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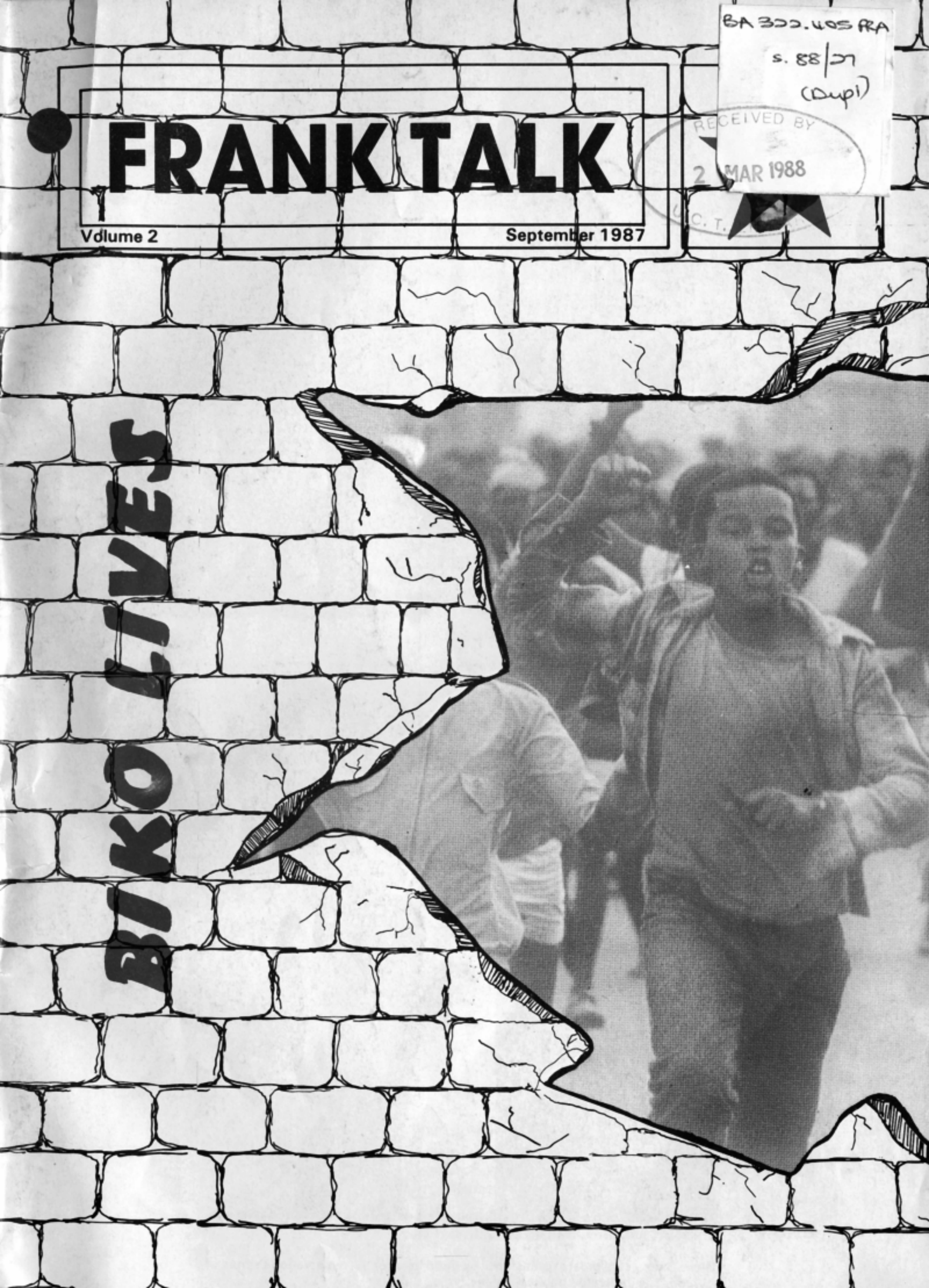
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# FRANK TALK

Volume 2

September 1987

**BIKO LIVES**





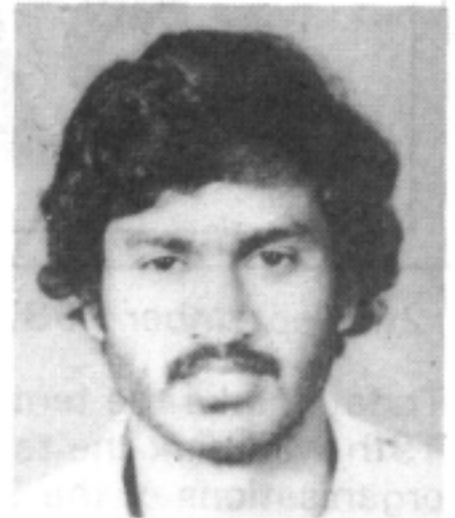
## \* Dedication \*



COMRADE VEDAN  
(1961 – 1985)

*This issue is dedicated to our 1984/85 Internal Secretary, Comrade Julie Vedan and our 1984/85 Circulation Manager, Comrade Siva Chetty who died in a car accident at Winburg in the Orange Free State in October 1985.*

*Phumulani Kahle, comrades: the blood, sweat and tears that you expended in building the Frank Talk Editorial Collective and advancing the freedom struggle will continue to inspire us and to spur us on.*



COMRADE CHETTY  
(1963 – 1985)

### FRANK TALK

- is a quarterly journal published by the *FRANK TALK EDITORIAL COLLECTIVE* ("the EC").
- is open to all those on the same side of the ramparts against settler-colonialism, imperialism and reaction and who are committed to the realisation of an anti-racist, socialist Azania.
- promises to be the most ruthless dissector of the records of the Azanian people and their struggle for liberation.
- is a forum for the exchange of views amongst the oppressed people in Azania.
- makes known the views of the oppressed and exploited on matters affecting them in Azania.
- contributes to the development of the BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS (BC) ideology in Azania.
- evaluates relevant philosophical approaches to South Africa's problems.
- gives critical support to the struggles of the oppressed and the exploited all over the world.
- requires *your* active support. Please send newspaper clippings, magazines, periodicals, books for review, photographs, graphics, cartoons, letters and help us in our funds drive.

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*Printed by:* impress — 38 Saville Street, Durban. Phone: 306-5785

All artwork in this issue unless otherwise indicated by Don Joseph.

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# FRANK TALK

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822642

12th September 1987

Today marks the tenth Anniversary of the murder of Bantu Steve Biko by Hitler in Pretoria. October 19th will mark the tenth anniversary of the bannings of the mainstream BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS organisations of the 70's.

The FRANK TALK EDITORIAL COLLECTIVE felt very strongly that the revival of our magazine on this auspicious occasion was a necessity.

Our readers will note that the last issue of *Frank Talk* appeared in February 1985.

Much has happened since then: the clash between the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF) and the AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION (AZAPO) rapidly took on the proportions of a civil war bleeding our gettoes, the State declared a partial state of emergency on 20th July 1985 and made this national on 12th June 1986, our Internal Secretary Comrade Julie Vedan and our Circulation Manager Comrade Siva Chetty met untimely and tragic deaths on October 10th, 1985 and October 12th 1985 respectively in a car accident which resulted in the protracted hospitalisation of our Chairperson, Comrade Imrann Moosa. And on the eve of Pee Wee's Botha's announcement of a clampdown on the alternative media (12th December 1986), our Resources Director, PATRICK MOODLY was held incommunicado by the Security Branch in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. He was released by a Court Order which declared his arrest and detention unlawful on 12th February 1987. Comrade Moodly has instituted action against the Minister of Law and Order for damages.

Through all this, the struggles of the toiling masses heightened and deepened at a breath-taking pace. The need for cogent analysis, for revolutionary theory and practice was never more acutely felt.

Before resuming publication, however, the Editorial Collective had to soberly take stock of itself in the context of the unfolding struggle.

The magazine *Frank Talk* was first published in March 1984 as the official organ of the Natal Region of AZAPO. By Volume 1 Number 4 (September/October 1984), its publication was authorized by AZAPO's National Publicity Secretary.

By February/March 1985 (Volume 1 Number 6), *Frank Talk* had ended its "first cycle".

The Editorial Collective has benefitted a great deal from its seminal experience: amongst other things, the back breaking grind of producing the magazine (along with its sister publications) requires tighter administration and control.

It is for these reasons that the *FRANK TALK EDITORIAL COLLECTIVE* structured itself into an independent body corporate, capable of taking its own decisions and meeting its own responsibilities, this year.

With its roots firmly in the Black Consciousness (BC) ideology, the COLLECTIVE will continue to hone a theoretical vision and practical path aimed at tearing asunder the horror of settler colonialism in our ravaged land.

We urge you to take part in the commemorations of the murder of Steve Biko and the bannings of BC organisations this year. And the most fitting way to commemorate these events is to contribute as much as you can to our Fund Drive. A single issue of *Frank Talk* costs R8 960 for printing alone. Postage runs over R8 000 a year, telecommunication over R6 000 a year, freight costs over R12 000 a year, legal costs over R17 000 a year, cost of resources and stationery over R12 000 a year and transport and office costs over R20 000 a year.

We urge you to *step forward now* and to help build and financially support the EDITORIAL COLLECTIVE by becoming a SUSTAINING SUBSCRIBER i.e. pledging an amount that you can afford to the COLLECTIVE every month, by publicizing the Fund Drive and initiating or being part of special fund-raising activities.

Don't pass this Letter by without sending us your contribution and/or pledge. Fill in the coupon below and send it to *Frank Talk*.

*yours for Azania*  
*THE Publisher*

### STOP PRESS!

*The racist regime has promulgated what amount to the harshest and the most savage press curbs yet, especially designed for the alternative media: see Government Gazette No. 10880, Pretoria, 28 August 1987, Proclamation R123.*

*The EC has taken legal advice: it is clear that these regulations do not affect Frank Talk yet, although existing security, media and emergency laws have in any event seriously restricted us.*

*Meanwhile, the Publications Control Board banned our sister publication Azanian Focus Volume 1 Number 5 for distribution via Government Gazette 10840 dated 24th July 1987 (Government Notice No. 1650) because:*

*"The publication contains a call to action and freedom.*

*The Cover says: "Let's make revolution."*

*Page 3 has the words: "We had vowed to let the blood of our brothers flow..."*

*The publication is potentially an incitement to violence.*

*The Committee decided that the publication is undesirable in terms of Section 47(2)(e) of the Publications Act, 1974."*

*The EC has instructed its legal team to appeal against this banning. Focus will henceforward be published by the AZAPO Central Committee and not the EC.*



TO: The Internal Secretary  
FRANK TALK EDITORIAL COLLECTIVE  
P.O. Box 19360  
DORMERTON  
4015  
South Africa

- Enclosed is my contribution of \_\_\_\_\_ to the Collective.
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*In this speech delivered on the occasion of Mozambique's "independence", the President of Mozambique - and FRELIMO, Samora Machel, sketches the character of the Mozambican "revolution". Machel died mysteriously in an air crash on 19 October 1986: significantly, the crash occurred within the borders of racist South Africa.*



**On Being Powerless in Power** 29  
*Mubashir Hasan was Minister for Planning and Finance in the Cabinet of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (December 1971 - October 1974) and former General Secretary of the Pakistan People's Party. This is the text of a speech*

*he delivered at the Bangladesh Economic Association, Dhaka on 17th December 1985.*

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*This is a modern operatta in one scene by El Salvador's foremost revolutionary poet (now deceased). The translation from the Spanish is by Richard Schaaf.*

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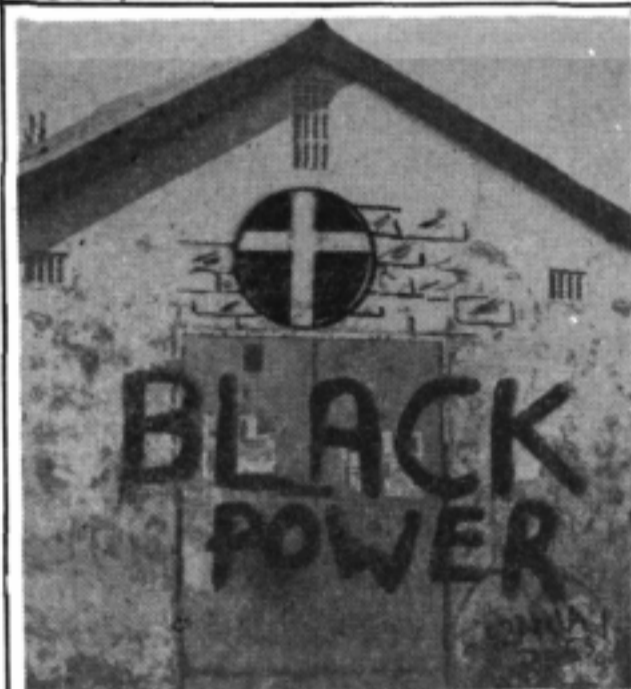
*This article was penned by a Minister who wishes to remain anonymous for professional reasons. It poses the provocative question whether a Black Theology has developed at all in occupied Azania or whether the rubric "Black Theology" cloaks apologies for the status quo.*

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*Steve Biko delivered this address to a Conference of Black Ministers of Religion organised by the BPC and held at Edendale in May 1972.*

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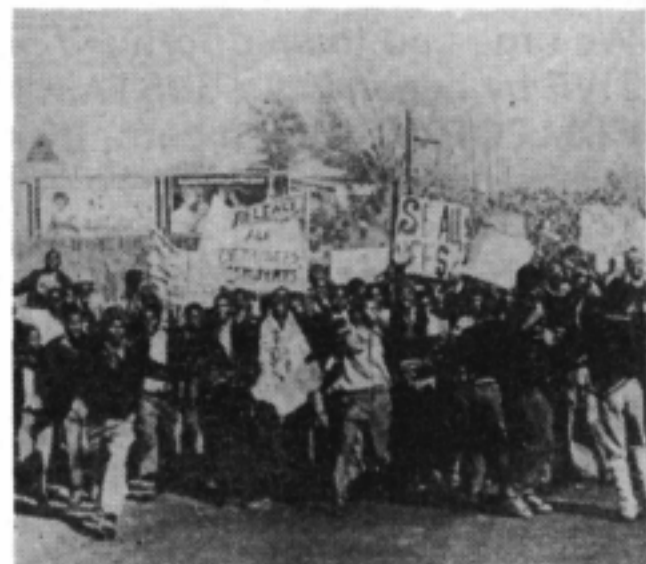
*This paper by Steve Biko first appeared as an eloquent contribution to Basil Moore's collection Black Theology: the South African Voice (C. Hurst & Co., London, 1973).*



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*The first task for revolution is to provide an antidote to fear. This article, penned by Steve Biko as "Frank Talk" in 1971, assumes renewed importance in the prevailing conditions of the state of emergency and massive repression.*

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## Abbreviations used:

ANC	African National Congress of South Africa
AZANYU	Azanian National Youth Unity
AZAPO	Azanian People's Organisation
AZASM	Azanian Student Movement
AZAYO	Azanian Youth Organisation
BC	Black Consciousness
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
BCM (A)	Black Consciousness Movement of Azania
BPC	Black People's Convention
BT	Black Theology
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
FRELIMO	Front for the Liberation of Mozambique
FTC	Frank Talk Collection
IDASA	Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IUEF	International University Exchange Fund
NACTU	National Confederation of Trade Unions
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NUM	National Union of Mineworkers
OPEC	Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress of Azania
PFP	Progressive Federal Party
PolEd	Political Education
UDF	United Democratic Front
UK	United Kingdom
US(A)	United States (of America)
SACP	South African Communist Party
SADCC	Southern African Development Co-Ordination Conference
SALB	South African Labour Bulletin
SASO	South African Students Organisation
WIP	Work in Progress

"So many deeds cry out to be done  
And always urgently  
The world rolls on  
Time presses  
Ten thousand years are too long  
*Seize the day, seize the hour.*"

It is now ten long years since our comrade, Bantu Steve Biko met his death while being transported — naked and manacled — on a 700 kilometre journey by his goalers.

It is also ten long years since our mainstream BC organisations — the Black People's Convention (BPC), the South African Student's Organisation (SASO), the South African Student's Movement (SASM), the Black Community Programmes (BCP), the National Youth Organisation (NAYO) and others were banned by Pretoria.

It was ten long years last year since the righteous anger of Azanian youth exploded in Soweto and sent reverberations throughout occupied Azania.

Ten long years ...

It is time for sober reflection, for steeling ourselves for the awesome tasks ahead.

The guiding spirit of the era is encapsulated in the slogan "Biko Lives !!!"

Steve Biko was a dreamer who believed seriously in his dream, who attentively observed life, compared his observations with his castles in the air and then worked conscientiously for the achievement of his fantasies.

We could do with more of Biko's kind of dreaming. Such dreaming is a veritable stimulus to complete extensive and strenuous work in all spheres of life.

In the last decade, we have witnessed thousands of acts of heroism by a people who have snatched the dreams of Biko and taken them as their very own.

The people have been motivated by the BC ideology. Ideologies are really sets of beliefs — as opposed to ideas: ideas are subject to scientific investigation while beliefs are accepted on faith — about society and politics which seeks to understand how the whole society is organised, what goals should be promoted and what methods should be employed to achieve them.

While such a set of beliefs takes into account a good many facts, it also usually shows the connection between these facts in a false light. In addition, ideologies are directly connected with the economic, social and cultural situation of specific

groups or classes.

In this light, then, we can see that the "spontaneous" happenings of the previous decade were both ideological in orientation and revolutionary in content.

At all stages, the people through their many organisations espoused an anti-colonial ideology aimed at achieving self-determination as an element of democracy.

The masses took up all the basic principles of the Black Consciousness Movement of the 70's: 1980 and 1984 saw Black student solidarity in action and thousands of strikes saw Black worker solidarity being employed, the principle of non-collaboration became a tangible force to such an extent that traitors of every ilk still find it most uncomfortable to live amongst us, there was an attempt to infuse all spheres of the Black experience with liberatory values (hence "alternative" or "people's" education, Contextual or Black Theology etc.).

What the people lacked was not ideology as such, but theoretical guidance.

Theory (or "scientific ideology") has a scientific orientation. It explains observed regularities through some kind of testing and verification.

A revolutionary theory is a scientific appreciation of society, its functions, contradictions and weaknesses, the peculiarities of the socio-economic and political structures, and the specific state of internal contradictions.

In short, a revolutionary theory is one that produces the concrete knowledge necessary to engage in efficient and successful revolutionary activity.

Revolutionary theory informs revolutionary action — it is a guide to action.

The article "Black Solidarity for a Socialist Azania: An Introduction" is offered to you as an incipient analysis for a revolutionary theory.

The writings of Steve Biko contained in this issue make the *Frank Talk* collection of his known written works complete (see page 21). If, however, you have more information on this please contact us immediately.

We are trying to piece together the history of all liberation movements and your help is urgently needed.



A Portrait by *Daily Dispatch* artist, Don Kenyon. It was published in full colour on the front page of the issue announcing Steve Biko's death

*Continued from Page 6*

It is not our intention to merely recycle these facts. We wish to know what it was like, how people felt. We wish to make the past vibrant for the present, to emotionally involve those of us who were not there. *And* to make us understand.

President Samora Machel died in an air crash within the borders of occupied Azania on October 19, 1986. We reproduce Machel's address to the Mozambican people on the occasion of Mozambique's independence in this edition.

In doing so, we are aware that the correctness of ideological and political line determines everything.

While Machel makes a great many incisive points, the fatal weakness in his analysis is that he seeks to "revolutionize" a state apparatus which he describes as "profoundly retrograde and reactionary" (see page 25).

We believe that the state apparatus must be smashed, broken up and replaced by a new state (see page 21).

Mozambique has seen the implementation of a

classic exercise in Bismarckian *realpolitik* in the treatment it has received at the hands of the South African imperialist quartermaster.

Just as Bismarck's "foreign adventures" in the 1870's were aimed at establishing Prussian hegemony in Germany, South Africa aims to tie Southern Africa into a single economic entity.

Mubashir Hasan's article reveals that it is not possible to maintain "independence" within the framework of underdevelopment without challenging imperialist trade relations. "Non-alignment" becomes a mere cloak for increasing dependence upon Western capitalist countries and their international credit agency, the IMF.

The article "Black Theology — Opiate or Material Force?" is a pathbreaking analysis and is penned in the best *Frank Talk* tradition of "going against the tide."

Let us rededicate ourselves to BC and accept the responsibility to meet still greater challenges to make the further leaps required in the period ahead.



# BIKO LIVES!!!

BIKO LIVES!!! Two words slashed across a ghetto wall. A phrase that haunts the nights of South Africa's rulers. Reactionaries and opportunists of every stripe hope and pray that it will disappear under a rain of blood and the white-wash of reform. But it remains, bold and powerful; not a tired and worn out slogan but the battlecry of a generation whose hopes and aspirations are for revolution, for an end to all exploitation and oppression.

This September marks the tenth anniversary of the brutal murder of Steve Biko by the South African state. Biko was beaten to death by the police while in detention. His so-called crimes were the ideas he espoused and developed, ideas that took root among the Azanian people and were turned into the material reality of the Soweto Uprising.

The decade since Biko's murder has been one which has shaken the foundations of settler colonial rule and imperialist domination in occupied Azania — years of intense rebellion punctuated by ever briefer periods of lull. It has been an era born of the ideas and the movement unleashed by Biko. And there is no greater testimony to the continuing importance and relevance of the revolutionary spirit of Steve Biko and its influence among the masses than the flames that erupted with the Rand Revolt on September 3, 1984 and that have engulfed the entire country over the last three years.

The commemorations of Bantu Steve Biko should by no means be confined to the honouring of a martyr. Instead, it will be much more fitting if this occasion is seized upon to rededicate ourselves to the cause of liberating Azania. And, a crucial part of this process should be a critical examination of the current situation and the road forward, drawing inspiration and guidance from the revolutionary stand and spirit of Steve Biko.

## **Genuine Leadership versus Capitulation**

An overview of the situation in Azania today shows both promis-

ing and some very troubling developments.

For the last few years the Azanian people have shown in their millions that they are more than willing to take on and battle the regime and its imperialist backers. They have heroically sacrificed on every front. Yes, for some it has been out of sheer desperation but many, many others have been moved to rebel by a spontaneous and raw yearning for liberation. At the same time, these very favourable conditions have essentially been left at the raw and spontaneous level and, especially under severe state repression, a certain amount of demoralization and exhaustion has set in among the masses, however temporary it may prove to be.

In trying to explain this phenomenon there is a disturbing tendency by the various organisations who claim to be the leadership of the struggle to point the finger everywhere but where it belongs. Perhaps the most commonly heard excuse has been that the state of emergency and other forms of state repression make it impossible to move things beyond the spontaneous stage. Some have even found solace in blaming the masses themselves for their supposed "backwardness", "lack of consciousness" and susceptibility to misdirection and "mob psychology". What sickening condescension and haughty paternalism!

If the truth be told, these and the multitude of other excuses currently making the rounds these days fall far wide of the mark in explaining why the situation has not progressed further than it has.

Certainly the state of emergency and other state repression has made things far more difficult and risky than in "normal times" — whatever "normal times" means in our society. But surely this is not the first country in the world where the state has utilized every means at its disposal to try to crush the struggle of the people.

In any event, simply because the state brings down repression does

not mean that this repression is insurmountable and that the only option is to capitulate to it.

Nor can the masses be blamed for the state of affairs that exists today: they have never been found wanting in their willingness to sacrifice and their desire to struggle for liberation.

*The problem has been the lack of any real vanguard revolutionary leadership both willing to and capable of uniting with the most advanced sentiments and actions of the masses and LEADING them in an overall revolutionary direction.*

It is a law of historical and social development that the masses of people on their own, no matter how heroically they struggle, will never develop revolutionary consciousness and action spontaneously.

Who among all of the various organisations has taken this law to heart? Who has been consistently out there among the masses mobilizing and organising around a revolutionary programme?

Has it not often been the case that the masses have been left to struggle on their own — and even then have left many of the organisations eating the dust behind them — while the so-called "vanguard organisations" have busied themselves clucking over how terrible the situation is and how the key task now is to "protect our structures" and positions.

No one is saying that there is never a time when it is necessary to temporarily retreat. But even when it is necessary to do so, it must be remembered that within this defensive posture there has to be elements of the offensive and work has to be done to turn the defensive into an overall offensive position. Otherwise the temporary retreat quickly degenerates into capitulation. What is more, it is not even all that clear that such a situation exists in occupied Azania today and it certainly did not exist when the partial state of emergency was

declared at midnight on 20 July 1985 and the masses were at the height of rebellion throughout the country.

**The Real Content of Biko Lives!** It is precisely within the context of the situation that exists today and in considering the questions raised above that the real content and importance of "Biko Lives!" emerges. What are the key lessons that Biko's life and ideas hold for the movement today?

One of the earliest and most important contributions of Biko and the BC Movement in general was bursting through the wall of intimidation and repression that had been built up around the Azanian people through the sixties. In the aftermath of the banning of the ANC and the PAC the regime unleashed very severe repression against the masses in general and against any and all revolutionary opposition that existed among the masses in particular. Politics, most especially revolutionary politics, was forced into a subterranean existence.

Biko and the BC Movement were not put off by this situation nor did they use it as an excuse for submission to the regime and complacency. Instead they attacked the monster head on. And while their understanding and the tools used were limited by the conditions at the time, especially by the fact that they had been born into a political vacuum, they did indeed attack the regime with unprecedented vigour and determination.

Biko realised that one of the first tasks that had to be accomplished in order to advance the struggle was to shake the fear and complacency out of the masses of Azanian people. Biko struggled for a correct assessment of the situation among the masses of Black people at the time and concluded that: "The type of black man we have today has lost his manhood. Reduced to an obliging shell, he looks with awe at the white power structure and accepts what he regards as the inevitable position. Deep inside his anger mounts at the accumulating insult, but he vents it in the wrong direction — on his fellow man in the township, on the property of black people. No longer does he trust leadership, for the 1963 mass arrests were blameable on

bungling by the leadership, nor is there any to trust. In the privacy of his toilet his face twists in silent condemnation of white society but brightens up in sheepish obedience as he comes out hurrying in response to his master's impatient call. In the home bound bus or train he joins the chorus that roundly condemns the white man but is first to praise the government in the presence of the police or his employers.... All in all the black man has become a shell, a shadow of a man, completely defeated, drowning in his own misery, a slave, an ox bearing the yoke of oppression with sheepish timidity." (*Steve Biko "We Blacks"*)

While Biko accepted this as a true picture of the mood of the masses, he did not capitulate in the face of this situation and use it as an excuse to do nothing.

Instead, he recognised that this "fear" was a two sided issue — that it was not only an obstacle to the advance of the struggle but that, since it was a product of the system, it also went hand in hand with a tremendous hatred for the regime. And this hatred provided fertile ground for revolutionary work.

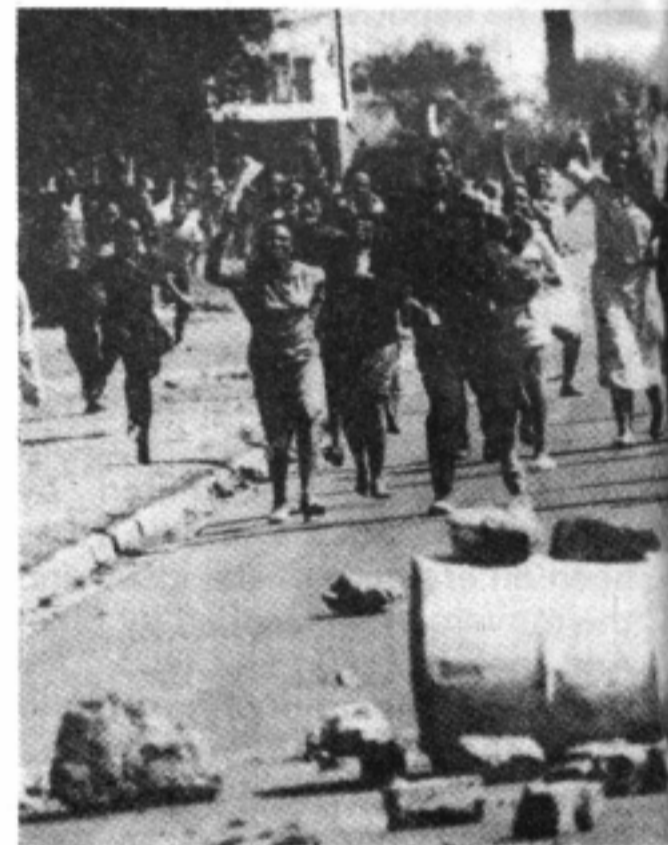
For Biko the task was not berating the masses for fear and inactivity or falling prey to misleadership, but for the leadership to actually play the role of leadership. The purpose of recognising the situation was to act on it and change it. "This is the first truth, bitter as it may seem, that we have to acknowledge before we can start on any programme designed to change the status quo. It becomes more necessary to see the truth as it is if you realise that the only vehicle for change are these people who have lost their personality."

