC in the matter of the Biko doctors, the SAM & DC displayed inglorious haste in prosecuting Dr Maitsho Nchaube Aubrey Mokoape who was Accused Number 4 in the "SASO-BPC Trial" (widely known as the Trial of Black Consciousness). Much as Boshoff's judgement in the SASO-BPC Trial was epoch-making- it convicted nine leaders of the BCM for writing speeches, poetry and plays and organizing rallies to celebrate the accession of Frelimo to power in Mozambique (obviously, the SAM & DC has not yet heard of the Nkomati Accord!) the case of the SAM & DC versus Mokoape was poised to make medical and legal history. It was the the first inquiry into the professional conduct of a medical practitioner for his political beliefs held anywhere in the world!

## MOKOAPE.

Dr Mokoape obtained the degrees MB, CHB and registered as an intern with the SAM & DC on 5 July 1974. He was detained during September 1974 and underwent the marathon SASO-BPC Trial. In December 1976, he was sentenced to six years imprisonment on Robben Island. He was convicted of two counts under the Terrorism Act, Act Number 83 of 1967.

On the main count, Boshoff found that the **"the common method or means employed to accomplish total liberation of the Black people" (viz BC) was designed "to create amongst the Blacks a hostile power block orientated for action, more particularly political violence."** (*Judgement* at 241). It can fairly be said that the Nine were convicted for their belief in the BC ideology as the following passage indicates: **"(L)anguage was used by the conspirators to condemn whites as the oppressors of the Blacks . . . In the process language was used which caused and encouraged feelings of hostility . . . between the Blacks and the whites . . ."** (*Op cit* at 240).



*Aubrey Mokoape (far right) during the Sharpsville uprising. On the extreme left (face partly obscured) is the late comrade Mangoliso Robert Sobukwe.*

On the second count, Boshoff found that by organising Viva-Frelimo rallies, the accused intentionally endangered the maintenance of law and order. A rally planned for the 25 September 1974 was banned at the eleventh hour and the Court found that the accused were guilty of proceeding with the rally "notwithstanding" (the) real danger of violence." (*Op cit* at 252).

**Dr Mokoape's name was deleted from the Register of Interns in 1978 as letters sent to him were returned undelivered. On the 28 August 1978, the SAM & DC was informed by the Prisons Department that Mokoape was convicted under the terrorism Act in 1976. In an affidavit submitted to the SAM & DC by Mokoape asking for his housemanship to be restored, he made full disclosure about his convictions (26 July 1982). Mokoape's name was restored to the Register on 6 September 1982.**

On 20 October 1982, the President of the SAM & DC instructed the Registrar to refer the matter of Mokoape to the Inquiry Committee.

In December 1982, Mokoape was released and began serving his internship at the King Edward VIII Hospital in Durban. The period of housemanship completed in 1974 was recognised by the SAM & DC. Mokoape completed internship in December 1983 and then started a private practice in Umlazi Township which adjoins Durban. He was placed on the register of medical practitioners by the SAM & DC. The council made numerous attempts to get the judgement in the SASO-BPC trial between February 1983 and August 1984. **On 28 August 1984 the Inquiry Committee resolved that there was a prima facie case of improper or disgraceful conduct or conduct which, when regard is had to of Mokoape's profession, is improper or disgraceful. It should be emphasized that the SAM & DC knew no more on 20 August 1984 than it did on 28 August 1978, and that the Council had still not succeeded in obtaining a copy of Boshoff's judgement in the SASO.BPC Trial.**

It should also be emphasized that there was no written charge, complaint or allegation against Mokoape but the SAM & DC had decided to institute proceedings on the basis of Mokoape's own disclosures.

On 23 November 1984, Mokoape was served with a summons to appear before the SAM & DC. The charge proffered against him read:

**"THAT you, being a registered medical practitioner, are guilty of improper or disgraceful conduct, or conduct which when regard is had to your profession is improper or disgraceful, in that during or about 1976 you were convicted in the Supreme Court on two charges of contravening Section 2 (1) (a) of Act No 83 of 1967."**

## THE HEARING

Counsel for Mokoape (Ismail Mahomed SC assisted by Imrann Moosa and Edwin Cameron) contended that:

- The Medical, Dental and Supplementary Health Service Professions Act No 56 of 1974 (the Act) confers a jurisdiction to the Council to institute an inquiry if and only if it is triggered by a written complaint (Sections 41 read with 45 and Regulation 2 of Government Notice R 2268 of 3 December 1976). The Council lacked the jurisdictional fact (namely the written complaint) required to catalyse the inquiry.

- The case against Mokoape was that he was convicted nearly a decade ago of contravening an Act which has since been repealed. In law and in fact to argue



that a mere conviction under the terrorism Act constitutes improper or disgraceful conduct without regard to the motive of the offender, the circumstances under which the offence came to be committed, the actual conduct constituting the offence and whether guilt was affirmatively or presumptively established is untenable. **There may be convictions which contain inherent moral turpitude, but terrorism is not one of them.**

The representative for the *pro forma* (i.e. nominal) complainant argued that Section 45 of the Act only required proof of the conviction and the opinion of the Council that this conviction constituted improper or disgraceful conduct. Section 45 does not require a written complaint, but allows the Council to take cognizance of the conviction of a medical practitioner.

Mokoape replied that **the formalistic approach suggested by the complainant would make a doctor's traffic offences or his failure to pay his dog licence the concern of the SAM & DC.** The *pro forma* complainant had to go further and suggest how the conviction constitutes improper or disgraceful conduct. For example, while a speeding offence *per se* might not show improper or disgraceful conduct, the fact that a doctor endangered the lives of twenty people might show a *prima facie* case of improper or disgraceful conduct.

The Disciplinary Committee appointed by the SAM & DC granted the application for Mokoape's discharge without enunciating any reasons.

It may be added that the Act makes no provision for this kind of discharge: the Committee's decision was decidedly uncharacteristic.

### ISSUES RAISED

On the other hand, the Committee clearly chose the way of least resistance. Had it decided to hear the full defence case in the *Mokoape* episode, the following issues would possibly have been thrown full square before it:

- **Does the medical practitioner's commitment to healing end with his stethoscope and syringe or does it extend to dealing with the problems of suffering humanity and helping to weed out oppression, exploitation and dehumanization?** In September 1948, the General Assembly of the World Medical Association passed the following declaration to bind all medical practitioners:

"I solemnly pledge myself to consecrate my life to the service of humanity."

It is noteworthy that the WMA pub-

lished this Declaration after the horrors of World War II. Amongst the barbaric deeds of the Nazi regime were various crimes committed by medical men relating to human experimentation: the excuse that they were ordered to perform these by the state was not enough. **Medicine can no longer restrict itself to symptomatic relief, to the treatment of specific organs and to the care of the individual person it must assess its goal within the total context of human society.**

- Accepting that a medical practitioner has to have a social conscience, the medical practitioners who acquiesce in the genocidal practice of apartheid medicine and who do nothing to alleviate the lot of the oppressed, exploited and dehumanized in South Africa are the ones who are really guilty of improper or disgraceful conduct. Mokoape helped initiate and actively participated in the Dududu, New Farm, Wintervelds and Zanempilo health and community projects of SASO and the BCP.

- The SASO-BPC Trial did not disclose that the accused committed any acts of violence nor did they incite violence. **The Court found that the accused justified violence. While committing abortion might well be disgraceful conduct, is arguing that abortion is justified also disgraceful conduct?**

- The terrorism Act allowed for a presumptive guilt i.e. the state does not have to prove the accused's guilt but the accused has to rebut the presumption. Although Boshoff mentioned how confused counsel on both sides were about the workings of this presumptive guilt (*Judgement* at 2), he lands himself in the same morass (*op cit* at 250). (Incidentally, this means that the conviction of the Nine is quite questionable in law). To take an example: say the Minister of Finance goes to the Internatio-

nal Monetary Fund and asks that the world returns to the gold standard:- he is attempting to bring about economic change mentioned in Section 2(2) (f) of the Terrorism Act and thus he is presumed to have the intention to endanger the maintenance of the law and order. The Minister must prove beyond reasonable doubt that he did not have this intention.

There is no such presumption to assist the *pro forma* complainant in the *Mokoape* matter. Theoretically, the *pro forma* complainant would have to re-open the SASO-BPC Trial in relation to Mokoape in order to establish whether Mokoape was actually guilty of the offences charged!

- The case against Mokoape in the SASO-BPC trial was confined to membership of and presence at meetings called by the BCM. The Court accepted that **the accused were motivated by a passionate concern for the physical, psychological and spiritual well being of the Black people of South Africa.** Where a criminal offence is committed or is presumed to be committed from motives of high and lofty idealism the inference that the conduct was disgraceful or improper is not a legitimate inference.

- **Medical ethics must distinguish between what is unlawful and what is immoral and between what is immoral *per se* and what is immoral in the sense of being disgraceful.**

- A distinction must be made between a simple intention to promote racial hostility and the BCM's criticism of racist policies.

