

# Solidarity

Nos 11 & 12

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE  
BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT OF AZANIA



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Outside Cover: Some of the hundreds of people who attended the First National Forum Meeting at Hammanskraal.

Below is the Editorial of the Zimbabwe Sunday Mail of the 20th January 1985 which strongly criticises AZAPO's rejection of Senator Edward Kennedy.

and an act of betrayal of all those Zimbabweans who died to bring about majority rule.

*The Sunday Mail*  
**Cheap extremism** *Jan 20/85*

It was, undoubtedly, a demonstration of cheap and childish extremism. We mournfully refer to the demonstrations in South Africa by a group of 3 000 Africans which caused Senator Edward Kennedy to cancel his final rally.

Their placards shouted: "Kennedy equals capitalism"; "Socialist Azapo versus capitalist Kennedy"; "Kennedy, you will remember Azapo and socialism"; "Kennedy, go home".

It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the demonstrators were planted agents of the enemies of the liberation struggle in South Africa. The urgent issue in South Africa is not socialism versus capitalism. It is the elimination of minority rule and apartheid.

This is a herculean task, requiring the elicitation and marshalling of the support of all the people on the globe, not the screaming street exhibitionism of armchair revolutionaries.

It is a basic principle of any struggle that you do not create enemies out of people. Instead, you reduce foes and multiply friends.

Senator Kennedy is one of the growing number in America who are fighting against President Reagan's liberation-suffocating policies of the so-called "constructive engagement" and "linkage". That he should be treated so shabbily by people he is trying to help reveals incalculable political stupidity.

The only rational thing to say is that the demonstrators were agents of P. W. Botha and apartheid.

### OUR REPLY

Your Editorial of the 25th January, 1985 shows your appalling ignorance of the issue you addressed. One finds it difficult to see how you arrive at the conclusion that AZAPO, which you dastardly fail to mention by name, can be an enemy of the liberation struggle. Much as we in the liberation struggle need allies, we have consistently refused to enter into unprincipled alliances with the likes of Kennedy. Surely Mr Editor, at least you should know whose interests Kennedy serves.



The dispossessed of South Africa have long learnt, through painful experience, that loud-mouthed condemnations of the South African fascist regime have not brought them anywhere near their cherished goal: the repossession of their fatherland.

You contend that "the urgent issue in South Africa is not socialism versus capitalism. It is the elimination of minority rule and apartheid", whereupon you conclude boldly that the demonstrations by those Azanians against the visit to S.A. by that agent of U.S. imperialism, Senator Edward Kennedy exhibit "... cheap and childish extremism". Such criticism, one may argue, reveals gross and unpardonable ignorance of the nature and dynamics of the Azanian struggle for liberation.

To speak of apartheid in isolation is to abstract it out of its historical context, which is typical of reactionary idealism. Apartheid alone does not constitute a social system. It is a component part of the entire capitalist integument without which capitalism, at least in the South African context, cannot maximally pursue its profit motive. A proper analysis of the South African situation will reveal the undeniable fact that black people constitute the majority of what one can term a proper working class - in view of the fact that white workers are direct beneficiaries of the exploitative system, suffer less, if any, atrocities accruing from the capitalist mode of production and moreover, consciously participate in and protect the system to the detriment of the black populace. It is also a fact that through the very apartheid, black labour is systematically reduced to a cheap commodity, thereby enhancing the process of profit maximization. Apartheid further creates the so-called independent black states or 'Bantustans', which, viewed from a politico-economic perspective, are nothing more than labour reservoirs for capitalist production as well as dumping dungeons for dead, unproductive labour. Such factors, to say the least, affirm the mutual interconnectedness of apartheid and capitalism. To say therefore, that the urgent issue in South Africa is the elimination of minority rule and apartheid presupposes that the agents of capitalism will readily compromise their most fundamental principle, the maximization of profit, which is hardly palatable, at least to sober and rational analysts. It is also extremely stupid and childish to assert that the urgent issue in South Africa is not socialism versus capitalism. This alone presupposes that the Azanian struggle for liberation is not directed towards a specific goal. That is to say, such a myopic

analysis stupidly focuses on only one factor, the elimination of the present system, without suggesting an alternative social system.

Accordingly, the slogans "Kennedy equals capitalism; Socialist Azapo versus capitalist Kennedy" etc., can only mean that the Azanian people have correctly identified capitalism as their number one enemy and socialism as the only social formation within which they can properly express their human essence in a land of their own. This in turn implies that dialogue with any form of capitalism is not possible except for those who seek to flirt with capitalism to their own advantage, thereby substituting settler capitalist entrepreneurs with indogenous, comprador, power-hungry, puppet capitalists. In this regard history teaches us that neo-colonialism is not a solution to the socio-politico-economic problems of the so-called Third World.

Finally, it is quite immaterial to us that "Senator Kennedy is one of the growing number in America who are fighting President Reagan's liberation-suffocating policies..." This fight occurs within the same group, i.e. the capitalist camp, and therefore in no way contributes to the total eradication of the capitalist mode of production. All one can see in it is cheap reforms aimed at attracting narrow-minded analysts like you. As for your conclusion that "the only rational thing to say is that the demonstrators were agents of P.W. Botha and Pretoria". This again reveals your political immaturity, which at once undermines the integrity of the people of Azania. Botha and apartheid, as we have said, are tokens of capitalism. Therefore, Botha's disagreement with Kennedy can't at the same time include socialism as a solution. The latter standpoint can only be taken by victims of capitalist exploitation and dehumanization and in the present context, pro-socialist attitudes genuinely express the true aspirations of the Azanian masses.

## KENNEDY'S ANTI-APARTHEID STANCE : THE LONG

### VIEW

The State represents the interests of the white ruling class and largely caters for the welfare of the European settlers in Azania, at the expense of the black working class. It is always hard-pressed in keeping Black aspirations and liberation efforts under the lid through its essential instruments of repression. These measures are costly in that they direct a lot of resources from productive economic activity. They strain the economy and stimulate resistance amongst the oppressed.

It is therefore evident to all but those who refuse to see that the power structure of the South African state cannot survive indefinitely, hence the desperate moves by imperialists, led by the USA, to lead SA out of the political rut it has put itself in.

The interests of US imperialism are very extensive in Azania. Its current watch-dogs are the myopic and crude likes of Reagan and Botha. The liberal, more scholarly and infinitely more dangerous guardians of imperialism are such elements as the Kennedys, the Patrick Laurences (Political Editor - Rand Daily Mail) and the Urban Foundation.

Their preoccupation is to reduce the ability of the Azanian people to fight for the control of political power and to repossess the economic assets or wealth of the country. The devices they employ are the creation of a middle class and a skilled labour elite who admire negative aspects of foreign cultural and consumer values. These are the people who advance the distribution of US scholarships, study tours and the like for potential leaders throughout Africa, but particularly from Southern Africa and Nigeria, the two economic power houses in Africa.

The idea is to direct people from ACTIVE participation in their collective struggle and concentrate their energies in the pursuit of individualistic ambitions.

The other leg of this strategy is to ensure that those whose attention is still on the injustices of the national oppression of the Azanian people by the colonial state should be led by elements who ensure that the struggle at best is conducted through symbolic rather than effective actions; at worst that the struggle should be left to the "well meaning/sympathetic" elements amongst those in power.

This is the nub of the recent attempt by Senator Edward Kennedy to

use the Azanian struggle as the launching pad for his 1988 US Presidential campaign.

Once again, the liberal press, which represents the more analytical section of the watch-dogs of imperialism, proved itself very sharp in this regard. At about the time of the start of the visit to Azania by Kennedy, the Star (Johannesburg) showed the cartoon of a black struggling with a heavy suitcase on his back with Kennedy reading his '88 campaign speech sitting on top of the suitcase.

The idea was that the tour would give Kennedy enough prestige among the Blacks in the USA and all those who would be watching developments in Azania to make him an attractive alternative when Reagan's policy of destructive engagement crashes in a shambles. Azanians would therefore pin so much hope in the speeches of a powerful American senator about apartheid that they would feel less inclined to risk waging a meaningful struggle when the great white moralist was championing their cause.