For Biko the realization of the need for genuine leadership was not just idle chatter or a platitude reserved for scholarly treatises and political haymaking.

On the one hand he waged a relentless struggle against the white liberals who had seized upon the absence of revolutionary leadership among the Black people in the previous decade to declare themselves "the leaders" of the Black struggle in order to

keep them from attacking and challenging any of the fundamental contradictions in society.

At the same time he vigorously organised among the Black people themselves around all of the key issues facing the struggle for liberation. In opposition to white liberal "leadership" he urged Black people themselves to seize control of their destiny. He attacked and defeated all attempts by the regime to divide the masses of oppressed Azanian people. He led the way in fully developing the concept of one Azanian nation as opposed to the divide and rule schemes of the regime concentrated in the phoney "racial" divisions the government had tried to impose upon the Black people. And, he ruthlessly exposed and welded Black opposition to all of the various collaborationist



**IN ONE WORD "SOWETO"**

schemes and "solutions" propagated by the government and various agents.

Not surprisingly, Biko's activities elicited a severe response from the state. In 1973 he was banned and restricted to his hometown of King William's Town. In 1975 an extra clause was added to his banning order which prohibited him from engaging in political work for the Black Community Programmes. From August to December of 1976 he spent at least one hundred and one days in prison and was then released without being charged. Throughout these years he was also arrested and charged many times under security legislation but was never once convicted. And finally, on 18 August 1977 he was detained under sec-

tion 6 of the Terrorism Act. It was during this period of detention that Biko, held naked and manacled, paid the ultimate price for his revolutionary activity.

Biko's response to this state intimidation and repression holds valuable lessons for activists today. It stands as a direct slap in the face to all those who argue that state repression automatically precludes revolutionary work. No matter what the state brought down against him, Biko continued to push forward with his revolutionary work. During the time of his banning and restriction to King William's Town he organised the Eastern Cape branch of the Black Community Programmes. And moreover, his home, intended by the government to serve as an isolated prison of sorts, became more like a centre of political



discussion and ferment as young activists from all over the country continued to seek out Biko and discuss his ideas and various programmes of action.

One of the most powerful and inspirational examples of Biko's overall orientation towards state repression and all of the other risks and threats involved in struggling for liberation was captured in a statement Biko made during an interview conducted a few months before he was murdered. "You are either alive and proud or you are dead, and when you are dead, you can't care anyway. And your method of death can itself be a politicizing thing. So you die in the riots. For a hell of a lot of them, in fact, there's really nothing to lose — almost literally,

given the kind of situations that they come from. So if you can overcome the personal fear of death, which is a highly irrational thing, you know, then you're on the way." "On Death")

#### Is it Terrible or is it Fine?

While there are undoubtedly many more examples from Biko's life and actions that could serve as important lessons for the struggle today, there is one outstanding fact about Biko that can never be highlighted enough. Throughout his political life Biko never failed to stand solidly with the masses in rebellion. When he was once asked for proof of the success of Black Consciousness he proudly announced that such proof could be shown in one word — Soweto!

Far from being an empty or arrogant boast, this statement not only recognised the very real effect of BC on the masses of Azanian people but staunchly defended the actions of the masses against the oppressive system. Biko not only upheld the rebellions of the masses, he celebrated them as righteous festivals of the oppressed.

While Biko recognised the "untidy" and spontaneous character of these revolts, he did not use these weaknesses to scold the masses and suffocate their revolutionary enthusiasm but instead studied the weaknesses in order to correct them and transform them into ever more powerful tools in the hands of the people.

In the final analysis it must be said that Biko and the BC Movement not only stood with the masses in the abstract, in a very real sense they **taught** the masses of Azanian people to dream the wild and crazy dreams of liberation. More than that, they boldly stepped forward to lead the people in acting upon those dreams, to reach out and seize the future. And in doing so, they helped to create the conditions necessary for many thousands more Bikos to rise up out of the struggle and lead the masses in storming and tearing down the walls of oppression and exploitation in occupied Azania.

This, more than anything, should be taken to heart and made a material force by all who commemorate the tenth anniversary

of the murder of Steve Biko and who continue to share his yearning for liberation.

Indeed, Biko proceeded from the fact that all correct leadership comes from the masses. In practice, this meant taking the unformulated ideas of the masses, systematizing them through study, going back to the masses to explain them in a new and concentrated form, namely BC. Naturally, the masses embraced BC as their own and implemented it — and continue to do so!

BC also ignited and fuelled revolutionary fires among the oppressed on every continent as evidenced today in the uprisings in Haiti and South Korea to name but two.

Biko taught the masses that it is possible to bridge the gap between the grinding horror of the present and an entirely different world which can genuinely be called beautiful — a world of radically different conditions, radically different relations between people and radically different ways of looking at everything.

The future is bright, the road is tortuous. The South African ruling class is like a wounded beast which will not retreat from the stage of history on its own accord but will carry on a last ditch struggle to protect itself by every possible means. It will be buried only after many more reverses, many twists and turns.

We must fight against the deliberate attempt to reduce Biko to a mere icon by revisionists. Biko and BC are a living force: let the words "BIKO LIVES!!!" ring with revolution.

It is a quaint notion that the revolution should be neat, tidy and predictable — in other words, not revolution! Revolution can never be so very refined, so gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous.

#### **STOP PRESS!!!**

We greet the news of the murder of Comrade Peter Tosh with horror and indignation. We will feature an appreciation of Tosh's life and work in the next *Frank Talk*.

# Stone talk

*Jay Queue*

Two stones sat by a riverside in the country, idly pondering their future as they gathered a lot of moss and little else.

Lamented the first stone: "It is now five thousand years that I have sat at one spot, gathering a lot of moss and nothing else. I have seen the waters of this mighty river flow by through lean and fat years. I really wish things would change and I moved somewhere else."

The second stone said: "But you are better off. Five thousand years is not a very long time, considering that I have nestled at this very spot since the end of the Ice Age. At least you came rolling down with the river during the last mighty flood, and you immediately said on arrival that you wanted to make a better future yourself on this river bank."

"I have stayed here for a long time. Even during the Stone Age when our tribe had its glory years as the only implements man could think of, I was left untouched. I was not shaped into a warhead of those years, and not even considered for selection. I guess this thing of merit being the only criterion for selection is very old indeed."

Replied the first stone: "At least I can boast of being descended from a great lineage. My great-great-grandfather will go down in history as the rock which the first caveman used to club the first cavewoman when he came home one night from the first cave pub and found that she had not yet prepared his supper."

Said the second stone: "I don't know who will believe your tale, because the first cave people lived when there were no written records. As such, there is no proof of the first domestic tiff you are talking about. In my case it can at least be proved that my uncle was the one king Mosheshoe rolled down Thaba Bosiu in defence of his land from murdering bands of thieves from Europe. If you doubt it, ask my neighbours here."

"When the great ice floes melted and ended the Ice Ages, the

gushing waters rolled us down here from the mountain top. But many of our relatives were left behind - and just as well because they helped King Mosheshoe repel the attack of the murderous bands of plunderers."

The stones continued their idle chatter for some time, unaware that not far away feet were advancing along the river bank. The owner of the feet - for they had an

owner and were not just a pair of feet that were left lying around - was a small boy who was hunting birds.

In his trousers pocket he had a few pebbles with which he loaded his catapult. Every now and then he dipped his little hand inside his pocket to select a shot. It was while he passed the two stones that he reached into his pocket and the pebble he selected fell from his hands and rolled towards them. The little boy walked past, his mind and eyes concentrating on the tall trees along the river bank.

The two stones welcomed the newcomer with joy, and sadly observed that he might be visiting for a relatively short time - say about a hundred years at the most, because there was no doubt that the next time the river flooded he would be washed away because of his small size.

As stones go - which is very far if they are in the hands of an expert thrower or catapult shot - the new arrival was relatively young

though he had much more experience than the elders in his newly-found company.

"Tell us all about yourself. Where do you come from, and how is the place you come from," pleaded the older and bigger stones.

Said the young fellow: "It is a long story. I come from the urban areas - you are my rural cousins.

"I was beneath the ground for



thousands of years and only emerged when bands of marauders from Europe started mining the spot where I lay buried for ages. I was thrown out with other stones and we were piled into a mound which was later used in the construction of roads. The Europeans poured smelly, sticky and gooey stuff called tar over the roads.

"I was very lucky to escape the ordeal. It was while the road was still being built that two boys on their way home from school had a quarrel over a sandwich. One of them picked me up and landed me smack on the head of the other, and I have virtually landed on hundreds of heads and helmets ever since. I have smashed countless windows and in the process fathered several children when I broke into a number of pieces after landing flush on a policeman's face and knocking him stone cold, if you will forgive the expression."

The rural stones were spell-bound and fascinated by all this, and wanted to hear more.

Shrugged the younger stone: "Oh, it's the thing these days to land on human heads, particularly unpopular ones. The last time I saw two of my boys, they were disappearing into the windscreen of a motor car whose owner had scabbed when the people said everybody should not go to work."

"But it is more exciting when you are in a hand of a good and angry young man or woman -and there are thousands of them nowadays - who can take good aim and land you on the intended window or head. It is fun to know how small I am yet what power I possessed. On the other hand, it is sad when I am abused and miss my target, because that is a wasted chance and it may not be till another funeral that I am put to use again."

"Did you say funeral?" inquired the other stones simultaneously.

"Yes, throwing stones goes with a heavy price these days. If my thrower breaks a window pane, the European settler magistrates say he is guilty of sabotage and usually sentence him to not less than five years in jail. That is when the thrower is very, very lucky."

Asked the other two: "You say five years in prison is very, very lucky? Do you mean that he can get even more than five years?"

Replied the urban stone: "The last little boy who threw me, whom I loved and now miss very much, was shot dead. That is what happens nowadays. Which brings me to the question of funerals almost every day."

"Because people are shot dead so regularly, their funerals are held as regularly. And because the people hate those who shoot them, and because those who shoot the peo-

ple never keep away from the people's funerals, this results in more stones being thrown and more people being shot. These days stones are much more precious than all the gold and diamonds below the ground, because they are the people's only defence against bullets."

The rural stones pondered this bit of news. It was too much for them, because they had been isolated from the rest of stonekind for so long. Nonetheless they expressed a wish to be part of the urban happenings.

Said the newcomer: "You will be part of the scene sooner than you realise, because the people's anger at European rule is spreading right across the length and breadth of this land. If I do not see you here again, in case I am washed away in the next floods, we will meet in Pretoria. Good night."

## Hymn for Africa

*Oh, pray, Africa, pray  
pray to the Jesus of dismay  
for your suffering is right  
and deserved,  
there are too many blackened souls among you*

*Good people of Africa, pray  
wait for the fruits of tomorrow  
and not of today,  
for the Imperialist Gods will  
that you serve this way  
Oh pray to Them, Africa, pray*

*Give praise and homage  
to the highest God,  
give money to His Church  
if Jesus be that big-bellied preacher,  
He wills that you give this way.  
Turn the other cheek,  
be humble, be gay  
if the Trinity be Those Chauffered in Benzes,  
They will that you act this way  
Oh pray to Jesus, Africa, pray*

*Do not delay, Africa, do not delay  
Toss these shackles of superstition away,  
let no one — not even Jesus take  
your freedom away  
Be not prey, Africa. Be not prey.*

Bob Slaymaker

# Black solidarity for a socialist Azania

An Introduction

by Frank Talk Staff Writers



- With the deepening of the liberation struggle since the mass uprisings beginning with the Rand Revolt of September 3, 1984 the broad liberation movement has reached a crossroads. The direction which we choose now will determine whether our struggle will end with resistance which will merely rattle the chains of our oppression or whether we will be able to shatter these chains through a thoroughgoing *revolution*.

In order to carry through the truly fundamental change that is called for by the conditions in occupied Azania today, we will need to be armed with a scientific understanding of society, including a rigorous and critical grasp of the basic role of the resistance of the masses and the process of revolution itself.

We believe that BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS (BC) is a scientific ideology<sup>1</sup> in that it:

- focusses on the *material conditions* in occupied Azania for the ultimate causes and directions of every event and phenomenon therein;
- comprehends these phenomena in their *changingness* and development and their interaction with other phenomena;
- studies the *struggle of opposites* as the underlying basis of the motion and change of processes.<sup>2</sup>

It is vital that BC continuously refine and cleanse its ideas — BC can never be stagnant and still be scientific. Therefore, we are acutely aware of the need for critical inquiry which will irreverently weed out what has been proved wrong or outdated in BC and further develop BC's correct kernel.

It is only if BC is constantly developed in this way that it will prepare and guide the Black working class in their political struggle for the assumption of State power. Only state power in the hands of the Black working class can lead to a liberated society which benefits all Azanians.

## Development of BC

In its initial stages, BC's priority was to jerk Black people out of the vice grip of fear and complacency. It snatched the cudgels of struggle from the hands of liberals and placed it firmly in the hands of the oppressed people. The 1976-77 Soweto Uprising is testimony to the success of this strategy which was employed under the banner slogan "BLACK SOLIDARITY".

"BLACK SOLIDARITY" signified a transcending of the artificial barriers of tribe and race and the assertion of the identity and interests of the oppressed nation.

"BLACK SOLIDARITY" also implied a closing of the ranks of the oppressed nation so that the notion that Black history was a history of barbarism in which Blacks lived by senseless and cruel violence alone, that Black religion was ignorant superstition filled with dark deeds and reeking Macbeth-like witches' brews, that Black music was unable to contain fresh content, that our illiteracy meant stupidity and emptiness of our heads of wisdom, intelligence or reason and that we were little more than troops of baboons with remarkable human resemblances could be laid to rest and Black people could attain psychological liberation — as a stepping stone to their physical liberation.

After the bannings of the mainstream BC organisations on October 19, 1977 a period of introspection within the BCM occurred.

The Inaugural Conference of the AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION had the theme "A Further Determination of BC and an emphasis on the workers' situation."

The line of the "leadership of the Black Working Class" was consolidated at the AZAPO National Symposium during April 1981 and the Dictatorship of the Black Proletariat as a transitional stage to a socialist society was boldly asserted at the First National Forum on 13th June 1983 in elucidating the Azanian People's Manifesto.<sup>3</sup>

## In this Article:

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Race as a Class Determinant	17-20
The Nature of the South African State	20-21
The Dictatorship of the Black Proletariat	20-21

The goal of "scientific socialism" was defined by the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania at their First Conference in England in 1980<sup>4</sup> and was independently but unambiguously asserted by AZAPO.<sup>5</sup> This amounted to sharpening the definition of the future society from the nebulous "Black Communalism" adopted by the Black People's Convention<sup>6</sup> and portrayed in the Mafekeng Manifesto.<sup>7</sup>

AZAPO has decisively placed the quest for socialism on the political agenda. There is a danger of "socialism" and even "scientific socialism" degenerating into a mere platitude, of it becoming a "chicken in everyone's pot" demand. It is no wonder, then, that the demand for socialism is, for instance, linked by many to the liberal document known as the Kliptown "Freedom" Charter.<sup>8</sup>

For still others, BC's quest for socialism is an excuse for endless "conscientisation" not linked to a political programme and specific ends.

It is clear that the BCM of the 1980's has specified that Black Solidarity must be firmly in the hands of the Black Working Class, hence its banner slogan is "BLACK SOLIDARITY UNDER THE HEGEMONY OF THE BLACK WORKING CLASS."

This amounts to a qualitative leap forward in the execution of our struggle.

It remains true that groups such as the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT are rooted firmly in the BC tradition of the 1970's and constitute a deformed Black Consciousness Movement.<sup>9</sup> They have refused to come to grips with new challenges but have rather tried to take the struggle back to the tired shibboleths of the Congress Alliance of the 1950's.

We repeat that the extent to which revolutionary feelings and aspirations are deepened into revolutionary science **now** and how that science is applied towards transforming spontaneous resistance into conscious revolution, has everything to do with what will be made of those opportunities and challenges and how much of the future will be

wrenched from the rubble of the old.

### Changes in the South African Political Economy

South Africa's system of racism and capitalism (referred to in this essay as "apartheid capitalism") has its *origins* in a particular form of settler-colonialism and has its *logic* in the capitalist mode of production.

Capitalism in occupied Azania has developed in a very specific context: it has utilized and transformed the rural African economy and has developed under the protective umbrella of and in close conjunction with imperialist capital.

Dramatic and far-reaching changes followed the discovery by the white settlers of diamonds in Hopetown in 1867 and the main gold-bearing reef of the Witwatersrand in 1886.

Intense social struggles occurred as the Black people sought to resist the onslaught of the settlers and the Boers sought to maintain the "independence" of the Transvaal and Free State republics. The Black people were eventually swept off their land and herded into tiny reserves where the settlers could contain them while the Boer republics were ground down and their political and military strength broken down so that a unitary capitalist state under British influence could be established in occupied Azania. Such a state was established after a *National Convention* in 1910.

Duncan Innes is no doubt correct in arguing that "the key to understanding why events unfolded as they did lies in recognizing the specific form of the international capitalist relations involved: that is ... they were relations of *monopoly* capitalism."<sup>10</sup>

The profits generated via the super-exploitation of Black labour on the mines laid the basis for subsequent capitalist development and the emergence of a South African capitalist class.

As from 1933 onwards manufacturing industry began to expand rapidly, overtaking mining as the biggest single contributor to national production during the Se-

cond World War.

For its expansion, however, South African capitalism has continued to depend on the import of capital goods such as machinery from the advanced imperialist countries, producing on a bigger scale and far more cheaply than South Africa could hope to match. To pay for such goods, South African capitalism has had to rely first and foremost on raw material exports — the products of mining and farming.

The expansion of "modern" manufacturing industry under South African capitalism has thus been bound — and remains bound — by a thousand threads to the economic forces governing mining and farming.<sup>12</sup>

In viewing changes in the postwar South African economy, it is possible to discern three periods, viz:

1. the consolidation of the system of apartheid-capitalism between 1948 when the Nationalist Party assumed the reins of power until the events of Sharpeville in 1960;
2. the period of the South African miracle with the decisive crushing of the military wings of the PAC and the ANC (viz. *Poqo* and *Umkhonto we Sizwe*) in 1963 until the Soweto Uprising of 1976-7;
3. the period from the Soweto Uprising to the present; corresponding to the multiple organic crisis of apartheid-capitalism.

The *first period* is marked by the systematic elaboration and enforcement of a system of racial segregation suited to the requirements of modern capitalist growth and the provision of the necessary infrastructure and heavy industrial investment to spur capital expansion.

There was a boom based largely on developments in gold and uranium in the immediate postwar years. A series of initiatives were taken to encourage and facilitate investment in manufacturing. A highly integrated network of state corporations created a modern industrial infrastructure. This "parastatal"

structure was from the beginning heavily penetrated by foreign capital. The World Bank loaned some \$200 million to South Africa in the 1950's for these efforts.

The *second period* saw the instruments of repression being perfected further while Western capital plowed millions in floating capital and technological know-how into the South African economy. Capital intensive industrial developments saw the increasing interpenetration of different capitalist sectors.

This period was quite appropriately inaugurated by Sharpeville. In the immediate wake of the blood-bath, the American bank, Chase made a much publicised loan of \$10 million to the regime and soon joined a consortium to lend the regime \$150 million.

American bankers saw the chance to get on the "inside track" and push the British into a subordinate position. What followed was an unprecedented inflow of Western capital.

The United states is not the dominant investor (see Chart A) but it has emerged as the imperialist chieftain in South Africa. It is clear that *foreign capital has played a critical role in the development and configuration of the South African economy.*

The sheer magnitude of this foreign investment has cushioned Pretoria, freeing up her resources for her awesome military machine. The repressive capabilities of the regime are very much a function of foreign capital: the regime has been given the extended capacity to transport military equipment and personnel rapidly at low cost over widespread geographical areas.

Sectoral differences between monopoly capitalists became gradually less important as the monopoly conglomerate, with subsidiaries in many sectors and substantial investments in other conglomerates, emerged as a significant force in apartheid-capitalism, ALWAYS subordinate to foreign capital.

The *third period* is marked by economic contradictions and

Table 1  
**EMPLOYMENT AND AVERAGE MONTHLY WAGES IN SOUTH AFRICA**

<i>Mining, May 1983</i>	<i>No. Employed</i>	<i>Av. Monthly Wage</i>
African	613,452	\$ 260
White	78,020	1,395
Coloured	9,581	430
Indian	659	690
<i>Manufacturing</i>		
African	748,700	\$ 320
White	316,600	1,290
Coloured	240,800	365
Indian	86,400	460

Source: Republic of South Africa, *Central Statistical Services*

Table 2  
**SOUTH AFRICA'S RESERVES OF SELECTED MINERALS**  
(percentage of world reserves)

<i>Mineral commodity</i>	<i>World</i>	
	<i>Rank</i>	<i>%</i>
Manganese ore	1	81
Platinum group metals	1	72
Gold	1	49
Chrome ore	1	58
Vanadium	2	29
Andalusite, sillimanite	1	38
Fluorspar	1	34
Vermiculite	2	28
Diamond	2	22
Uranium	2	16*
Zirconium	2	11
Coal	2	10
Phosphate	3	9
Antimony	3	7

\*excluding COMECON countries

Source: Republic of South Africa Yearbook, 1984

Table 3  
**RATE OF RETURN ON TOTAL BOOK VALUE, U.S. FIRMS' DIRECT FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN MINING AND SMELTING, 1953-72 (percentages)**

	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Latin America and the Caribbean</i>	<i>South Africa</i>
1953-57	8.3	10.4	25.7
1958-62	5.9	14.5	20.8
1963-67	9.9	19.9	43.3
1968-72	5.3	12.8	31.6

Table 4  
**RATES OF RETURN ON U.S. MANUFACTURING OPERATIONS (in percent)**

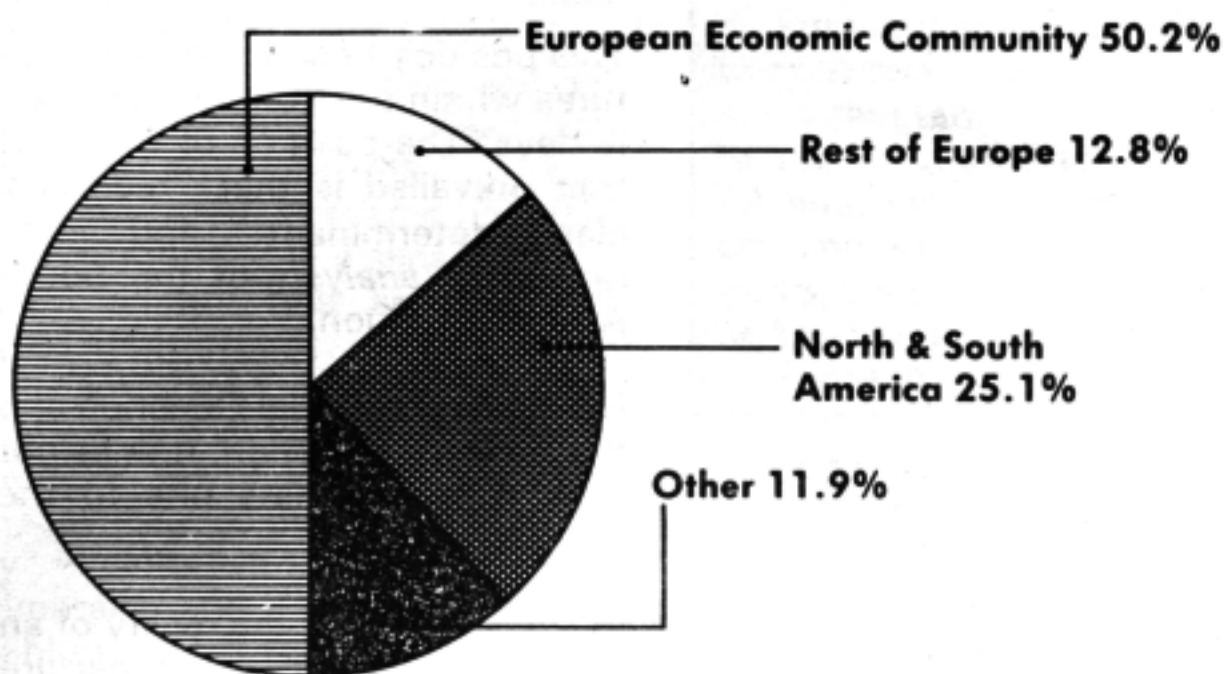
	<i>1967</i>	<i>1974</i>	<i>1980</i>
Canada	8.0	14.1	10.3
Europe	9.5	13.2	13.7
South Africa	16.2	17.1	31.3

Accounting procedures between years not strictly comparable.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, *Survey of Current Business*, various issues

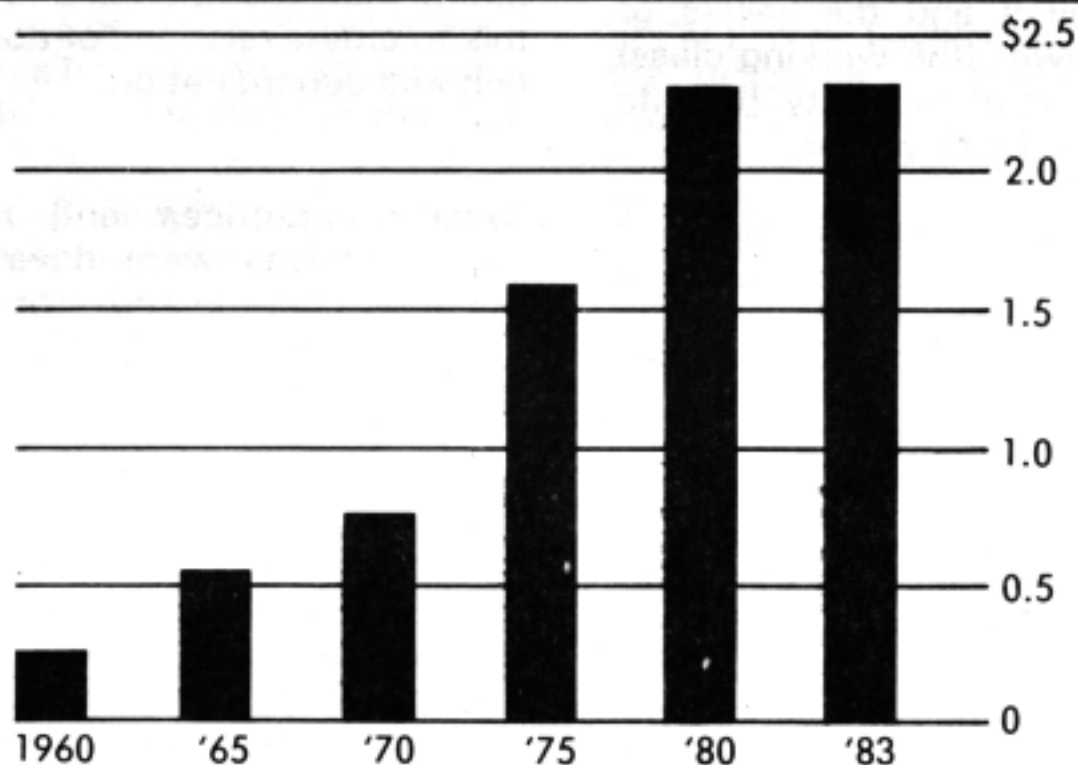


Chart A  
**FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA**  
*Origin of foreign investment, 1983*



Source, *The Economist*, 30 March, 1985

Chart B  
**U.S. DIRECT INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA**  
*(in billions of dollars)*



Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, *Survey of Current Business*, various issues

Chart C  
**FOREIGN CAPITAL AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME IN THE 1970s**

South African Government	State Corporations	"Privately" Held Corporations
Administration	ARMSCOR (military)	Anglo-American Corporation, plus six other mining finance houses
Police	ISCOR (iron and steel)	Multinational corporations: 40 percent of South African manufacturing
Army	ESCOM (electricity and nuclear)	Multinational corporate banks: 60 percent of 20 largest South African banks
Airforce	SENTRACHEM (chemicals)	
Navy	SAH&RR (harbors and railways)	
	SASOL (oil from coal)	
	NATREF (state oil refinery)	
	IDC (state development corporation)	
	Etc.	

social conflict generated by the structural conditions of cheap wage labour all interpenetrated by the world economic crisis and mounting tensions between the USA and the Soviet Union.