### NUREMBERG

The SAM & DC has conclusively proved itself to be a bumbling arm of the executive. Coming as it does in 1985, when the WMA Congress is due to be held in Cape Town, the

**CONTINUED ON  
PAGE 30**



*The accused at Nuremberg . . . the greatest trial in history*



# 5TH NATIONAL CONGRESS

The Fifth National Congress of AZAPO at Retreat, Cape Town on Monday 17 and Tuesday 18 December 1985 saw content being given to the theme "Resist, Defend, Advance" and a clear commitment being made towards systematically developing the infrastructure for a socialist Azania.

## Theme

The outgoing President, Comrade Lybon Tiyani Mabasa, remarked in his State of the Nation Address: "There is no doubt in our minds that this government is under the grip of fear and what we are watching and experiencing is its final stages of disintegration and we are more than ever convinced that the future of this country definitely lies in the hands of the exploited, oppressed and dispossessed."

Mabasa clarified the 1985 theme by adding: "We have chosen and followed a revolutionary path. Today our battle-cry is *resist* all efforts of the *status quo*, *defend* and *advance* the Cause of the people and the Revolution. Our struggle should cease to be passive and reactive. . . . Our clear understanding of the forces in constant action and interaction in our society will lead us to understand the role we have to play in our society to bring about change. **We have to understand that the Revolution . . . requires the escalation of demands and actions, stage by stage, in the conflict with the enemy, utilizing the whip of the counter-revolution to deepen the conflict and to drive the Revolution forward, without stopping at the most extreme actions required to win.**

" . . . One also needs to point out that as much as the Revolution has to have a life and beat of its own it cannot be merely left to chance. As much as spontaneous eruptions are both essential and necessary in that no Revolution is successful without them, it is our duty as leaders and members of the Movement to give decisive leadership, using whatever agitation and propaganda available to us to organise the struggle and to create the momentum of a continuous offensive towards Revolutionary objectives. **Over the years there have been spontaneous eruptions and these will continue, while the Counter-Revolution is developing its method of containment and repression. This containment and repression should be vigilantly resisted by the forces of revolution . . .**

" . . . We have to wilfully subject ourselves for the sake of the struggle, to vigorous tests of self-criticism and

self-assessment . . . We should move beyond our own rhetoric into practical revolutionary action. . . . no strategy should be too old and pure to be reassessed. The older the strategy and tactics are without any conceivable and visible success, the more the need for total and complete reassessment . . .

**" . . . As a Movement . . . we have said all that needs to be said for the movement. Our theoretical position is quite clear and what we need to do is get down and work.**

" . . . Unless we actively exercise our right to self-defence our communities are going to turn into police garrisons and cemeteries. We can no longer afford to stand and watch as the 'tears go by'. . . . We will have to go out of our way to defend the gains made in the course of our struggle, and to preserve and defend the principles of Black Consciousness displayed by the masses in action."

## Programme

This State of the Nation Address set the tone for a Congress which did not perpetuate the realms of rhetoric and the old rearguard battles to define the nuances of the BC ideology. Delegates analysed the strategies of work stoppages, stayaways and boycotts and the decisions of Congress in this regard are encapsulated in the Position Statement issued by the Central Committee.

The direction and thrust of Congress was to provide the basis for a Programme of Action which would see directed action and the ushering in of a Worker's Republic of Azania.

Congress resolved to:

- Adopt a revamped version of the education policy;
- Pay close attention to the Education Crisis and to call a National Seminar on Education over the Easter week-end;



Mathews Phosa, Head of Legal Secretariate of AZAPO.

- Further the efforts towards strengthening AZAPO'S women's wing and actively assisting in the programmes of BLACK WOMEN UNITE (BWU);
- Create a National Youth Organization on the principles of BC;
- Pledge total support for the Anti-Asbestosis campaign launched by the BLACK ALLIED MINING AND CONSTRUCTION WORKERS UNION (BAMCWU);
- Launch a co-ordinated campaign against the celebration of Golden Jubilee of Johannesburg in 1986;
- Destroy the myth that the struggle is only against Apartheid and to achieve civil and human rights;
- Form Detainees Concern Committees;
- Enact the theme "Resist, Defend, Advance."

## Constitution

Constitutional amendments included the cleaning-up of excess verbiage in the AZAPO Constitution. Significant amendments include:

- The duties of the National Vice Presidents will be determined annually by Congress. Congress resolved to elect a Cape and a Transvaal Vice-President whose duties shall be:



Kehla Mthembu, Head of Youth Secretariate



Sefako Nyaka, Secretary for Urban and Rural Development



(a) To direct and co-ordinate all activities of the Organization in the Cape and the Transvaal respectively.

(b) To be responsible for convening and presiding over interregional meetings in the Cape and the Transvaal respectively;

(c) To perform other duties as directed by the National Council or the Central Committee.

A Vice-President (Finance) was also elected whose duties are:

(a) To initiate and co-ordinate fund-raising projects;

(b) To monitor financial records of branches, regions and secretariates and to ensure that funds are despatched to the Secretary-General.

The Vice-President (Political Education) whose duties are:

(a) To ensure the development of the BC ideology;

(b) To implement and monitor orientation programmes and leadership training schools for members;

(c) To constantly update the Organization on developments

both nationally and internationally.

• Branch executive committees must now include branch organisers.

• Disciplinary powers of all formations are strictly governed by AZAPO'S Code of Conduct.

### 1985 Central Committee

The new Central Committee elected at Congress reveals how strongly the convention that nobody should serve on a post for more than two terms is observed.

This convention has developed out of the principle of collective leadership.

The New Central Committee is:  
President Ishmael Mkhabela (Soweto);  
Deputy President Reverend Joe Seoka (Soweto); Vice President (Transvaal) Ntjaamu Habedi (Soweto) Vice President (Cape) Phambili ka Ntloko (Queenstown); Vice President (Political Education) George Wauchope (Soweto) Vice President (Finance) Mandla Seleokane (Cape Town); Secretary General Mbuyiseli Mahlali

(Uitenhage); National Organizer Thabo Sehume (Attredgeville); Publicity Secretary Imrann Moosa (Durban); Projects Co-Ordinator Haroun Patel (Lenasia)

The Central Committee has appointed the following secretariate-heads:

Labour - Thabo Ndabeni

Health - Abu Asvat

Legal Affairs - Matthew Phosa

Urban & Rural Development - Sefako Nyaka

Womens Affairs - Thembi Mbobo

Religious Affairs - Mamabolo Rapesu

Youth - Kehla Mthembu.

Education - Lybon Tiyani Mabasa

Culture - Mandla Mosweni

*Frank Talk* is of the view that the manner of conducting the Fifth National Congress showed a positive advance over previous AZAPO congresses. We would like to urge all formations of AZAPO to resist the machinations of settler colonialism and its apologists, to defend the revolutionary gains made in the liberation struggle and to advance towards an anti-racist, socialist, worker Republic of Azania

## POSITION STATEMENT ON WORK STOPPAGES, STAYAWAYS & BOYCOTTS ISSUED BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION AS AT 85-02-02

Following a thorough overview and reflection on the political/ideological development and the immediate- and long-term tasks of the Black working class and its revolutionary organisations, the Central Committee of the AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION (AZAPO) unanimously decided to declare that the toiling and oppressed masses shall use all revolutionary and progressive strategies and tactics within the grasp in order to abolish the country's system of social degradation, economic exploitation and political oppression of Black people.

In order to sow confusion among our ranks by propagating policies and slogans incompatible with the line of the national liberation struggle, the system has through its agents fanned the flames of hysteria, enmity and hostility among the ranks of the oppressed and the exploited. This propaganda onslaught against the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist forces represented by AZAPO is nothing but an extension of the psychological propaganda war-machine championed by the SABC, the enemy media and the internal and external allies of murderous imperialists.

The Central Committee believes that in the struggle for the repossession of land and a society devoid of every kind of inequality, exploitation and discrimination only a united, politicized and organized people with their consolidated, galvanized power can break the chains of slavery and oppression.

AZAPO believes that any form of struggle should raise the revolutionary potential of struggle and that it

should be consistent with both the short-term and long-term goals of the national liberation movement.

AZAPO considers that the tactics of work stoppages, stayaways and boycotts are tried and tested methods in the liberation struggle, and have every potential to enhance the struggle.

Realizing the ruthless oppression and super-exploitation of the Black working class, AZAPO regards it as axiomatic that *Asinamali* (we have no money) and *Azikhwelwa* (we will not ride) inform the tone of most boycotts, stayaways and work stoppages in racist South Africa.

While conscious of the possible benefits of work stoppages, stayaways and boycotts and their contribution to the experience of the Black workers in united mass action, AZAPO takes into account that any method of struggle employed carelessly can be perverted and made to deflect the Revolution into channels of disaster.

As a liberation movement, AZAPO has a duty to analyze all mass actions of the oppressed and exploited and use the rich lessons which may be gleaned therefrom to advance the revolutionary effort to qualitatively greater heights.

AZAPO is of the view that work stoppages, boycotts and stayaways are only to be employed after carefully scrutinizing the material conditions. These conditions include:

- (1) the resources of the people,
- (2) a thorough assessment of the short- and the long-term goals,
- (3) consultation with the community,
- (4) how the tactic links up with

the overall struggle for national liberation.