The finale to the entire circus was going to be the rally at the Regina Mundi church in SOWETO on Sunday the 13th January, 1985. From then on, Kennedy was going to be able to keep saying; "...and when I spoke to over 3 000 black people in SOWETO ..." Alas, the demagogue met his comeuppance in SOWETO!

In his private briefings with the CIA, NIS (formerly BOSS), MOSSAD and every other murderous, repressive institution with an interest in our revolution, Kennedy probably URGES the complete and utter destruction of every Black Consciousness formation.

A powerful contingent from AZAPO, AZASM and other affiliates of the National Forum chanted and shouted Kennedy OUT.

An interesting feature of the exercise is the crest fallen duet of clerics who were the front men for the Kennedy extravaganza. With as much money, personnel and media backing as Sol Kersner breaking the cultural boycott, they tried to foist the 'civil rights champion' on the Azanian people and came unstuck.

The unfortunate thing about our struggle in Azania is that we who wage the struggle have not established a tradition of writing about it. Hence, those who join later have no record of earlier events: As recently as December 1974, the same Allan Boesak who was co-host of the Kennedy tour was very enthusiastic about the setting up of what was supposed to have been a moderate US-oriented structure called the Black Renaissance Convention. He was at the time in



cahoots with Father Patrick Smangalis Mkhathshwa, a catholic priest who has also received elevated status within his church and the Rev. Maurice Ngakane, now in the U.S.A. - ask any South African political refugee about him! The idea at the time was to seize the opportunity when the bulk of the leadership of the B.C.M. were in detention or banned to launch a mysterious body purporting to represent the first ever coming together of Black people in Azania to discuss their political programme. The statement was obviously false and an implicit vote of no confidence in the ANC, PAC, ICU, the All Africa Convention and the Black People's Convention (BPC). Ever heard of a classical case of political harlotry!

What the 1974 exercise has in common with the Regina Mundi affair is that again Sen. Edward Kennedy was the one overseas actor with an interest in the gathering. Incidentally, in 1974 the first message came from Ted Kennedy!

It is all very well for the Azanians in the struggle to applaud the grit and persistence of AZAPO in once again shattering, as they did with the international soccer tour, a multi-million dollar attempt at derailing the Azanian struggle. More important is to learn to be vigilant and especially to record these and other events of the struggle for posterity. Even if our manuscripts are not published, let us write these things and reproduce them for storage and circulation in our own communities. That way, people whose actions may have been treated as outright treason in other struggles will not be able to resurface unscathed after short cycles of disgrace.

One thing that came out clearly from the Kennedy tour is that now we know who in our midst/community consorts with the CIA, a comforting thing to learn indeed particularly when one recalls statements made by these self same Kennedy fan clubs about certain genuine people's organisations being in the pay of the CIA. What a revelation!

## THE STATE OF EDUCATION

Over a number of years, several reforms have been announced by the white authorities in relation to Black education in South Africa. But, the liberalisation or reform in education has evaded the fundamental contradictions which articulate themselves in the political, social and economic life of the country. Reform or liberalisation of one sphere of existence shall not bring about peace and stability which is the preoccupation of the rulers and their business partners inside and outside the country.

The basis and philosophy of education in South Africa reflects its colonial, capitalist and racial foundation. Education and all means of communication are thus geared at serving the interests of capital and those of a privileged and affluent white section of the community. It serves to facilitate the objectives of apartheid and its business allies.

### Changes In Education

A racial system of education with separate syllabi and examinations was introduced in 1953. The move was greeted with massive protests and the withdrawal of children from schools by Black parents. Previously, facilities had still been segregated and resources directed largely towards the education of whites. The content of education was dominated by colonial cultural values and was biased towards British colonialism. Resentment of this system of education was heightened by the advent of the crude racism of the National Party's administration.

In the 60's the difficult task of confronting separate education and the system that conceived it was gallantly, albeit at a high price, carried by the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) which operated in the shadow of the ambivalent National Union of South African Students (NUSAS). SASO was a university students' organisation formed in 1968 by black students who felt that multiracial organisations did not and could not apply themselves genuinely to the task of the total liberation of the Black people. It was banned in 1977 together with 16 other Black Consciousness organisations. By the 70's NUSAS had been shifted to the periphery and its contribution as an opponent of racial education was primarily in the form of feeble protests and sit-ins in support of serious work in the Black communities.



resolve the problem of different systems of education for different race groups.

Business entrepreneurs felt snubbed by Black students when they rose against the education system and its structures in 1976 and 1980. Education funds set up to improve the inadequate and iniquitous situation in Black schools such as LEARN, TEACH, Adopt-a-School and others are only tackling the symptoms of the rot and rut the country is trapped in.

Buildings, more facilities, business contributions, the Education and Training Act of 1979, more commissions of inquiry, the rulers' White Paper accepting the De Lange guiding principles except the primary recommendation of a single education department for all (there are fifteen at present), the increased emphasis on technical education and the effort of worker education by emerging trade unions still fall far short of the aspirations of the exploited and oppressed in the country.

The picture is grim especially when the rulers and almost all segments in the white community think that they have done all that is humanly possible to grant a Black child better education opportunities. This country seems to have accepted the prospects of strike action by workers without accepting that Black people shall always stand in defence of the totality of their life.

In the face of arrests, deaths and police brutality, Black students have called for the scrapping not only of the racial system of education but of the oppressive and exploitative system in the country.

Short term demands of students include:

1. The scrapping of the age restriction rule in schools which contributes to the increased drop-out rate in black schools;
2. The introduction of free democratic student representative councils (SRC's);
3. An end to police interference in the running of education resulting in detention and unnecessary arrest of students;
4. An end to corporal punishment;
5. Withdrawal of white teachers from black schools;
6. Adequate accommodation for black students in white universities;
7. Resignation of all community councillors;
8. Reopening of schools closed country-wide; and
9. An end to the arbitrary victimisation of teachers by the education officials.

At universities Black students are still subjected to the worst form of prejudice and racism by the predominantly white teaching staff. Recently the university of the North near Pietersburg was forced to suspend a Mr W.J. Johnson who has been accused of allegedly claiming that black students are not intelligent enough to understand mathematics. At the Medical University of Southern Africa (MEDUNSA), students angrily reacted to the objectionable findings of Dr J. Elliot that 'the African medical student may find himself confused as he attempts to reconcile western scientific and traditional African world views'.

Mr Saths Cooper, a clinical psychology student at the University of the Witwatersrand and a senior member of the Azanian People's Organisation, recently conducted a study into "Black co-operative and hence Trusting Behaviour in a bi-racial experimental situation". In the study, which included participants from various backgrounds, it was revealed that there is little mixing between black and white students. He further pointed out that a form of quota system is still restricting black intake at white universities although these universities are said to have gone multi-racial. The so-called oases of racial harmony have done only very little to integrate and enrol black students. According to Mr Cooper's study, the Black student population at the four white universities is: 3,8% African, 5,9% Indian and 4% Coloured. At the white Afrikaans universities the total Black i.e. African, Coloured and Indian student population is 1%.

#### Immediate Areas For Attention

With increasing student pressure, cracks are starting to show on the wall of apartheid education. On October 22, 1984, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Co-operation, Development and Education in Botha's cabinet belatedly announced the intention to set up a new department of National Education. It may be mentioned here that Dr Viljoen is a former Chairman of the Afrikaner think-tank organisation, the Broederbond and has served as Administrator General of occupied Namibia. The department, in line with the Central Education Ministry recommended in the De Lange Report, is to lay down general education policy for all education departments. The existence of departments already implementing racial education for different races is still safe-guarded. The system will still have to claim more lives before this national affront will be eradicated with the creation of a new order.

The 1984 school unrest also affected students in the so-called



Indian and Coloured schools, despite a Human Sciences Research Council Report that the majority of Indian (67%) and Coloured (52%) respondents in a country-wide sample rejected school boycotts as a form of protest action (an attitude survey by the Institute for Sociological and Demographic Research). Black people have no choice or preference to make; the boycott and strike action is the readily accessible means of struggle.