By the 1970's, multinational corporations owned about 40% of South Africa's manufacturing industry.

South Africa is a veritable repository of strategic minerals: see *Table 2*. Fabulous profits have been reaped in the mining, smelting and refining of these resources. In the 1968-73 period, American investments in mining and smelting grew rapidly at an annual rate of 15% compared to 5% for the rest of Africa. *Table 3* provides some explanation for the robustness of this growth in the expansionist phase of the postwar spiral.

It is important to note that one of the specific features of the postwar alliance is its highly integrated economic character: thus *Table 4* understates the true level of US investment since some US capital is invested in South Africa via US capital in the UK, France and West Germany, amongst others.

Between 1978 and 1984 the South African economy grew by only 3% a year and there was an actual decline in gross domestic product in 1982-83.

South Africa depends heavily on the rest of Africa as a market for intermediate and advanced goods: over half of its chemical exports and about three-quarters of its machinery and equipment were sold to the rest of Africa during the 1970's. It goes without saying that the most advanced operations of foreign capital in Africa are concentrated in occupied Azania.

South Africa has subjugated Southern Africa by cross-border raids, assistance to counter-revolutionary groups, economic pressure, and the undermining of SADCC.<sup>13</sup> The plan to construct a "constellation" of dependent black satellite states around the golden sun of white urban industrial centres cannot limit itself to the bantustans alone: it must incorporate all of Southern Africa.

Net foreign investment in South Africa fell by \$360 million between 1976 and 1984. This is because with the tempest of the black masses in revolt investments in South Africa bear a high risk premium.

Thus the Botha-Malan junta has to make a show of concessions while tightening up and clamping down.<sup>14</sup>

In this context, it is weird to read that American and Soviet analysts at a conference in Harare agreed that they have minimal interests in the Southern African region, the Americans attempting to suggest that their concern was a moral one dictated by a repugnance to apartheid!<sup>15</sup>

We believe that the system of apartheid-capitalism, far from being anachronistic or irrational, is an historically constituted form of superexploitation that is functional from the vantage point of capital accumulation and that for these and strategic reasons the Western imperialists have every interest in the maintenance of an oligarchy in occupied Azania.

The way that is being touted to break the impasse is a National Convention *a la* 1910. Hence the current whizz kid of Anglo American, a multinational corporation in its own right, says:

"... Just think that about 200 years ago, in the summer of 1787, there was a nation which was in danger of falling apart. Then fifty-five men assembled at a convention and drew up a document which has served as the basis of government for that nation ever since... The place was Philadelphia and the nation was America. That event was not predictable — it was made to happen by great men. *The same can be made to happen here...*"<sup>16</sup>

## QUOTE!!!

*We believe that the system of apartheid-capitalism, far from being anachronistic or irrational, is an historically constituted form of superexploitation that is functional from the vantage point of capital accumulation and that for these and strategic reasons the Western imperialists have every interest in the maintenance of an oligarchy in occupied Azania.*

### Race as a Class Determinant

The Black Consciousness Movement has had to battle consistently in the market place of ideas against the intellectual snobbery of the so-called "left" who rely on arid dogma, on economic formulations and on their own little hierarchies. In doing so, the BCM has emphasized the importance of race, class and gender in the development of apartheid-capitalism.

For the wilfully colourblind orthodox "left" the traditional fight is defined as one between the owners of the means of production (capital) and the sellers of labour power (the working class) which must, of necessity, have its site on the factory floor.

BC has eschewed the tendency to wish away the National Question or to insist, in the face of stubborn reality, that the struggle demands that "black-and-white" must "unite-and-fight".<sup>17</sup>

Nor has BC fallen into the trap of geographically dividing the life of the Black worker: the Black worker who is exploited on the factory floor is the very same Black worker who has to trudge home to inhuman living conditions.

BC does not divide and separate the economic and cultural aspects of the struggle but sees the need to struggle over both the *standard of living* and the *quality of life*.

At the AZAPO symposium in April 1981, Father Buti Tihagale declared:

"... (T)o subsume the complexity of the South African socio-political and economic conditions under the rigid category of 'culture' is a hopelessly inadequate exercise. But ... (equally inadequate is) the 'new school' that

regards economic interests as the sole determinant of social relations as they exist in South Africa."<sup>18</sup>

This position heralded radical ruptures within the BCM in those early days.<sup>19</sup> The position of the BCM that prevailed is that "race is a class determinant" and is a *race/class analysis* of the South African situation.

BC melds the Social Question and the National Question: it does *not* seek to subordinate one to the other.<sup>20</sup>

In acknowledging the reality of an oppressed nation, the departure point of "BLACK SOLIDARITY" comes out forcefully.

BC is quite clear that "race" as a biological entity does not exist. But to say that race *per se* was a significant factor in the shaping of social forces which rapidly took on a life of their own is to refer to the way in which Europeans perceived people who were phenotypically and culturally different from themselves and used this to create relations of domination and subordination.

<sup>21</sup>*Racist* practices and *racist* social systems were developed wherever countries were brought under *colonialism*. Racism has grown out of a relationship of exploitation between Black people and their colonial rulers.

In areas such as North America, the white colonizers attempted to exterminate the indigenous people and succeeded in setting up white majorities. In areas such as India, the colonisers governed the area as their overseas colonial possession.

In occupied Azania, the settlers finally defeated and dispossessed the indigenous people and then used them as cheap labour. They set up a white oligarchy which uses brute force to maintain its privileged position.

As W.D. Jordan's study of American slavery shows, "blackness" was one element in the cluster of 'negative' qualities that pre-eminently fitted Blacks for slavery; by contrast the absence of these qualities in Europeans rendered them immune

from enslavement.<sup>22</sup>

It is only a few days after he landed on the shores of the Cape that Jan van Riebeeck warned against the "wild tribes (who) are somewhat bold, thievish, and not at all to be trusted." What Van Riebeeck called "our Netherlanders" became increasingly confirmed in a sense of their own identity and separateness from other groups.

Race is a constant variable in the history of occupied Azania. Racism served purely economically exploitative goals and also "moral" and "cultural" goals: whites were concerned about cultural "debasement", moral "contamination" and racial "hybridization" that might flow in the absence of racial barriers. Racism also provided psychic gratification to those who relished lording it over dominated groups.

Tihagale's words also hint at a clash between those in the BCM who refused to apply class analysis and insisted that the struggle was one for the repossession of land *simpliciter*. We have had occasion to describe this clash in the BCM in the first *Frank Talk*.<sup>23</sup>

Walter Rodney<sup>24</sup> describes how Nkrumah denied the existence of classes in Ghana until the petit bourgeoisie as a class overthrew him. He says that Nkrumah had wandered for years with the assumption that he must disassociate himself from scientific socialism because it originated outside the boundaries of his own society and he was afraid of its cultural implications. This is due to the fact that he made a distinction between *social* theory and *scientific* theory which is not a necessary distinction but is one which grows out of the history of bourgeois thought.<sup>25</sup>

Naturally any ideology when applied must be applied with a thorough grasp of the internal realities of a given African society, says Rodney. People have no difficulty in relating to electricity and do not ask 'Was Edison a racist?' But they ask 'Was Marx a racist?' The natural sciences are not to be separated from the social sciences. An interpretation of the social reality can derive a certain historical law and hence scientific law of society which can

be applied irrespective of its origins or its originators."

Of course, Walter Rodney warns that scientific socialism must not be taken as a finished product: "to take it as a finished product is to take the easy route."

Rodney maintains that the nationalist struggle will be won under the rubric of scientific socialism.

A writer in the *New Nation*<sup>26</sup> suggests that the formulation "Black" working class tries to project a socialist analysis of South Africa while at the same time trying to emphasize the nationalist dimension of oppression. He suggests that the BCM wants to "leapfrog" over the national democratic struggle to socialism.

We must emphasize that we reject a particular variant of the two stage theory of revolution only, the one so succinctly put forward by Dr Victor Goncharov, a leading Soviet analyst on South Africa:

"*Firstly* it is necessary to settle the problems of the (national) liberation struggle, and *then* to come to the next stage of the socialist revolution in South Africa ..."<sup>27</sup>

This position was criticised by a leading COSATU and UDF activist as "... a waste of time, a waste of energy, and a waste of people's blood."<sup>28</sup> We agree!

However, we fully emphasize the struggle for national self-determination and have no intention to leapfrog over any of the democratic demands of the revolution.

Within the oppressed nation, the BCM has insisted on the *hegemony* of the Black working class. By "hegemony" we mean the successful mobilization and reproduction of the "active consent" of other oppressed social forces as a result of the exercise of the intellectual, moral and political leadership of the Black working class.

We refer to the Black working class as the "universal class" because it is the only class capable of leading a thoroughgoing revolution which will benefit *all* Azanians.

It is not simply because of their numerical strength that the Black working class constitutes the universal class. It is because they have no stake in maintaining or reinforcing the system of apartheid-capitalism and almost literally have nothing to lose but their chains and a whole world to gain in a free Azania.

It is up to the more advanced sections of the Black working class to ensure that other classes in the oppressed nation do not derail the struggle in the direction of a new exploitation.

It is for these reasons that the BCM has elaborated its position in the 1980's as BLACK SOLIDARITY UNDER THE HEGEMONY OF THE BLACK WORKING CLASS.

Nolutshungu argues convincingly that "Blacks who actually own or control the means of production are few and are not represented in any one of the major industries of the country"<sup>29</sup> and that a "black middle class" would of necessity be in subordinate collaboration with the white ruling establishment.<sup>30</sup> He contends that it is "very doubtful" that such a weak class could "succeed in exercising effective hegemonic control over the working class... Hegemony does not depend on economic power alone and could not be secured by the modest advantages which a collaborating middle class may be allowed under the order of white domination. It depends also on culture and ideology and on the force of traditional bonds and sentiment."<sup>31</sup>

The attempt to create a national Black bourgeoisie is doomed to remain inchaote, says Nolutshungu: "Not all those who have benefited directly from government financial aid have assumed active positions in the politics of separate development, so that political *encadrement* may turn out not to be simply related to economic *embourgeoisement*. "Embourgeoisement" is used in this context to mean the creation of the economic, social and political conditions for the emergence of a bourgeoisie or for the large-scale entry into an existing bourgeoisie of categories of people previously excluded from it."<sup>32</sup>



superstructure exhibits all the "trappings of a capitalist democracy" while the Black superstructure is at "odds with the capitalist economy (and) sets the economy at odds with itself..."

We must say that those in the BCM who seek to propound ideas of a white working class which will find revolutionary consciousness in some never-never land are quite simply revisionists who seek to strip the universal class of its richest seam in occupied Azania — its **BLACKNESS**.

Once we accept Black working class hegemony, we must guard against the dangers of economic reductionism or trade unionism. Steven Friedman in *Building Tomorrow Today*<sup>39</sup> argues:

"It is because they have won rights in the factories that workers are demanding them in the townships. It is because they have controlled their own organisations that they are demanding that community groups also allow their members to control decisions."

This is manifestly untrue: to take but one instance, the trade unions were compelled to align themselves with their members' moods gained from experiences and organisations in the townships to participate in the Witwatersrand Stayaway in November 1984.

The Black working class has to be infused with political education that affects it in *all* facets of life. The trade union, although potentially a progressive class instrument in the hands of the Black working class, is nevertheless limited and actually potentially reactionary. That is why Harold Pakendorf could write so enthusiastically about the recent mineworkers' strike:

"Far from looking with distaste on NUM, we need to compliment it. There may be doubts as to its bargaining methods... but it is still working within the system.

"Whatever else may be said, the mine strike is not part of the revolutionary onslaught. It is part of the orderly, normal process of change."<sup>40</sup>

The trade union merely deals with

It remains true, however, that the Black petit bourgeoisie<sup>33</sup> is a vacillating class: it remains susceptible to the lures of capitalism and, if allowed either to lead the revolution as *a class* or in the name of the Black working class, they will simply reproduce the same or greater levels of human suffering.

*The only relationship which the Black working class can have with other classes in the oppressed nation is on the basis of its own hegemony.*

There is a tendency to shy away from the reality that the white working class is a part of the ruling class, almost as if it is sacrilege to acknowledge that supposed agents of revolution are not entirely without sin. This shines out in the following words:

"White workers in South Africa do not yet find it possible to struggle side by side with Black workers. Therefore it has to be stated quite clearly that it is the Black working class at this point in time which must lead the struggle."<sup>34</sup>

Others have gone so far as to imply that the existence of a white working class was a "myth"<sup>35</sup>

It is interesting to note that European immigrants came from

societies which were themselves highly stratified on a class basis. John X Merriman noted exactly this phenomenon in 1908 when he observed that white workmen who, "however unjustly", had been regarded as the "lower classes" were delighted on arrival here (in South Africa) to find themselves in a position as an aristocracy of labour."<sup>36</sup>

It is the white working class which swells the ranks of the white right and Sivanandan tells us why:

"... South Africa is the one capitalist country ... where ideology and not production relations determines white working class consciousness... vis a vis the Black working class, the horizontal division of class assumes the vertical division of race: the horizontal is the vertical. Class is race, race class."<sup>38</sup>

The white working class will only acquire revolutionary consciousness in the nightmare of social revolution and under the Dictatorship of the Black Proletariat.

"In effect", says Sivanandan, "there are two superstructures" to the same economic base in occupied Azania — the one white and the other Black. The white

the relations between Black workers in a given trade or industry and their employers. What is achieved at the end is that the workers acquire trade union consciousness which might mean better living and working conditions (within the system) but which hardly develops the consciousness required to abolish the entire exploitative social system.

The Black working class has to transcend trade union consciousness in order to acquire revolutionary consciousness. As Comrade Julie Vedan put it:

“Unionism is a capitalist trap. Can the liberation movement use the trap to trap the trapper?”<sup>41</sup>

In short, the Black working class must be armed with BC so as to incorporate an holistic world view which reveals the political content of the social relations of production.

### **The Nature of the South African State**

As long as society is divided into classes, there will be a state apparatus. Marx remarked in the Communist Manifesto that “The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie”.

The state apparatus is essentially a machine for keeping down the oppressed and exploited. The essential parts of this machinery are not legislatures and other similar vehicles of public discussion and nominal decision-making (these are dispensable) but are the executive power and the bureaucracy, the courts and, in particular, the armed forces. These forces are the concentration of the power of one class over another; they represent a monopoly of force by the ruling class and their purpose is to forcefully guarantee its interests.

All these things — the armed forces, the courts and laws, the executive, the bureaucracy, the legislature, the political institutions in general — belong to the superstructure which in any society rests upon and reinforces the capitalist base.

The state is not and cannot be neutral: it is an instrument of class

rule and enforces the dictatorship of the ruling class over the oppressed classes. It is an objective structure of society whose character is determined not by the class origin of its leading personnel but by the specific social division of labour of which it is an extension and the production relations which it must ultimately serve and reproduce.

In reality and essence bourgeois democracy means democracy in the ranks of the ruling class and dictatorship over the oppressed.

There is a structural problem for the state and its apparatuses in occupied Azania — and it is precisely the colonial one of the close integration of racial (national) domination and exploitation — the interlocking of racial and class places in the social division of labour — and its effects on order and security.

Nolutshungu argues that for Blacks, petit bourgeois or bourgeois, the interest they may have in the reproduction of capitalism does not easily synch with an interest in the reproduction of the state system through which it is defended and maintained. The incongruence of political and economic division which makes class alliance possible is very effective here in view of the ineffectiveness, so far as Blacks are concerned, of the state's legitimating ideologies.

The ruling class in occupied Azania is made up of foreign capital, monopoly capital (English, Afrikaner, state), the white middle class and the white labour aristocracy. The South African state is a dictatorship of the white ruling class and its reactionary sidekicks

The 1983 Tricameral Constitution merely buttressed the power of this ruling oligarchy.

A process of militarism is occurring: the State Security Council is at the apex of the national security management system with joint management committees fulfilling its role at the regional and local level.

There is close State-capital linkage via the Economic Advisory Council. As six monopolies effectively control over half the private

sector in South Africa,<sup>42</sup> the Economic Advisory Council was re-structured in 1985 to include only these monopolies.

The South African state is really a deformed bourgeois state: a capitalist democracy for whites and a dictatorship over the oppressed and exploited Black people (see above).

The hegemony of the white ruling class exercised through its Repressive State Apparatus (army and police) and Ideological State Apparatus (Educational system, law, religion, etc.) can only be challenged and dismantled by the hegemony of the Black working class.

“Black Solidarity” is the key to a revolution against imperialism, precapitalist social relations, and the domestic forces that represent and uphold all this and it will lead to the Dictatorship of the Black Proletariat. It involves a broad class alliance very firmly led by the Black working class.

### **The Dictatorship of the Black Proletariat**

With socialism victorious, the South African state must be completely abolished and upon its ashes the Azanian state will be born.

The Azanian state will take the form of the revolutionary dictatorship of the Black Proletariat. As the National Forum puts it:

“...(T)he outcome of the struggle should not be viewed in isolation from the fact that the Black working class is the vanguard of the revolution. And therefore the Black working class should control the outcome of what they have struggled for and guard the future developments of socialism.”<sup>43</sup>

The Azanian state is the central social institution in the transitional phase of socialist reconstruction, and itself will cease to be a class state and will be purely administrative in a classless society. The Dictatorship of the Black Proletariat is above all else transitional to a higher form of society, colourless, fearless and hence stateless.

The Dictatorship of the Black pro-

letariat differs fundamentally from other forms of the state in that it is the dictatorship of the non-exploiting majority over the exploiting minority. It exists not to perpetuate indefinitely the rule of one class, but to eliminate all classes, races and all states; it is a means to the end of wiping out all oppressive machinery and the state itself.

Apologists for apartheid-capitalism needs must assail us for openly proclaiming the necessity for the Dictatorship of the Black proletariat. Our answer is simple: better us than you — far better, infinitely better, the dictatorship of the Black proletariat than the present dictatorship.

The Dictatorship of the Black Proletariat will represent the recognition of Black working class hegemony by all other class forces in the South African social formation. This stage of the Black working class as the ruling class in the state is necessary for the political consolidation of socialist transformation and for providing the administrative base upon which to mobilise all social forces under the hegemony of the Black working class for building a socialist society.

The necessity for a vanguard party to lead the revolution is rooted in the material contradictions of apartheid-capitalism, which create a gap between the more advanced minority of the Black

proletariat and the rest of the class. To bridge the gap requires a vanguard party.

By allowing mass-based participation at all levels of political activity and decision-making the Azanian state under the leadership of its vanguard party will acquire the legitimacy it needs from all supportive social forces.

At the heart of the Azanian state will be democracy among the masses and dictatorship over the exploiters: these are in dialectical relationship to one another.

At all times we need to guard against any form of bureaucracy emerging with its own privileges and interests. Even after ownership of the decisive means of production have, in the main, been socialised, there will remain classes and class struggle: not only members of the old exploiting classes but *new* bourgeois elements (headquartered within the vanguard party itself) engendered out of the basic contradictions of socialist society itself.

After all, the anti-racist, socialist society will emerge from the womb of a racist and capitalist society and will thus be in every respect — economically, morally and intellectually — still stamped with its birthmarks. And the bourgeoisie retain the upper hand internationally.

We must never make the error of

regarding the ownership system and the socialist economic base as a whole as a machine with a button to grind out socialism; it is a very fluid and contradictory ensemble of social relations which can be transformed into its opposite if not constantly and continually revolutionized by the masses.

The Black working class raising itself to the position of the ruling class does not mean their taking power over the existing state apparatus and utilizing it in their interests. The state apparatus must be smashed, broken up and replaced by a new state, radically different from all previous states and serving as the transitional form to the abolition of classes, races and the state itself.

The struggle is dialectical in a twofold sense: it involves the dialectical relationship between dictatorship and democracy in socialist society and it involves the dialectical relation — the unity and opposition — between strengthening the Dictatorship of the Black Proletariat and at the same time, by the same means, creating step by step, but also through a series of revolutionary leaps, the conditions whereby the Dictatorship of the Black Proletariat will no longer be necessary ... or possible.

*Footnotes on page 55*

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# Position paper on the Kwa Natal Bill of Rights and the new liberalism

*(A group of revolutionaries met at Durban on the 1st and 2nd August 1987 to investigate the revival of liberalism in South Africa. This Position Paper was the result of their deliberations. A Report including Papers delivered at the Symposium is available at a cost of R10 (R20 for overseas readers) via the Internal Secretary, Frank Talk Editorial Collective)*

## **Realizing that the Kwa Natal Bill of Rights aims:**

- (a) to retain a haven for capitalism and white supremacy in the Natal area;
- (b) to divert the oppressed masses into demanding bourgeois rights whilst leaving the exploitation of the Black working class intact;
- (c) to prepare the ground for a "negotiated solution" in the form of a National Convention;
- (d) to entrench collaborationist and tribal interests in the Natal area as caretakers for settler-colonialism;

## **And Realizing Further that the Kwa Natal Bill of Rights:**

- (a) entrenches ethnicity;
- (b) is unenforceable because it does not seek to interfere with the powers of the Central Government;
- (c) seductively employs the language of "civil liberties" whilst disregarding fundamental human needs ie freedom from want, hunger, oppression and exploitation;

And noting the striking similarity between the Kwa Natal Bill of Rights and the Kliptown "Freedom" Charter;

## **And Noting Further with the Deepest Concern that:**

- (a) There is a concerted campaign to portray the Charter as a sacred text to be accepted on blind faith by all and sundry including sections

of the Black working class represented by the CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS (COSATU);

- (b) This campaign is assuming virulent dimensions which make a mockery of democracy and worker control;
- (c) The Kliptown Charter belongs firmly within the family of liberal democratic documents such as the American Bill of Rights and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man;
- (d) Ideas of a Bill of Rights as a panacea are vigorously being propounded as part and parcel of the National Convention strategy;
- (e) Until now, the Kliptown Charter was being touted as an alternative programme: it has suddenly been transformed into a "programme of minimum demands";
- (f) The variant of the "two stage theory" of struggle which separates the struggle for national democratic rights from the struggle for socialism has been revived from the limbo to which it was rightly consigned by the Azanian People's Manifesto;
- (g) Liberalism has mushroomed in various organisational forms such as LIBERALS FOR DEMOCRACY and the FIVE FREEDOMS FORUM while the INSTITUTE FOR A DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVE FOR SOUTH AFRICA (IDASA) which puts forward a form of liberalism known as "social democracy" has tentacles reaching deep into sections of the liberation movement;
- (h) Liberalism has the facility to snuggle into any movement by adapting itself but it remains the handmaiden of capitalism;
- (i) IDASA was formed after the failure of the National Convention Movement and its pilgrimage to Dakar vividly illustrates that its aim is to broker a negotiated settlement between the Pretoria

regime and the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA (ANC);

## **Do Hereby Resolve that:**

1. The exercise of fiddling with Bills of Rights and mouthing "rights talk" can only derail our struggle on the flip side of socialism;
2. Only scientific socialism provides the answer to liberal democracy in its various forms;
3. Constant critical enquiry within the liberation movement is necessary to prevent "socialism" from becoming a mere catchword;
4. The variant of the "two stage theory" which clinically separates the national democratic struggle from the struggle for socialism must be debunked as it aims to create a new ruling elite which will never move beyond the "national democratic" stage;
5. The Kliptown Charter can never even be a set of minimum demands because it perverts the aspirations of the oppressed and the exploited and distorts the Azanian reality;
6. The Azanian People's Manifesto must continually be subjected to review to prevent it becoming enshrined as a dogma;
7. The "free enterprise" thrust of the Kwa Natal Bill of Rights and the "social democratic" thrust of the Kliptown Charter have inexorably placed the alternative of scientific socialism on the political agenda: it is our duty to maximize discussion on scientific socialism;
8. Liberalism in all its forms has to be crushed and organisations like IDASA purged from the body fabric of the liberation movement;
9. The "Death to the National Convention" campaign be accelerated and the position adopted by the National Forum Summit at Edendale on 21-22 April 1984 be emphasized and developed;
10. Extreme vigilance is necessary to ensure the ushering in of the Dictatorship of the Black Proletariat.



# A state born of our people's struggle



Mozambican women, Mozambican men, workers, peasants and fighters, Compatriots:

At 00 hours today the People's Republic of Mozambique was born, a State born of our people's struggle for freedom and independence, which spanned many centuries, a State in which the power of the alliance of working people is being established in our country for the first time.

The profound historical significance of this moment in the life of our people cannot escape any Mozambican, nor any citizen of any other country, whether free or still oppressed, and neither can the international dimension of this fact in relation to the community of nations, of which we are now becoming a full and integral part.

But it is not so much about the present we are living through, though exalting, which can be seen in our faces, houses and streets, and which exists even more profoundly in our consciousness, it is not so much about the present of happiness, enthusiasm and euphoria that we are going to speak. We wish, above all, to recall the past, so as to foresee and plan the future better...

The People's Republic of Mozambique is being born as the fruit of the Mozambican people's unshakable will and iron determination to win back their freedom and enjoy the supreme and inalienable right of all peoples-national independence.

At this time when we are winning this independence, we must reflect on the reality which prevailed in the previous situation, under colonial domination.

Why did colonialism kill? Why did it seize, deport and massacre people? Why were our mothers



*Machel*

and wives raped, our traditions humiliated, our civilization negated and Mozambicans arrested for the slightest show of patriotism? Why was alcoholism made widespread and prostitution and the disintegration of the family encouraged, and why were whole families removed from their home regions and forced to abandon their ancestral lands, their cattle, houses and few possessions? Why did all this happen in many places in our country, as the unmistakable mark of the Portuguese colonialists? Could this have been a sadistic manifestation of the evil genius of a people, the result of the bestial wickedness of a man or group of men?

Let us not deceive ourselves about this. Portuguese colonialism was the form that imperialist domination assumed in our country, the exploitation of a whole people and their resources by foreign capitalism, both Portuguese and from other countries. It was in order to exploit our labour power that thousands of Mozambicans were enslaved and taken to the coasts of the Americas, where the few who arrived were sold as commodities. It was in order to exploit our sweat that the colonial administrators seized us and sent us into forced labour.

It was in order to appropriate the wealth of our soil that entire regions were set aside for certain

crops, such as cotton, which the people were forced to grow, dying of hunger while the big concessionary companies accumulated fabulous profits.

It was in order to plunder our subsoil that the big multi-nationals were granted concessions and mining facilities which they used to drain our country of its wealth.

It was in order to keep our people subjected to its domination that colonialism tried - in some cases, particularly in urban areas, with some success - to destroy our personality, sow division and create a slave mentality towards the foreigner. Assimilation was not merely the fascist caprice of a senile dictator, but was in fact mental enslavement to the foreigner in its purest form, a deliberate process of negating all the culture, history and traditions of our people. A man thus spiritually destroyed became a living corpse, a docile receptacle for the colonisers' way of thinking, acting and living.