In embarking upon these tactics, the following must be articulated:

- (a) the target,
- (b) the method,
- (c) the duration,
- (d) the consequences,
- (e) clear and achievable goals and demands.

It was with this in the back of our minds that the following resolution was adopted in December, 1984:

That this Fifth National Congress of AZAPO held in Retreat, Cape Town;

Realizing and acknowledging that boycotts, strikes and stayaways constitute some of the necessary and essential weapons in the struggle of our people;

Also realizing the need for a concerted and sustained effort in pursuance of the goals and principles of our struggle as contained in the Manifesto of the Azanian People;

And further realizing the effects and potential of such collective efforts to effect the achievement of One Azania, One Nation.

Therefore resolves:

To reaffirm and commit ourselves to the defence and prosecution of the Black working class struggle;

To continue to give direction and sustenance to our people and their legitimate organisations in enhancing the revolutionary potential of the oppressed and the exploited;

To maximize the full participation of all sectors of the Black community, after thorough consultation, investigation and canvassing in pursuit of these goals.



# CAPITALISM WAKES UP

by DR. ALI SHARIATI



Dr Ali Shariati was born in Mazinan, a suburb of Mashad, Iran. Being one of the foremost exponents of socialism based on the teachings of Islam. He was continuously harrassed by the Shah's regime and twice served prison terms for political activity. He fled into exile in May 1977 and was murdered three weeks later on the 19th of June. This article was translated by Ali A Behzadnia and the Editorial collective cannot vouch for its accuracy.

## **rical revolution and cause its path to deviate in such a way as to safeguard its own capitalistic direction.**

Consequently, when one becomes aware of the fact that incidents are occurring to one's opponent's benefit, then one becomes aware of how to divert the direction of the incidents to one's favour. Thus, when capitalism learns that 'competition' is one of the causes of the proletarian revolution because it creates inflation and unemployment, then capitalism becomes able to eradicate that cause. In other words, capitalism acknowledges that these factors cause the proletarian revolution.

Therefore capitalism, by means of creating trusts, cartels and common markets, may stop or change these factors. That is to say, capitalism may make competition disappear, as a result of which, the huge factories would not jettison or burn billions of dollars of goods produced as was the case in the year 1820 or 1925. Some of the reasons attributed to this are the following:

1. In order not to lose their market shares, factories has to produce,
2. To pay their employees,
3. Being unable to reduce production to meet the reduction in consumption,
4. Increase in production has always been ahead of increase in consumption,
5. To keep production (supply level) inferior to the demand level in order to preserve high prices. All the above mentioned factors will cause capitalism to fall into a crisis or create critical unemployment which would expedite the proletarian revolution.

Another factor causing the proletarian revolution is the dialectical principle transferring quantity into quality. For example, if you read a poem or recite an anthem, you will not become as emotional or excited as when a group reads the same poem in which case you will become extremely excited. What is the reason behind this? Quantity. That is to say, if 500, 2000 or 5000 people were reading the poem, there would certainly be more feeling and excitement than if only five or six people were reading it. Thus, when quantity

is added, it changes into quality.

The same is true in the system of a social class structure. One of the reasons Marxism gave in the 19th century about **why the peasants revolution may occur late, or never happen at all, is attributed to their lack of self awareness** - workers should lead the peasants and give them the necessary awareness. This is called the problem of quantity, that is, the lack of concentration of farmers at their place of work.

Peasants are working over a vast area of land in a scattered manner, 100, 200 metres or even one or two kilometres from each other, whereas, in industry, workers are more concentrated. Another reason is the fact that workers live close to each other. In the fuedal system, the workers are very much spread out and dispersed. As the concentration of workers in industrial capitalism grows, it will cause the feudal system to pull back.

This will enable the labor force to become even more concentrated. Quality-wise, as capitalism grows, groups of 10, 20 or 30 who used to work together under 100 businessman will now have to work under five capitalists. Thus, concentration of the labor force, capital and pro-



*The lack of concentration of workers on farms results in a lack of self-awareness and therefore on awareness of their exploitation.*

I will now examine a very fundamental problem which I have always referred to but never discussed the problem of the tactics capitalism uses to rationalize itself. <sup>1</sup>

When a historian discovers laws of the transformations in history, factors which cause social revolution and the dialectical principles of history and when a historical philosopher shows which factors cause the formation of a social class and how and under what circumstances it is formed and how it grows until it explodes, and when he shows how the determinations of the dialectics of history cause one's social class to destroy its opposing class and then by means of an internal revolution, annihilate the ruling class and seize power, then the ruling class will certainly feel the danger of becoming the victim of the dialectics of history.

In view of the above, as the philosophy of history and the game of dialectics helps **the growth of the awareness in the proletariat about the factors creating a proletarian revolution which will destroy capitalism from within, by the same token, capitalism realizes the historical, social, class factors, the direction and behaviour that endanger its existence and which will ultimately destroy it.** <sup>2</sup>

Subsequently, according to Marxism, when man's self awareness, social consciousness, awareness of being part of the proletarian class and when the proletariat, who are the pioneer force, mobilize and form a political party, as a centre for their struggle against the ruling class, this could be one of the causes and factors leading to the expediting the revolution in favour of the proletariat. For the same reasons, the ruling or the exploiting class, that is to say, **capitalism, is able to have control over such factors as self awareness or scientific awareness and become familiar with the law of histo-**





*Concentration of workers leads to debates heightening the consciousness of workers.*

duction will lead to the concentration of the proletariat. This, in turn, would cause the number of workers to increase, thus accentuating the growth of workers solidarity.

I call the increase in the proletariat and its ever growing concentration, a quantity-wise increase — just like the increase in water temperature. This quantity will then be transferred to quality which is the awakening and self awareness of the proletariat, called revolution. You may have noticed that in places where people work or study as a group during the day and then disperse at night, they are more sensible than emotional towards problems. The reason is that they are concentrated at work and where they live. The result is not the same when they are scattered. **The more the concentration of workers grows, the more they will get involved in debates and the exchanges of ideas,** thus attracting more and more workers. **These are the factors which cause an awakening, an alertness, a class feeling, the expression of class needs, the making of decisions, the belief in self and worker power, organization, analysis and evaluation of the environment and conditions of life in order to confront the ruling class. All these factors pave the way for a revolution.**

**On the other hand, the capitalist is also aware of all the above problems.** He is no longer the old unintelligent hoarder of money. The capitalist can now employ sociologists, philosophers, scientists *and even the most reknown socialists and Marxist experts.* As the capitalist is informed of all the dangers facing his existence, he will mobilize all his powers to change the direction of history in his favour.

Capitalism in the West has been very successful in its mission. As I mentioned before, a proletarian revolution had even started in the 19th century, but we hear nothing about it in the 20th century. **In some French villages, the proletariat even votes for the right wing. In France and**

**Italy, the election boards show exactly those who have leftist or rightist tendencies.** Moreover, during elections, the proletarian tendencies are shown by a curve on the political board.

**When living standards show signs of improvement, the political board indicates that the tendencies are towards the right wing.** That is to say that even the proletariat and the exploited class in Europe mentioned by Marx have rightist tendencies. But **when living standards drop and the French economy is badly hurt because of war, etc, the political board shows tendencies of moving towards the left wing.** But today, as compared with the 19th century, the board is indicating all the signs to be in favour of the right wing.

### STOPPING WORKER SOLIDARITY

The proletariat, which according to the dialectics of history, had to bring about a revolution, is now moving further away from the direction of history. The reason is that capitalism is now aware of all the factors and is working hard to stop the concentration of workers.

In the old times, for example, in Lancashire, England, all the factories used to be built in industrial areas. Thus, an industrial town would be created with its employees living close to the factories and also to each other. Moreover, they used to have a common workers club, common swimming pool, common village, common cinemas and common beaches, etc.

Today this is no longer the case. Efforts are towards having all workers living quite a distance from their place of work. Instead of building one single living conglomerate for all workers, they now build several scattered conglomerates.

In most industrial towns, there are villages two or three kilometers from each other, which are separated by means of deserts or unnecessary parks and open spaces. That is to say

that in a vast area there are several living conglomerates which have no contact with each other. Each village uses its own cinema, clubs and shops within their own conglomerate. The distance to the next conglomerate is great and they have no contact with other conglomerates. This is how capitalism is destroying workers concentration and solidarity.

### CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

**The major factor which would expedite a revolution of the proletariat is the consciousness of that class.** As I have mentioned before, it is the feeling of poverty which starts a movement. **The necessary factor that would persuade a social class to rise is the consciousness of being exploited rather than the mere fact of being exploited.**

It is the dialectic that is moving. We have witnessed the fact that unlike frozen dialectics, **thesis and antithesis have been living together happily and peacefully for 1000 or 2000 years.** Class consciousness is the factor which hastens the revolution. It is a factor of the dialectical movement. How could a blind class find consciousness? Or divert it? Or postpone it? If one understands class consciousness, one can stop it. It is very clear. It is just like a doctor who knows all the symptoms of the illness and can then fight it.