The writing of examinations is a question which both students and the rest of the community must answer. This can be done should democratic participation by the affected communities be carried out in an atmosphere rid of interference by officialdom.

The strategy of using parents against boycotting students was used by the Inkatha members in Natal with regrettable consequences. The use of parents against students is yet another means of dividing the ranks of the oppressed. This must be avoided at all times since it could lead to action being taken which could be regretted later.

It is not clear how far the rulers and their supporters are prepared to move towards the resolution of this age-long crisis in the provision of education. What is certain is that the black masses shall marshal all powers they can grasp in a continual war of attrition and corrosion against an unacceptable and impractical system.

Those who have begun to pat themselves for what they have done and continue to do toward the education of the black child must carefully read the signs of the simmering volcano they are sitting comfortably on. This is the message to the rulers and the official opposition, the Progressive Federal Party, who have made the judgement that the rulers "have offered black scholars the most advanced and democratic system of representation at schools anywhere in the world" (Rand Daily Mail - Johannesburg - 84/10/24).

Piecemeal democracy is an illusion of those who are not prepared to relinquish privilege and advantage in all spheres of life. This however, is the only acceptable in the present scheme of things in Pretoria. National solutions should bear the stamp: Made in Pretoria. The POLICE and the ARMY are the answer.

## STANDING ON HOT COALS

A Criticism of the University Scholar's  
Claim to Knowledge and the Marxists Dogmatism  
in Relation to the Interests of the Masses.

MATAMO NSHUMI

Recently I have been led to investigate the ethos, ideology and general pathological condition of European consciousness in relation to the African. This forlorn venture became of interest to me because of the extent to which Europeans and their thought prevail in our lives today. I felt that to ignore the subject would be a mistake insofar as to not understand the social and ideological forces that influence our thinking.

Many a time I have noticed that attempts to contemplate social problems in Africa have led to serious conceptual difficulties. The analyser who I am assuming to be an indogenous African draws upon that body of written knowledge that he/she has been led to consider "universal" to mankind, whereas there is no historical linkage between it and Africa. I am excluding that aspect of African history that begins with invasion by Arabs and Europeans - the linkage is obvious in such cases. It has seemed to me that the pitfall is in the fact that the African in his/her attempt to solve the problem begins first to speak in the language of the European, and in so doing adopts through that language all the stereotypes embedded in European consciousness regarding Africans and their existence - current and historical.

This is not to say that such analysers are oblivious to the problem. Consider all our Nationalist articulators from our previous generation such as Luthuli, Lumumba, Azikiwe etc. You find in their writings concepts that do not sit very well with the concept of National liberation in our present generation, but we do know that they advocated the very struggle we inherited from them. Today we find ourselves enmeshed in the same problems at a more esoteric level. Concepts such as Socialism, Marxism, Science, Existentialism, Objectiveness, Subjectiveness - all have a meaning in that so-called 'universal' body of knowledge which is actually European and has no direct correspondence with the history of African people.

In defining the problem I am like a person trapped in an area covered with a bed of hot coals and who now wants to walk to cool ground. The best thing to do to preserve oneself is to tip-toe but



that will not stop the burning at the toes; it will at least preserve the heels for better ground. What I mean by this is that in saying "the so-called universal body of knowledge has no direct correspondence with the history of African people", does the reader really know what I mean by that phrase? Even more critical, do I really know what I mean by it? Essentially I just borrowed from the semantics of the English language and stated the above thought-concept "history of African people"; and by so doing decreed it known! Actually I do not know the history of African people. It has not been written! In fact it is only spoken of, and only in parts. I could consult a 'Griot' in Mali or Malawi and each will give just a part and not the whole. These parts (some of them) are currently being written but when speaking of the whole as implied in "history of African people" it needs to be synthesized first before we can even claim knowledge of it, and we all know that its synthesis remains unaccomplished.

For the present time the most one can do is to draw from those parts that one is familiar with and abstract their common features into a limited notion of the 'history of Africa'. This happens to be the notion alluded to when speaking of the lack of direct correspondence between the universal body of knowledge that the European University claims to harbour, and the history of the African people. What I just did was to demonstrate the lack of correspondence. The European intellectual tradition (as represented by the University) has no legitimate claim of 'expertise' in the field of the African experience. It does not even know the languages, it therefore does not know the living exoteric concepts and cannot by any stretch of imagination know the African experience - past and present - 'expertly' or esoterically. In spite of the claims the University makes about knowing it, the concept 'history of Africa' remains a notion at best, nothing more. The masses have a better claim to it than any University.

What the western faculty has managed to do in the 'Africa' area is to catalogue at a rather furious and mechanical pace all the phenomena its scholars have been able to muster, and once done introduce an African Studies or some such curriculum for other cataloguers to pursue. This is how the University PhD on Africa is manufactured for African consumption:

When speaking of oppression in Africa and of liberation, we must speak of them not only in the material and tangible sense but also in the more obscure and intangible realm of the ideal and ideolo-

gical. As a declared national liberation movement we have the imperative obligation to remain aware and contemplate liberation on all fronts and levels of abstraction.

My first assertion then is that knowledge of a society is borne in its consciousness and there is no substitute to the need for intimacy between that which we call knowledge and the experience of the society in question.

My second assertion springs from my long search for an answer to the African Liberation problem in general. It is here that I discovered myself standing on a bed of hot coal, steeped in the intellectual history of Europe. Actually I approached it backwards in time after having first sojourned with the Marxist 'World-view'. Objectively, this viewpoint satisfied me on one basic score: that class is postulated as the essential element of a socio-economic formation. I will stress here that I found this to be its main distinctive feature or postulate, based on observations arising from European social history. Most of the remaining body of knowledge in this worldview is constructed on, or conditioned on 'objective conditions', which in this case happen to be the environment that exists outside of the ideology itself. The major part of the worldview is thus constructed on the basis of specific historical moments and geographic locations, and when applied arbitrarily renders the practising Marxist open to gross errors and dogmatism. In fact this has been the main weakness of active interpretations of Marxism in the exoteric environment. I will elaborate on this.

Take the formation of the Third International under Lenin along with the pledge to secure the dictatorship of the proletariat. This then demanded on an international basis the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But when Mao showed in practice that in China it was not only the proletariat that supported the revolution but also the rural workers and peasants, it was initially considered heresy by the orthodox Third Internationalists. Now, after twenty five congresses (of the CPSU that is) under 'dictatorship of the proletariat', the Soviet body determines that West European communist parties have made parliamentarianism so viable that the dictatorship of the proletariat can be made an optionable doctrine. It is one thing if you are a Chinese practising Marxist, you will immediately say that that pledge was dogmatic bunkum right from the start because your revolutionary experience told you more than that. Your industrial proletariat was too underdeveloped and you had to rely on



contradictions in the old order between feudal rulers and peasants in addition to the proletariat.

Now consider yourself an African Marxist - whom I assume you to be. What doctrine would you follow? That of the orthodox Third Internationalist? They have reversed the very basis of their inception under Lenin. Are you going to base your doctrine on what happens in Italy, France, USSR or even China? When will you have a mind of your own? When will you return to your own source of knowledge?

What is the problem? Why are practitioners prone to dogmatism? Is it in the nature of the ideology? Is it because Marx fused German materialism and Judaic completeness (to the communist hereafter) into what Lenin ultimately injected with Russian rigor, forming it into a discipline that had all the answers for its disciples? Why was Mao's distinction between minor and major contradictions initially considered heresy? Finally, notwithstanding Mao's struggle against Confucianism, what part did its categories play in the "Three worlds" prescription against "Social Imperialism"? What does all this mean? How does the experience of European Jews affect the consciousness of the likes of Marx? Likewise the German, Russian or Chinese experience affect the consciousness of one from that respective nationality? In dialectical materialism it is emphasised that consciousness is the result of experience and not vice versa. Therefore one cannot expect a German, Russian or Chinese to have identical consciousness. In the same light how can an African have the same consciousness as those that created the 'universal' body of knowledge? This first result of Marxist philosophy is also the first to be forgotten in practice, whether by the African or the International teacher. Is it because the practitioner is so convinced about the doctrine that he/she considers it self-evident, and to be accepted by the masses in the same way?