Religion, and especially the Catholic church, was a powerful factor in the cultural and human alienation of the Mozambican, to make him a docile instrument and object of exploitation, and smash any display of resistance in the name of Christian resignation.

This is the heritage we are reaping today. A heritage of poverty and social and economic backwardness which the superficial beauty of the skyscrapers and grassy hills can never hide. One need only travel the length and breadth of our country, one need only know that the expression 'from the Rovuma to the Maputo' is not a mere slogan for us, but a reality we feel in our flesh and blood, to understand that the age-old backwardness, disease, nakedness, hunger and ignorance are the bountiful fruit of



the very tree that sprouted, grew and thrived together with colonialism, and which is known as exploitation...

We are not going to trace here the history of the national liberation process through the events which took place in it. But a recapitulation of the political process involved, albeit brief, is needed in order to understand the birth today of the People's Republic of Mozambique and the line that guides it. In Mozambican history, the fight for a revolutionary political line has been intrinsically bound up with the fight for unity.

The struggle to defend and consolidate unity, the driving force of the liberation struggle, demanded permanent vigilance and action to neutralize and eliminate the manoeuvres of the enemy and of national opportunist and reactionary forces. This same struggle required a constant fight to clarify and develop FRELIMO's political line, especially as regards the definition of who is the enemy and the nature, methods and objectives of the fight.

The successive dividing lines that were drawn within FRELIMO and the process of cleansing our ranks which was established, revealed in practice that the contradictions which arose reflected antagonistic interests, the contradiction between the working masses and a handful of new exploiters who wanted to take the place of the colonial bourgeoisie as an exploiting class.

By defining racism, regionalism and tribalism as enemies to be fought against, just like colonialism, the Central Committee meeting held in October 1966 deprived the opportunists of the chief instruments of their anti-people manoeuvres. The same meeting put an end to the contradiction between political militants and military militants by defining the struggle as a politico-military one, thus enabling the most vanguard elements to free themselves from the control of marginal reactionary elements. The historic decision to entrust the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique with creating the Women's Detachment, women's instruments in their historic struggle for emancipation, broadened the base of mass support for our struggle and brought

new decisive forces into the revolutionary fight.

These ideological victories permitted the impetuous advance of the liberation struggle, the destruction of substantial enemy forces, the expansion of the armed struggle to Tete Province, the transformation of the semi-liberated areas into areas free from the system of exploitation and the beginning of the process of creating operational bases.

Our politico-military victories having made Portuguese colonialism more desperate and increased the isolation of the strata among us with exploitative designs, the contradiction between the masses and the exploitative system became more marked.

In a desperate attempt to stave off their inevitable defeat, the colonialist and reactionary forces joined forces and launched an offensive of manoeuvres and crimes against the correct political line headed by Comrade Eduardo Mondlane.

The Second Congress of FRELIMO, which was held in the liberated areas of Niassa Province in June 1968, exposed and neutralised the reactionary forces and their ideas, enabling the broad masses to consolidate their unity behind FRELIMO's just and clear objectives.

This fresh victory unleashed a wave of reactionary violence in which new national exploiters, now openly allied with the colonial-imperialist forces, started a process of physical liquidation of revolutionary militants and leaders, a process which culminated in the barbarous assassination of Comrade Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane on 3 February 1969.

The assassination of the leader who embodied the national and revolutionary dimension of our struggle and the actual implementation of FRELIMO's line and practice, was aimed at decapitating the Mozambican Revolution and enabling representatives of the new exploiting classes, faithful servants of the bourgeoisies and imperialism, to seize power.

Assuming the heritage of Com-

rade Eduardo Mondlane, closely integrated with the masses of the people and resolutely supported by the fighters of the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique, the most dedicated sons of the people, the revolutionary vanguard of FRELIMO stood up against the forces of opportunism and reaction during the historic Central Committee meetings held in April 1969 and May 1970, and exposed, isolated, neutralised and eliminated the erroneous political line of the new exploiters.

This victory, which led to the cleansing of our ranks and the deepening of FRELIMO's ideology, created the conditions for transforming the armed struggle into a people's war, for going over from a liberation struggle to the higher phase of a people's democratic revolution.

The ideological transformations which took place led to a new impetuous development of the liberation struggle: the strategic defeat of colonialism in the period from May to September 1970 during Operation Gordian Knot, the smashing of the blockade of the Zambezi by the expansion of the armed struggle to south of the Zambezi in November 1970, and the opening of the Manica e Sofala front in June 1972.

It was from the time of the failure of the big Gordian Knot enemy operation that the irreversible deep-rooted and profoundly popular nature of the revolutionary process led by FRELIMO was affirmed, and it was from that time that the disintegration of squalid Portuguese colonialism started to be hastened at a giddy pace.

Neither the transformation of the colonial war into a colonial-imperialist war through the internationalisation of the aggression against our people nor the intensification of the plunder of our resources by the monopolies, the most criminal strategic plans like the Cabora Bassa one, could halt progress of our struggle and its progressive expansion to the whole country.

The attempt to terrorise our people by widespread terrorism, the systematic bombing of villages, schools, hospitals, cultivated

fields, the use of chemical agents and, finally, massacres like those at Wiriyamu, Joao, Chawola and Inhaminga, sharpened the contradictions and strengthened the people's determination to destroy the enemy.

At the international level, Portuguese colonial-fascism, which still had some room for manoeuvre, thanks to the active complicity of the capitalist countries, and particularly some members at NATO, started to be denounced with renewed vigour and was isolated abroad, as shown by the expulsion of Portugal from one international organisation after another.

The watchword issued by the Central Committee in December 1972, calling for a general offensive on all fronts, hastened the collapse of the enemy.

It is obvious that the general offensive was not confined simply to stepping up large-scale battles, and neither could it have been successful, even militarily, had it been reduced to this. In issuing the watchword calling for a general offensive on all fronts, the 1972 Central Committee Meeting affirmed first and foremost, the need for ideological unity. In other words, actual practice had shown that unity based on the negation of the enemy and on just the demand for independence was not enough. It was essential that unity be achieved on the basis of a clear and unequivocal definition of the principles of what we want to do, how we want to do it, and what kind of society we want to build, and above all, the principles asserted must be lived by and developed through consistent practice.

The struggle therefore spread, new fronts were opened and the ideological line gained strength in the liberated areas, establishing a clear dividing line in relation to the enemy-controlled zone. Sound foundations were laid for people's democratic power.

It was a correct line combined with correct practice which led to the destruction and defeat of Portuguese colonialism and opened up a new phase in the Mozambican people's independence process which started with the

Lusaka Agreement and has just ended with the proclamation of the complete national independence of Mozambique.

The task of the Transitional Government was essentially that of consolidating the power so arduously won, especially by extending popular mobilisation and making it more far-reaching. We congratulate the Transitional Government for the success it has achieved in its task, for the conditions it created for people's power to be really extended and consolidated in our country.

We need to be conscious of the great difficulties we shall have to face as a result of the colonial situation, which the Transitional Government could obviously only partially tackle.

With the proclamation of the People's Republic of Mozambique we are starting a new phase of our history in which we are going to put into practice everywhere in the country the political, ideological, economic, social and cultural gains won during the struggle.

To say the People's Republic is not to voice an empty and demagogic formula. To say the People's Republic means to give substance to the aspirations of millions of dominated and exploited Mozambicans for whom independence is a precondition for the end of exploitation and the establishment of a people's regime.

To say the People's Republic is to say Independence, to say the People's Republic is to say Revolution.

The State is not an eternal and immutable structure; the State is not the bureaucratic machinery of civil servants, nor something abstract or a mere technical apparatus. The State is always the organised form through which a class takes power in order to fulfil its interests. The colonial State, an instrument of domination and exploitation by a foreign bourgeoisie and imperialism which has already been partially destroyed by the struggle, must be replaced by a People's State, forged through an alliance of workers and peasants, guided by FRELIMO and defended by the

People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique, a State which wipes out exploitation and releases the creative initiative of the masses and the productive forces.

In the phase of people's democracy in which we are now engaged as a phase of the Mozambican revolutionary process, our aim is to lay the material, ideological, administrative and social foundations of our State.

We need to be aware that the apparatus we are now inheriting is, in its nature, composition and methods, a profoundly retrograde and reactionary structure which has to be completely revolutionised in order to put it at the service of the masses.

There are other realities we also need to be profoundly conscious of: the fact that we are winning political power but do not yet have economic power, that the administrative, educational, health, judicial and other machinery still escaped our control.

The new battle is only beginning.

Against us are the exploiters and privileged, who will try to impede the revolutionary process with all the means available to them. We must not be deceived by the fact that the enemy are not now resorting to direct action. They are only weakened, not dead. Their methods will therefore become more treacherous. Right now we already have proof of this action, of infiltration, attempts to distort our line and political opportunism.

Our unity will be an essential target of enemy activity. Unity, we continue to repeat, is not just a feeling or something abstract. Vital unity is sustained by a clear concept of our objectives and a precise understanding of the tasks for each moment. Unity implies drawing an ever firmer dividing line between us and the enemy, regardless of the form he may take.

Through practice and its action, FRELIMO has asserted itself as the leading force in our society. For this very reason, the broad masses, from the Rovuma to the

Maputo, have quite spontaneously fully identified with FRELIMO's principles and fight...

It is primarily a matter of carrying out an ideological offensive to wipe out the colonial and capitalist mentality which is deeply rooted in the urban areas, as well as the feudal traditional mentality which is predominant in the rural areas. An ideological offensive will enable the working masses to understand their historic role, their leading role in the process of transformation which is now underway. This task must be preceded by the consistent heightening of the political and ideological level of cadres seasoned and forged in the process of the people's liberation war. It was for this very reason that the last Central Committee meeting decided to give priority to the setting up of a Party School.

The task of mobilising and organising the masses in the tough class struggle which is approaching can be entrusted only to cadres who have been put to the test of practice. One of the main bastions of the system of exploitation of man is the complex machinery we are inheriting as regards administration, the judiciary, education, health, etc.

Irrespective of the goodwill and honesty of the people who make it up, this machinery was designed solely to serve foreign domination and the system of exploitation of man. It is therefore imperative for us to create a new mentality and way of seeing things, and to instill new methods in the people who are in it. This work can be done only if authentic representatives of the labouring classes are in a position to assume their leading role.

These factors explain the reasons, some of the main reasons, why FRELIMO must remain the leading force in State structures.

In the present battle, the people have a most valuable instrument: the Mozambique People's Liberation Forces, forged and seasoned in the tough fight against colonial-imperialist aggression, and also in the fight against both old and new exploiters. The historical circumstances experienced by our people over the past decade have made the Mozambique People's Liberation Forces a great and inex-

haustible store of revolutionary cadres.

By consistently raising the political and class consciousness of the fighters, consistently raising their educational, cultural and technical level, strengthening discipline in our ranks, reinforcing the feeling of internationalist duty and educating the new generation of fighters in the glorious revolutionary tradition of the Mozambique People's Liberation Forces, we shall always have a decisive force to defend our country, the Revolution and the interests of the masses of the people.

Now as in the past, the Mozambique People's Liberation Forces are also a combat detachment on the fundamental fronts of production, study and mass mobilisation. Active participation on these fronts will enable the fighters to internalise the political dimension which will prepare them always to perform their patriotic and revolutionary duty.

The participation of women in the Mozambique People's Liberation Forces within the framework of the Women's Detachment, is imperative to the battle for women's emancipation, in the fight to involve women in the revolutionary process. Women's participation in work traditionally regarded as exclusively for men is a profoundly mobilising factor, a decisive factor establishing sexual equality in practice.

The Organisation of Mozambican Women (OMM) is called upon to develop its activities everywhere in the country, dealing with the crying problems faced by women.

In order to fulfil its task, OMM must rely firmly and surely on the Women's Detachment, which is in practice the Mozambican women's vanguard.

The battle for women's emancipation is also an ideological battle against ideas which stem from decadent traditions and against the multiple attempts by the bourgeoisie to destroy the value of the fight for freedom. The fight is also an organisational one, a fight to establish structure among the least organised and most oppressed, humiliated and exploited women.

A greater number of democratic mass organisations, particularly for the youth and workers, need to come into being, after prior work by FRELIMO to organise those sectors.

At this time when we are proclaiming our independence, we must carefully avoid being carried away by emotional feelings of euphoria, especially in analysing our economic and social situation. It in no way diminishes the greatness of our struggle and of our people and country to have to acknowledge that the economic and financial situation is catastrophic, as a result of unbridled plunder, the financial conditions imposed by colonialism and the disorganised exploitation of our potentials.

It is therefore necessary to undertake a cool-headed analysis, sector by sector of economic, social, educational, cultural and health conditions in our country, so as to arrive at better methods of fighting. This will be the first task of our Government. Some of the problems to which priority will be given are solving the problems of unemployment, poverty, illiteracy, abandoned children, prostitution and banditry.

We must therefore draw up a national development policy, a correct policy on the use of our resources. The definition of the policy to be pursued is essential to establishing the priorities to be observed.

In establishing our development strategy, we must attach special value to what is our chief strength, the mobilisation and organisation of the people. Here too, we must seek inspiration from our own experience, in particular in the liberated areas. One need only compare the successes in the work of reconstruction in the liberated areas, which are now apparent to everyone, with the misery in which people lived in the enemy concentration camps, despite the large sums spent on them. Therefore, we shall not seek solutions to our problems in miraculous palliatives coming from abroad, but we shall rely above all on our own forces, getting down to work with determination, with a clear programme and clear objectives.

In this respect, we should like to emphasise the role we continue to ascribe to the liberated areas, to FRELIMO's bases and centres, as a store and source of inspiration for our Revolution. It is in these areas that the population has already been living long years outside colonial society and its vices, defects and corrosive influence. It is in our centres and bases that a new and truly free generation is growing up, one which really deserves the name of continuadores (the continuers of the revolution).

Clearly, the creation of a new life in the liberated areas was not an accident or the automatic result of breaking of contact with colonial society. Far-reaching political, ideological and organisational efforts had to be made to overcome the influence of the past, and attempts of traditional forms to reassert themselves and the new exploiters.

It is important to remember this experience in order to prepare for the new phase. Anyone who visits our whole country can note the big problem posed by the scattered population and the difficulty, under these circumstances, for the Government to organise social, educational and health services, in short, to improve the living conditions of these people. Hence, under the leadership of FRELIMO, the scattered population in the rural areas will be structured in revolutionary societies, in the final analysis in communal villages where the people will have an organised life, developing production collectively, on the basis of their traditions, and promoting the exchange of knowledge.

In accordance with available means and observing the principle of self-reliance, the State will give all possible help to these communal societies, encouraging them to multiply and develop. In this way, it will be possible to provide the people with services which will really enable them to enjoy greater well-being, especially by raising their technical and educational level, and by supplying water, electricity, health care and cultural activities.

Organising communal societies must be a priority in our activity, for both the Party and the State.



**A poster in Maputo. It reads: "Apartheid is responsible for the death of our president. We will never allow our nation to fall into the hands of the South African fascists and racists. Let the struggle continue."**

The Party must launch a big campaign to mobilise and explain, at the best living and production conditions.

The fulfilment of the giant tasks that lie ahead of us implies achieving and consolidating unity. To be united it is not enough to state that one is united. It is necessary to wage a constant battle against all divisive situations and tendencies.

It is necessary to understand the grandeur, diversity and complexity of our country. Knowing this complexity means studying the divisiveness in our country and the ways of combating it.

Among the various vestiges of colonialism, Mozambican society has to a very high degree one typical form of discrimination,

that based on racial and social groups.

In Mozambique we see parallel societies, taking the form of clubs, set up on the basis of race or of greater or lesser pigmentation, which have no contact with one another apart from compulsory and superficial contact during their working hours.

This kind of social organisation abounds with superiority and inferiority complexes, with resentments and tensions.

It is imperative that all these specific peculiarities give way to real unity between Mozambicans. We do not know tribes, regions, races or religious beliefs. We know only Mozambicans who are

equally exploited and equally desirous of freedom and revolution..

We should like also to devote our attention to the problem of the relations which have traditionally existed between the church, religion and the State and to state very clearly what these relations will be in the People's Republic of Mozambique.

In the society we want to build, the State will be based on the principle that all change in society is a result of man's struggle on the fronts of class struggle, the fight for production and scientific innovation, and also the contradictions in natural phenomena.

Colonialism, capitalism, the different systems of exploitation of man in our society, have always been associated with religious institutions. The colonial State transformed the faith of believers into a tool for neutralising the people's legitimate rebellion.

It is the duty of the State to guarantee freedom of conscience for its citizens which implies especially the protection of children against indoctrination within State institutions, as happened in the colonial schools which subjected children of differing religious origins to the evangelising of the Catholic church.

In order to respect freedom of conscience, the State cannot be connected with any religions or appear to have links with any of them...

The Mozambican people did not struggle alone. Throughout the tough armed fight for national liberation FRELIMO established relations of friendship, solidarity and mutual help with peoples and countries sharing the same aspirations of freedom, independence and social progress.

This assertion does not stem only from feelings of gratitude although, on this day of happiness, we cannot fail to say how much the Mozambican people appreciate and esteem the fraternal and disinterested help they received from peoples, countries, organisations and individuals who made their efforts and sacrifices effective and victorious.

In the first lines of this combat front we find the national liberation movements, fighters in the same fight and the same trench, comrades in arms who struggled alongside us and with whom we have established fraternal and indestructible relations of solidarity. To them we wish to affirm, above all, in this liberated African land, that the People's Republic of Mozambique fully assumes the internationalist dimension of the fight for the liberation of Africa and mankind and that our common struggle continues...

We wish, in particular, to hail our brothers, from Tanzania and Zambia who, without any hesitation or calculation of any kind, accepted all the risks involved in their position as our strategic rear, who suffered loss of life and property because they did not compromise with colonialism and made their contribution to Africa's liberation.

Because our struggle was, correctly, a part of the common anti-imperialist fight, the Mozambican people, under the leadership of FRELIMO, took up their posts in the great world front of revolutionary forces. It is within this context of political and ideological solidarity that we see our relations with the socialist countries, a liberated area of mankind where a new society is being built free from the exploitation of man by man.

The People's Republic of Mozambique will develop and intensify its militant relations with all socialist countries, seeking to benefit from their experience, in so far as it is the common patrimony of mankind in the political, ideological, organisational, economic, social and cultural spheres.

In hailing the progressive forces we cannot fail to salute the Portuguese people, who were always our allies in the fight against colonial-fascism and with whom we have bonds of fraternal solidarity forged through our mutual help and reciprocal contribution in the struggle for the liberation of our two peoples.

Because our struggle never took on a racial character and because our people were always able to

distinguish between the colonial-fascist regime and the Portuguese people, today we can extend a friendly hand to the Portuguese people, without any complexes of any kind, so that we can build a future of friendship together, without hatred or feelings of revenge, on the basis of mutual respect for the personality of each people...

We are prepared to assume our responsibilities within the African and international community and, within this context, we shall apply for membership of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations Organisation, both international organisations which have served the cause of national liberation and peace.

Mozambican women, Mozambican men.

We have won our independence by dint of our struggle, our sacrifices and our revolutionary consciousness.

We marched, struggled and died to defend the interests of the masses of the working people.

In starting out on this new path, illuminated by the heroism of our martyrs and guided by FRELIMO's political line, we have one unshakable certainty:

**WE SHALL MAKE REVOLUTION TRIUMPH! LONG LIVE FRELIMO! LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE! THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES...**  
Independence Day, 25 June 1971

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BIKO LIVES

# On being powerless in power

Mubashir Hasan



Mr President, members of the Bangladesh Economic Association, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen.

I am not competent to speak on the technical aspects of planning. Those rightly belong to the domain of economists. My interests lie more in the political objectives of economic plans, their feasibility, their successes and failures. In the circumstances, I shall try to relate some of our government's experiences of plans and planners and of the forces acting upon them.

The principal lesson we learnt during the tenure of our government can be stated in one sentence. It is that preparation of plans and their implementation is more akin to waging a war rather than smoothly carrying out a mission for which a political government wins a people-oriented mandate from the electorate. It is an unending series of battles fought simultaneously on many fronts and at many levels. The principal contenders are the following:

1. *The people:* The overwhelming majority of the people of Pakistan are ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-educated, poor and backward. The proclaimed objective of almost all economic plans is to raise the economic, social and cultural level of the people. It is the people who vote, or are expected to vote, to bring governments into power and it is in their name that governments are formed and run.

2. *The leadership:* Generally speaking, the economic, political, social, ideological and cultural interests of the leadership of the political party in power determines the character of the government. In a country like Pakistan,

these interests, depending upon the period, may tilt towards the interests of big land-owners, industrial or trading classes, or the custodians of the civil and the military apparatus of the state.

3. *The managers:* This group may consist of three or more sub-groups.

(a) At the apex of the administrative and intellectual organisation of the national planning commission are the planners. Highly educated, often at institutions of higher learning in the West, the planners are academic in their approach and generally out of touch with the problems of the people. They have little field experience, if any. Occasionally, members of this group have either served with, or have yearnings to serve with, international organisations such as the World Bank.

(b) The second sub-group may be designated as the implementers. In the former colonies of Britain, the implementers are generally members of the civil and the armed services. Among them are administrators, engineers, educationists, doctors and specialists in agriculture and other applied sciences.

(c) Industrial entrepreneurs, capitalists, agriculturists, real estate developers, big transporters, etc., constitute yet another sub-group which operates semi-independently and at a level subservient to that of the sub-groups (a) and (b).

4. *The developed countries:* To be included in this group are the industrial and financial houses of the developed countries and their governmental agencies, as well as the international agencies dominated by them, such as the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, the international

Finance Corporation, the International Monetary Fund, etc., etc. The US Agency for International Development and similar agencies created by the governments of other developed countries are also to be included in this group.

The clash of economic, political, social, cultural and ideological interests among the 'contenders' is of a fundamental nature. Take, for example, the interests of the developed countries. They want the markets of the undeveloped countries for their produce, products, low level technology, capital, communication networks, etc., at terms as highly profitable as possible. They want to grab the fruits of the labour and wealth of undeveloped countries at as little cost as possible. On the other hand, they want to sell what they wish to export at as high a price as possible. In other words, the interests of the developed countries are best served only when they can make as much profit out of the poor countries as possible. They do not wish that the primary exports of the poor countries should become dearer, or for these countries to become able to produce locally the goods they depend upon the developed countries to supply. As things stand today, our poverty, is their riches.

The apparent interest of the 'managers', as these exist in the former colonies of Britain, are to enhance their own wealth, influence and political power. Since their legitimacy as rulers, indispensability as a necessary adjunct to the process of production, and their loyalty to the institution of the nation state have never been established beyond

dispute, the managers are prone to connive and collude against the people either with the leadership or with developed countries or both to serve their own group interest. Simultaneously, they are also prone to intrigue and conspire both against the people and against the leadership. However, a small number of individuals among them may attempt to act in the national interest along genuine nationalist lines. But the members of this small group have little chance of keeping their jobs over a long period of time.

The foremost interest of the leadership is, of course, to remain in power. At times, such interest proves to be a highly corrupting factor by itself; in other words, the leadership can be swayed away from its electoral commitment to the people and move closer to the interests of the other contenders. A government dominated by big landlords would want to raise the level of the prices of agricultural produce, would like agricultural inputs to be subsidised by the state and would like a greater share of bank credit for big landlords. Naturally, this leadership is opposed to land reforms or taxes on agricultural income.

Pakistan's brief history is rich with the experience of several possible combinations among the contenders. The leadership dominated by landlords and managers joined hands with the developed countries and we saw what happened during a part of the pre-plan and the first five-year plan periods (1953-60). The managers joined hands with the developed countries and the history of the years of the second and the third five-year plans (1960-70) is also before us. It is about a few years in the early 1970's that I wish to talk in more detail. Very little comes out in public of the fierce battles which unceasingly rage behind the scenes among the contenders — to be more precise, among the contenders minus the people.

We came into power under most unenviable circumstances and ran into major problems from day one. Most of our problems arose out of our political stance, our election rhetoric and lack of proper political organisation. We had a

programme to nationalise major financial and industrial undertakings; we were against the bilateral and multinational security agreements of Pakistan; we wanted to improve our ties with the Soviet Union without damaging our relations with China; in our election campaign we had been very vocal against the United States; we wanted to curb the power of the bureaucracy; and we were known as socialists. The result was that the developed countries as well as the managers were totally hostile to us. We had also alienated the big landlords and big business. It was in such an environment that we entered Islamabad.

As a result, the legitimate government of a sovereign nation, the first ever elected on the basis of universal adult franchise in Pakistan, had to act as an 'outsider' in an environment that was hostile, to put it mildly. The nationalisation of major industrial units had to be called, in the first instance, 'taking over management' and the task had to be accomplished in the dead of night along the lines of a clandestine operation. When it came to nationalisation of the banks, no file was ever made of that operation. Not one person from the establishment, including the governor of the State Bank of Pakistan, was made privy to the implementation of the secret project. To avoid hostile international reaction against a state in such a weak position as Pakistan was in January 1972, foreign-owned firms such as Attock Oil, Esso Fertilisers and ICI undertakings had to be exempted from nationalisation. The compensation to be paid for nationalisation of the American Life insurance company had to be negotiated secretly in advance of the act of nationalisation. In addition to the economic, many more examples of this nature can be cited in political, social and administrative fields, in which the government considered it necessary to act as if it was a faction in opposition to the real custodians of power — the bureaucracy and its international allies. Time and again, we were obliged to adopt extra-ordinary courses of action to implement our policies.

Soon after we assumed office, Robert McNamara, President of

the World Bank, paid us a visit. His mission was that (1) we accept liability for all the debts Pakistan has incurred to date, irrespective of the geographical area for which they were meant, and (2) we devalue our currency. In our discussion I put to him that if the Bank was of the opinion that we had inherited a government or an administration, it was mistaken. We were sitting, I said on the 'ruins and shambles' of a country and a government. McNamara was in agreement. He was also asked to look back on the course of Pakistan's economic development. For almost two decades, Pakistan had depended upon the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for guidance. The advice of the two institutions was accepted in totality. No questions were ever raised. Pakistan's plans were prepared and economic policies were determined by foreign experts. Pakistan even went to the extent of preparing and implementing individual projects almost exclusively to foreign consultants, contractors and suppliers, and their output was put by the bank and other agencies to the highest possible scrutiny — namely, that of the borrower by a lender. I told McNamara, 'You described Pakistan as a model developing country.' Pakistan had accepted the Bank and the IMF and their foreign experts as its physicians and, as a good patient, took all the medicine they had prescribed. And now the patient lay dead before them. Were they prepared to accept any kind of responsibility for the tragedy? McNamara seemed moved, but did not answer.

### The Reality

When we assumed power, there existed a fourth five-year plan to cover the period from 1970 to 1975. This plan, prepared by the previous regime, had been rightly criticised throughout the country, as it then existed. The kind of economic development it had aimed at would have served to exacerbate injustices among people and regions. It did not even attempt to do anything about what our party had termed the 'internal colonial structure' of Pakistan's economy. It was scrapped summarily by our government.

Ideas about starting afresh on preparing a formal five-year plan for economic development remained constantly in our minds, but for a variety of political, economic and administrative reasons we dared not embark upon them.

1. the constitution of the country had yet to be framed. The jurisdiction of the federation and the provinces had yet to be delineated, as also the powers of raising revenues.

2. Nationalisation of basic industries, banks, insurance, shipping and oil had to be carried out first, which took us more than two years.

3. Then we were hit by the spiral of rising oil prices and the severe worldwide recession of the 1970s. To add to our economic difficulties, we were hit by droughts as well as floods.

4. There were so many 'on-going' projects-and many more were to be added by us, like the steel mill, the power projects, heavy engineering and electrical complexes -that there was hardly any room for manoeuvre left.