**One of the major factors bringing about the exploited classes awareness of self is deprivation.** <sup>3</sup>

Thus, it is natural that the more I feel deprived, the more I will become aware of my class. Now, what factors will make me feel deprived? Through experiences in your society, you may notice that it is not enough to be hungry in order to feel that you are hungry. It has been observed that not only do some people who are hungry not feel it but they even thank God that they are leading a good life. Their stomachs are hungry but they are not conscious of it. Or they are aware of their hunger but they are not aware of their unnatural deprivation. They feel natural. <sup>4</sup>

There are many factors through which one can either fool oneself or be fooled by others. What is that fact through which a deprived person may realize that he is deprived? To



*People aware of hunger but not of their unnatural deprivation.*



conceive and to lead a natural life and to know what a normal person must have in a normal life is a big problem. But one must realize all of those things which one does not have, while one is not aware of this.

### Under Consumption

What makes a person realize that he is deprived in life? It is neither low income nor no income, nor low production, nor even small ownership nor little capital. The answer is under consumption. When one feels that one has a very low share of consumption in whatever is produced one feels one is being exploited. Consumption could be basic, such as that relating to food and clothes or it could be luxurious like that relating to cars, etc.

You can realize the feeling of being exploited via under consumption through class antagonisms. The symptoms of class differences are neither capital nor production but consumption. In other words, a social class will not realize how backward it is even if it possessed capital a million times more than another social class. When the backward class actually conceives of the differences existing between the basic and luxurious consumption of the other class with itself, then it will really feel deprived.

**Therefore, it is through comparisons and contractions that man basically realizes and conceives of reality. In a closed environment a person may claim to be the most knowledgeable person on earth, thus having no need for education. It is only when he finds himself in a situation where he meets with other persons that he finds out how little he knows.**

Eventually 'I do not know' is the phrase I would feel when I would meet others who knows a lot. **The time I would feel deprived, exploited, poor and hungry is when I would become aware and see how my antagonistic class eats, the clothes it wears, the things it enjoys and the life it leads.**

Consequently, it is consumption that creates deprivation. What makes me realize my under consumption is the consumption of others.

### Contradiction

For example, a certain big businessman, who is able to buy half the city, sits in a very tiny office, wearing cheap clothes, looking quite poor in a dirty room with an extremely cheap desk. At noon time he eats soup or bread and yoghurt. Life is worthless. Why? Because his employee who sits close to him sees that usually his clothes are nicer than those of his boss. He also sees that his appearance, his child and wife are better than the businessman's.

As the employee sees that his boss is even more deprived than himself, he



Exploited people live in houses which are identical.

does not feel exploited at all. We notice that our own capitalism rationalized itself before Europe did. The external facade of the old village houses does not differ very much from each other in the classical towns of Kashan and Yazd. All doors look alike in the houses of the classical merchants of the bazaar unless those houses belong to the big landowners and the feudal lords. Usually all the walls are made of mud and straw and look so much alike that aside from their different sizes, all houses seem as if they belonged to one family in the town. You do not notice a large class difference.

### SHOWING OFF

However, the case would be different once you entered the houses. When you see all the carpets and the food that is served, you would feel the big difference between this and the very next house. They would be incomparable. This is entirely contrary to what exists in our cities today and our present class system. More contradictions are being noticed in modern towns. Modern man uses his utmost effort to beautify the outside of his house. Since he himself does not see the outside and since it has no effect on his life, he does this only for the sake of others. He wants to indicate that he belongs to an upper class. This relieves his morale. Otherwise, the style of the outside of his house does not change his real life.

This class life is a way of life that we have learned. In the old times all doors looked alike. Today, everybody's aim is to make, paint or deco-



His car and clothes have to be unique. He's got to be different.

rate them in such a way as to be completely different from others. **Nowadays, one tries to look unique in his district. The colour and model of one's car must be unusual. One's clothes must be exceptional. To be unique is to show that one is different and unmatched. One belongs to another class.** Thus, one continues to pay attention to one's appearance. One even wishes to exaggerate these contradictions and differences. Once these kinds of actions, whether real or unreal, are presented to the deprived class, it would certainly belittle them. This is the spirit of the West's class differences which has infiltrated into our society and has influenced our so-called modern people. This is a factor which irritates and awakens the deprived class.

The aristocratic tradition has always been more noticeable in the West. Because of the system of ownership in the Islamic economy, such aristocratic traditions have never existed in Muslims society. Islamic ethics have always struggled and resisted such aristocratic dispositions to the point where it has extremely weakened the aristocratic sumptuousness with regard to richness, opulence, comfort, showing off and belittling others. This state, however, is still at its highest stage in Europe.

Two centuries after the great French Revolution which caused the disappearance of the aristocracy, today's aristocrats still walk and wear clothes differently. **They even frequent their own 'closed restaurants'. That is to say that whatever amount of money you are willing to pay you may not enter those restaurants.** They have their own clubs, closed entertainment and closed marriages. They are all firmly and aristocratic clubs which admit special persons holding membership cards. As a whole, aristocratic families have relationships with each other. Their actions, kinsmanship, relationships and their social etiquette bear a kind of rigid formality, all of which is intended to show that this group or class is superior to others. This class wishes to enforce itself upon others. It wishes to persuade other people that its superiority is basically natural; it is a quality of its blood, life, nature and temper which still exist. It



tries to sell this idea even though nobody is willing to buy it.

This spirit of showing off the class antagonism, with regard to consumption, has caused the following, certainly to a greater extent in Europe than in Iran and other Third World countries. First, it has created complexes for the deprived class. It has made the said class realize how poor it is and how different it is from the upper class. Generally, 100 or 200 years ago, the difference between the capitalist and the rich class, excluding the small capitalists (the same opulent landowners and businessmen), with the middle and lower class was much more than what it seemed to be in appearance. But to day, this class difference is less than its appearance. **As a person's salary today is increased by \$30 or \$40 it is soon echoed everywhere. He will belittle everybody with his car, clothes, house, his appearance, his looks and also with the changing of the curtains, carpets and furniture.** He will show his family, competitors, friends and all the people on his street that he is now superior to the others. He even makes false presumptions and therefore consumes in a false way. His lunch table is curtailed everyday while adding to his car. His reasoning being that people cannot see your stomach but this (my car) shows my prestige. His living room is the best place of his house, it receives the most sunshine, it is sanitary, big, and nice. This is the living room of a very rich person which is used once or twice a year. But he himself, his wife and his children are living in the worst place of the house and in the worst state of life. He curtails all possibilities regarding the natural and real needs of his family in order to pay more attention to the appearance of things which are more noticeable to outsiders. This antagonism in consumption awakens the exploited class. That is to say, that this class always seeks with its own eyes the things that others possess but it still does not have. There, day and night, it sees, hears and feels the terms 'haves and have nots' This awakens it and makes it aware of what to do. These things will mobilize it and cause it to hold a grudge against others.

I mentioned that rich men and the classical bourgeois tried to hide or lessen the appearance of their consumption. In general they spend little. But when capitalism awakes, it changed the whole story completely, that is to say that capitalism increased the apparent consumption of the deprived and the proletariat, but it did not lower its own.

### Sops to workers

Suppose I was a French worker, what were all the aims and comforts belonging to the aristocrats that we did not possess? They had beaches and they would go to the sea. **Going to the sea was an aristocratic and**

**rich entertainment for those who owned cars, while the poor people had to go for a walk to the local town square. The capitalist accepts to allow the proletariat to the beaches. This would not be very expensive while it would make his complexes disappear. The problem is going to the beach. This would not be very expensive to a capitalist. He goes to the beach for the sake of feeling relieved, comfort and entertainment, while a worker goes for the sake of his prestige.** Often he has no more than one day. He rushes to the beach from Tehran just to touch the water and come back. This is not only for the sake of showing others that he, too, went to such and such a place, making all complexes psychologically blow up, but it also causes the envy he feels towards them to die out. This a personal, internal psychological problem. He is first saturated and then satisfied.

In Paris, there are cinemas whose tickets cost 10 francs, or 100 francs. There are 3 or 4 cinemas which are off bounds to a poor and deprived person. They were a source for envy and formed a boundary. He may not go to a cinema on the Champs Elysees. As a whole, neither could he or any of his friends, nor any member of his family or any one from his class go there. **Capitalism will now admit him to these places - without really giving him anything - that is to say that he only feels he has joined the aristocratic class and has acquired its dispositions.** What is capitalism really doing?

Nothing. **Capitalism only removes a small constraint.** The worker can now go to the very same cinema and watch the same film. He now goes to the same places that his boss and all industry owners go to. He also sits on the very same chair and feels relieved. The chair is still warm when, just like them he provides himself and his wife, with sandwiches, and waits, just like the aristocrats who used to go to cinema in the past. Now he has also gone to a cinema. **He also drinks a beer as his boss used to drink whisky.** It makes no difference. he imitates



Credit Purchasing

them in the best cinemas of the world. The worker used to have a very small and insignificant constraint. **The only difference is that, unlike his boss, he can go to cinemas on Thursday only. That is to say that the same cinema ticket is only one franc on Thursdays thus enabling the worker to go to such cinema.** Therefore he has succeeded in reaching the symbolic places and cafe's which were always closed to the people of his class.