None of the questions above are being posed for direct answering. They are merely a way of mapping out a real problem we have to deal with. The last question is closest to the essence of the problem; that is of projecting one's consciousness into another. The reality though is that consciousness cannot be transplanted. It arises only out of experience and you cannot develop a stable consciousness among a people without their active participation in its formation. This is my second assertion.

Taken together I have asserted that first, any ideology or expertise cannot have any value to a people unless it can assume intimate relevance in their lives, and second, their consciousness does not develop without their active participation in some change comprising their experience. In other words, knowledge is a product of a society's experience and if it does not reflect that experience it is useless. Moreover, it is not fact unless and until it is confirmed by social experience. This is the dual problem of synthesising the ideology of the international proletariat from inapplicable abstraction into a living, meaningful ideology of the African masses and of formulating their experiences into a body of knowledge that fortifies their viability.

This is all I have to say but I know that I have not done justice to the problem that confronts us. To state the supremacy of experience as I have just done easily degenerates into another dogma for the practitioner. What is needed is more. Something simple that does not take away any initiative from the practitioner. Throughout the era when Capitalism has been viable, its stability has arisen from individual capitalist initiative. In like manner, socialist ideology will need its own means of regeneration. And this will not be a matter of having a well-acquainted ideologue on every street corner and village ready to quote the relevant platitude from some selected works; it will instead be a spontaneous perpetuation of its goals and objectives among the masses. The institution of State is ultimately the instrument for maintaining such a system but the principle behind it is of far more value, for otherwise we remain with the same problem since State remains the hegemony of some over others. My ideal then is to unify the hegemony of State with the interests of the masses.

The principle behind this ideal is that you cannot divorce the masses from their product in any absolute way. Capital for instance has to return to their hands - its bearers - to remain vital. The masses will always remain a vital force. It matters not at the moment in question that the social entity is progressive or retrogressive, in either case it is moved by the masses. In addition, to tell whether it is progressive or not can only be done in relation to the masses. This is why that for us one thing matters - to place the interests of the masses before all else for only then can we claim to have any goals or interests at all.

So what are the interests of the masses? The answer is simple:

I) To sustain and perpetuate themselves physically

II) To strengthen their vitality and tenability

What then are their experiences? Here are some:

- a) Tribal existence is no longer viable
- b) Sexist segregation reduces their tenability
- c) Individualism sanctions their exploitation
- d) Interest is determined by economic class
- e) Surplus belongs to them and should reflect their interests.

Tribalism as stated above has one meaning only - that of perceiving the tribe as the frontier of the universe beyond which individual or social interest does not extend. Sexism here denotes the isolation of Woman from equal access to the means of production. The migrant labour system speaks for itself as one example. Individualism is a permit for one to commit wanton acts against another or against many in the interest of oneself. It is distinct from creativity which by nature is individual in spite of the socially conditioned tapestry through which it materialises. Surplus is substance, the means of production. In financial terms it is capital, profit, wealth or money. It is also the thing which when owned enables one to control others. It enables one to pay starvation wages, to banish women to Bantustans, to finance a huge military and police machinery, and to make the survival of a black person from infancy to adulthood a chancy affair. This is the interest of the individual - the capitalist - against many. In collective terms the individuals in the controlling position comprise a class, whereas others comprise another class. Capitalist motives are not the only source of individualism. Any collaboration that in one way or another fortifies capitalist motives in exchange for individual well-being to the detriment of many is also individualism. The Bantustan collaborator is an obvious one, but there are others. More subtle is the forward-looking individual, success-oriented person who seeks a comfortable niche now no matter what misery surrounds him/her. Individually such a person may not seem to fortify capitalist motives, but collectively they represent a most efficient support of capitalism, with all its harsh repercussions. These forms of creative individualism strengthen the oppression of the masses. Individual creativity then has to face the same test of knowledge I spoke of above.

Why I go to such lengths in establishing my meaning with common words is that this language is alien to our experience and is

perforated with loopholes for misunderstanding. Now that these three tendencies i.e. Tribalism, Sexism and Individualism have been assigned specific meaning, we can discuss a defence against them. The defence is not some ideological platitude against them but a system by which the tangible interests of the masses are brought out to force among them and articulated. Direct and active contact with them is thus a necessity. Secondly, participation - not individual but collective - in the cognition of the masses is required. This is the process of making conscious what problems exist among them and objectifying that knowledge in their consciousness through facilitating solution of problems through their efforts.

This is the cognitive process that changes experience into knowledge. Paulo Freire calls it conscientisation. The three tendencies and dogmatism cannot survive in such an environment.

The defence against such tendencies thus lies in a structure or medium through which the masses actualise their interests and move forward. This is where the B.C.M.(A) comes in structurally. The struggles that have taken place to this point at which we have declared ourselves, and constituted ourselves into a national liberation movement have just been the beginning. Our role in the masses is clear and is the job of providing the masses with the machinery for fighting the enemy and moving forward. The structure will have to permeate the existence of our people in all aspects of their lives. Our organisational attitude then is to promote an environment that negates the three tendencies - tribalism, sexism and individualism, to counter dogmatism through the proper verification of knowledge and to participate in the remoulding of our society with the masses.



A MESSAGE OF SOLIDARITY TO THE NATIONAL UNION OF ERITREAN STUDENTS

ON THE OCCASION OF THEIR FOURTH GENERAL CONGRESS

Comrades!

Our hearts glowed when we received your invitation to attend the 4th General Congress of your Union in the liberated areas of Eritrea.

According to your letter of invitation, "the Congress will be discussing the present situation of the Eritrean struggle, the achievements of our fighting people and the odds and dire circumstances facing them. The Congress will also dwell upon the actual problems of our student movement, delineate the policies of our Union, and elect a new Central Council".

Comrades, yours is a Students' Union of a special type. The very agenda of your General Council sets you apart - as a shining example - from all other student movements in the whole of Africa and elsewhere. And we do not mean to flatter you.

We know what you mean by "the present situation of the Eritrean struggle". We know what it means to be in the situation where there are desperate attempts by the two super powers and their surrogates to isolate and strangulate a people politically, economically, militarily and culturally. We know. With the USA it is understandable. But with others it is not only appalling and deplorable, it is revealing. The question is: why is it not self-evident to the self-professed champions and leaders of the "world socialist movement" that their very attempts are the very necessary ingredients to arouse a people to rise and fight for their right to self-determination?

And what has been the outcome? The outcome is the present situation of the Eritrean struggle. The outcome is that now there exists in Eritrea, a determined people whose motto is: Steadfastness is the Key. A people whose indefatigable resistance and self-reliance has mocked all those, the imperialists and the "socialists" alike, who proclaim the principle of the right of nations to self-determination with their mouths but who savagely trample upon it with their boots. Even the drought presently ravaging your country, rather than demoralise your people, more than adds another feather to your caps, for it is now more than ever before that the resourceful initiatives and creativeness of the Eritrean masses have been put to play; this we see in self-reliance programmes: and it is now that the fighting

people of Eritrea are registering victory in the battle field. Yes, the outcome is that, contrary to the aims and expectations of those who try to subjugate them, the Eritrean people have become an inspiration to all struggling people, not only in the Horn of Africa, but throughout the world. That is a great achievement indeed! You have won, indeed you have earned yourself respect and admiration from all self-respecting people of the world. There is a growing cluster of hands pledging solidarity with your people from all over the world - the Azanian oppressed and exploited are among them.

We are pleased to note that even in the military sphere the scale has dipped decisively in favour of the fighting Eritrean people; that the Eritrean people have now entered into the strategic offensive phase of their struggle and that now it is only a matter of time before all the puppet forces are routed and driven out of Eritrea.

Press forward with the People's Assemblies, the people's mass organisations, the elimination and total obliteration of ignorance, superstition and backward customs and traditions; press forward ever comrades with the agricultural schemes, dam building schemes and health programmes; press on with medical, industrial and technological programmes. These are your tasks comrades, and nobody else's. Your student movement must face them squarely in the face.