By the time our government succeeded in giving the country a constitution with the unanimous approval of the Constituent Assembly, and by the time we had implemented the programme of nationalisation as envisaged in our election manifesto, it was 1974. Thoughts about the next elections began to occupy our minds and an international economic crisis began to take the world in its grip with extremely harmful consequences for us. Furthermore, we were disappointed with the ability and competence of our Planning Commission. The personnel in the Planning Commission was almost totally unacquainted with the conditions in the field. Unfortunately for Pakistan, its capital city has been so designed that foreign visitors are better able to adjust themselves in Islamabad than Pakistanis. For the citizens of Pakistan, visiting the capital to put forth a point of view is a nightmare. More painful, in practical terms, is the fact that the news of the country never seems to reach it. The majority of our *Sahib Bahadurs* of the Planning Commission live in the exclusive paper world of the secretariat. Not much could be done about them by us when we formed the

government. They were probably the best available in our country in those days. In order to acquaint them with the problems of development in the real world of Pakistan, I took a trainful from city to city and they were able to see, probably for the first time, how agriculture, industry, commerce, etc., operated in the country. They had a chance to meet and talk to working people, businessmen, administration officers, professionals and others.

Our experience with the developed countries and the international lending agencies educated us in yet another dimension. We had to pledge early devaluation of the Pakistani rupee. Only then were we able to resume normal financial and commercial intercourse with the western world. Prior to that, that is when we came into power, the financial houses of the West were not honouring our letters of credit or cheques. All our payments had to be made in cash. In fact, we were under constant threat of the seizure of our national assets in the western countries. Such was the truth, in the economic sphere, about the much touted 'tilt' towards Pakistan. Our depleting stocks of wheat and edible oil had crossed the danger mark. We had to find money to purchase food, and ships to deliver the food to Karachi. Even if all had gone expeditiously, we knew it would be too late to avoid grave shortages at the ration depots, and, as a consequence, urban unrest. Once we gave the pledge (I refer to the devaluation only), ships on the high seas loaded with grain were diverted to Karachi. We heaved a sigh of relief.

We were also to discover that the developed countries exercised great influence over the planning and implementation of development projects. We found that the practice of employing foreign consultants and contractors, sponsored by or acceptable to the developed countries or their lending agencies, to carry out feasibility studies, prepare plans and designs, supply goods and services and to supervise the execution of projects is a stupendous drain on, and a blatant plunder of, the wealth of Third World countries. Quite unjustifiably, we are made to pay through the nose-five, ten, twen-

ty times the real price-for goods supplied and services rendered. With the help of just one officer, an engineer by profession, I was able to save hundreds of millions of dollars from being looted away. But it was always a grim fight. The files bearing orders which adversely affected foreign interests tended to become untraceable. The high echelons of our administration and the top executives of corporations with foreign participation generally tended to side with foreign interests. Mr Bhutto's Minister of Finance Planning and Development soon became a very unpopular man indeed, and for good reason. Permit me to mention a few instances.

In 1971, Pakistani irrigation engineers pointed out that the design of the large Tarbela dam, under construction at that time, and costing \$600m (1971 prices) was defective, as it did not provide adequate capacity to release water for irrigation purposes in a particular period of the year. The foreign consultants responsible for the design vigorously rejected the Pakistani criticism. Rightly, as events were later to prove, the consultants were overruled and we ordered the construction of an additional tunnel in the dam. However, when the consultant and the contractor, big foreign firms both, came to know that I intended to assign the work of designing and constructing the additional tunnel to Pakistani firms a big storm broke out. The 'managers' and some forces from the elite joined hands with foreign interests to oppose my proposal. I barely managed to assign the design work to Pakistani engineers. Formidable problems arose when the time of awarding the contract arrived, as the managers continued to favour the foreign firm.

Two years later, as the dam was being commissioned, disaster struck. The tunnels designed and built by the foreigners, along with massive concrete works, were severely damaged, costing us hundreds of millions of additional dollars. But that was not all. Not a word appeared in the press about any lack of diligence shown by the foreigners in design or construction or both. The bureaucracy had connived with foreign interests. I had left the government by then,



and found myself totally helpless in getting the responsibility fixed where it belonged. The dam developed other troubles, and we have ended up by spending over \$1,300m, against the original estimate of \$600m.

Then there was the project to build a new pipeline from a gas field in Sind to Karachi over a distance of about 200km. I expressed my preference that the pipeline should be built by Pakistani engineers, for I did not believe it was so highly technical a job that Pakistanis could not do it. The 'managers' balked, saying that no Pakistani firm was capable of doing the job. Using the lever of the government's ownership of a part of the gas company, I hinted of my plan to change the management, the part-ownership of a multinational firm notwithstanding. The company relented, and in due course there was a request for approving foreign exchange expenditure of about \$40m to cover the cost of the pipe to be imported. I was staggered. Within minutes I got the length of the pipe multiplied by the weight of steel per unit length and the price of steel per unit weight. The answer was between \$6m and \$7m. Adding a certain percentage as the cost of fabrication, we concluded that the pipeline should not cost over \$9m to \$10m, against the \$40m being demanded of the government. Why? In their explanation, the company said that the government was in a hurry; the pipe was nowhere available on the shelf, hence the high quotation. But when would they actually need the pipe-in a week, a month, six months? Six months was their answer. So why did they not ask for a quotation for the supply to be made six months from now? They promised to do if forthwith. They did, and the price came down by between \$6m and \$10m, I do not remember the exact figure. But it was still much too high.

At the time the last discussion about the cost of the pipeline took place, an American gentleman was sitting in my office and he showed utter indignation and amazement at what he had heard. He was not a businessman, he said, but he had friends and if only he could talk to them over the telex, he could be helpful, he

would try. He did and the price came down to about \$23m to \$25m. But his gambit did not last long. Unfortunately for him, the telex operator was a sympathiser of the Pakistan People's Party and he supplied my resourceful private secretary with the transcript of the American's conversation with his 'friends'. The transcript revealed that within a period of three days all the four manufacturers of oil and gas pipelines in the world had agreed among themselves on how to share the extra profits any one of them would make out of the Pakistani deal. And they vowed not to quote below an agreed figure. As I pondered over the course to be adopted, an executive of our state enterprise called on me in some other connection. Upon learning that he was on his way to Japan, I requested him to say the right things to the Japanese steel manufacturers. He did and the price came down - to \$19m, if I remember correctly. Ultimately, we bought the pipe for between \$12m and \$13m as against \$40m. In country after country, government after government, the Third World is robbed every working day of the year. Almost every project that came to the executive committee of the National Economic Council for approval had either an unnecessary or an inflated tag of foreign exchange expenditure attached to it. In every meeting we would save scores of millions of dollars for the country.

There is a provision in the 1973

Constitution of Pakistan that the amount of compensation paid by the state in lieu of any land acquired by it for housing projects could not be challenged in a court of law. Having being so permitted by the constitution, the Punjab government passed a law, in the same year, assuming powers to acquire land at less than Rs.5 per square metre for developing residential areas. In the same law, the government also assumed the authority to declare a committee or any other body as an 'official development agency' for the purpose of developing or owning a particular housing colony. This was a wonderful law which had cleared the major hurdle in the way of tackling the housing problem-that of availability of land. As a result, the slum-dwellers of Lahore were able to organise themselves through an institution they called the People's Planning Project. Nearly 120 *katchi abadis* proceeded, in accordance with the law, to rebuild or develop in Lahore one slum colony after another into proper habitations for human beings. They were even able to build brand new; architecturally innovative neighbourhoods at a price a majority of the poor people were willing and able to afford. But the honeymoon between the organisation of the slum-dwellers of Lahore and the leadership of the Pakistan People's Party lasted hardly a year. The feudal interests in the party and the urban landowners joined forces. The work of turning the slums into reasonably well developed living

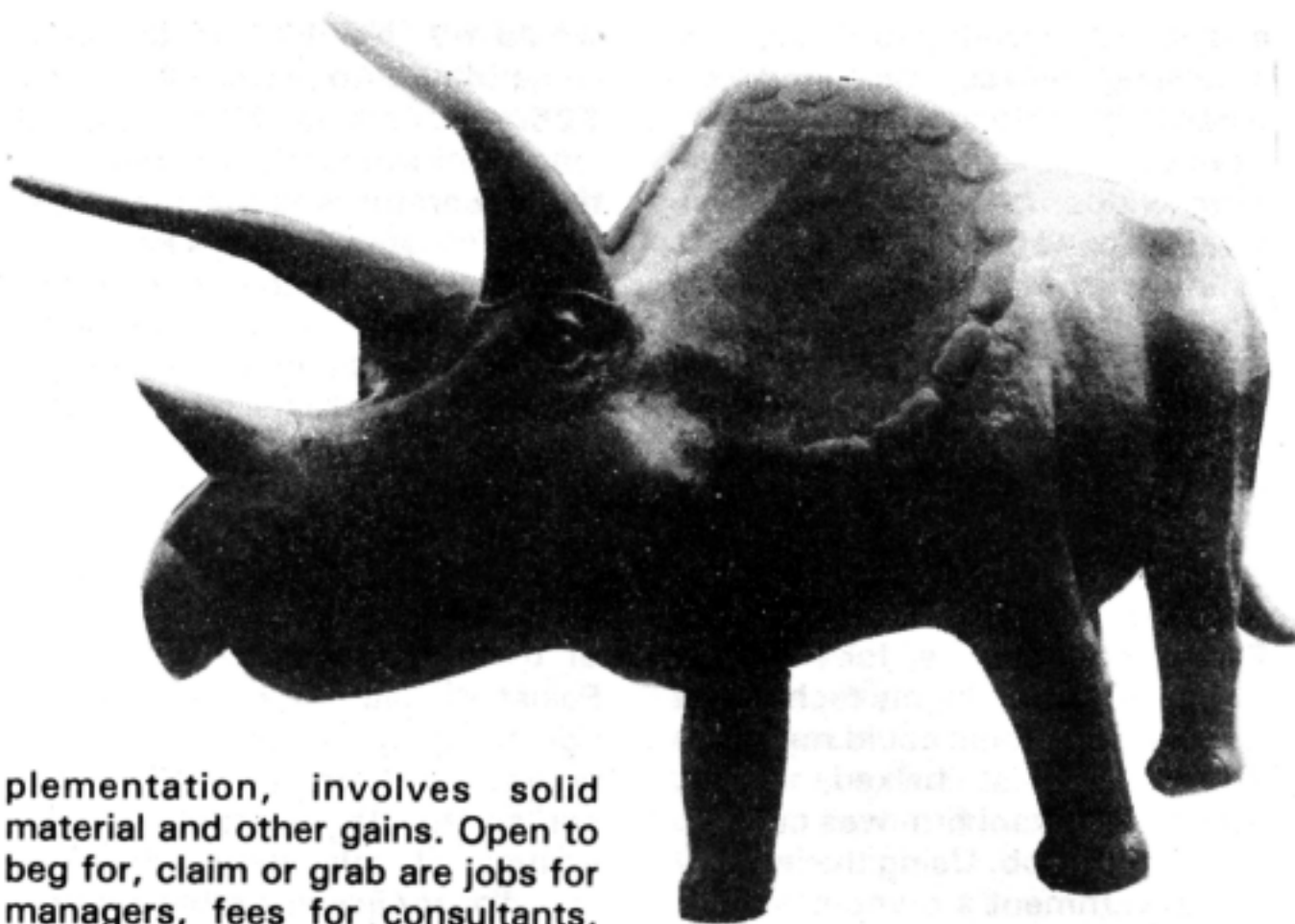


**Pakistani workers constructing Islamabad, now Pakistani's permanent capital.**

areas was halted in 1975. Today, there is a bill before the Punjab Assembly to repeal this particular law.

Following the Tarbela dam disaster in 1974 which I alluded to earlier, the consultants and contractors, their bankers and insurers, along with the international lending agencies, all from the developed countries, got together with the managers and some ministers of the government and no investigation was held to fix the responsibility for the disaster. During 1974 and 1975, serious attempts by nationalist-minded Pakistani engineers and their organisations to point unambiguously to where the blame lay were blatantly ignored. In 1976, any public discussion of the technical issues in the engineering and design of the construction of the Tarbela dam was prohibited. In the case of the purchase of pipeline, the managers did their best to connive and collude with suppliers from the developed countries against the best national interests. In both these cases, powerful foreign interests were involved. In both cases, they were helped by the managers. In the Tarbela case, some ministers also colluded. However, in the case of efforts to provide better housing facilities to the slum-dwellers of Lahore the leadership pitted itself against the interests of the people. Foreign interests were not involved. With the change of the chief minister, the character of the leadership of the Punjab Province had changed. After all, it was the government of the same political party that had started the project for redevelopment of the slum areas in 1973.

A five-year plan for the economic development of a nation may consist of hundreds of projects costing thousands of millions of dollars. Development requires that the concept of every project has to be elaborated into a working proposition. The project has to be planned and designed in detail. The project cost has to be worked out and arrangements have to be made for funds for its implementation. The project has to be executed on the ground and, finally, it has to benefit one or more sections of the population in one or more geographical location. Every stage, from the elaboration of the concept to that of deriving



plementation, involves solid material and other gains. Open to beg for, claim or grab are jobs for managers, fees for consultants, payments to contractors and suppliers, royalties for owners of processes and patents, profits for providers of loans and credits, goodwill and often material benefits for the leadership.

It is only natural that, for every project, a clash of interests should give rise to fierce battles for patronage, money and power among the contenders. All aspects of a project can be a matter of economic, political and, occasionally, strategic interest to the contenders.

Apart from being a generator of projects, a plan of economic development of a Third World country is an object of deep interest among the contenders for its political content. In what manner will the balance of economic, social and political power among the various classes and regions change in the country, as the plan is implemented? In what manner will the plan influence the pattern of financial and commercial intercourse with foreign countries after its implementation? In what manner will the implementation of the plan affect the contention among the superpowers in the country and the region? These questions go to the heart of the problems of development in general, and the planning and implementation of five-year plans in particular. These can turn out to be questions of high economic and political stakes. That is why interest in plans of economic development is so deep, not only within the nation but among its foreign patrons.

**Would global dinosaurs take the Third World with them to extinction?**

Allow me to illustrate my point by describing what the developed countries did not like in the policies pursued by Mr Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's government. I quote from the Report and Recommendations made by A.W. Clausen, President of the World Bank, to his Executive Directors on 11 May 1982:

8. "A series of major political disruptions took place from 1969 leading up to the separation of Bangladesh at the end of 1971. The new government which came to power in Pakistan in 1971 reversed many of the policies of the 1960s. Most large industries, domestic banks and life insurance companies were nationalised, with adverse effects on private investment and confidence. Difficulty was experienced in absorbing these nationalised enterprises into the public sector, leading to a general decline in industrial sector productivity. At the same time the government embarked on massive, long gestation public investments in industry (notably the Pakistan Steel Mill) and by 1977 public sector investment accounted for three quarters of the total industrial investment. The system of five-year plans was discontinued. From the mid-1970s, public investments were allocated through annual development plans which did not provide a framework for programming the future phasing of development expenditures.

9. In several respects, govern-

ment policies in the early part of the 1970's were biased towards the improvement of welfare for urban wage earners. Substantial wage increases took place as well as over-staffing of the newly acquired public sector enterprises, while consumer interests were protected by a combination of price controls and subsidies. The agricultural sector bore some of the burden of these policies...

10. In addition, to large-scale investments in the public sector industry and the associated needs for infrastructure, there were continuing large outlays on the major Indus Basin irrigation projects which had been commenced in the 1960s. However, these investments were not accompanied by adequate efforts to utilise the irrigation water provided by these projects...The government became committed to a policy of increasing subsidisation of agricultural inputs as the principal means of promoting agricultural productivity.

11. During the mid-1970's ... there was extensive reliance on significantly increased external borrowing, largely from OPEC sources, as well as excessive domestic borrowing, in order to maintain the pace of public investment. The relaxation of fiscal discipline led to an upsurge in domestic inflation and a depletion of foreign exchange reserves."

The foregoing is indicative of what the developed countries and their lending agencies did not like in the policies adopted by our government. They wanted the government they were negotiating with at that moment to change those policies. What they wanted to be changed was the substance of the so-called 'structural adjustment'. It was quite irrelevant for the developed countries and their lending agencies that the policies they wanted to be reversed represented the mandate given by the electorate to the Pakistan People's Party in the general elections of 1970 and 1977. The parliament of Pakistan, elected on the basis of adult franchise, had approved the measures our government had taken, the very same measures which Clausen and his patrons wanted repealed by a martial law government.

I shall not narrate the measures adopted by the developed countries to bring about political changes in Pakistan, partly in order to clear the way for the reversal of the policies of the government of the Pakistan Peoples Party. Let me confine myself to the realm of the economy, especially its planning aspect. Our Prime Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, was executed on 4 April 1979. Two days later, we read in the papers that the United States had cut off all economic aid to Pakistan. The World Bank and the IMF did not lag far behind and an economic squeeze was put on General Zia ul Haq's government. I am told that the Pakistanis did offer resistance but their political position was much too weak. One team after another from Washington visited Islamabad, and by the autumn of 1980 the IMF and the World Bank had broken through the Pakistani resistance. Finding itself in dire economic straits, Pakistan agreed to avail itself of an Extended Fund Facility of US \$1,500m in lieu of agreement to change its economic policies.

In the report cited above Clausen further disclosed:

"Over the past 18-24 months, there has been an intensive and fruitful dialogue between GOP (Government of Pakistan) officials and Bank as well as IMF staff on necessary reform measures to support access to the IMF's Extended Fund Facility and the proposed first phase of a program of structural adjustment lending. Bank staff participated in drawing up the sectorial policy measures of the EFF program; the SAL (Structural Adjustment Loan) program is designed to reinforce and build on those initiatives."

Now structural adjustment is a euphemism for basic changes of national economic policy. Change your policy about ownership of means of production and distribution, prices, savings, investment, industry, agriculture, energy and the priorities of your plan and you have carried out 'structural adjustments'. The agreement to the Extended Fund Facility signed with the IMF in 1980 and the Structural Adjustment Loan signed with the World Bank in 1982, together with some other loan agreements, sealed the fate of the direction of Pakistan's economy

well into the 1990's. These are highly instructive documents for students of national economy and national economic planning. The Structural Loan Agreement binds the government of Pakistan in the following sector and policy issues and I quote from Clausen's report cited earlier:

#### *Macro-economic management and resource mobilisation*

1. Economic growth
2. Domestic resource mobilisation
3. Monetary/credit policies
4. Balance of payment/exchange rate policies
5. Revised planning framework
6. Plan priorities
7. Planning procedures

#### *Agriculture and water sector*

8. Reorientation of public expenditure
9. Agricultural pricing policies
10. Diversification of agriculture

#### *Energy sector*

11. Petroleum exploration
12. Development of domestic oil and gas fields and producer pricing policies
13. Oil and gas consumer pricing policies
14. Role of public sector oil and gas development (Oil and Gas Development Corporation of Pakistan)
15. Long-term energy planning

#### *Industrial policies*

16. Public/private sector balance
17. Public sector efficiency
18. Export promotion
19. Import liberalisation
20. Restructuring of industrial incentives

In much greater detail than the list, the agreement specifies the objectives, lists the 'Recent actions and performance' and details 'Further steps to be taken'.

The specifications of the Structural Reform Program cover six pages in extra fine print. Actions are specified in detail, such as: fertiliser subsidy to be reduced from 9.2 per cent of total expenditure in the year 1980/81 to 2.9 per cent in 1983/84. The sector share of public industry to decline from 15.6 per cent to 4.9 per cent of total expenditure. Expenditure in the agriculture and water sector to be increased from 19.1 per cent in 1980/81 to 24.2 per cent in 1983/84. Water charges

to be increased to cover an increasing proportion of operation and maintenance expenditure in accordance with an agreed schedule. Fertiliser subsidies to be eliminated by mid-1985. All pesticide subsidies to be eliminated by the end of 1983. An agreed programme of import liberalisation to be completed by the end of the present Extended Fund Facility Program.

Mr President, the measures outlined in the Bank's report are so exhaustive that every facet of planning and controlling the economic life of Pakistan has been completely covered in the agreements I have referred to above. No flexibility is allowed to the nation state. The fate of the people is sealed to suit the interests of the overlords, not merely in terms of policies, priorities and objectives but also in terms of the day-to-day operations of the planning and implementing organisations. Clausen, in the same report, goes on to say:

"A highly regarded and experienced economist has already been appointed to the previously vacant post of Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission... More high-level staff are expected to be appointed shortly and various forms of technical assistance are being sought. In addition, GOP has taken steps to safeguard planned priorities by requiring the active involvement of the Planning Commission at all stages of the project selection process. The project selection and approval process was reviewed by the Bank."

The developed countries are keen to place their men in the key posts of development planning, monitoring and implementing

machinery. They want to bind the target nation not only in the strait-jacket of the plans they like to dictate, but also in the supervision and control of, the day-to-day work of their planning and implementation. The political counterpart of this conspiracy against small nations is that, in order to achieve their economic objectives, they have to prefer weak and highly centralised governments. Blinded by an unbounded sense of economic greed and, in some cases, by geopolitical considerations, they do not care about the consequences of their policies in the target nations, which are often comprised of more than one nationality or ethnic group, at differing stages of socio-economic, cultural and political development. As a result, class and regional disparities grow unchecked, breed all kinds of antagonism which, with the passage of time, become unresolvable, bringing misery, death and disaster for countless millions.

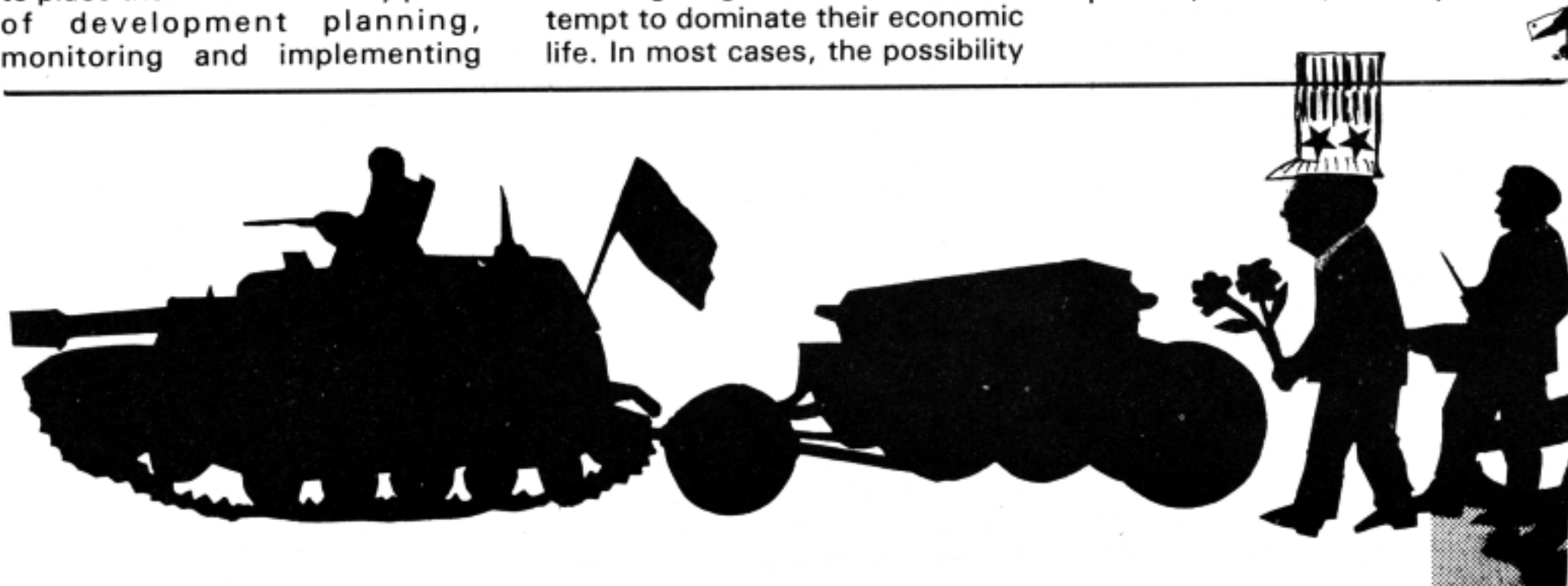
The dominance-dependance relationship of Third World countries with big powers poses extremely complex and difficult problems in the realm of preparing and implementing plans of economic development. No country having such a relationship can ever be in a position to serve genuine national interests, in whatever way the term national interests may be defined. Thus, one of the most important prerequisites for planned national economic development lies in the sphere of the foreign policy of the nation, and it is that the country should be genuinely non-aligned in the struggle between the superpowers. However, that may not suffice in some cases. For small countries can have big neighbours who may attempt to dominate their economic life. In most cases, the possibility

of such dominance can be countered by developing friendly economic and political relations with other nations. Relations among nations in any part of the world are never merely bilateral. Nations can have friends or groupings which come to each other's economic and political help in times of need. Unfortunately, all this is more easily said than done.

When a superpower or a big neighbour acquires a position of dominance that is detrimental to the national economic interests of a small or poor nation, it does so through the help and in partnership with leadership in the dominated country. Thus, the prerequisite for genuine and planned national economic development is that the developing country must not have a leadership that is so weak within its own country that it requires help from abroad to remain in power.

Assume, for a moment, that we have a developing nation which is genuinely non-aligned and which is blessed with a leadership that is not dependent on outside help to remain in power. Will that ensure national economic development in its true sense? The answer is in the negative because the economic interests of the leadership may not be identical with the economic interests of the people. In all its efforts to prepare and implement plans of economic development for the people, the leadership is sure to reserve such a big proportion of developmental effort for itself that the development of the people will remain quite wanting.

The general proposition I have come to believe is that only a people can, and will, develop itself.



\* *Musical Interval* \*

*The Reformist-Armchair Revolutionaires and The Flying Question*

(Modern Latin American operetta in one scene).

**CHORUS OF REFORMIST-ARMCHAIR REVOLUTIONARIES**

(walking and singing).

*We are for the masses rising up  
but only when all the masses rise up.*

*We are for the future popular army  
but against guerilla training  
foquista or no foquista  
militarist or massist  
rural or urban.*

*We are for armed struggle  
but against starting it.*

*It is stupid and tiring to go  
from the small to the big  
why not start out with the big?*

**REFORMIST-ARMCHAIR REVOLUTIONARY SOLOIST (Baritone):**

*I propose to start the revolution  
in Brazil or El Salvador  
with bands of no less than ten thousand  
armed men...*

**CHORUS:**

*No need to be specific.  
The enemy listens!  
But you are right:  
without thousands and thousands of men  
every dream is useless.*

*In the meantime,  
let's take care of the principles:  
armed struggle shines very beautifully*

*in our program  
why expose it to the onslaughts  
of hard reality?*

*To hope  
without losing hope.*

*To wait  
for the opportunity.*

(THE QUESTION appears, spinning through the air, wrapped in bright red tutus as though reflecting the sun. As it turns, it sings.)

**THE QUESTION:**

*And if  
the*

o  
p  
p  
o  
r  
t  
u  
n  
i  
t  
y  
comes?

*What will you have in your hands  
when the o-p-p-o-r-t-u-n-i-t-y comes?  
Will you be able to even recognise it?  
The "opportunity"  
takes its name  
from Lenin:  
it is called  
"revolutionary situation".*

(The chorus responds with a confused racket, each one of its members singing a letter to a different tune.)

**CURTAIN**

# Black Theology: opiate or material force?



TUTU



"BOTH A IS MY BROTHER  
WHETHER HE LIKES IT OR NOT"



BOESAK

The struggle for Azania is contextualised by settler-colonialism, as a form of imperialist domination and accompanied by a capitalist mode of production which, contrary to what its apologists have wanted us to believe, has not been blind as to the colour of whom it exploits. At the ideological level the domination of the Black people has taken the form of christianisation and education, among others, as forms of 'civilisation'. We do not need to retrace the history of missionary enterprise in this country in order to appreciate the validity of our conviction, suffice it to sum up the situation in the words of Dr Takatso Mofokeng;

*"The introduction of Christian religion at gun point by these European colonizers and settlers determined the history of the Christian church in South Africa"*  
(1)

This is not surprising nor is it peculiar to our situation. In all situations of class/racial domination religion and other institutions of 'socialisation' serve the ideological function of reproducing or facilitating the reproduction of the current social relations in the minds of the oppressed. The basic doctrines of the church would thus serve as 'theological safes' that render it morally im-

possible for the underprivileged of that society to develop an ideological suspicion to current social relations.