The opera, the Paris Opera in particular, belongs to the aristocrats, to that very intellectual class and to those who possess the highest university education. It is built by the artists who were linked to the Louis' and Versailles. Its art belonged to them as a whole. He could neither enter nor approach such an opera with his simple clothes. The waiter, alone, is several times more luxurious than he is, which makes him feel complexed. Also, the culture of the worker class is not rich enough to watch an opera by Moliere. He will neither understand nor like it at all. Even though he likes his own songs, he goes to the opera. The day they announce that the opera ticket is, for example, 2 francs, he takes his wife, children and uncle there. This is just for the sake of overcoming his own and his grandfather's complex, which he had for years. This is a kind of spiritual and psychological consumption.

### Credit Purchasing

We will give them refrigerators and cars which are the symbols of aristocracy. How? Do we give them the possibility to buy? No. If we give



The Rich at Play



then purchasing power, then we would abolish class differences. **The problem of self rationalization of capital is to make the working class not hungry and have everything while being and remaining poor.** Nothing has changed. Although you cannot afford a refrigerator, you wish to have one? Yes. You may have one without paying for it. You wish to have a T.V.? You may have one without paying a cent for it. Take it. But there is a box here that you put pennies in for every time you wish to switch it on. It is nothing. Anyway he now possesses something which is a symbol of aristocracy. That is to say that the biggest French capitalist does not possess more than this T.V. You have one too. But he has a small debt. What will he do? His children used to get change and spend it enjoying themselves. His wife used to save the change until it would reach \$30 or \$40 and then she would spend it when necessary. Then there was this small change that he would donate to the needy and spend when urgent. All these monies have to go into that box now, the T.V. box. He watches T.V. and after 15 minutes it automatically turns off.

He wants to watch the continuation. Finally he has to borrow from friends to switch the T.V. on again. When his neighbour comes over to his home, he would not ask him to turn the T.V. on, he would pay himself and watch the T.V. The capitalist is constantly sucking the money of his neighbours friends and relatives. The capitalist does not ask his workers for money. It is free. But what has happened? The worker possesses one of the biggest signs of aristocracy. He owns one of the best, most luxurious, most beautiful and most prestigious tool of a comfortable life in his house. Well, he thanks God that he is better off now. He could not even have dreamt of it.

### Imperialism

He can now own a car in the same way. Credit purchasing can do miracles in life. Without increasing the standard of living or purchasing power or class difference, it gives him false sense of purchasing power, and aids consumption. Loan, bank credits and credits given by the Westerners to the Easterners have a dual purpose. First, these backward people should not become so poor that the list of our goods for consumption be drastically reduced. If those people were to become very poor then they would be unable to buy our goods, thus we would lose our market. On the other hand, they should not become so rich as to become able to produce. They should be in between. That is why we would give them a false sense of purchasing power. How? One way is through "credits" We even have to be a little lenient. For example we used to take uranium and diamonds from Tanzania at \$5 a gram. Now we will increase it to \$7 a gram. This



means that we have shown good intentions and at the same time we have increased their purchasing power and they become satisfied.

This increase in purchasing power would create a bigger market for our goods. As we donate \$2 as an increase for the price of diamonds, tomorrow we will witness that the sales curve of our capitalistic goods to the same country has increased by 30%. This would make the poor country happy because, politically, their pride is saturated as well as socially and economically. They would serve progress. At the same time their unhealthy consumption has increased because they can now buy more. This is an unauthentic feeling. All hopes given to them that they would become an advanced country and would no longer belong to the backward and exploited class are nothing but empty words. Worthless. Now this deprived class — the proletariat — can go to the best aristocratic cinema as well as to the beach even though it is lower than the aristocratic beach. But it does not make much difference. Aristocrats own a lot of commodities and they also go to the beach anyway. We will give him cars, refrigerators, T.V. and etc. which are the symbols of the bourgeoisie class, thus making him feel well-off without having changed his class status

### Social Security

Another factor is the social advantages, such as insurance, social security, wages, etc. A portion of each of

the above is given to them by capitalism. This is where capitalism is really making an investment. It is no more very unhealthy. He is investing. **An uncertain future is one of the conditions which would cause the worker to revolt.** He always feels, "I am getting old in this place and if tomorrow my hand is chopped off, I would be fired. Well if I became poor, old, and disabled, then my wife, my child and all of them will be left hungry. We have no kind of security. He has full dominance over our fate and can fire us at his will."

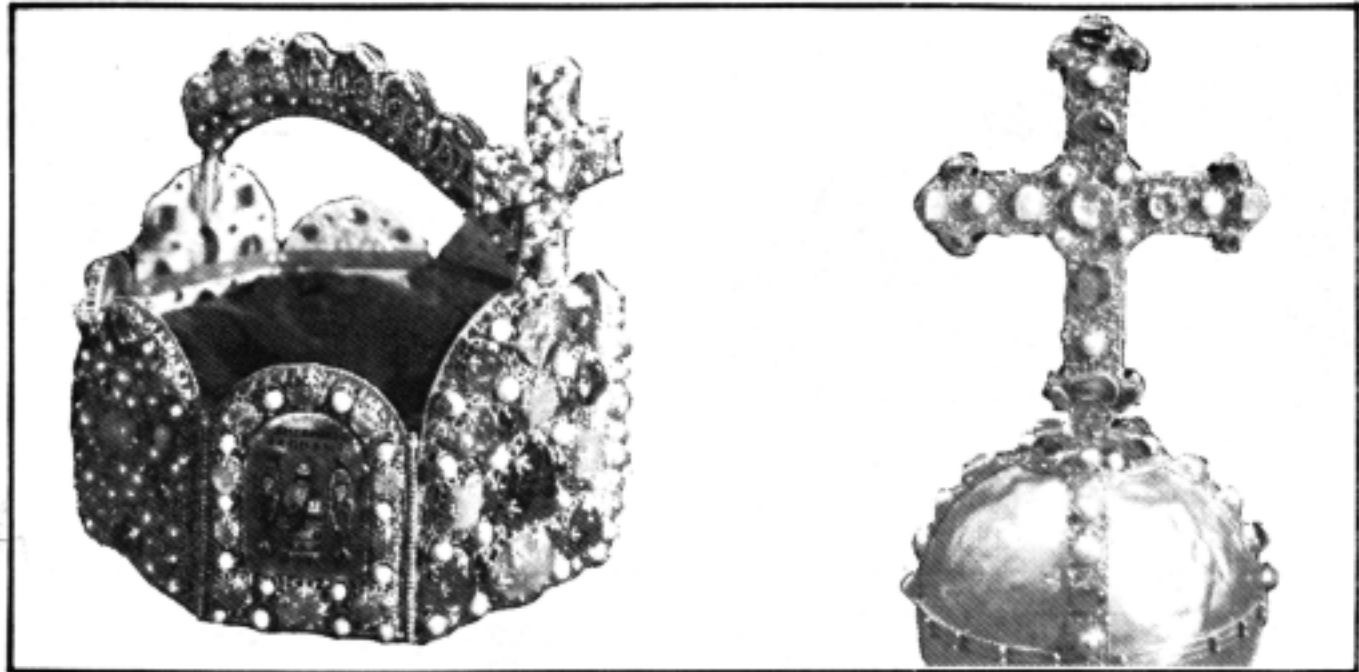
**Therefore, the capitalist, through giving the worker class security and assurances, abolishes this kind of instability, insecurity and wavering.** So much rest for this period of work or this much to be paid as retirement benefits are some of the forms of the class security given by the capitalist to the exploited class. He says that I will deduct 5% for his social insurance while he deducts 10% and explains that the difference is to provide him with life insurance. "We will provide him with whatever he likes such as insurance and social security even for his wife and child. We will pay him \$35 for every newborn child." All these are the alms given to him. **But the amount that the capitalist invests in him causes his anger to be abolished for good. This state of contradictions is replaced with a state of competition.**

### Religion

What has changed? The change is that in the capitalistic system of the 19th century, the proletariat had no hope and all the factors helped in belittling him. **The church used to say, "You are born so, God has made you just like this. Jesus Christ is Kind. He has wished and made you so. You have to be like this. Religion would say, on behalf of God, that you have to remain in this state of deprivation. You are created and have to live in this way, just as the capitalist and the well-to-do feudal lords are created to live the way they are living.** As a whole, God has separated you and the well-to-do class by a heavy, large and invincible wall."

All these factors had made him hopeless. All philosophers, socialists, writers and poets were at the service of the capitalist. Everyone obeyed him





*The imperial crown and Orb of the Holy Roman Empire. The biggest share of capitalism in the West belongs to the Roman Catholic Church.*

in order to remain in their present state in the name of being virtuous and ethical. If not they would be called sinners, spoiled people who ignore other people's rights. They would obey him in the name of spirit, religion, ethics or anything else. They were helpless. Therefore, the more the aristocratic class showed itself to be superior, to have advantages, to be well-to-do, eager for money and the exploiter of this class, the less they would think of breaking this wall and sharing a little of their life and alms with the deprived class.