In Azania, comrades, we have problems similar to those of you have. For many years the interference of the super powers and their surrogates in the "liberation movements" of our country has successfully stifled the direct participation of our people in the struggle of their own. The rise of the Black Consciousness Movement in Azania is the manifestation of a shocking rebuff by the Azanian people to these outside meddling influences - a total rejection of outside tutelage and dependence. We are struggling for our people to exercise their right to self-determination. Hence we declared: BLACK MAN, YOU ARE ON YOUR OWN!

In conclusion let us remind each other that the principle of self-reliance, if correctly applied, is the necessary condition for a successful prosecution of the struggle for national self-determination. And that also, without steadfastness, there can be no self-reliance. So, steadfastness, self-reliance and continuous struggle must be the order of the day until power rests solidly in the masses.

VICTORY TO THE MASSES!

## SOUTH AFRICAN ASBESTOS - A UNIQUE CAMPAIGN

On the 2nd of July 1984, about 1 700 black workers at the Penge Asbestos Mine, a Griqualand Exploration and Finance Company Limited (Gefco) subsidiary, went on strike over two (2) issues, viz.:

- (a) a pay increase of at least R10,00 a shift which is normally ten (10) hours; and
- (b) recognition of their Trade Union - the Black Allied, Mining and Construction Workers' Union (BAMCWU).

Management wouldn't listen to their grievances. They, i.e. the employers, in turn offered the workers an unacceptable increase of some 12 - 13%. This was very low, when one considers that some workers earned as little as R2,50 for a ten hour shift. One Miss Anna Ngoši is reported as having been paid R92,40 per month after being with Penge for over four (4) years. Miss Joyce Malatji earned an average of R50,00 per month for the job of sorting asbestos waste which exposed her to the hazards of ASBESTOS DUST.

On the 10th of July 1984, the 1 700 workers were dismissed by management. But they refused to leave their compounds and still had hope that management would talk to them. But, this wasn't to be the case. Faced with this 'new' problem, the mine took the matter to court - to get the workers evicted - and on the 25th of July 1984, the Supreme Court ruled against BAMCWU and the workers. The Union was ordered to pay the costs. This significantly stretched the meagre resources of the Union, since it also had to offer relief services to the workers.

This very company, GEFCO, which refused their workers reasonable salary increases, made a R25 million pre-tax profit in 1983 which was a 25% increase on pre-tax profits of the previous year, 1982.

Some of the issues which came to the fore as a result of the strike were the high incidence of asbestos-related diseases amongst the workers; occupational safe-guards for both miners and the people in the surrounding district whose environment was totally submerged in asbestos pollution. Another issue was the inadequate compensation arrangement where whites are paid R24 000,00 as down payment plus R400,00 a month pension for life as against R1 790,00 given to Blacks as a down and final payment.

The Black Allied, Mining and Construction Workers Union was founded on the realisation by the Labour Secretariat of the Azanian People's

Organisation [AZAPO] that black workers in the mining, building, quarry, construction and allied industries were not organised and as a result were thoroughly exploited by unscrupulous businessmen. The Union started strongly in the Northern Transvaal's mining industry but spread to other mining centres in the country. In no time they were able to cover all industries mentioned above.

The Union has met with very stiff opposition from management, the latest being the Durban Roodepoort Deep Gold Mine owned by Rand Mines. The primary objection that most of these companies have against BAMCWU is its constitution which they say is unacceptable. The President of BAMCWU, LETSATSI MOSALA, first served as the National Organiser of AZAPO before being shifted to the Labour Secretariat. He was also instrumental in the founding of the Black Municipality Workers' Union which will be remembered for its July, 1980 strike that paralysed Johannesburg.

The Secretary-General, Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, was President of the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) in 1974 and has served six (6) years on Robben Island for his alleged part in organising the VIVA FRELIMO rallies in September 1974 after FRELIMO had got into power in Mozambique. He has been associated with the Black Consciousness Movement for over fourteen years. The Publicity Secretary of BAMCWU is Motsumi Mokhe, a man dedicated to the workers' cause.

BAMCWU's position as a labour union has to be clearly understood. It refuses to confine itself to economic matters only, but sees itself identifying fully with all the social and political problems that affect their members and the different communities to which they belong. This may explain why the union has not seen its way clear in joining those federations that confine themselves to what they conveniently call "worker problems", whatever that means.

Perhaps it should be made clear that despite claims to the contrary, there are only two viable unions that organise in the mines, viz., BAMCWU and the CUSA-affiliated National Union of Mineworkers (NUM). The situation with the organisation of mine workers inside South Africa makes the position of the ANC-affiliated South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) as the recognised external representative of black miners anomalous. SACTU claims to stand for integrated unions in S.A. and amongst mine unions in SA there are



simply none. White miners belong to the all-white and overtly racist Mine Workers Union (MWU).

The BAMCWU National Anti-Asbestos Campaign is backed by all Black Consciousness organisations, notably the AZAPO Health Secretariat, the Azanian Students's Movement (AZASM), Black Women Unite, Media Workers's Association of South Africa (MWASA), BHAWUSA and CUSA. The multi-racial UDF has also thrown its weight behind the campaign.

Data has been collected on the dangers of asbestos, its various types and areas where it is mined. Investigations have also revealed that little has been done to protect communities where asbestos waste is dumped. The campaign will not only end with educating the workers, but the entire community on the dangers of this deadly mineral. All efforts must be combined to get it completely banned.

Asbestos-related diseases can be broken into three categories: Asbestosis, Mesothelioma and Bronchogenic carcinoma (lung cancer). All these diseases have as their symptoms fatigue, difficulty in breathing, coughs and listlessness. Lung cancer occurs as an advanced stage of asbestosis with the resultant high fatality rate. Large numbers of people who do not actually work with asbestos are also exposed to these diseases. We know of children who play on unprotected asbestos mine dumps.

Internationally, asbestos has been banned outright in some countries while in some, strict measures have been taken to minimise its use. In Australia for instance, the building industry trade unions have banned any further use of asbestos in building. Strict standards of safety for the removal of asbestos from old buildings have been set up. Municipalities in England have forced the boarding up and closure of houses with asbestos fillings and installations.

The acceptance of the hazards of asbestos has spread widely since the 30's. The asbestos industry appears to have largely ignored these where it could. Where the labour force has been drawn from broadly literate elements such as in Europe, Australia and North America, the industrialists have shifted operations to less literate and less scientifically conscious communities which have taken a long time to realise the link between asbestos mining and milling or other forms of dust generating work and the incidence of the diseases and fatalities caused by the material.

In a clear reaction to the campaign, producers of the mineral held an international conference in Johannesburg from the 29th to the 31st October, 1984. The timing and location of the conference may

have been sheer coincidence, but the tone of the conference was strictly that of a cover up.

The latest round of debate which is probably going to rage for some time is whether an entire industry should be closed down with the attendant loss of jobs or whether the hazards of asbestos may compensate for the reduced number of fatalities if the industry sets up stricter controls. The miners may well ask whether the public is entitled to trust an industry and a state which have neglected even previously lax standards of control. The Industrial Relations Data quotes a report that shows dust counts up to 50 times higher than the recommended South African levels which are 4 times higher than those recommended in the United Kingdom:

At another level, governments and workers of neighbouring countries are to be contacted and appraised of the implications of continuing to either work with or distribute the product. An unlikely scenario whereby Southern Africa will follow the Scandinavian countries and become an asbestos-free society appears to be the aim of BAMCWU.

The campaign is not likely to be an easy one since the substitution of glass, plastic and other fibres for asbestos is likely to present industry with extra costs it prefers not to carry. As a lot of industrial activity in SA is covered by political legislation, various forms of action are likely to be taken against the Union and its allies.