In occupied Azania christianity has thus served the ideological interests of the white settler-colonialists and their imperialist sponsors and it is in this context that Marx's analysis of religion as an opiate of the people becomes relevant.

However, the rise of Black Consciousness - as an expression of proletarian ideology - spearheaded the rise of Black Theology - an ideological response to the contribution of the Christian church to racial domination. The era of BC exposed the effects of imperialist ideology on the minds of the oppressed and carried out a calculated attack on and conscious departure from the settler-colonialist value-system that had served to foster a docile self-image among the oppressed.

For Black Theology this meant the realisation of religious fanaticism among the masses, resulting in an internalisation of their condition on the one hand, and a concerted effort to "interpret religion as a liberatory philosophy" on the other. The latter has become pertinent especially with the realisation that the struggle for Azania

will reach its efficacious end only with the establishment of a Black proletarian dictatorship.

The question facing Black theologians in this context would thus be: how can the Christian faith, which has obviously reached a large section of the proletariat, be used as a positive force contributory to the revolutionary consciousness necessary to guide our liberatory project?

## The Position of Black Theology

Dr I. Mosala is one Black theologian who has come close to answering the above question when he raises his concern for ideological captivity of Black Theology to white theology as he concludes:

*"It cannot be contested that although Black Theology had developed and is well and alive, it has not yet as a weapon of theory, become the property of the struggling masses. To this extent it is a theory that has not yet become a material force because it has not gripped the masses"* (2)

In a different context William R Jones raises the same concern with regards to Black Theology in the US. He explores three theories of social change that have influenced Black theology. These are:

1. The Maoist "eye-for-an-eye" approach. This derives from Mao Tse Tung's thought that "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun...It is only by the use of the gun that the working class and the labouring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and landlords". The ruling class will never negotiate its power away.

2. The "any-means-necessary" approach of Malcolm X, deriving from Malcolm's thought that the context and extent of repression will determine the means the oppressed will use in their liberation. "Don't die alone. Let your dying be reciprocal. That is what is meant by equality." However, the guiding principle for Malcolm is that the first option open to the masses is the ballot, only if this is not successful should the gun be considered. Malcolm's theory is also called "ballot or bullet".

3. Martin Luther King Jr's "other-cheek" approach, deriving from King's non-violent strategy. King, following Gandhi, taught that to fight the oppressor violently is not helpful to either side and that the sight of the undeserved suffering of the oppressed will challenge the conscience of the oppressors and lead them to change their minds.

William Jones takes issue with the King approach and concludes that it did no more than promoting white arrogance which led to him being sanctified as a hero in the US. Thus we see three positions from which Black Theology could derive theoretical tools: Mao's 'Bullet for a Bullet', Malcolm's 'Ballot or Bullet' and King's 'No Bullet at all'. Jones leaves the question open for Black theologians to choose an appropriate model. (3)

In our context we wish to argue that Black theology as it is now, has not been able to break with the imperialist Christian values. It's tendency to use the same models and principles of articulation as white theology has led to it reproducing the dominant ideological forms. In this way Black theology has become an opiate of the masses. This is notable especially with the writings and sayings of such theologians as Dr Allan Boesak, Bishop Tutu and others. This will become clear as we take the following arguments on Black

theology:

#### 1. It lost sight of its material context:

As is said above, the context of Black theology was a realisation of a need for self-affirmation by Blacks. At the ideological level this meant a conscious and deliberate rejection of the whole value-system of the racist regime on the one hand, and a development and infusion on the minds of the masses of a revolutionary consciousness necessary for them to carry out their historical task of establishing a new order characterised by the dictatorship of the Black proletariat.

The presupposition this has for Black theology of liberation is that its point of departure should not be an abstract universalism that would end summing up both the oppressor and oppressed under

material reality of class/racial conflicts. Dr Boesak is thus sacrificing the struggle of the masses by subjecting it to the judgement of an ideological tool of domination which he calls 'Christian faith'. There is no neutral faith in the world of class/racial domination -Christian faith must either be a gun for the oppressor or a gun for the oppressed.

The logical ethical conclusion Boesak's tendency has had has been to view with suspicion all attempts by the oppressed to utilise their faith as a positive force to advance their struggle, as Bishop Zulu's sentiment shows:

*"Some proponents of Black theology give the impression that theology should be the hand-maid of the Black revolution and that this revolution necessarily must be violent" (5)*

Once the ethical agenda for Black



the same fate. The Christian faith as it came to us has to be seen as both an ideological product of the imperialist society and as a weapon of domination over the masses. We can therefore not view the Christian faith as an ideologically innocent entity. Allan Boesak, an avowed Black Theologian, says:

*"Christian faith transcends all ideologies and all nationalistic ideals. It transcends specific groups and nations with their specific ideals and interests" (4)*

What we hear Dr Boesak saying here is that Christian faith as a human reflection on God and nature operates above the

Theology is set by another theology, Black theology will lose sight of its enemy and might end up fighting against the masses. If Black theologians have seen a need for a Black theology then they must begin to see a need to do it on Black terms. The reality of our society is that there is no common ground for both the oppressor and the oppressed and no amount of piety on the part of Black theologians will help bridge that gap at the ethico-ideological level. As long as Black theologians maintain a 'non-ideological' appropriation of the Christian faith, they are operating at a level different from where the masses are.

## 2. Interclassism.

By this we mean the interpretation of the christian faith in such a way that both the oppressor and oppressed are seen equally as sinners, and the view that the Bible is a record of a single history -God's revelation in history.

Mosala tackles this problem when he questions the blind conception of the Bible as the "Word of God" in Black theology. Black theologians seem to see one God in the Bible and their view of the Bible is that it is an unfolding whole. Thus the Bible as a site of class/race struggles is absolutised as an instrument of obedience. This is interclassist in that the problems of one class are universalised and made human problems: the needs of one class, always those of the ruling class, are generalised as normal human needs. This is what another Black theologian says;

*"The Black man shares in the basic humanity of all men. He has the same basic longings, hopes, ambitions as anybody else....like all men the Black man is a fallen creature" (6)*

What material experience of the oppressor forms the basis for the oppressed to see any convergence of longing or needs between them?

*"This line of thought", protests Rostagno "placed the exploited and the exploiter, the revolutionary and the imperialist, who were in need of pardon, under the same heading" (7)*

Again this interclassism, this absoluteness of scriptures over and above material reality leads to yet another tragedy for Black Theology — INCLUSIONISM (qualitative alliance of the oppressor and oppressed as one in the struggle). Alan Boesak demonstrates this ideological weakness when dealing with the question of liberal whites:

*"I speak of...those whites who have clearly committed themselves to the struggle for liberation and who, through their committment have taken upon themselves the condition of Blackness...In a real sense they bear the marks of Christ. They are part of the Black Church." (8)*

Bishop Tutu has maintained his position on the conviction that "Botha is my brother whether he

likes it or not". This sums up our scepticism. These people are known by the world not only as our leaders but also as representatives of Black thought both at the theological and secular levels and this makes it important for us to scrutinize their points of departure and conclusions over and against our struggle.

We say that the theology they develop is an opiate because it seeks allies with the oppressors. It poses a moral dilemma for the revolutionary struggle and the moral questions it raises do not unfold out of the dynamics of the struggle itself but from the fears and concerns of the white community. In promoting an appropriation of faith above the limits of our situation it is putting the masses at the mercy of the oppressors.

## 3. Ethical Revisionism

themselves that they can salvage theology. The fact that Western theology has been racist, sexist, capitalist, colonialist and imperialist has not been a mistake on the part of its proponents. To claim that white Christians have used theology for their economic interests must not make us feel sorry for theology - it is their theology. Our major project is how do we deal with this theological onslaught, how do we theologise our own interests.

Black theologians have thus unfairly accused white theologians for not taking into consideration the experiences of the Black people when theologising (as if white theologians had any choice). Black theologians seem scared to be seen to start something new. As another Black theologian puts it:

*"In its focus on the poor and the oppressed the theology of liberation is not a new theology; it is simply the proclamation of the age-old Gospel but now liberated from the deadly hold of the mighty" (9)*

Rather than incontextualising theology by snatching it from white manipulators and making it relevant to a different situation, should we not first see it for what it is — an instrument of imperial control — and then reject it by doing a completely new theology -the one whose historical develop-

ment is shaped by the Azanian praxis. It is to be unpardonably revisionist for Black theologians to assume the ability to seize the ideological weapon of the imperialists and unleash with the same the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed.

In conclusion we wish to make the following assumptions on what we consider to be important points for an agenda of a Black theology of liberation:

1. The masses in occupied Azania are in the midst of a revolutionary upsurge against the system. We recognise that most of them are Christians and that to wish that away would be unhelpful to our struggle. Therefore Black theology is a necessity. However, for this theology to be a supporting theory in our struggle it has to continually reflect on its priorities and methodology in terms of emerging issues in the struggle.

2. The ideological assault on the masses in this country has taken, among others, a theological form. For Black theology to be blind on this basic fact is to wage the struggle within the limits of the ruling class ideology. Black theology should reconsider its position on the following;

a) approach to the Bible  
b) ethical assumptions of the Christian faith.  
c) ideological undertones of theology

3. New models of scriptural interpretation and appropriation of the Christian faith have to be developed. In this regard we wish to applaud the works of such Black theologians as Itumeleng Jerry Mosala, Takatso Mofokeng and a few others for applying materialist sociological tools in the study of Black theology. This attempt, though relatively very new in occupied Azania, has laid the basis for a true Black theology for the first time. Unless developed with more vigour and urgency, Black theology will not reach the stage of being a material force for the toiling masses of Black people in occupied Azania.



# The church as seen by a young layman

Steve Biko

just how important it is for the various religions that exist in this world to be uniform. One thing is certain though, that all religions have got similar characteristics:

1. They form man's moral conscience; in other words, embodied within each religion is a set of moral stipulations that govern the spiritual well-being of a particular people within a given context.
2. They all attempt to explain the origin and destiny of man. All are agreed that man in the human form is a transient being in the world; all agree about man's origin as being from some force, the precise nature of which is defined differently. Where religions tend to differ is in the enunciation of the destiny of men.
3. All religions claim or almost claim a monopoly on truth about the nature of the supreme being and about the way to identify with his original intention about men.

Each religion is highly ritualistic. Through years of practice, the religion develops a certain pattern and procedure that in later years becomes inseparable from the central message of that religion.

If one takes religion as nothing else but what it is-i.e. a social institution attempting to explain what cannot be scientifically known about the origin and destiny of man, then from the beginning we can see the necessity of religion. All societies and indeed all individuals, ancient or modern, young or old, identify themselves with a particular religion and when none is existent, they develop one. In most cases religion is intricately intertwined with the rest of cultural traits of society. In a sense this makes the religion part and parcel of the behavioural pattern of that society and makes the people bound by the limits of that religion through a strong identification with it. Where people are subjected to a religion that is removed from their cultural make-up, then elements of disgruntlement begin

to be noted and sometimes open defiance is soon displayed. Hence one can make the claim that most religions are specific and where they fail to observe the requirements of specificity then they must be sufficiently adaptable to convey relevant messages to different people in different situations. For indeed, each religion has a message for the people amongst whom it is operative.

These are perhaps some of the things that never were uppermost in the minds of the people who brought Christianity into South Africa. Whereas Christianity had gone through rigorous cultural adaptation from ancient Judea through Rome, through London, through Brussels and Lisbon, somehow when it landed in the Cape, it was made to look fairly rigid. Christianity was made the central point of a culture which brought with it new styles of clothing, new customs, new forms of etiquette, new medical approaches, and perhaps new armaments. The people amongst whom Christianity was spread had to cast away their indigenous clothing, their customs, their beliefs which were all described as being pagan and barbaric.

Usage of the spear became a hallmark of savagery. All too soon the people were divided into two camps-the converted (*amagqobhoka*) and the pagans (*amaqaba*). The difference in clothing between these two groups made what otherwise could have been merely a religious difference actually become at times internecine warfare. Stripped of the core of their being and estranged from each other because of their differences the African people became a playground for colonialists. It has always been the pattern throughout history that whosoever brings the new order knows it best and is therefore the perpetual teacher of those to whom the new order is being brought. If the white missionaries were "right" about their God in



I am aware that today I am addressing myself to a group of people with whom I differ in two respects:

Firstly, I am a layman talking to a group of religious ministers. Secondly, I am a young man talking to fairly elderly people.

These are perhaps the two aspects that brought me here. An attempt to close the generation gap is always fundamental in the re-examination of any hitherto orthodox situation which seems to be fast becoming obsolete in the minds of young people. Also important, is the need to make common the concept of religion, especially Christianity, understanding of which is fast becoming the monopoly of so-called theologians. For this reason I am going to deal with the topic in a lay fashion.

To my mind religion can be defined as an attempt by man to relate to a supreme being or force to which he ascribes all creation. Our particular model at this moment is Christianity. It is not quite clear

the eyes of the people, then the African people could only accept whatever these new know-all tutors had to say about life. The acceptance of the colonialist-tainted version of Christianity marked the turning point in the resistance of African people.

The Church and its operation in modern-day South Africa has therefore to be looked at in terms of the way it was introduced in this country. Even at this late stage, one notes the appalling irrelevance of the interpretation given to the Scriptures. In a country teeming with injustice and fanatically committed to the practice of oppression, intolerance and blatant cruelty because of racial bigotry; in a country where all black people are made to feel the unwanted step-children of a God whose presence they cannot feel; in a country where father and son, mother and daughter alike develop daily into neurotics through sheer inability to relate the present to the future because of a completely engulfing sense of destitution, the Church further adds to their insecurity by its inward-directed definition of the concept of sin and its encouragement of the "mea culpa" attitude.

Stern-faced ministers stand on pulpits every Sunday to heap loads of blame on black people in townships for their thieving, house-breaking, stabbing, murdering, adultery etc. No-one ever attempts to relate all these vices to poverty, unemployment, overcrowding, lack of schooling and migratory labour. No one wants to completely condone abhorrent behaviour, but it frequently is necessary for us to analyse situations a little bit deeper than the surface suggests.

Because the white missionary described black people as thieves, lazy, sex-hungry etc., and because he equated all that was valuable with whiteness, our Churches through our ministers see all these vices I have mentioned above not as manifestations of the cruelty and injustice which we are subjected to by the white man but inevitable proof that after all the white man was right when he described us as savages. Thus if Christianity in its *introduction* was corrupted by the inclusion of aspects which made it the ideal religion for the *colonisation* of

people, nowadays in its *interpretation* it is the ideal religion for the maintenance of the *subjugation* of the same people.

It must also be noted that the Church in South Africa as everywhere else has been spoilt by bureaucracy. No more is it just only an expression of the sum total of people's religious feelings, it has become in fact highly institutionalised not as one unit but as several powerful units, differing perhaps not so much on scriptural interpretations as in institutional aims. It has become inconceivable to think of South Africa without a Roman Catholic church or a Methodist Church or an Anglican Church etc. in spite of the fact that the average Methodist from the street hardly knows how he differs from an Anglican or Congregationalist. This bureaucracy and institutionalisation tends to make the Church removed from important priorities and to concentrate on secondary and tertiary functions like structures and finance etc. And because of this, the Church has become very irrelevant and in fact an "ivory tower" as some people refer to it.

Going hand in hand with the bureaucratisation and institutionalisation of the Church is a special brand of a problem which also makes the Church extremely irrelevant - the concentration of that bureaucracy and institutionalisation in the hands of white people. It is a known fact that, barring the Afrikaans Churches, most of the Churches have 70, 80 or 90% of their membership within the black world. It is also a known fact that most of the Churches have 70, 80 90% of controlling power in white hands. It is still a known fact that white people simply don't know black people, and in most cases do not have the interests of black people at heart.

Therefore it can be reasonably concluded that either the black people's Churches are governed by a small non-sympathetic foreign minority or that too many black people are patronising foreign Churches. Which of these two it is, is not quite clear, but let us assume that it is the former, since the majority of the people in this country are black people.

In that case therefore, black people who are Christians are not only conniving at the hitherto irrelevant nature of Christianity as spelt out by the Churches, but they also allow a non-sympathetic minority which is not interested in making Christianity relevant to people remain in control of the workings of the Churches. This is an untenable situation which if allowed to continue much longer will deplete from the already thinning crowds that go to Church on Sunday.

Then too, the tendency by Christians to make interpretation of religion a specialist job, results in general apathy in a world which is fast departing from identification with mysticism. Young people nowadays would like to feel that they can interpret Christianity and extract from it messages relevant to them and their situation without being stopped by orthodox limitations. This is why the Catholic Church with its dozens of dogmas either has to adjust fast to a changing world or risk the chance of losing the young constituency. In various aspects, this applies to all Churches in the Christian world.

Before looking at suggested changes within the Church, let me then summarise what I regard as my major criticisms of it:

1. It makes Christianity too much of a "turn the other cheek" religion whilst addressing itself to a destitute people.
2. It is stunted with bureaucracy and institutionalisation.
3. It manifests in its structures a tacit acceptance of the system i.e. "white equals value".
4. It is limited by too much specialisation.

The most important area to which we should perhaps direct ourselves is gaining the control that is rightfully ours within these Churches. In order to do this, we must agree that in fact we have a common purpose, a common goal, a common problem. Equally we should agree that through living in a privileged society, and through being socialised in a corrupt system, our white Christian counterparts though brothers in Christ have not proved themselves brothers in South Africa. We must agree also that

tacitly or overtly, deliberately or unawares, white Christians within the Churches are preventing the Church from assuming its natural character in the South African context, and therefore preventing it from being relevant to the black man's situation.

It has been said by many a black church man, that whites are in power within the Churches, because the Churches are modelled on Western lines which white people know best. In order to be able therefore to change the Churches, we have first to gain ascendance over them in that white model, then thereafter turn that model into one we cherish, we love, we understand, and one that is relevant to us. I can only point out here that it cannot be conceivable that all the white people in controlling positions within the Church are elected by other white people. Obviously some get into their positions because they caucus vote-wielding blacks to put them in those positions. It is high time that black people learn the highly tried method of *caucusing* to put other black people in control of Churches in which black people have something at stake. Such elected blacks will obviously have to function accor-

ding to a mandate clearly outlined by the same black caucus that put them in power.

The second area in which we must focus our attention is a thorough understanding of what many people have hitherto scorned, namely Black Theology. There is a truth in the statement that many people can say one thing differently because they look at it from different angles. Christianity can never hope to remain abstract and removed from the people's environmental problems. In order to be applicable to people, it must have meaning for them in their given situation. If they are an oppressed people, it must have something to say about their oppression.

Black Theology therefore is a situational interpretation of Christianity. It seeks to relate the present-day black man to God within the given context of the black man's suffering and his attempts to get out of it. It shifts the emphasis of man's moral obligations from avoiding wronging false authorities by not losing his Reference Book, not stealing food when hungry and not cheating police when he is caught, to being committed to eradicating all cause

for suffering as represented in the death of children from starvation, outbreaks of epidemics in poor areas, or the existence of thugery and vandalism in townships. In other words it shifts the emphasis from petty sins to major sins in a society, thereby ceasing to teach the people to "suffer peacefully".

These are topics that black ministers of religion must begin to talk about seriously if they are to save Christianity from falling foul with black people particularly young black people. The time has come for our own theologians to take up the cudgels of the fight by restoring a meaning and direction in the black man's understanding of God. No nation can win a battle without faith, and if our faith in our God is spoilt by our having to see Him through the eyes of the same people we are fighting against then there obviously begins to be something wrong in that relationship.

Finally, I would like to remind the black ministry, and indeed all black people that God is not in the habit of coming down from heaven to solve people's problems on earth.

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# Black consciousness and the quest for a true humanity

*Steve Biko*

It is perhaps fitting to start by examining why it is necessary for us to think collectively about a problem we never created. In doing so, I do not wish to concern myself unnecessarily with the white people of South Africa, but to get to the right answers, we must ask the right questions; we have to find out what went wrong -where and when; and we have to find out whether our position is a deliberate creation of God or an artificial fabrication of the truth by power-hungry people whose motive is authority, security, wealth and comfort. In other words, the "Black Consciousness" approach would be irrelevant in a colourless and non-exploitative egalitarian society. It is relevant here because we



believe that an anomalous situation is a deliberate creation of man.

There is no doubt that the colour question in South African politics was originally introduced for economic reasons. The leaders of the white community had to create some kind of barrier between blacks and whites so that the whites could enjoy privileges at the expense of blacks and still feel free to give a moral justification for the obvious exploitation that pricked even the hardest of white consciences. However, tradition has it that whenever a group of people has tasted the lovely fruits of wealth, security and prestige it begins to find it more comfortable to believe in the

obvious lie and to accept it as normal that it alone is entitled to privilege. In order to believe this seriously, it needs to convince itself of all the arguments that support the lie. It is not surprising, therefore, that in South Africa, after generations of exploitation, white people on the whole have come to believe in the inferiority of the black man, so much so that while the race problem started as an offshoot of the economic greed exhibited by white people, it has now become a serious problem on its own. White people now despise black people, not because they need to reinforce their attitude and so justify their position of privilege but simply because they actually believe that black is inferior and bad. This is the basis upon which whites are working in South Africa, and it is what makes South African society racist.

The racism we meet does not only exist on an individual basis: it is also institutionalized to make it look like the South African way of life. Although of late there has been a feeble attempt to gloss over the overt racist elements in the system, it is still true that the system derives its nourishment from the existence of anti-black attitudes in society. To make the lie live even longer, blacks have to be denied any chance of accidentally proving their equality with white men. For this reason there is job reservation, lack of training in skilled work, and a tight orbit around professional possibilities for blacks. Stupidly enough, the system turns back to say that blacks are inferior because they have no economists, no engineers, etc... although it is made impossible for blacks to acquire these skills.

To give authenticity to their lie and to show the righteousness of their claim, whites have further worked out detailed schemes to "solve" the racial situation in this country. Thus, a pseudo-parliament has been created for "Coloureds", and several "Bantu states" are in the process of being set up. So independent and fortunate are they that they do not have to spend a cent on their defence because they have nothing to fear from white South Africa which will always come to their assistance in times of need. One does not, of course, fail to see the arrogance of whites and

their contempt for blacks, even in their well-considered modern schemes for subjugation.

The overall success of the white power structure has been in managing to bind the whites together in defence of the *status quo*. By skillfully playing on that imaginary bogey - *swart gevaar* — they have managed to convince even diehard liberals that there is something to fear in the idea of the black man assuming his rightful place at the helm of the South African ship. Thus after years of silence we are able to hear the familiar voice of Alan Paton saying, as far away as London: "Perhaps apartheid is worth a try". "At whose expense, Dr. Paton?", asks an intelligent black journalist. Hence whites in general reinforce each other even though they allow some moderate disagreements on the details of subjugation schemes. There is no doubt that they do not question the validity of white values. They see nothing anomalous in the fact that they alone are arguing about the future of 17 million blacks-in a land which is the natural backyard of the black people. Any proposals for change emanating from the black world are viewed with great indignation. Even the so-called opposition, the United Party, has the nerve to tell the Coloured people that they are asking for too much. A journalist from a liberal newspaper like *The Sunday Times* of Johannesburg describes a black student-who is only telling the truth-as a militant, impatient young man.

It is not enough for whites to be on the offensive. So immersed are they in prejudice that they do not believe that blacks can formulate their thoughts without white guidance and trusteeship. Thus, even those whites who see much wrong with the system make it their business to control the response of the blacks to the provocation. No one is suggesting that it is not the business of liberal whites to oppose what is wrong. However, it appears to us as too much of a coincidence that liberals-few as they are-should not only be determining the *modus operandi* of those blacks who oppose the system, but also leading it, in spite of their involvement in the system. To us it seems that their role spells out the totality of the white power struc-

ture — the fact that though whites are our problem, it is still other whites who want to tell us how to deal with that problem. They do so by dragging all sorts of red herrings across our paths. They tell us that the situation is a class struggle rather than a racial one. Let them go to van Tonder in the Free State and tell him this. We believe we know what the problem is, and we will stick by our findings.

I want to go a little deeper in this discussion because it is time we killed this false political coalition between blacks and whites as long as it is set up on a wrong analysis of our situation. I want to kill it for another reason-namely that it forms at present the greatest stumbling block to our unity. It dangles before freedom-hungry blacks promises of a great future for which no one in these groups seems to be working particularly hard.

The basic problem in South Africa has been analysed by liberal whites as being apartheid. They argue that in order to oppose it we have to form non-racial groups. Between these two extremes, they claim, lies the land of milk and honey for which we are working. The *thesis*, the *anti-thesis* and the *synthesis* have been mentioned by some great philosophers as the cardinal points around which any social revolution revolves. For the liberals, the *thesis* is apartheid, the *anti-thesis* is non-racialism, but the *synthesis* is very feebly defined. They want to tell the blacks that they see integration as the ideal solution. Black Consciousness defines the situation differently. The *thesis* is in fact a strong white racism and therefore, the *antithesis* to this must, *ipso facto*, be a strong solidarity amongst the blacks on whom this white racism seeks to prey. Out of these two situations we can therefore hope to reach some kind of balance - a true humanity where power politics will have no place. This analysis spells out the difference between the old and new approaches. The failure of the liberals is in the fact that their *antithesis* is already a watered-down version of the truth whose close proximity to the thesis will nullify the purported balance. This accounts for the failure of the Sprocas commissions to make any real headway, for they are already looking for an

'alternative' acceptable to the white man. Everybody in the commissions knows what is right but all are looking for the most seemly way of dodging the responsibility of saying what is right.

It is much more important for blacks to see this difference than it is for whites. We must learn to accept that no group, however benevolent, can ever hand power to the vanquished on a plate. We must accept that the limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they oppress. As long as we go to Whitey begging cap in hand for our own emancipation, we are giving him further sanction to continue with his racist and oppressive system. We must realise that our situation is not a mistake on the part of whites but a deliberate act, and that no amount of moral lecturing will persuade the white man to "correct" the situation. The system concedes nothing without demand, for it formulates its very method of operation on the basis that the ignorant will learn to know, the child will grow into an adult and therefore demands will begin to be made. It gears itself to resist demands in whatever way it sees fit. When you refuse to make these demands and choose to come to a round table to beg for your deliverance, you are asking for the contempt of those who have power over you. This is why we must reject the beggar tactics that are being forced on us by those who wish to appease our cruel masters. This is where the SASO message and cry "*Black man, you are on your own!*" becomes relevant.

The concept of integration, whose virtues are often extolled in white liberal circles, is full of unquestioned assumptions that embrace white values. It is a concept long defined by whites and never examined by blacks. It is based on the assumption that all is well with the system apart from some degree of mismanagement by irrational conservatives at the top. Even the people who argue for integration often forget to veil it in its supposedly beautiful covering. They tell each other that, were it not for job reservation, there would be a beautiful market to exploit. They forget they are talking about people. They see blacks as additional levers to some complicated industrial

machines. This is white man's integration-an integration based on exploitative values. It is an integration in which black will compete with black, using each other as rungs up a step ladder leading them to white values. It is an integration in which the black man will have to prove himself in terms of these values before meriting acceptance and ultimate assimilation, and in which the poor will grow poorer and the rich richer in a country where the poor have always been black. We do not want to be reminded that it is we, the indigenous people, who are poor and exploited in the land of our birth. These are concepts which the Black Consciousness approach wishes to eradicate from the black man's mind before our society is driven to chaos by irresponsible people from Coca-cola and hamburger cultural backgrounds.