But in the present class cycle, when the proletariat obtains class awareness at any cost, they would realize that what all the capitalists has said on behalf of God, was what they had previously said about the gods. The proletariat would then abandon religion.

As you see in the struggles in the 19th century **the worker supports materialism because religion was totally at the service of and dedicated to the Gods of gold and power.** Generally, gold, power and fraud were all prefabricated. As we see, the biggest share of capitalism in the West belongs to the Roman Catholic Church. The biggest investments in the world belongs to them. Thus, it was not at the service of the people. This is why workers revolts against religion and this kind of class system. They knew that their only salvation is through revolution, through breaking and destroying everything. They had nothing to lose.

**Now capitalism realizes that it should give something to the worker so that if there were a revolution, he would envy its loss.** So, the feeling of possessing something he likes, has made his life more comfortable and hold him from taking any risks. **Also, when a worker owns something, he becomes conservative. While he may keep his revolutionary ideas if he wishes to, he is allowed to do anything in his revolutionary thoughts.**

This same proletariat and revolutionary class in 19th century France, who saw that, that year they were

working seven hours as compared to eight hours the year before, started a guild struggle and later went on strike. He was able to reduce his working hours half an hour and increase his wages. He was becoming better off. He obtains better social security, better and larger insurance, he becomes better off, and receives more possibilities and can go on more strikes. **Capitalism offers him a syndicate as a break to go on a strike for a couple of hours when he becomes very angry. Finally they would compromise with their leaders and solve all the difficulties.** I would like to mention the logic and rationale which lies behind such reasoning. That is to say, the disappearance of 'the difference in consumption for the purpose of safeguarding the differences in production, ownership and classes'. **This is when 'capitalism becomes rational.' In other words, capitalism's tactic is to donate a little to saturate the worker. Now that the worker owns something, he is no longer willing to run a risk of losing it whether in a revolution, rebellion or uprising.** This might even kill his class awareness because he can see that he possesses whatever his boss owns. **But as I said before, while he own nothing, he is apt to break, destroy, blow up, revolt, adjust and abolish the capitalist society.**

He is prone to destroy the system in order to own something. He sees that he is gradually being given things like wages, syndicates, insurance, beaches, refrigerators, etc. He feels that hope is replacing disappointment in him — disappointment because by protecting capitalism and the class system, he can have a human life while he was disappointed and would have ended up in a historical revolution. But this process of gradual donation to the worker or creating a false feeling of being well-to-do or granting him a syndicate instead of an ideology<sup>5</sup> will make a worker hopeful. During these seven or eight years that he has begun to become better off, he has also become hopeful that if he is able to preserve his present situation, by means of struggling through his

syndicate, or through gaining more power, then he will acquire more and more advantages. That is how hope makes him feel relieved. The false feeling of being well-to-do makes him feel satisfied and his showing off by differences between consumption, or the disappearance of all the pride and the aristocratic tendencies of luxury during the bourgeois period, which would then reduce the contradictory crises. And the syndicate will find their way to divert all social complexes.

### Awakening of Capitalism

**Indeed this is the 'awakening of capitalism,' that is to say that through their tactics, capitalism tries to invest even from its own pocket.** During the bourgeoisie period, it desires to obtain the absolute maximum profit. **But capitalism, in order to destroy the revolution, spends a little and gives away some of its profit.** For example, on a 20% profit he is willing to give away about 5% of it in favour of the workers or for the sake of the society in order to destroy the revolution. He foresaw that if the extent of exploitation was to be continued as it did during the 19th century, there would have been a revolution ten years from then, **so he has to reduce the prevailing extent of exploitation in order to postpone the revolution.** He gives away a little in favour of his enemy in order to delay the revolution to 20 years, 30 years, 1000 years or even to completely destroy it. We can also see that he has also been successful to a certain extent.

But what is the main reason for such a success? Unfortunately, even Marx, who was at the peak of his reputation and thinking in the second half of the 19th century, has not referred to this problem. It is astonishing and unbelievable that he who is so sensitive and observant about the exploitative relationship between the proletariat and his employer in the capitalistic system does not refer to that problem. It would be acceptable from such and such a French, Dutch, or English capitalist in the 19th century but not from Marx, who is so considerate about the problems of brotherhood, class system, exploitation, the rights of the deprived class and the proletariat. He who has depicted the most profound problems on the basis of economic exploitation, he who more than anybody else has worked towards the creation of self awareness of the proletariat and the deprived class which is the main factor of awareness and consciousness as far as the exploitation and class system is concerned. I Wonder why<sup>6</sup>

### Colonialism

During the periods 1850, 1860 and 1870, the most dreadful forms of murder and animal-like exploitation of Latin America, Africa and Asia existed. **That is to say that the animal-like imperialism, similar to a wolf attacking people of the third world**



-today's term bit and killed them. They destroyed everything, such as culture, morale, ethics and normal life. <sup>7</sup> They would formally mass murder, plunder our best cultural and artistic works as well as all of our raw materials. Often they would take a group of local workers with themselves.

All African tribes were captured as slaves in the worst animal-like forms. Then while taking them to the U.S.A., they would put these slaves in a special way in their huge vessels. <sup>8</sup> How is it that under such conditions where a group of African labourers on coffee fields had a maximum to eat in order to survive, had no clothes, and under such conditions here all of the East, Africa, and Latin America was plundered in order for the West's capitalism to be created, those most progressive of all groups, in the West during this period, who struggle more than others for human rights, against exploitation and class differences and who show more sensitivity and who even fight for it, never talk or say a word about the contradictions the horrible imperialistic differences, just like the relationship between a wolf and a sparrow? **It even astonishes me that in the West's analysis of capitalism is no such problem as plundering of the East's raw materials.** Why don't they even mention this? **Why do they not discuss the problem of where all the capital accumulated now in England, Germany, and France with which they exploit the European worker, came from?** Marx says that this capital should be put at the service of the proletarian class, or at the service of the people's government. What belongs to the people, to the governments of Europe and must be nationalized? As a whole, to whom should it belong?

### "Third World"

I undoubtedly believe in the antagonism existing between the employer and proletarian relationship. I believe in it globally as well as scien-

tifically. Especially since it is the word of the day in Europe and a group for struggle and revolution that the proletarian class is invited to revolt. There is no revolt. There is no misunderstanding between the relationship of the proletariat and the capitalist. **But the real problem is whom does this capital belong to? Where has it come from?** Despite the fact that I believe infinitely in Mr. Schwartz whom you have seen me mentioning often and although I believe in his scientific thought and social path — he is also the founder of the three party system, that is to say the united Socialist parties <sup>9</sup> — very very astonishingly he says that capitalism had become rationalized and gives away a portion of it's capital and profit to the proletarian class, and creates a bourgeois-looking life for him. **The reason why Marx's prediction was not realized and the revolution in Europe was delayed and the proletariat does not possess that revolutionary state of being is firstly due to the awakening of the capitalist class and secondly the proletariat becoming bourgeois-like. They look and live like the bourgeoisie.**

I ask the question, why do you not contribute this to the awakening of capitalism, a result of which it has been able to provide ample possibilities such as salary, social advantages, social security, insurance, purchasing power, price reductions etc. Where has the capitalist acquired all this money from? Is it due to its awakening? Or is it because the third world is sinking into continuous poverty and increasing misery and becoming more backward in order for your proletariat class to be changed to the bourgeoisie? Which one is the reason?

Mr. Yves Lacoste is then author of a book entitled 'The Geography of Hunger' which has recently been translated. He compares the prices of all the raw materials exported from backward countries to Europe during 20 to 30 years in exchange for already cooked and made com-

modities. <sup>10</sup> The result of this comparison is incredibly grotesque.

If his research and method were not written as a world reknown economist we could not even think that all the consumer goods exported from Europe to our countries during the last 20 or 30 years often had a 300%, 400% to 600% price increase. On the other hand, the raw material which they receive from us, Africa, Asia, and many Latin American countries, contrary to the demand and supply rules which state price increases in every 30 or 40 years, some of these raw material curves had small slopes and some none.

The price of most of the exported raw materials from the backward countries to Europe had declined compared to 30 years ago. It has often been halved.

Contrary to the last analysis of the most highly ranked, intellectual, progressive, and revolutionary, socialist, <sup>11</sup> which says that it is the self rationalization of capitalism which has destroyed the revolution and has made the proletariat become bourgeois I believe that the only thing we can pay them with in order to guarantee their exports, is our poverty.