# SEXISM AND THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

## Introduction

Sexism is sexual prejudice against women. Sexism can be used analogously with racism. Like that of racism, the definition of sexism must inherently incorporate institutionalised oppression of women. Sexism has persisted despite qualitative changes in socio-economic formations. The persistence of sexism is assured by a system of government in which the father or the male heir of his choice rules. Such a system of government is known as patriarchy. Patriarchy, which signalled the world historic defeat of the fair sex, directly owes its origins and continued survival to an economic system based on the private ownership of the means of production.

## The World Before Sexism

Sexism is a relatively recent phenomenon which made its appearance a mere 3 000 years ago towards the end of the historic period known as Barbarism. During the preceding period known as Savagery - divided by historians into the Lower, Middle and Upper Stages - the oppression of women was completely unknown. During the Lower stage mankind satisfied his hunger by feeding on roots, tree leaves fruit and the like. The Middle Stage was characterised by the inclusion of fish and the invention of fire while the use of the bow and arrow heralded the Upper Stage of Savagery. There was plenty of fruit, fish and game and a whole world to explore. Since people are oppressed for gain, what benefit could be had by the oppression of women under such conditions? The means of production were so simple that they yielded no surplus product to fight over.

It should be noted that these economic activities on the part of man necessitated a mobile as opposed to a settled lifestyle. Spending a great deal of time in the open, tracking down animals, listening to and identifying different natural sounds around him, man must have been at one with nature and his lifestyle characterised by a spontaneity that also crept into his sexual life. During the Lower Stage of Savagery, brother - a concept as yet unknown - bedded his sister, mother her son, father his daughter. To use modern parlance, it was a free for all where a woman could have more than one 'husband' (polyandry) without evincing moral indignation. The concept of 'my child' was unknown since children belonged to everybody. Child care was socialised.

At a later stage during Savagery, generalised promiscuity gave way to the Consanguine Family which precluded sexual intercourse between members of different generations. Grand parents and parents could

not bed children. Boys could only take on girls. Brothers could still have sex with their sisters. It was not until the advent of the Punaluan Family in the Lower Stage of Barbarism that the prohibition against brothers with sisters came into force. The prohibition was gradually extended to include first, second and third cousins. At this stage group marriages or cohabitational associations were still very much in vogue provided there were no transgressions of the prohibitions mentioned above. The Punaluan Family yielded to the next type of relations between the two sexes, the Pairing Family, which emerged during the Upper Stage of Savagery and held its own up to the Middle Stage of Barbarism. The growing prohibitions against sexual intercourse between blood relations facilitated its emergence. The use of the bow and arrow which made possible the accumulation of meat reserves for short durations in turn marked the transition from a nomadic to a semi-nomadic existence. Man began to carve out wooden canoes using the stone axe, for this was the age of the neolithic revolution. Timber was employed to build shelter in preference to an existence in caves. A more or less natural division of labour began to emerge. The child bearing woman stuck to the settlement. Residential stability extended to stability in sexual life. The woman was discouraged from and then severely penalised for indulging with anyone other than her pairing mate. On the other hand, the male sex was on the verge of arrogating unto itself the privilege of extra-marital relations. In short, group sexual unions had become increasingly punctuated by lasting unions between individual men and women.

It is of fundamental importance to note that up to the Middle Stage of Barbarism, lineage was and could only be traced on the woman's side. So long as a woman could have sexual intercourse with any number of men, it was impossible to say with certainty who fathered the offspring. Therefore, great was the respect accorded the woman. Her rule spanned the period up to the Middle Stage of Barbarism. This time period saw a society which had moved from a free for all arrangement, then gradually weeding off immediate and later on distant relatives and finally narrowing participation to a couple - albeit unstable. Because of the primitiveness of the period's instruments of production, mankind's greatest single endowment - the ability to engage in co-operative labour - yielded a communistic household, a socio-economic formation. "The communistic household provided the material basis for rule by women". The ability to bear children - that natural gift in a society whose evolution took a natural course; a gift that propelled her to assume social leadership



made her an infallible linear reference source. It is by natural right that she claims ownership of the source, a natural right that the historian has come to name - Mother Right.

#### Origins Of Sexism

Then came what is perhaps the greatest revolution in history, namely, the agricultural revolution. For subsistence, man began to domesticate animals and to cultivate plants. A milk, meat, cereal and maize diet greatly increased his creativity and sharpened his intelligence. Irrigation implied a permanent settlement. This was during the Middle Stage of Barbarism. The Upper Stage saw the smelting of iron and the invention of the alphabet. The combination of irrigation and the iron plough drawn by cattle made possible the realization of social surplus for the first time in history. The prevailing natural division of labour had women in charge of household activities and associated tools while the menfolk of everything beyond its confines. In this way the menfolk came to be the owners of livestock and of the iron plough. They, in fact became the chief beneficiaries of the revolution. "The first class antagonism which appears in history coincides with the development of antagonism between men and women in monogamous marriage and the first class oppression with that of the female sex by the male". (Engels, F.: The Origin of the Family, Private Property and The State)

The consolidation of the male victory was ruthlessly applied and the woman became little more than a slave at the service of her new master. The pairing family yielded the patriarchal family which was nothing more than an economic organisation for agricultural activity under the direction of the victorious sex. It distributed tasks among slaves who cared for his flocks and tended his fields. The conquered wife was no more than a glorified slave who dutifully competed for the master's favours with attractive female slaves conquered by the armies of Rome. Whereas the pairing family had allowed the woman a certain freedom, including the right to disengage from the union, the new arrangement bound her as behoves a slave. It was a deliberate invention designed to facilitate inheritance. In this regard it should be noted that the word "family" is derived from the Latin word 'famulus' which means a household servant. Thus, 'familia' meant all the slaves belonging to the male who exercised the power of life and death over them. It was not until the fall of Rome that the oppression of women assumed a less naked form - but still oppression nonetheless.

#### Sexism and Capitalism

Prior to capitalism, the patriarchal family performed the economic functions of production and reproduction. With the emergence of capitalism, the factory supplanted it as a unit of production. It still retained its role as the chief mechanism for the oppression of women. The obligatory wedding ring around her finger symbolised the essence of the relationship - that of being the private property of the male sex. In taking over the family, capitalism consolidated and then duplicated its relations of production onto the larger society. The woman's uncompensated labour within the family provided the basis for the male's superior status. She became the proletariat and he the bourgeoisie. Without the uncompensated toil of the working class, there can be no bourgeoisie and hence no capitalism. Likewise, without the uncompensated toil of the woman there can be no privileged status for the man and hence no patriarchal family.

Like so many things in capitalism, the positive contribution of domestic labour to the national economy is not directly observable. This has led some 'theoreticians' to the conclusion that the woman's labour in the family does not create value. It does not create value because hers is not abstract labour and that what she produces is not for sale but for immediate consumption. Her efforts are contrasted to those of the factory wage earner who, by transforming raw materials, adds value to the resulting product which is intended for sale. Those who propound this view often hold that any product not intended for the market does not have value. Nothing could be further from the truth.

To begin with, the sole creator of value is abstract labour. To understand the concept of abstract labour, let us first deal with the concept, of specific labour to which it stands in contrast. Specific labour means the particular physical and mental steps it takes to produce a given item. The actual activity, step by step, involved in producing a car is qualitatively different from the specific activity it takes to produce a television set. You cannot employ the same procedure and method to produce the two items. The labour that goes into the production of each is specific or unique to the particular item - hence the term 'specific labour'. However, what it takes to produce a car and a television set is nevertheless labour, labour in the general sense. The two specific labours share one thing in common, namely, general labour. General means considering apart from the particular. Marx generalised from the specific labours and came up with what he should have come up

with, namely abstract labour.

How does abstract labour create value? The raw materials that make up a car include, among other things, steel, rubber, glass, zinc, etc. Nature does not present these materials to man in a ready made form. Man's labour digs them up from the bowels of the earth, purifies and moulds them and then lo and behold, a Rover emerges! The emergent product contains abstract labour. It does not have to wait for you to sell it before it contains value. If you decide to keep it for personal use, then it is said to have a use value. If you sell it, then it has an exchange value, i.e. you exchange it for something else, for money, for a house, etc. A product intended for sale is called a commodity.