Black Consciousness is an attitude of mind and a way of life, the most positive call to emanate from the black world for a long time. Its essence is the realisation by the black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of their oppression-the blackness of their skin-and to operate as a group to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude. It is based on a self-examination which has ultimately led them to believe that by seeking to run away from themselves

and emulate the white man, they are insulting the intelligence of whoever created them black. The philosophy of Black Consciousness therefore expresses group pride and the determination of the black to rise and attain the envisaged self. Freedom is the ability to define oneself with one's possibilities held back not by the power of other people over one but only by one's relationship to God and to natural surroundings. On his own, therefore, the black man wishes to explore his surroundings, and test his possibilities-in other words to make his freedom real by whatever means he deems fit. At the heart of this kind of thinking is the realisation by blacks that the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed. If one is free at heart, no man-made chains can bind one to servitude, but if one's mind is so manipulated and controlled by the oppressor as to make the oppressed believe that he is a liability to the white man, then there will be nothing the oppressed can do to scare his powerful masters. Hence thinking along lines of Black Consciousness makes the black man see himself as a being complete in himself. It makes him less dependent and more free to express his manhood. At the end of it all he cannot tolerate attempts by anybody to dwarf the significance of his manhood.

In order that Black Consciousness can be used to advantage as a philosophy to apply to people in a position like ours, a number of points have to be observed. As people existing in a continuous struggle for truth, we have to examine and question old concepts, values and systems. Having found the right answers we shall then work for consciousness among all people to make it possible for us to proceed towards putting these answers into effect. In this process, we have to evolve our own schemes, forms and strategies to suit the need and situation, always keeping in mind our fundamental beliefs and values.

In all aspects of the black-white relationship, now and in the past, we see a constant tendency by whites to depict blacks as of an inferior status. Our culture, our history and indeed all aspects of the black man's life have been battered nearly out of shape in the

great collision between the indigenous values and the Anglo-Boer culture.

The first people to come and relate to blacks in a human way in South Africa were the missionaries. They were in the vanguard of the colonisation movement to "civilise and educate" the savages and introduce the Christian message to them. The religion they brought was quite foreign to the black indigenous people. African religion in its essence was not radically different from Christianity. We also believed in one God, we had our community of saints through whom we related to our God, and we did not find it compatible with our way of life to worship God in isolation from the various aspects of our lives. Hence worship was not a specialised function that found expression once a week in a secluded building, but rather it featured in our wars, our beer-drinking, our dances and our customs in general. Whenever Africans drank they would first relate to God by giving a portion of their beer away as a token of thanks. When anything went wrong at home they would offer sacrifice to God to appease him and atone for their sins. There was no hell in our religion. We believed in the inherent goodness of man -hence we took it for granted that all people at death joined the community of saints and therefore merited our respect.

It was the missionaries who confused the people with their new religion. They scared our people with stories of hell. They painted their God as a demanding God who wanted worship "or else". People had to discard their clothes and their customs in order to be accepted in this new religion. Knowing how religious the African people were, the missionaries stepped up their terror campaign on the emotions of the people with their detailed accounts of eternal burning, tearing of hair and gnashing of teeth. By some strange and twisted logic, they argued that theirs was a scientific religion and ours a superstition-all this in spite of the biological discrepancy which is at the base of their religion. This cold and cruel religion was strange to the indigenous people and caused frequent strife between the con-

verted and the "pagans", for the former, having imbibed the false values from white society, were taught to ridicule and despise those who defended the truth of their indigenous religion. With the ultimate acceptance of the western religion down went our cultural values!

While I do not wish to question the basic truth at the heart of the Christian message, there is a strong case for a re-examination of Christianity. It has proved a very adaptable religion which does not seek to supplement existing orders but-like any universal truth-to find application within a particular situation. More than anyone else, the missionaries knew that not all they did was essential to the spread of the message. But the basic intention went much further than merely spreading the word. Their arrogance and their monopoly on truth, beauty and moral judgement taught them to despise native customs and traditions and to seek to infuse their own new values into these societies.

Here then we have the case for Black Theology. While not wishing to discuss Black Theology at length, let it suffice to say that it seeks to relate God and Christ once more to the black man and his daily problems. It wants to describe Christ as a fighting God, not a passive God who allows a lie to rest unchallenged. It grapples with existential problems and does not claim to be a theology of absolutes. It seeks to bring back God to the black man and to the truth and reality of his situation. This is an important aspect of Black Consciousness, for quite a large proportion of black people in South Africa are Christians still swimming in a mire of confusion-the aftermath of the missionary approach. It is the duty therefore of all black priests and ministers of religion to save Christianity by adopting Black Theology's approach and thereby once more uniting the black man with his God.

A long look should also be taken at the educational system for blacks. The same tense situation was found as long ago as the arrival of the missionaries. Children were taught, under the pretext of hygiene, good manners and other such vague concepts, to despise

their mode of upbringing at home and to question the values and customs of their society. The result was the expected one-children and parents saw life differently and the former lost respect for the latter. Now in African society it is a cardinal sin for a child to lose respect for his parent. Yet how can one prevent the loss of respect between child and parent when the child is taught by his know-all white tutors to disregard his family teachings? Who can resist losing respect for his tradition? Who can resist losing respect for his tradition when in school his whole cultural background is summed up in one word-barbarism?

Thus we can immediately see the logic of placing the missionaries in the forefront of the colonisation process. A man who succeeds in making a group of people accept a foreign concept in which he is expert makes them perpetual students whose progress in the particular field can only be evaluated by him; the student must constantly turn to him for guidance and promotion. In being forced to accept the Anglo-Boer culture, the blacks have allowed themselves to be at the mercy of the white man and to have him as their eternal supervisor. Only he can tell us how good our performance is and instinctively each of us is at pains to please this powerful, all-knowing master. This is what Black Consciousness seeks to eradicate.

As one black writer says, colonialism is never satisfied with having the native in its grip but, by some strange logic, it must turn to his past and disfigure and distort it. Hence the history of the black man in this country is most disappointing to read. It is presented merely as a long succession of defeats. The Xhosas were thieves who went to war for stolen property; the Boers never provoked the Xhosas but merely went on "punitive expeditions" to teach the thieves a lesson. Heroes like Makana\* who were essentially revolutionaries are painted as

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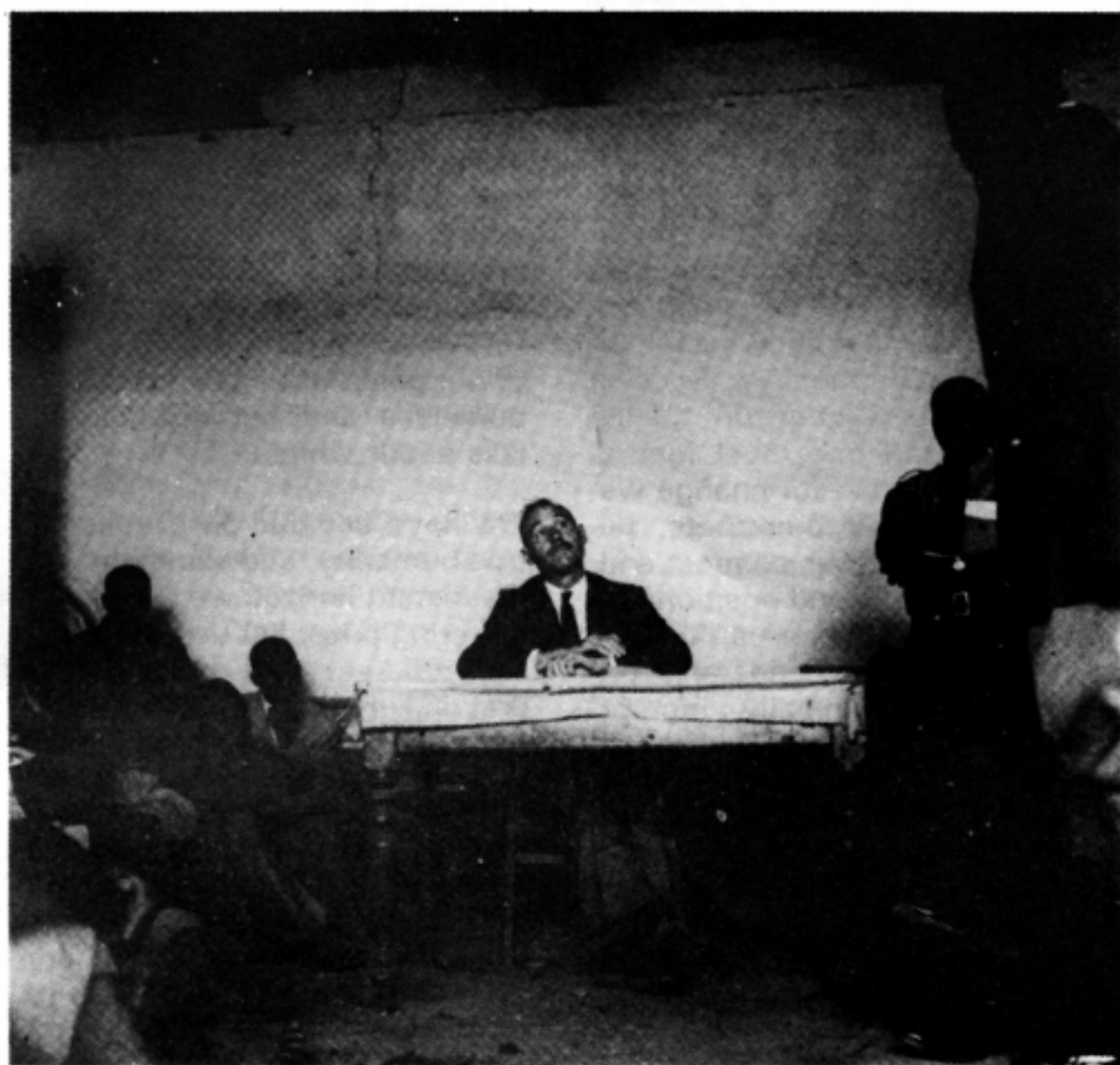
\* Early nineteenth-century Xhosa prophet, sentenced to life imprisonment on Robben Island and drowned while escaping in a boat. Refusal by blacks to accept the truth of his death led to the mythical hope of his eventual return. — EC.

superstitious trouble-makers who lied to the people about bullets turning into water. Great nation-builders like Shaka are cruel tyrants who frequently attacked smaller tribes for no reason but for some sadistic purpose. Not only is

demonstrate a historical evolution of the modern black man. There is a tendency to think of our culture as a static culture that was arrested in 1652 and has never developed since the "return to the bush" concept suggests that we

These are essential features of our black culture to which we must cling. Black culture above all implies freedom on our part to innovate without recourse to white values. This innovation is part of the natural development of any culture. A culture is essentially the society's composite answer to the varied problems of life. We are experiencing new problems every day and whatever we do adds to the richness of our cultural heritage as long as it has man as its centre. The adoption of black theatre and drama is one such important innovation which we need to encourage and to develop. We know that our love of music and rhythm has relevance even in this day.

Being part of an exploitative society in which we are often the direct objects of exploitation, we need to evolve a strategy towards our economic situation. We are aware that the Blacks are still colonised even within the borders of South Africa. Their cheap labour has helped to make South Africa what it is today. Our money from the townships takes a one-way journey to white shops and white banks, and all we do in our lives is pay the white man either with labour or in coin. Capitalistic exploitative tendencies, coupled with the overt arrogance of white racism, have conspired against us. Thus in South Africa now it is very expensive to be poor. It is the poor people who stay furthest from town and therefore have to spend more money on transport to come and work for white people; it is the poor people who use uneconomic and inconvenient fuel like paraffin and coal because of the refusal of the white man to install electricity in black areas; it is the poor people who are governed by many ill-defined restrictive laws and therefore have to spend money on fines for "technical" offences; it is the poor people who have no hospitals and are therefore exposed to exorbitant charges by private doctors; it is the poor people who use untarred roads, have to walk long distances, and therefore experience the greatest wear and tear on commodities like shoes: it is the poor people who have to pay for their children's books while whites get them free. It does not need to be said that it is the black people who are poor.



**Mtubatuba, May 1957: White Magistrate sits arrogantly in Judgement over a 'Tribal Dispute' between Chiefs.**

there no objectivity in the history taught us but there is frequently an appalling misrepresentation of facts that sicken even the uninformed student.

Thus a lot of attention has to be paid to our history if we as blacks want to aid each other in our coming into consciousness. We have to rewrite our history and produce in it the heroes that formed the core of our resistance to the white invaders. More has to be revealed, and stress has to be laid on the successful nation-building attempts of men such as Shaka, Moshoeshe and Hinsta. These areas call for intense research to provide some sorely needed missing links. We would be too naive to expect our conquerors to write unbiased histories about us but we have to destroy the myth that our history starts in 1652, the year Van Riebeeck landed at the Cape.

Our culture must be defined in concrete terms. We must relate the past to the present and

have nothing to boast of except lions, sex and drink. We accept that when colonisation sets in it devours the indigenous culture and leaves behind a bastard culture that may thrive at the pace allowed it by the dominant culture. But we also have to realise that the basic tenets of our culture have largely succeeded in withstanding the process of bastardisation and that even at this moment we can still demonstrate that we appreciate a man for himself. Ours is a true man-centred society whose sacred tradition is that of sharing. We must reject, as we have been doing, the individualistic cold approach to life that is the cornerstone of the Anglo-Boer culture. We must seek to restore to the black man the great importance we used to give to human relations, the high regard for people and their property and for life in general; to reduce the triumph of technology over man and the materialistic element that is slowly creeping into our society.

We therefore need to take another look at how best to use our economic power, little as it may seem to be. We must seriously examine the possibilities of establishing business co-operatives whose interest will be ploughed back into community development Programmes. We should think along such lines as the "buy black" campaign once suggested in Johannesburg and establish our own banks for the benefit of the community. Organisational development amongst blacks has only been low because we have allowed it to be. Now that we know we are on our own, it is an absolute duty for us to fulfil these needs.

The last step in Black Consciousness is to broaden the base of our operation. One of the basic tenets of Black Consciousness is totality of involvement. This means that all Blacks must sit as one big unit, and no fragmentation and distraction from the mainstream of events be allowed. Hence we must resist the attempts by protagonists of the bantustan theory to fragment our approach. We are oppressed not as individuals, not as Zulus, Xhosas, Vendas or Indians. We

are oppressed because we are black. We must use that very concept to unite ourselves and to respond as a cohesive group. We must cling to each other with a tenacity that will shock the perpetrators of evil.

Our preparedness to take upon ourselves the cudgels of the struggle will see us through. We must remove from our vocabulary completely the concept of fear. Truth must ultimately triumph over evil, and the white man has always nourished his greed on this basic fear that shows itself in the black community. Special Branch agents will not turn the lie into truth, and one must ignore them. In a true bid for change we have to take off our coats, be prepared to lose our comfort and security, our jobs and positions of prestige, and our families, for just as it is true that "leadership and security are basically incompatible", a struggle without casualties is no struggle. We must realise that prophetic cry of black students: "Black man, you are on your own!"

Some will charge that we are racist but these people are using exactly the values we reject. We

do not have the power to subjugate anyone. We are merely responding to provocation in the most realistic possible way. Racism does not only imply exclusion of one race by another-it always presupposes that the exclusion is for the purposes of subjugation. Blacks have had enough experience as objects of racism not to wish to turn the tables. While it may be relevant now to talk about black in relation to white, we must not make this our preoccupation, for it can be a negative exercise. As we proceed further towards the achievements of our goals let us talk more about ourselves and our struggle and less about whites.

We have set out on a quest for true humanity, and somewhere on the distant horizon we can see the glittering prize. Let us march forth with courage and determination, drawing strength from our common plight and our brotherhood. In time we shall be in a position to bestow upon South Africa the greatest gift possible-a more human face.

# Fear — an important determinant in South African politics

*Steve Biko*

It would seem that the greatest waste of time in South Africa is to try and find logic in why the white government does certain things. If anything else, the constant inroads into the freedom of the black people illustrates a complete contempt for this section of the community.

My premise has always been that black people should not at any one stage be surprised at some of the atrocities committed by the government. This to me follows logically after their initial assumption that they, being a settler minority, can have the right to be supreme masters. If they could be cruel enough to cow the natives down with brutal force and install themselves as perpetual rulers in a foreign land, then anything else they do to the same black people

becomes logical in terms of the initial cruelty. To expect justice from them at any stage is to be naive. They almost have a duty to themselves and to their "electorate" to show that they still have the upper hand over the black people. There is only one way of showing that upper-hand — by ruthlessly breaking down the back of resistance amongst the blacks, however petty that resistance is.

One must look at the huge security force that South Africa has in order to realise this. These men must always report something to their masters in order to justify their employment. It is not enough to report that "I have been to Pondoland and the natives are behaving well and are

peaceful and content." This is not satisfactory for the perpetrators of evil are aware of the cruelty of their system and hence do not expect the natives to be satisfied. So the security boys are sent back to Pondoland to find out who the spokesman is who claims that the people are satisfied and to beat him until he admits that he is not satisfied. At that point he is either banned or brought forward to be tried under one of the many Acts. The absolutely infantile evidence upon which the State builds up its cases in some of the trials does suggest to me that they are quite capable of arresting a group of boys playing hide and seek and charging them with high treason.

This is the background against



which one must see the many political trials that are held in this country. To them it looks as if something would be dangerously wrong if no major political trial was held for a period of one year. It looks as if someone will be accused by his superior for not doing his work. The strangest thing is that people are hauled in for almost nothing to be tried under the most vicious of Acts — like the Terrorism Act.

It is also against this background that one must view the recent banning and house arrest imposed on Mr Mewa Ramgobin. No amount of persuasion by anyone can convince me that Ramgobin had something sinister up his sleeve. To all those who know him, Mewa was the last man to be considered a serious threat to anyone—let alone a powerful State with an army of perhaps 10,000 security men and informers. But then, as we said, logic is a strange word to these people.

Aimé Césaire once said: "When I turn on my radio, when I hear that Negroes have been lynched in America, I say that we have been lied to: Hitler is not dead: when I turn on my radio and hear that in Africa, forced labour has been inaugurated and legislated, I say that we have certainly been lied to: Hitler is not dead".

Perhaps one need add only the following in order to make the picture complete:

"When I turn on my radio, when I hear that someone in the Pondoland forest was beaten and tortured, I say that we have been lied to: Hitler is not dead, when I turn on my radio, when I hear that someone in jail slipped off a piece of soap, fell and died I say that we have been lied to: Hitler is not dead, he is likely to be found in Pretoria".

To look for instances of cruelty directed at those who fall into disfavour with the security police is perhaps to look too far. One need not try to establish the truth of the claim that black people in South Africa have to struggle for survival. It presents itself in ever so many facets of our lives. Township life alone makes it a miracle for anyone to live up to adulthood. There we see a situation of absolute want in which



**Fear conquered: Youth in Duduza dancing joyously around the burning car of a suspected informer, 1985.**

black will kill black to be able to survive. This is the basis of the vandalism, murder, rape and plunder that goes on while the real sources of the evil - white society - are suntanning on exclusive beaches or relaxing in their bourgeois homes.

While those amongst blacks who do bother to open their mouths in feeble protest against what is going on are periodically intimidated with security visits and occasional banning orders and house arrests, the rest of the black community lives in absolute fear of the police. No average black man can ever at any moment be absolutely sure that he is not breaking a law. There are so many laws governing the lives and behaviour of black people that sometimes one feels that the police only need to page at random through their statute book to be able to get a law under which to charge a victim.

The philosophy behind police action in this country seems to be "harass them! harass them!". And one needs to add that they interpret the word in a very extravagant sense. Thus even young traffic policemen, people generally known for their grace, occasionally find it proper to slap adult black people. It sometimes looks obvious here that the great plan is to keep the black people thoroughly intimidated and to perpetuate the "super-race" image of the white man, if not intellectually, at least in terms of force. White people, working

through their vanguard — the South African Police — have come to realise the truth of that golden maxim — if you cannot make a man respect you, then make him fear you.

Clearly black people cannot respect white people, at least not in this country. There is such an obvious aura of immorality and naked cruelty in all that is done in the name of white people that no black man, no matter how intimidated, can ever be made to respect white society. However, in spite of their obvious contempt for the values cherished by whites and the price at which white comfort and security is purchased, blacks seem to me to have been successfully cowed down by the type of brutality that emanates from this section of the community.

It is this fear that erodes the soul of black people in South Africa—a fear obviously built up deliberately by the system through a myriad of civil agents, be they post office attendants, police, CID officials, army men in uniform, security police or even the occasional trigger-happy white farmer or store owner. It is a fear so basic in the considered actions of black people as to make it impossible for them to behave like people—let alone free people. From the attitude of a servant to his employer, to that of a black man being served by a white attendant at a shop, one sees this fear clearly showing through. How can people be prepared to put up a

resistance against their overall oppression if in their individual situations, they cannot insist on the observance of their manhood? This is a question that often occurs to overseas visitors who are perceptive enough to realise that all is not well in the land of sunshine and milk.

Yet this is a dangerous type of fear, for it only goes skin deep. It hides underneath it an immeasurable rage that often threatens to erupt. Beneath it lies naked hatred for a group that deserves absolutely no respect. Unlike in the rest of the French or Spanish former colonies where chances of assimilation made it not impossible for blacks to aspire towards being white, in South Africa whiteness has always been associated with police brutality and intimidation, early morning pass raids, general harassment in and out of townships and hence no black really aspires to being white. The claim by whites of monopoly on comfort and security has always been so exclusive that blacks see whites as the major obstacle in their progress towards peace, prosperity and a sane society. Through its association with all these negative aspects, whiteness has thus been soiled beyond recognition. At best therefore blacks see whiteness as a concept that warrants being despised, hated, destroyed and replaced by an aspiration with more human content in it. At worst blacks envy white society for the comfort it has usurped and at the centre of this envy is the wish-nay, the secret determination-in the innermost minds of most blacks who think like this, to kick whites off those comfortable garden chairs that one sees as he rides in a bus, out of town, and to claim them for themselves. Day by day, one gets more convinced that Aimé Césaire could not have been right when he said "no race possesses the monopoly on truth, intelligence, force and there is room for all of us at the rendezvous of victory."

It may, perhaps, surprise some people that I should talk of whites in a collective sense when in fact it is a particular section i.e. the government - that carries out this unwarranted vendetta against blacks.

There are those whites who will

completely disclaim responsibility for the country's inhumanity to the black man. These are the people who are governed by logic for 4 1/2 years but by fear at election time. The Nationalist party has perhaps many more English votes than one imagines. All whites collectively recognise in it a strong bastion against the highly played-up *swart gevaar*. One must not underestimate the deeply imbedded fear of the black man so prevalent in white society. Whites know only too well what exactly they have been doing to blacks and logically find reason for the black man to be angry. Their state of insecurity however does not outweigh their greed for power and wealth, hence they brace themselves to react against this rage rather than to dispel it with openmindedness and fair play. This interaction between fear and reaction then sets on a vicious cycle that multiplies both the fear and the reaction. This is what makes meaningful coalitions between the black and white totally impossible. Also this is what makes whites act as a group and hence become culpable as a group.

In any case, even if there was a real fundamental difference in thinking amongst whites *vis-à-vis* blacks, the very fact that those disgruntled whites remain to enjoy the fruits of the system would alone be enough to condemn them at Nuremburg. Listen to Karl Jaspers writing on the concept of metaphysical guilt:

*"There exists amongst men, because they are men, a solidarity through which each shares responsibility for every injustice and every wrong committed in the world and especially for crimes that are committed in his presence or of which he cannot be ignorant. If I do not do whatever I can to prevent them, I am an accomplice in them. If I have risked my life in order to prevent the murder of other men, if I have stood silent, I feel guilty in a sense that cannot in any adequate fashion be understood juridically or politically or morally... That I am still alive after such things have been done weighs on me as a guilt that cannot be expiated."*

*Somewhere in the heart of human relations, an absolute command imposes itself: in case of criminal*

*attack or of living conditions that threaten physical being, accept life for all together or not at all."*

Thus if whites in general do not like what is happening to the black people, they have the power in them to stop it here and now. We, on the other hand, have every reason to bundle them together and blame them jointly.

One can of course say that blacks too are to blame for allowing the situation to exist. Or to drive the point even further, one may point out that there are black policemen and black special branch agents. To take the last point first, I must state categorically that there is no such thing as a black policeman. Any black man who props the system up actively has lost the right to being considered part of the black world: he has sold his soul for 30 pieces of silver and finds that he is in fact not acceptable to the white society he sought to join. These are colourless white lackeys who live in a marginal world of unhappiness. They are extensions of the enemy into our ranks. On the other hand, the rest of the black world is kept in check purely because of powerlessness.

Powerlessness breeds a race of beggars who smile at the enemy and swear at him in the sanctity of their toilets; who shout "Baas" willingly during the day and call the white man a dog in their buses as they go home. Once again the concept of fear is at the heart of this two-faced behaviour on the part of the conquered blacks.

This concept of fear has now taken a different dimension. One frequently hears people say of someone who has just been arrested or banned - "there is no smoke without fire" or if the guy was outspoken - "he asked for it, I am not surprised". In a sense this is almost deifying the security police; they cannot be wrong; if they could break the Rivonia plot, what makes them afraid of an individual to the point of banning him unless there is something - which we do not know? This kind of logic, found to varying degrees in the Afrikaner, the English and the black communities, is dangerous for it completely misses the point and reinforces irrational action on the part of the security police.

The fact of the matter is that the government and its security forces are also ruled by fear, in spite of their immense power. Like anyone living in mortal fear, they occasionally resort to irrational actions in the hope that a show of strength rather than proper intelligence might scare the resisters satisfactorily. This is the basis of security operations in South Africa most of the time. If they know that there are some three missionaries who are dangerous to their interest but whose identity is unknown, they would rather deport about 80 missionaries and hope that the three are among them than use some brains and find out who the three are. This was also the basis of the

arrest of about 5,000 during the so-called "Poqo" raids of 1963. And of course the laws from which security police derive their power are so vague and sweeping as to allow for all this. Hence one concludes that the South African security system is force-oriented rather than intelligence-oriented. One may of course add that this type of mentality, in this country, stretches all the way from State security to the style of rugby whites adopt. It has become their way of life.

One will therefore not be surprised if it proves very difficult to accept that "there is room for all of us at the rendezvous of victory". The tripartate system of fear-that

of white fearing the blacks, blacks fearing whites and the government fearing blacks and wishing to allay the fear amongst whites—makes it difficult to establish rapport amongst the two segments of the community. The fact of living apart adds a different dimension and perhaps a more serious one—it makes the aspirations of the two groups diametrically opposed. The white strategy so far has been to systematically break down the resistance of the blacks to the point where the latter would accept crumbs from the white table. This we have shown we reject unequivocally; and now the stage is therefore set for a very interesting turn of events.

# Frankly Speaking



## Brickbats and Bouquets

*Frank Talk*, please remember that we are not all philosophers. Some of your articles sound very interesting and I suppose that they are. But we ordinary mortals cannot understand the esoteric jargon they are phrased in. Your writers seem to inhabit ethereal zones of the intellect while leaving us in the mud. Can't you compromise?

Ray Naidoo  
Chatsworth, Durban

My wife and I have been greatly impressed by the high quality of *Frank Talk* and its articles. Of all the issues we have read, the first issue still stands out as the best. I am sure that many other readers would like to see the first issue reprinted. For the uninitiated, Volume 1 Number 1 is an excellent introduction to Black Consciousness. We love your magazine and wish you all the success in the future.

Xolisilie Nguna  
Galeshewe, Kimberley

When *Frank Talk* first appeared, we all hoped for a magazine that would not fall into the legendary error of ideological sectarianism and would be a forum for all the Black people of South Africa. Alas, *Frank Talk* has failed to live up to expectations: it hammers home the viewpoints of the Black

Consciousness Movement and simply does not provide for the exchange of ideas.

Thembi Soga  
Kwa Xuma, Soweto

## Maynardism

I enjoyed the paper by Dr Herbert Ushewokunze in *Frank Talk* (Volume 1 Number 5 at 22ff — EC), Dr Ushewokunze keeps on referring to Maynard and Maynardism. Could you explain what he means?

Vusi Gweva  
Ngangelizwe Township  
Umtata, Transkei.