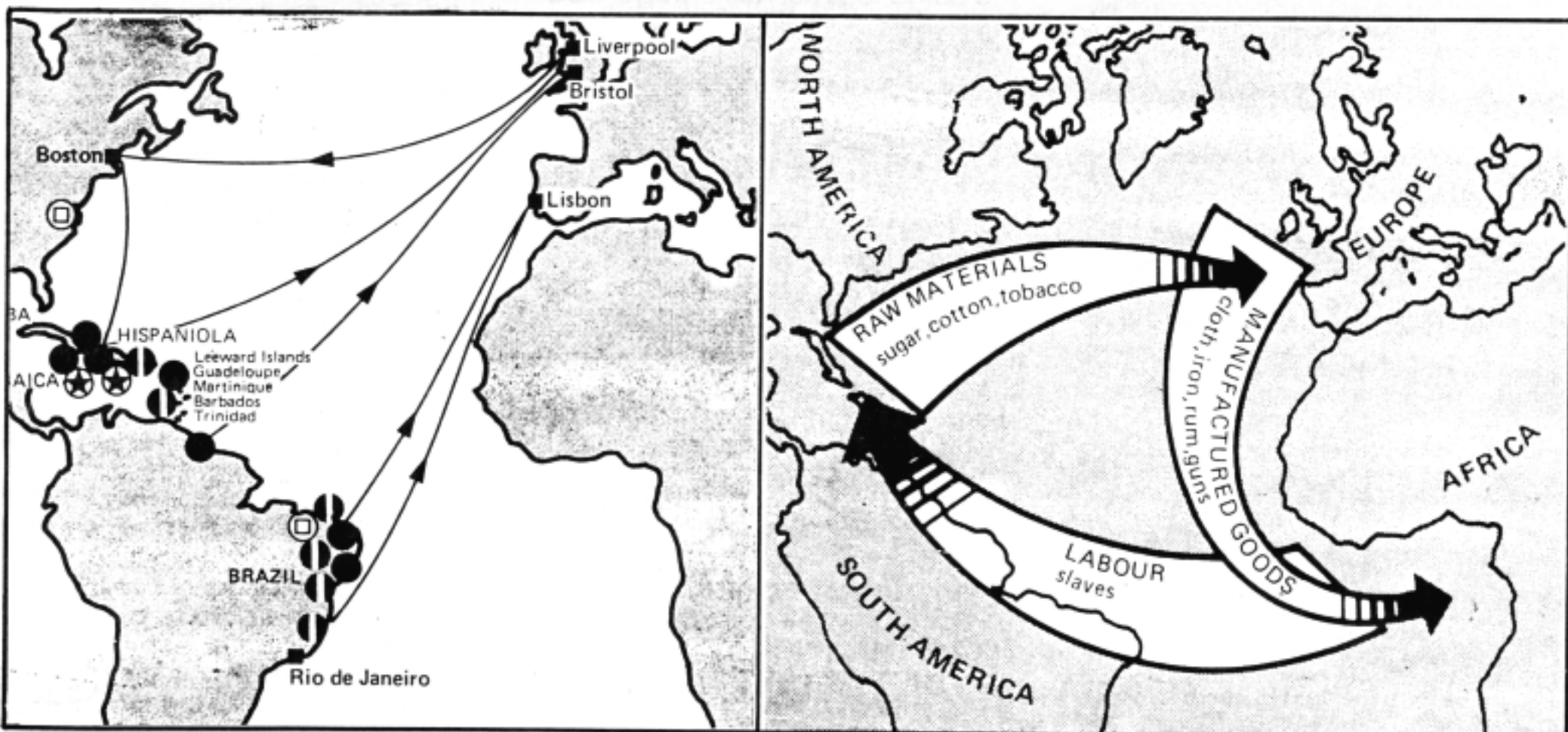
#### The 'Triangular trade'

*Ships sailed from the 'mother country' with manufactured goods, which they exchanged on the West Coast of Africa for slaves.*

*The cargoes of slaves were taken across the Atlantic (the journey became known as the 'Middle Passage') and sold in the West Indies, North and South America, to work on the plantations there.*

*The same ships were then loaded with the products of the plantations, i.e. food, luxuries and raw materials, which were taken back and sold in the 'mother country'.*

*Thus the slave trade, or the 'triangular trade' as it became known, made profits at each of these three stages — profits which went to the merchant capitalists who financed it, and which made seaport towns like Bristol and Liverpool very wealthy indeed.*





# Footnotes Referred to in CAPITALISM WAKES UP

1. As this is neither a theoretical problem nor a scientific theory or ideology, but rather a real and contemporary problem which deals especially with the fate of the third world in which we live, it must be discussed thoroughly and independently.

2. In other words capitalism is becoming wise. Why? "Because", explains a writer, "as much as Marxism has helped the awareness and self-consciousness of the proletariat it has indirectly helped the awareness and self-consciousness of capitalism."

3. Even though the external factor of the problem of self awareness is objective — the problem of self-awareness is a subjective matter.

4. A friend of mine used to narrate that someone was complaining about poverty, hardships in life, debts, and deprivation. He believed that his life was worsening everyday. Then, he would reflect a moment and say, "We still have to thank God that in this summer heat I am not ill because if I were ill then the doctor would tell me to go and sleep close to the heater then what would I have done! Thank God that I am not ill and I am leading a good life."

5. And to destroy an ideology, he creates syndicalism to protect the worker's profits within his guild than in his society or his class and solve the problem in relation to the capitalist, or to enforce it upon the capitalist. But it will not endanger the capitalistic system. It will rather put so and so capitalist or factory owner under pressure and divert the direction of the flow.

6. The reason I say "no" — in relation to the same ground on which the problem is posed — is because my judgement would then differ, because problems are always to be tackled from all its aspects in order to get the right result, not on the same grounds on which the problem is posed, because then the judgement would be different.

7. The capitalist, in order to make his factory run, would even destroy all or half of the agriculture, the normal life of its people, forest and even the natural resources, water and the animals of that state or country in order to employ a cheap work force for his factory.

8. In order to place 1200 slaves in a vessel with a capacity of 300 men, in order to deliver to the U.S.A. about 650 to 700 living slaves, it would still be advantageous for example to place them in a way that even if 300 out of 1000 of them die, there would still be 700 to deliver alive to the U.S.A.

9. He and his group divorced from the French Communist Party due to the latter's choice of very inhumane and reactionary directions regarding the problem of Algeria and Hungary. The French Communist Party has also compromised with the capitalists and they had all become one. Djimole used to be in a Socialist Party. Maurice Tours was the head of the Communist Party. Djimole was the person who compromised with Israel and hence attacked Egypt. He had compromised with England too. Yet he was a socialist. Also, Maurice Tours owned a Villa and a castle near to Brigitte Bardot's villa. They (Mr Schwartz and his group) left the Communist Party and became Free Socialist and Intellectuals who had no obligation towards the big powers and foreign governments. They formed a very clean and clear-cut intellectual group which had no engagement towards the big powers, but which felt obligation towards the proletarian class.

10. Very well, I give wool and he makes it into clothes. Thank God, he makes us wear new clothes! He is making us civilized!

11. Thus they say: the revolution in Europe is destroyed, postponed or deferred due to the fact that the capitalist has become a sociologist, aware, wise, and has understood that he has to share a portion of his profits with the proletariat. He has to create a oriented life and thus change the proletariat to a bourgeoisie as a result of which the workers become conservative and attack and oppose any revolutionary risk and class consciousness.

## CONTINUED FROM PAGE 20

anti-BC stance of the SAM & DC must add grist to the mill of those who are arguing for the isolation of white South Africa in the medical world.

The inquiry into the Biko doctors and the promise of the Attorney Generals of the Cape and the Transvaal to open a murder docket for the Biko killings if new evidence comes to light will certainly not take the place of the Azanian equivalent of the Nuremberg Trial. **Colonel Goosen was, after all, promoted to the rank of Brigadier in 1982- we are quite convinced that this was remuneration for the murder of Steve Bantu Biko.**

AZAPO maintains that nothing has changed in racist South Africa since Makana was dragged to Robben Island. Our advice to the South African medical practitioner is:

### PHYSICIAN, HEAL THYSELF

which means that any physician truly committed to his profession needs to dedicate himself to the struggle for national emancipation.

## CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

Frelimo represented working class interests and visualised the structuring of a socialist state. Its violent pro-capitalist neighbours — South Africa and Rhodesia — subverted Frelimo's attempts at carrying out its aims. Ever since Frelimo has taken over the country it has never stopped being at war with the counter-revolutionary forces which were backed by Rhodesia and South Africa. Imperialism has had a centuries-old grip on Mozambique, but Frelimo has made honest efforts at trying to get rid of it. Frelimo's association with the 73-year-old African National Congress which claims to be in opposition to the Botha regime, has antagonised South Africa and led to frequent raids by the South African Defence Force (SADF) into Mozambique. In the few years that Mozambique has been in power, it has not been able to establish a socialist structure. It is the height of arrogance to condemn a hard-pressed Frelimo and not give Mozambique a chance.

Zimbabwe is only five years old yet it comes under the wrath of this little intellectual group. If they had bothered to read the history of Zimbabwe before commenting, they would have known that Robert Mugabe's Zanu (PF) was forced by the frontline states to negotiate with the Smith regime and sign the Lancaster House "agreement". That "agreement" has prevented Zanu (PF) from implementing socialist structures in the country from 1980 to 1990. Zanu (PF) leaders have said frequently that they would like to scrap the

"agreement", but cannot because they are bound to their promise to let matters ride for 10 years. Zanu (PF) should be judged by what it does in the years after 1990 and not before. Mugabe is not a populist leader. He was one of the main proponents of working class interests during the bush war and in the years that followed he has sanctioned and established socialist structures in spheres that the "agreement" allowed him to. If you are looking for populist and anti-working class leadership in Zimbabwe you should cast focus no further than Mugabe's political opponent — Joshua Nkomo.