A woman engages in a number of specific labours. Cooking entails making fire, pouring water into a pot, putting the pot on the fire and mixing maize meal with boiling water to produce a new product, namely the papa that Azanians love so much. The specific labour that goes into cooking is different from the specific labour that goes into child rearing. The woman's specific labour that goes into washing clothes for the super male chauvinist, K.D. Matanzima, shares one thing in common with the other specific labours, namely abstract labour. Neither the fact that the end product is intended for use nor Matanzima's views that since pregnancy is the fault of the woman who should therefore not be paid maternity leave should detract from the fact. If it were otherwise, how absurd Marx's remarks would sound:-

"A use value, or useful article, therefore, has value only because human labour in the abstract has been embodied or materialised in it"

(Capital, Commodities)

And again, "an increase in the quantity of use values is an increase in the quantity of wealth". It should be noted that he did not speak of an increase in the quantity of exchange values. And Marx is the founder of scientific socialism. Further be it noted that the only use values that do not have value contained in them such as the air we breathe, virgin soil, etc., do not have such value precisely because no human labour is crystallised in them. To discover in abstract labour the thing common to all commodities which in turn explains their exchangeability is a far cry from asserting that in producing use values a woman does not create value.

### The Black Woman In South Africa

The African woman in South Africa suffers from a triple disability - class exploitation (worker), national oppression (Black person) and sexual oppression (woman). National oppression intensifies both her class exploitation and sexual oppression to a degree unknown to the rest of womanhood.

Ordinarily, in a classical capitalist set-up, the woman is the chief component of the industrial reserve army. She is last to be hired and first to be fired. If she lands a job at all, her wage is lower than that of her male counterpart in the same position. Ironically, it is her role in the family that is used as a rationale. Since her lifetime call is the rearing of children, her wage is said to be supplementary to that of her husband. That she may in fact not have a husband is immaterial. She is penalised for getting pregnant - a social necessity for the perpetuation of the species - by being denied paid maternity leave. She is a minor in law in all the consequences thereof. Taboos are an obstacle to and dog her life throughout her social interaction. She may not express herself sexually without visiting upon herself the whoring label that hangs over her head like the sword of Damocles. She has a nerve to be raped and her humiliation during court proceedings is a sweet reminder. Worst of all, like the sweet wall flower that she is, it is expected that she suffers peacefully and be forever grateful unto them that do so much as to condescend in her direction. The woman's daily bread under capitalism is liberally served with special icing under South African conditions.

The chief product of national oppression that hits particularly hard on the Black woman in South Africa is the migratory labour system. In fragmenting families, this system has altered the role of the African woman in the family. In addition to her reproductive role, it forces her to engage in productive activity. She plants crops and, as is often the case, looks after livestock. Involvement on both economic fronts makes a virtual slave of her. The product of her agricultural labour is wholly for use by her and her children. Thus, her productive work in agriculture is essentially reproductive. To the extent that the migratory labourer is bound to return to his wife and children in the Bantustans, she becomes a powerful weapon at the disposal of the white ruling class which ensures the success of the system. In no other sphere of South African life is her role of reproducing cheap labour for capital clearly manifest.



The woman's areas of employment - in domestic service, nursing, teaching and in the textile industry - are reminiscent of her chores in the family. As a poorly paid domestic servant, she does reproductive work for the families of the settler-colonialists. The relations of production are semi-feudal and are overridden with paternalism. Like in the family, in nursing she cares for the sick and in teaching she still plays a leading role in socialising the young. Because the textile industry is labour intensive, its wage structure is extremely low.

The State labels women and children superfluous appendages. Black women fall outside the provisions of the Industrial Conciliation Act and Wage Act, while the Workman's Compensation Act simply ignores them. In the Factories Act the State legally sanctions the view that the role of the Black woman is the reproduction of labour by discouraging her to do overtime. In Natal, which excels all other provinces in its maltreatment of Black women, a woman's earnings belong to her guardian. Thus, in all aspects of South African life, the Black woman comes across all sorts of impediments. She is at the receiving end of the Blackman's frustrations for he is unable to hit back at the system.

#### Sexism And National Liberation

The struggle for national liberation is based on land. After the white settlers had conquered the land, they set about consolidating that conquest politically. In so doing they extended that political control over to the Indian and Coloured communities. It has thus come about that the entire Black race clamours for self-determination. Their political demands must of necessity be the sum total of all the disabilities that they suffer in common. The minimum that they call for, be they workers, peasants, the petit-bourgeoisie, is the repossession of the land with a view to establishing a government of Revolutionary National Democracy.

On the other hand the programme for the liberation of women would have to include, among others, the abolition of the family as we know it, the nationalisation of reproduction, the revision of the laws of inheritance and the scrapping of all laws that put women at an unfair disadvantage. But such demands, as shown from the above analysis of the family, cannot be met without the abolition of private property. Such a programme would be at odds with the programme for national liberation. Since revolutionary nationalism precedes socialism, it would therefore be a political error for women to

form an independent organisation calling for their liberation at this stage of the struggle. Such a step on their part cannot but divide the forces fighting for self-determination in Azania.

The above conclusion should not however, preclude the necessity to conscientize our cadres on the politics for the liberation of women. This is just as essential as it is necessary for them to be soaked - thoroughly - in Marxist literature. Greater respect must be accorded women, not just in theory but in practice. Upon the establishment of a regime of revolutionary national democracy - a regime transitional to the first stage of Socialism - the steps mentioned above would have to be taken to liberate women.

# THE ABORIGINAL STRUGGLE IN AUSTRALIA

VUYISA C. QUNTA

Early in December 1983, the then nine month old Labour Party administration in Australia tabled a Bill in parliament, which purported to recognise the prior ownership of that country by the indigenous people of the land, the Aborigines. Up to the time of the Bill, the British-founded Australian State had regarded the Australian continent as a land which was occupied by the whites without the conquest of a recognised human population. The consequences of this standpoint, which meant that Aborigines were not people, will be dealt with further on.

## The Natural Environment of Australia

The plant and animal life of Australia have unique features which influenced the lifestyle and culture of the indigenous population profoundly. The continent is the only one in the world which had no cultivable food crops and no domesticable local animals which could supply the people with milk or be used as draught animals. Hence a pastoral or agricultural mode of existence never arose. In a culture estimated to date back at the very least 40 000 years, the indigenous Australians, who call themselves Murries in the North and Koories in the South, developed a civilization based on small communities of artisans, hunters, fishers and gatherers. Their skilful use of the fragile environment did not create large concentrations of wealth, and at the same time it did not lead to large scale desertification which the importation of European livestock has caused over the last 200 years.

## Culture and History

The Aborigines developed a complex tradition encompassing a monotheist religion, oral history, philosophy and strict legal codes. They refer to the early part of their history as the Dream-time, and have got a powerful spiritual relation with the soil which supports life. Some of the technological developments of Aboriginal society include Australia's most famous invention, the boomerang, which is able to fly over a hundred metres and return to the precise spot from where it was thrown. The aerodynamics of this weapon have only been worked out by a white physicist in the 1980's. Another remarkable weapon was the womerah which is used to propel a sharp pointed missile with a force amplified through

the (physics) principle of moments. These are both essentially hunting instruments. Their best known musical instrument is a hollow wind instrument played through continuous, circular breathing. It produces a droning sound that may be approximated by the low register tone from a synthesiser. It is used by a contemporary Aboriginal band, No Fixed Address, on their records. It may also be heard distorted by pop singer Kate Bush on one of her bland records.

## Resistance and Conquest

While they had some ingenious weapons, the Aborigines lost the wars against European colonisers for three reasons. The numbers in which they fought were always smaller than those of societies which had established larger state forms whose structures included standing armies. Secondly, the European conquerors had acquired the use of gun powder and were putting it to more use than the fire works displays of the Chinese, its original inventors. Lastly, in its isolation, the continent had been free of most European type diseases, and when these were imported, they facilitated the near extermination of Aboriginal society which had no immunity to small pox etc. Writings on specific battles and the Aboriginal resistance started emerging only in the 1970's. The Institute for Aboriginal Studies at the Australian National University in Canberra has a large amount of archival material.