*(Mr Maynard is a cynical but sophisticated member of "Rhodesia's" establishment in Doris Lessing's novel, A Proper Marriage, London, Panther, 1966). The heroine, Martha Quest asks Maynard "Why not abolish passes altogether?" at pages 220-221:*

*"Why not? I suggest you put pressure on your parliamentary representatives to that effect." Martha laughed again (Mr Maynard continued); "I am firmly of the opinion that the sooner a middle class with privileges is created among the Africans the better it will be for everyone. Unfortunately, the majority of the*

*whites are so bogged down in intelligent considerations such as that they wouldn't have their sisters marrying black men, that they are too stupefied to see the advantages of such a course."*

*The setting was in the 1930's, hence Lessing wrote: "Martha was several years from understanding this remark." Maynardism is, therefore, the white-cum-bourgeois strategy: Mr Maynard, self-evidently, had learnt his dialectics! — EC)*

## National Convention

The most comforting thing to learn from the visit of the imperialist Teddy Kennedy is who exactly in the Black community consorts with the CIA. I am not at all surprised that the Kennedy fan clubs were the ones most vociferous about genuine people's organisations being bankrolled by the CIA. What a revelation!

Rosemary Mzamane  
Matatiele, Transkei

When Mandela made the call for a National Convention in 1961, he did so from a position of weakness — he did not expect the rulers to respond to it. Mandela utilized the "National Convention" label as a Call for Action.

I suggest that the call of the liberation movement should be for a Congress of the People. The Congress of the People was the most democratic gathering ever held in South Africa and it fires the imagination of the oppressed. The term "Constituent Assembly" is a relatively unknown term in South Africa and it is what Renamo purports to call for in Mozambique.

The Congress Movement has correctly made a class alliance at this point in the struggle. Middle class opportunists in the UDF naturally jump for the "National Convention" option offered by the rulers — a majority rule solution which in no way threatens the capitalist social order.

The socialist militants within the UDF must not give the liberal bourgeoisie an edge. Power to the Congress of the People!

*Jabu Mahabane*  
Gugulethu, Cape Town

The ANC and the UDF have rightly called for a National Convention and will achieve it, despite AZAPO's platitudinous "Death to the National Convention" call.

An All-in Conference of the people was called in 1961 and demanded the immediate calling of a National Convention. The Convention had to be sovereign, and made up of elected representatives. Since the government did not respond to the call, South Africa saw the biggest national stay-at-home there has ever been.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the popular call for a National Convention is the target of both right-wing co-option (witness the Inkatha and PFP calls) and ultra-leftist vitriol.

The National Convention has to be elected on the basis of unlimited, non-racial, adult franchise and be sovereign (ie. having the power to put into practice the constitution it draws up). It must have its meetings in public.

There are several non-negotiable pre-conditions to the National Convention:

a. The suspension and demobilisation of the police and army;

- b. The unbanning of political organisations;
- c. The unconditional release of Nelson Mandela;
- d. The immediate suspension of all racist and unjust laws;
- e. The suspension of the present Constitution.

The National Convention call is not the call for a sit-down with the PW Bothas and the Oppenheimers. This is the figment of the vivid imaginations of troublemakers like yourselves.

*Shiraz Abdulla*  
Malabar, Port Elizabeth



**BAMBATA**

The formation of the Native National Congress (now known as the ANC) in 1912 occurred while Bambata's body was not yet cold in his grave. This was a manifestation of a false indication of defeat on the part of the fighting masses of Azania and tried to nullify our gallant efforts at Isandlwana and at Thaba Bosiu, to name but two, and spat on the graves of Geronimo, Makana the left-handed, Shaka ka Zulu and Mgobozi amongst others.

This deliberate white-anting of the liberation struggle continues today. *Frank Talk*, we salute you for your courage in loudly declaring: "DEATH to the National Convention!"

*Papela Ntlabati*  
Bethlehem, Orange Free State

The role of imperialist apologists such as Bishop Tutu, Reverend Allan Boesak and Father Patrick

Smangalisso Mkhathshwa has consistently been to sell the idea of a National Convention and try to foist Yankee values on the Azanian people.

Tutu and Boesak were the front men for the Kennedy extravaganza. They were given as much money, personnel and media backing as Sol Kerzner breaking the cultural boycott in order to foist the "civil rights champion" on the Azanian people and they came unstuck.

A weakness of the Azanian struggle is that we do not keep a record of earlier events. Thus, the fact that Tutu called for a National Convention in 1980 and had a meeting with the Pretoria regime has been forgotten. The fact that Boesak and Mkhathshwa fought hard to create a moderate American-orientated structure called the Black Renaissance Convention in December 1974 when the bulk of the leadership of the Black Consciousness Movement were in detention or banned, has also been obscured.

This classical example of political harlotry in 1974 had this in common with the Kennedy visit: Teddy Kennedy was the first person to send a solidarity message to the Black Renaissance Convention!

We need to be vigilant and to record these and other events in the struggle, for posterity. If we store and circulate this material in our communities, people whose actions amount to outright treason — specifically this unholy trio of clerics — will never be allowed to resurface unscathed after short cycles of disgrace.

*John Mbeki*  
Atteridgeville, Pretoria

#### **National Question**

Your article on the National Question *Frank Talk Volume 1 Numbers 2 and 3 at 8ff — EC* does not clarify who constitutes the nation in Azania. The liberation of all the people in Azania is obviously contingent upon the emancipation of the indigenous African. The "Indian" and "Coloured" minorities are merely organic units, appendaged as they are to the indigenous core. They can never be part of white society

nor can they perpetually remain in the vacuous "no-man's land". Therefore, they are neither nations in themselves nor are they capable of becoming nations.

*Edgar Calata*  
Ginsberg, King William's Town

### **Azania**

If Delia Laing (see *Frank Talk* Volume 1 Number 6 — EC) can call "Azania" a slave state, what does she call South Africa?

*Shafiek Abrahams*  
Reiger Park, Boksburg

With regard to the unliberated thinking of one of your readers that Azania is a "slave-name", I am really amused. There are many such people who are proud to be "South Africans", just as some Africans were proud of being "Rhodesians" not so very long ago. Those who oppose the name "Azania" display their own slave mentality. "South Africa" is an imperialist, colonialist settler name stained with the blood of the dispossessed.

Azania is a liberatory name. It is a revolutionary name. It is a patriotic name. It is a name which distinguishes those who are liberated mentally from those who are manipulated by the oppressors and capitalists. The name "Azania" was first used in 60 AD. It has never had a slave connotation either among the ancient Egyptians (who were Black), Greeks or Persians. It is false that "Azania" is a slave-name. Africans were not always slaves — they built such cities as Egyptian Thebes, Nineveh and the Kingdoms of Kush and Nubia and great empires. The humiliation of the African people is of recent times.

The Afro-American scholar Chancellor William, author of *The Destruction of Black Civilisation* hit the nail on the head when he wrote: "What, indeed are Black institutions of learning waiting for ... The young people to show the way? The simple truth is that what is needed ... is active pioneering initiatives ... Black inertia is the main problem. There is still too much dependence on white scholars to do our work for us ... White historians write from the Caucasian viewpoint, and we are naive indeed if we expect

them to do otherwise — all the ballyhoo about their "scientific objectivity" to the contrary notwithstanding."

The ancient Egyptians (They were Black. They were Africans. See *The African Origin of Civilisation — Myth or Reality?* by Professor Cheik Anta Diop) many years ago, described the southern extremities of the continent of Africa as Azania. Azania has enough historical respectability to be officially assumed in the place of the slave racist settler and imperialist name "South Africa" and as someone observed: "Starting as it (Azania) does with the first letter of the alphabet, it would get us up on the roll call list at the United Nations."

It is significant that the name "Azania" is opposed by the so-called "multi-racial" organisations or "progressive" white elements and the racists themselves who do not want us to rediscover ourselves and move rapidly to our national and socialist destiny.

*David Dube*  
Lusaka, Zambia

### **White Participation**

With reference to the letter by Margaret Molete in *Frank Talk* (February/March 1985), I wish to air some views in support of her main thesis.

I will be very brief: to cause disunity among the Black oppressed over a few sympathetic whites is criminal. On the other hand, it may be strategically suicidal to exclude these "sympathetic whites" *per se* in our programme.

In an article entitled "*A Cry from the Heart: What Should I Do?*", a white South African who, we suspect, is today one of the main gurus in the ANC-SACP, poses the following question:

*"Given the facts, the hard facts, of the racial situation as it is, what does the Non-European think an individual European should do about it?" (Golden City Post 24 June 1956).*

This is a reply which the *Post* never published. It was penned by one of the first generation of political activists in our country, John Gomas. His biography

(which is nearing completion) clearly demonstrates the futility, to put it mildly, of Black-white co-operation (leave alone unity). It took him almost his whole life to realise that the ANC-SACP of which he was a leading member since 1919, could never free us. He died a member of the PAC. His life should be a shining example to liberal, so-called "Black" organisations, particularly here in the Cape. The reply reads:

1. He must study and learn to understand that the white man's government in South Africa since its inception over 300 years ago was, to the Africans and subsequently to all non-whites, a nightmare of destruction to their human dignity and aspirations and that there can be no moral justification whatsoever for its continuance.
2. He must work among the white people to persuade them of the sacred justness of the black man's cause and to convince them that their display or acceptance of the practice of racial hatred against the non-whites are (sic!) irrevocably inhuman;
3. He must not join non-white organisations for history shows in South Africa, without a single exception, that a white man's presence in the same organisation with non-whites propagates and advances the interests and point of view of the whites, destroys the initiative and self-confidence of non-whites and prevents the development of militant black leadership, free from the white man's interests and domination.
4. He must render whatever support and assistance that lies in his power to the non-whites in their struggle towards progress and to the achievement of democracy without seeking any personal aggrandisement or expecting rewards.
5. He must learn to honour and respect the black man of Africa, for he is the harbinger of democracy, progress and peace. The white man's rule in Africa has proved the reverse.

*Veronica Weich*  
Athlone, Cape Town

*(The Black Consciousness Movement did away with the*

*derogatory terminology "Non-European" or "non-white" which has the connotation of placing white as the value against which humanity must be tested. The tendency to regard the struggle as a masculine terrain through words such as "Black man" still persists, but with concerted struggle will definitely be weeded out. (EC.)*

## For the Record

● "... I do not have any regrets about the role I played either at university or later overseas. The one possible exception is that I regret that I could not perhaps have done more."

— Craig Williamson,  
*Sunday Times* 27/1/80

Craig Williamson, a police agent and former higher ranking ANC official, masterminded the International University Exchange Fund's 1978 withdrawal of funds to Black Consciousness groups inside South Africa and a declaration by the IUEF that the ANC was the leader of the struggle for liberation in South Africa (*Voice* 12-19/3/80).

The parcel bomb which killed BCM leader Abraham Tiro in Gaberone, Botswana purportedly came from the IUEF offices in Switzerland. It was sent in the name of Mr Lars-Gunner Eriksson, the then director of the IUEF. Eriksson used to be a member of the International Council of Students, a body which was dissolved when it was exposed to be a CIA creation and front before he joined the IUEF (*Rand Daily Mail* 23/1/80).

Williamson's wife Ingrid, known as "Comrade Ingrid" to the ANC, spoke to the *Rand Daily Mail* of her double life as a secret agent beside her husband. She monitored the activities of the ANC Health Department: the ANC had asked her to specialise in war and disaster medicine and told her that they desperately needed medical people. (*Rand Daily Mail* 6/3/80).

● "The ANC was founded by my uncle, you know. The man who founded it, Dr Prixley ka Seme, was married to my mother's sister. He is not a legend to me.

"I was close to Chief Luthuli right up to the end. I told you earlier that even when he was banned he

used to come to my home at night. Even when he died the ANC abroad asked me to deliver the oration on behalf of Black people.

"When some of you BC people tried to kill me at Sobukwe's funeral, I was not trying to make any mileage out of Sobukwe. I was requested by A.B. Ngcobo, Nana Mahomo and others who were with Sobukwe.

"I don't need to make mileage out of the ANC. I think that the Black people judge me on my own performance."

— Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi in an interview with Joe Thloloe *Post* 19/3/80.

*Ag, Shame!*

● At an AZAPO mass meeting to commemorate the Uitenhage shootings on 21 March 1985, Mrs Wauchope (now deceased), the mother of AZAPO Secretary General George Wauchope and a leader of Black Women Unite commented on the deaths of about 48 white school children in a bus accident at Westdene: "If it was a soccer match I would say its a draw!"

● The strategy, said an ANC official, is not yet to attempt a mass arming of the people. "The degree of popular anger is so high", he explained, "that if you armed the people indiscriminately and they took to the streets to avenge months of daily repression, you would create a Frankenstein, because until our movement is unbanned, we will not have all the facilities for sufficient political education."

— *Guardian* 9/10/85

*So much for the vanguard leadership of the masses!*

● "We, the PFP, have got to push the government in the direction of civilised values and Western thinking... (Parliament) is the institution which will ultimately give franchise rights to blacks."

— Helen Suzman in conversation with Hugh Murray *Leadership* Vol. 5 No. 1, 1986 at 34.

*More civilised values and Western thinking will kill us!*

● "Yes, I believe COSATU is a socialist organisation and I would like to see a socialist state in

South Africa. I speak of socialism as practised by the Labour Party in England. This country is in a crisis because of capitalism, if we at least nationalised the big firms, then the government could look after its people and the people could look after the government.

"If you read COSATU's preamble it contains five principles. One of them is non-racialism. I would be pleased to see South Africa run by white, green, black, yellow, it makes no difference. That is, I would be pleased to see blacks involved in the administration of the country. I favour a multi-party democracy. I don't want a one-party state. I believe that is dictatorship of the worst kind.

"... I believe in three to four years the South African government is going to collapse. The majority of whites seem to be sick and tired of the National Party and some are beginning to say: 'Please sit down with the black people and negotiate.' This is why I say three to four, maybe five years before the government collapses."

— Elijah Barayi, President of COSATU in conversation with Philip van Niekerk *Leadership* 1986 Vol. 5 No. 1 at 82.

*Don't you mean bourgeois democracy?*

● "Schools are a site of struggle. We must not surrender this area to the enemy without a fight. If we boycott indefinitely, we'll be giving the schools which belong to us to the enemy."

— *Arise Vukanil*  
Vol. 1 No. 6, March 1986

*Did we miss something — when did we gain ownership of the schools?*

● (A)t Soweto on 27-28 September 1986, a resolution rejecting necklacing as barbaric and counter revolutionary was adopted.

— *Arise Vukanil*  
Vol. 2 No. 1 January 1987

*Who sets moral standards for the revolution?*

● "In South Africa the black education gap was beginning to narrow. Never mind that for years people have been screaming that the education is inferior to that of the whites."

"The fact of the matter is, inferior as it is, the blacks who took advantage of it have not burnt their certificates and folded their arms in despair. Nor do we see them as generals of the 'liberation-now-and-education-later' infantry.

"Instead, they have carried their heads high, using black education as a launching pad to acquire more. We have them as doctors, lawyers and scientists — both inside and outside the country ...

"... (I)t is national suicide to deny youth education, hence the divisions and killings we're experiencing."

— Nomavenda Mathiane "The gathering Tragedy" in *Frontline* Vol. 6 No. 5 September-October 1986 at 12.

"Liberation without education isn't going to be of much use to anyone."

— Helen Suzman in conversation with Hugh Murray *Leadership* Vol. 5 No. 1 at 40.

*Surely liberation educates.*

● "It is time that ordinary, caring citizens decided to be more forthright in their criticism of what is happening in their name and vigorously *petitioned* the various community and national leaders to put a stop to the chaos before it is too late, before their children become the hopeless lost generation."

— Saths Cooper, ex-President of AZAPO in "The Beirut Option: What sort of madness is this?" *Frontline* September-October '86 Vol. 6 No. 1 at 41.

At the height of the freedom struggle in South Africa, the president of the Azanian People's Organisation resigns from the powerful black consciousness organisation to take up a study grant in America.

— *Leader* 24/10/86

● "We must help to free our women."

— Neville Alexander at the CCAWUSA AGM, 21st September 1986, *Arise Vukani!* Vol. 2 No. 1 January 1987.

*Black women can free themselves without your help, thank you, sir.*

● Gleb Starushenko, a member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, makes proposals in a report to the Second Soviet-African Conference on Peace, Co-operation and Social Progress which come close to the views of P.W. Botha and his advisors:

1. not to encourage the nationalisation of capitalist property as an indispensable condition;
2. the ANC must work out comprehensive guarantees for the white people;
3. Parliament should consist of two chambers — one formed on the basis of proportional representation and the other possessing the right of veto on the basis of equal representation for all four major racial communities;
4. the post-apartheid state should take the form of a unitary system with autonomous components;
5. the peaceful resolution of conflict may be expedited by resorting to constitutional guarantees.

— Colin Legum "Russian echoes Nat thought" *Sunday Star Review* 25/1/87.

● "IDASA is not competing with any existing democratic organisation or movement. It does not mobilize for support or protest. It is a facilitating institution."

— *IDASA Eastern Cape Perspectives* May 1987 page 2.

*Yes, it is facilitating a massive betrayal!*

● "Just imagine what will happen if all the seats in the House of Delegates and the House of Representatives are taken over by UDF people. We will then introduce the Freedom Charter and consequently bring about our goal of a free, non-racial, united and democratic society for all South Africans."

— Archibald Jacob Gumede, President of the UDF, *South* July 9-14 1987.

"One of two reasons can make us think in terms of participation in future tricameral elections. Either a total misunderstanding of the role of the tricameral system or a paving of the way for a deal or sell-out."

— Dullah Omar, Chairperson of

the UDF's Western Cape Region in *South* July 16-21 1987.

At NUM's Congress the Witwatersrand Region moved that the Union should take a clear political stand. The Witbank Region proposed an amendment that the Union should adopt the Freedom Charter as the guiding document for the struggle. Before the person who had made the original motion was asked whether he accepted the amendment or not the President (from the chair) sang praises of the Charter. Thereafter he asked whether the amendment was acceptable. The original mover agreed. The Vice President sang further praises of the Charter. He indicated that Nelson Mandela would be unhappy if NUM fails to adopt the Charter and that it would be reactionary to oppose its adoption. He also spoke about the manner in which those who reject the document had been "necklaced". The President noted that many people in the meeting did not know what the Freedom Charter says. He promised that a copy would be made available the following day. He promised further that the Education Department of the Union would teach the workers about the document. People were then asked to vote. Result: an overwhelming majority voted for the adoption of the Freedom Charter.

— from a pamphlet issued by the Azanian Labour Monitoring Group

● "It was all right to do whatever you wanted to detainees as long as you did not unnecessarily kill them."

— Officer in COIN, the Namibian counter-insurgency unit testifying in the trial of Andreas Heita and others.

In an earlier case in which four South African soldiers were accused of torturing a Namibian to death, the South African State President intervened to prevent a trial, on the grounds that the soldiers responsible had acted "in good faith".

— *Amnesty International Newsletter* July 1987 at 8.

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FOR THE RECORD?  
PLEASE DROP US A LINE!**

## Footnotes:

### Black Solidarity for a Socialist Azania: An Introduction

1. See Quraish Patel "Black Consciousness and the Class Struggle" (April 1981) *Frank Talk* Volume 1 Number 1, page 12. Imrann Moosa in "Workers, Students and the Popular Movement" (5 May 1983) *FTCI* says: "... (I)deology is a complex unity which is produced under specific conditions and which is moulded and remoulded in the process of struggle: indeed, ideology is grounded in *material reality* and is itself a material force. A revolutionary ideology has to emanate from the experiences of the oppressed and the exploited in a society and the kind of oppression and exploitation which they undergo. A revolutionary ideology is, by definition, a dynamic ideology: it must encapsulate the continuous process of change and conflict."
  2. Poled Lectures No. 1: Poled Secretariat, Durban Branch of AZAPO: *FTC IV*: June 1986.
  3. *National Forum* June 1983: page 66.
  4. *Our Urgent Tasks* adopted at Brixton, England on 12th April 1980.
  5. The formulation "scientific socialism" was first used at the National Forum Summit in April 1984. See Michael Tissong, *The Struggle for a Socialist Azania*, AZAPO Council, Houtbosdorp, May 1985: *FTC II*.
  6. Bearing in mind that the BPC operated under conditions making it impossible for it to spell this out.
  7. Adopted in 1975.
  8. See the *Position Paper* on page 22 of this issue.
  9. This subject deserves detailed treatment on its own. Aubrey Mokwena, a former SASO leader and UDF executive member, suggests that the UDF is the true inheritor of the SASO tradition: see *Black Consciousness in Perspective* (1983) *FTC VII*. Frank Chikane maintains that BC is merely a means to the end of a non-racial society, and a necessary "stage of development" for Black people: see Jeremy Cronin and Raymond Suttner (eds): *30 Years of the Freedom Charter*: (1986) Ravan at 235 ff and also the views of Mosiuoa Patrick "Terror" Lekota at 196 ff. Mokgethi Motlhabi *Black Resistance to Apartheid* (1984) Skotaville at 276 states that the general tendency in the UDF is to say that BC has "served its purpose".
  10. Duncan Innes: *Anglo American and the Rise of Modern South Africa* (1984) Ravan at 70.
  11. The defining characteristics of the labour process under conditions of superexploitation are:
    - a. Lower wages, substantially longer working hours and a significantly higher intensity of work per hour than prevail for comparable activities in the advanced countries.
    - b. Part of the costs of sustaining and reproducing this capitalist wage labour is borne by pre- or non-capitalist relations of production.
    - c. The workforce is subjected to extra-economic coercion which enhances the appropriation of surplus value.
  12. David Kaplan: "The Current 'Upswing' in the South African Economy and the International Capitalist Crisis: A Re-Interpretation of South African Development": 16 *WIP Supplement* (February 1981) at 6.
  13. In the Southern African Development Co-Ordination Conference. South Africa produces 77% of the total gross domestic product in Southern Africa, 90% of the energy, three quarters of the coal, iron, wheat, maize and electricity and controls 90% of the military network.
  14. The South African economy has moved into a recovery phase comparable to "the 1977-81 period" where "the scenario was similar": *Takeover Talk* (July 1987) Comment at 14.
  15. Howard Barrell: "Soviet Policy in Southern Africa" 48 *WIP* 3 (July 1987) at 4. See also "Soviet academic wants a 'pink South Africa'" *Natal Mercury* August 31, 1987.
  16. Clem Suntner: *The World and South Africa in the 1990's* (1987) Human & Rousseau at 111. See also Leon Louw and Frances Kendall: *South Africa: the Solution* (1986) Amagi at 200 ff. Heribert Adam and Kogila Moodley *South Africa without Apartheid: Dismantling Racial Discrimination* (1986) Maskew Miller submit at 263 that the dismantling of apartheid "will have to be followed by the creation of a true social democracy if South African capitalism does not want to drown in the wake of the inevitable post-apartheid aspirations."
- In our view, a National Convention is a *last resort* for the white ruling class and its imperialist masters.
17. "The National Question" *Frank Talk* Volume 1 Numbers 2 & 3 at 8ff. Paper delivered by Imrann Moosa: Lenasia: 1984: *FTC I*.
  18. Buti Thlagale: "BC in the Labour Force": April 1981: *FTC I*.
  19. See note 17 above.
  20. *Frank Talk* Volume 1 Number 1 at 23.
  21. *Racialism* refers to attitudes, behaviour and "race relations"; "racism" is the systematization of these into an explicit ideology of racial superiority and their institutionalisation in the state apparatus.
  22. W.D. Jordan: *White over Black: American Attitudes towards the Negro 1550-1812*: Penguin Books: Baltimore: 1969 at 20.
  23. See note 19 above.
  24. Walter Rodney: "Marxism in Africa" *FTC II*.
  25. In *Ujamaa — Essays on Socialism* Dar es Salaam 1969 President Nyerere, erstwhile President of Tanzania, wrote:

"African socialism did not start from the existence of conflicting 'classes' in society... The foundation and the objective of African socialism is the extended family. The true African socialist does not look at one class of men as his brethren and another as his natural enemy. He does not form an alliance with the 'brethren' for the extermination of the non-brethren"
  26. 'A Look at the Manifesto' *New Nation*: 1987.
  27. See note 15 above. Cf Alec Erwin "The Question of Unity in the Struggle" (September 1985) *SALB* Volume 11 No. 1 at 51ff and Jeremy Cronin "The Question of Unity: A Reply" (January 1986) *SALB* Volume 11 No. 3 at 31ff.
  28. *News and Letters* 22 May 1987.
  29. S.C. Nolutshungu: *Changing South Africa: Political Considerations*: (1983) David Philip at 116.
  30. *Op cit* 123.
  31. *Op cit* 124.
  32. *Op cit* 82.
  33. The Black petit bourgeoisie can be broken up into:
    - a) Bureaucratic petit bourgeoisie ie. government employees;
    - b) Upper traditional petit bourgeoisie ie. big traders and professionals;
    - c) Lower traditional petit bourgeoisie ie. small traders;
    - d) Upper new petit bourgeoisie ie. managers in big businesses;
    - e) Lower new petit bourgeoisie ie. nurses, teachers, laboratory assistants, trade union organisers, etc.See Tissong *op cit* 3 and Khangale Makhado "Black Consciousness as a Driving Force" (January 1981) *FTC I*.
  34. Pamphlet issued by the Azanian Labour Monitoring Group: (July 1987) *FTC II*.
  35. H. Simson "The Myth of the White Working Class in South Africa": *African Review* Volume 4 Number 2 (Summer 1974).
  36. Quoted in E.N. Katz *A Trade Union Aristocracy* (1976) African Studies Institute, University of the Witwatersrand at 77.
  37. Andrew Kenny "White Revolution" in *Frontline* (June 1987) at 33. See also Tissong *op cit* 5.
  38. A. Sivanandan "Race, Caste and Class in South Africa" *Frank Talk* Volume 1 Number 5 at 27ff.
  39. Steven Friedman: *Building Tomorrow Today*: (1987) Ravan at 8.
  40. Harald Pakendorf: "Yes, we should be applauding this strike, not regretting it!" *Sunday Times* 16th August 1987. In the end, NUM settled for the Chamber of Mine's *pre-strike* offer, and described the three week walkout as a "dress rehearsal for further action": see "Miners go back as massive strike ends" *Daily News* 31 August 1987.
  41. Julie Vedan: "Trade Union Unity" (June 1984) *FTC V*. See also Don Ncube *Black Trade Unions in South Africa* (1985) Skotaville and Merle Lipton *Capitalism and Apartheid* (1986) David Philip.
  42. Ie. Anglo American, Sanlam, Volkskas, Rembrandt, S.A. Mutual and Anglovaal. Mc Gregor's *Who Owns Whom* (Juta) 1987. *Takeover Talk* July 1987 (Activity) records that Rembrandt has paid R32,5m to make its shareholding in Volkskas stand at 25,4%.
  43. See note 3 above.

### Black Theology: Opiate or Material Force

1. Dr. Takatso Mofokeng: "The Evolution of the Black Struggle and the Role of Black Theology" in *The Unquestionable Right to be Free*: I. Mosala and B. Thlagale (eds.) (Skotaville) Page 114.
2. Dr. Itumeleng Mosala: "The Use of the Bible in Black Theology" *op cit* page 176.
3. William R. Jones: "Liberation Strategies in Black Theology: Mao, Martin or Malcolm?", in *The Chicago Theological Seminary Register* Volume LXXXIII Number 1.
4. Dr. Alan Boesak: *Farewell to Innocence*: Orbis Books: 1977.
5. Bishop A. Zulu.
6. Dr. Simon Gqubule: "What is Black Theology" in *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* No. 8 September 1978 page 22.
7. Sergio Rostagno: "The Bible: Is an Interclass Reading Legitimate?" in *The Bible and Liberation* Norman K. Gottwald page 63.
8. Dr. A. Boesak: *Black and Reformed*: (Skotaville): 1984 page 24.
9. Dr. A. Boesak: *Farewell to Innocence*: (Orbis): 1977 page 10.



# The Revolutionary Upsurge





Steve Biko . . . a typical expression . . . a good listener . . . a marvellous sense of humor . . . a dedicated political leader.