The intellectual attitude that does not take into cognisance the reality of this country shines through in the slogan used by the group: "international working class solidarity". I say so because nowhere in the letter was there reference to the "black" working class. The "international working class" perspective reads that the interests of the white working class and the black working class are one and the same and that the two groups form a monolithic working class entity with common interests. No cognisance is taken of the privileged position of the white working class in this country and the fact that the Botha regime receives much of its support from this class when acting against the black working class.

The intellectual arrogance comes through again with the call for a united workers' front because it is plain to see that from the attitude of this group they want to impose leadership on that front. It seems their arrogance will not allow independent working class leadership to form.

What we need is working class aspirations expressed through a socialist party. Once that party has achieved its takeover of this country, we will establish an assembly, an international solidarity and a workers' front expressing itself through socialist state formations.

**PAUL ALBERT**

Bosmont, Johannesburg

### CAL

• I understood the main impetus of the National Forum to be a united front of Black organizations. It is obvious that the broad liberation movement is riven by hegemonic conflicts and "ideology" is used to mask the attempts by ambitious politicians (as against revolutionaries) to create and fortify their own little fiefdoms.

It is equally obvious to me that every people's organization uses the language and ideas implicit in the BC philosophy while addressing the masses in the ghettos, the factories and the farms although they adopt an apologetic and submissive posture at the tea parties in Lower Houghton or La Lucia or the cheese-and-wine "dos" at Rondebosch or at Sandton.



The idea of the Black family getting together behind closed doors, sorting out its common problems and forging a principled unity which would inevitably result in unity in action was the motive force behind the NF. It is true that this motive force underpins the BC approach.

I must say that I have been extremely disappointed that the NF has developed into a talk shop for intellectuals, some of whom are under the impression that the liberation struggle begins in Athlone and ends in Kuils River. There are valuable lessons to be learnt from the All African Convention (AAC) called by the ANC and the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM) which developed therefrom.

The hysterical colour-blind orthodox "Marxists" in the Cape Action League (CAL) have both historical roots and tactical affinities with NEUM. And the most dangerous thing about NEUM is that it tends to ossify ideology and encourage interminable witch-hunts which divide and sub-divide the liberation movement *ad infinitum, ad nauseam*.

The dangers which I refer to must have been obvious to members of the BCM at the 2nd National Forum in Lenasia and the 3rd National Forum in Athlone when CAL attempted to thrust their white friends and/or members on to the BCM. Here was CAL attempting to subvert the very basis on which the NF was founded!

Evidence in black and white (my apologies to CAL) of CAL's mischievous intentions are to be found in the February 1985 edition of *Work in Progress* (WIP Number 35). I call attention to the following:

(a) Armien Abrahams, CAL's media officer, claims that the idea of a "national political organization" was mooted to AZAPO members in early November 1982 (WIP at 19). This must take the cake for crass arrogance at worst or stuporous ignorance at best, for AZAPO is the "national political organization"!

(b) Na-iem Dollie admits that the NF idea can be traced to a resolution at an AZAPO Congress, but ascribes it to "the December 1982 Congress" (WIP at 24). AZAPO held no Congress in December 1982. The NF idea can be traced to Resolution 9 at the February 1983 Congress of AZAPO (see *Mobilize and Consolidate* at 40f).

(c) Abrahams prefers AZAPO because of its "consistent anti-collaboration position" (WIP at 21) and remarks: "To work with them, despite differences on some issues is better than giving up our stand on anti-liberalism and going into the UDF". Far from working towards principled unity, CAL seem to be a bunch of opportunists and political mavericks.

(d) CAL has a pedagogical approach: their aim, it seems, is to teach AZAPO dialectics. They ap-

pear quite convinced that they have nothing at all to learn from the BCM. Here are a few tell-tale remarks:

- "At present the main impetus for the NF project comes from AZAPO and other black consciousness-oriented organisations on the one hand, and a number of other *explicitly* socialist-inclined organisations on the other." (WIP at 24: my emphasis). Needless to say, AZAPO's commitment to socialism emerges from its stated positions and from its revolutionary practice.

- "BC has started accepting ideas of class, although in a way that we do not necessarily accept." (*Op cit* at 21) For the information of CAL, the pre-1977 BCM had long started accepting ideas of class analysis, and the BC position is informed by historical realities rather than by CAL's approval or disapproval. The papers at the Convention at St Ansgar's on 28-31 April 1978, when AZAPO was still in its nascent stage, already hammered home the idea of the Black working class as the vanguard of the struggle.

- "(The BCM) is a young movement, it hasn't got any sacred cows which it can't reject... (it is) very willing to review anything." (*Ibid*) This is true, but the fundamental tenets of BC have been subjected to rigorous appraisal within the BCM. The innuendo that we need to be prodded into reviewing positions must be rejected with utter contempt.

- "Before the Azanian Manifesto, BC had not explicitly come out against imperialism. To that extent it was always capable of being described as a potentially liberal organisation." (*Ibid*) The implication is that the Manifesto is a CAL creation, which is sheer fantasy. That the BCM has long been pitted against Imperialism, Colonialism and Neo-colonialism is so trite a position that one wonders whether CAL even knows the basic principles of BC or has any idea at all of the history of the BCM.

- "The Black Consciousness organisations are in many cases mass based, even though the leadership is still largely in the hands of petty bourgeois individuals." (*Ibid*) One wonders whether occupation devoid of consciousness inform CAL's definitions of concepts such as "worker", "bourgeoisie" and "petty-bourgeoisie".

- "One of CAL's practical contributions to struggle has been... theoretical input which has filtered through to other organizations." (*Op cit* at 23) Some-

one needs to inform CAL that dialogue is a two-way process and that no organization possess a monopoly on wisdom or truth.

(e) There are attempts at identifying a "left wing" in AZAPO which is informed by "more explicitly socialist ideas" and a "right wing" which asserts that "the main objective of the liberatory struggle is the reconquest of the land by the black people of Azania." (WIP at 24) How this breath-taking analysis is arrived at boggles the mind. BC fuses the Social Question with the National Question, it does not graft "a class analysis onto its perception that colour rather than class is the main contradiction in South African society." (*Ibid*) It is a crime in alliance politics to try and divide the membership of a fraternal organization into one's preconceived categories. It is a crime in journalism to present mere gossip as well-researched conclusions. Suffice to say that repossession of the land and socialism are both fundamental to AZAPO's Programme.

(f) Dollie takes an impression that the Black Allied Mining and Construction Worker's Union (BAMCWU) is part of the BCM's "left-wing" to throw left-handed praise at BAMCWU. BAMCWU is an integral part of the BCM and its perspective in issues is informed by the broad provisions of BC and the general direction of its mother-body, AZAPO.

(g) On the question of white participation, Neville Alexander's view that committed whites must be allowed to participate while the leadership of the struggle must remain with black working class (which is nothing but a spin-off of the classical NEUM line!) is classified "leftist". By implication, BC's exclusion of whites is considered rightist! (WIP at 25) This arrogant labelling of a scientific position has no role in alliance politics and underlines CAL's "Oracle of Delphi"-type approach.

(h) Dollie sees the "historical hostility to 'white participation'" (WIP at 28) as a barrier to forging links between the BC unions and the "non-racial" unions. Nothing describes better the opportunism of those who would like to make contacts with Black workers "from the top" while loudly subscribing to the principle of authentic leadership by the Black working class.

In my opinion, the broad direction of these comments suggests that the provincial CAL is riding on AZAPO's back. Surely AZAPO does not need additional burdens to its already devastating workload. My suggestion is to throw off all excess weight and concentrate on mobilizing and consolidating the revolutionary efforts of the Black working class.

**MARGARET MOLETE**  
Kroonstad



**Revolution is...**

revolution is...  
when the first ray of light  
slashes night and day asunder

revolution is...  
when a woman gives birth  
with her thumb raised high  
urging "Amandla!"

revolution is...  
when a child marches from a womb  
with a raised clenched fist  
saying "mama we are on our own!"

revolution is...  
when consciousness tears the mask  
hiding my sister's beautiful face  
redeeming her blackness

revolution is...  
when pick-axes and ploughs  
pause to determine the worth  
of sweat on labouring backs

revolution is...  
when a forest rises to sharpen  
its branches like pencils  
then poverty will inscribe  
the song of the river in ink



**Fragment 17**

in the sun  
the anger of the earth  
shaking the maroela trees

in the sun  
the anger of the trees  
hurling venomous flowers

in the sun  
the anger of the flowers  
breaking stubborn cataracts

in the sun  
in the anger of the cataracts  
splitting obdurate rivers

in the sun  
the anger of the rivers  
flooding forest fields

in the sun  
the anger of the fields  
spreading rapacious fires

in the sun  
the anger of the fires  
shuddering the grass roots

in the sun  
the anger of the grass roots  
awakening my country...

*tomorrow let no man say we were asleep*