## Evolution of White State Policy on Aborigines

For several years after the conquest of Aboriginal land was completed, an active policy of violent extermination was pursued in several states against the indigenous Australians. The Europeans went out in poses rounding up and shooting Aboriginal families and clans regardless of whether or not they were armed or fought back. These expeditions went on from the 1780's to the 1920's. Even after they were no longer officially organised through government and state agencies, they continued until the 1940's.

The most notorious of these campaigns took place on the Island State (the equivalent of a province) of Tasmania. The European Governor recruited every available soldier, police officer, mercenary farmer, labourer and convict, and formed a cordon stretching from the one end of the island to the other. They then went on a systematic drive to murder every living man, woman and child on the island. Very few Tasmanians on the main island could



have escaped. Most survivors of the Tasmanian racial type were those on the smaller surrounding islands. After the massacre, the Europeans found one woman survivor and her child. The woman, Trugannini, was taken prisoner and taken to England. When conditions there killed her, the English authorities cut her open, stuffed her body and placed it in a museum.

Another practice that devastated Aboriginal society over a long period was the removal of children from their families. While these removals continue up to this day, their peak period was between 1909 and 1926 when, in one of the states with a liberal reputation, New South Wales, 1/3 of all Aboriginal children were removed from their families and mainly taken to church missions where they were to be brought up and trained as servants for white people. The overall aim was to obliterate all traces of Aboriginal languages, culture or identity. The official term was assimilation. Policies and practices of this nature are termed GENOCIDE under the U.N. Charter. At present hundreds of Aboriginal children continue to be taken away from their parents on various pretexts. Simultaneously, hundreds of young Aborigines brought up in various church and state homes and institutions spend all their lives travelling from one office or agency to the next trying to find out who they are and where they might find their families. Another effect of the mass institutionalisation of Aboriginal youth is that many of those brought up under the various reformatories, hostels, etc. in an impersonal and non-affectionate environment, is the creation of dependency and the destruction of initiative.

White Australian society established institutions of self-government and representative government for itself shortly after revolts by miners and squatters late in the last century. No pretence was made at incorporating Aboriginal interests into these. A combination of the prejudices that were being cultivated in Europe about the Black races to justify slavery and the need for white Australians to salve any qualms of conscience about the murder of Aborigines and the theft of their land, led to the development of a tradition of vicious slander about Aborigines in all aspects of the socialisation of white Australians. Racist songs and children's chants and rhymes, the Australian constitution and the school books all advance one or other notion that the aborigines are stupid, lazy, non-human, cunning and trustworthy or were cannibals. Most of these allegations have been levelled at most peoples whose land is either in the process of being expropriated or where such has already taken place. The

racist outlook was then extended to encompass all people of colour through the Whites Only immigration policy which was upheld in letter and in deed until the 1960's. Even after its abrogation, habit and tradition continued to favour white migrants of British stock which includes large numbers of white South Africans, many of whom try to spread or reinforce the sickness that is racism.

#### Contemporary Aboriginal Resistance

Aborigines organise their struggle differently from the struggles of Asian people, their closest neighbours, as well as those of the peoples of Africa and the Americas south of the Mexican border.

Some activists have been working on the restoration of Aboriginal children to their community from the 1930's. Various reform platforms have co-existed with this one. For example, Aboriginal soldiers who served in the allied forces in World War II were paid less than half the wages of their white colleagues. Struggles to rectify this and other racist practices have been escalating since.

Aboriginal society survived in different forms in different parts of the country. Where the extermination programmes were less successful in places such as Queensland, the upper parts of Western Australia, the northern territory and a number of less accessible areas in every other state, traditional society still exists with its skills, its music, its dance and its food, its medicine and its dignity. These communities have become the repositories of renewal, recovery and self-discovery for a number of people breaking out from the alienation and despondency of the depressed situation in the town fringes and on reservations. The existence of Aborigines on mission stations and the reservations is an extremely colonised survival. People in these locations often live on handouts. Up to the late 1970's, those who got work on the reservations were often paid far less than the accepted wages for their jobs. Their children are subjected to severe brainwashing and their communities to bullying by the church management personnel. Some of the regional authorities or state governments as they are called, give preference for management positions with vast arbitrary powers to white South Africans who have worked for the departments responsible for the harassment of Blacks in South Africa, on the basis that they have experience in "dealing with Blacks".

The balance of Aboriginal population concentrations is to be found on the fringes of country towns or the inner city ghettos, the

largest of which is Redfern in Sydney. Numerically, Aborigines have been reduced to a situation where they constitute less than 1% of their country's population. People mobilise around a variety of survival issues such as the defence of Aborigines on trial, the provision of basic medical facilities which the white state has denied the majority of Aborigines and the retention and development of Aboriginal Arts and Culture. The central and unifying factor of their struggle though, is the struggle for their right to their land, especially areas of spiritual significance, and the right to manage their own lives.

The cruder elements amongst white politicians try and break up the solidarity of urban and rural Aboriginal communities by claiming that those who live in the cities have lost entitlement to the land claims. The vilest white concept is the notion that those Aborigines with any trace of white ancestry are not entitled to be regarded as Aborigines. The arrogance and baseness of this theory is compounded by the fact that Anglo-Saxon whites do not accept people with any trace of ancestry from people of colour as part of their own community. Europeans inter-marry and that is their business. Nobody holds the German background or the British royal family against them. Nobody calls them half caste or half breeds. These terms are used against the Aborigines, and people of colour around the world. They are used to insinuate animal type attributes. That is why Latin Europeans call some people mulattoes, a term that is derived from MULE. This probably represents the ultimate insult. One of the effects of socialisation of people with language is that it dulls the conscience of white societies the world over, in relation to brutalities meted out to peoples of colour by societies which advocate equality, democracy and human rights for themselves.

#### The Policies and Practices of the Two Major Parties

The question raised by the Land Rights Bill mentioned at the start of this article is whether the Labour Party is going to grasp the nettle this time, and carry action through to rectify a very grave situation.

Up to 1967, Aborigines were not even counted as people in census type exercises. It was only after a massive mobilisation of the rest of the population from ranks of both the Liberal Party and the Labour Party for a referendum that Aborigines won full voting rights. The referendum also empowered Federal governments to intervene in cases where state governments violated the basic rights of Aborigines.

Both Parties have had terms of office where they had majorities in

both houses of parliament, and have failed to intervene in the face of flagrant violations of Aboriginal rights. The termination of a campaign by a medical team to eliminate trachoma and related eye diseases in Queensland was a case in point in the late 1970's. Another instance is the frequent violation of sacred sites by the mining companies.

#### Access to Opportunities

While no law bars Aborigines from training and employment, a lot of teachers carry attitudes which leave Aboriginal children in no doubt about the fact that they are not wanted in schools. The atmosphere this creates plus active discouragement ensure that Black children leave school early, and they do so in hordes. Employers will also not give jobs, even of a menial kind to Aborigines. This leaves thousands of people living on social security grants. It breaks the morale of Aboriginal students who have few academic role models in their own communities, and who realise that schooling or not, they are not necessarily going to escape the depression of welfare queues. Throughout the entire history of contemporary Australia, not much more than 30 Aborigines have completed a university degree. There was only one senior Aboriginal medical student set to qualify at the end of 1983 or 1984. Before her there has not been a single Aboriginal doctor in Australia. The attitudes of most white medical personnel, and medical institutions in Australia, are hostile towards Aborigines, hence the latter stay away from their hospitals. If they go it is evident they are not wanted as patients. This neglect, compounded by the depressed economic situation of the Aborigines, results in Aboriginal children having one of the highest early death rates in the world. Millions of state dollars assigned for Aboriginal health are misused by white administrators on salaries, comforts and conveniences for themselves, and on facilities completely inappropriate for a community in need of basic preventive health care.

#### Black Initiatives in Providing Services

Aboriginal activists have organised a network of medical and dental services which even the Federal Health Ministry recognises as the most efficient and economical health delivery system in the country. They employ some enlightened white doctors and sometimes African and Asian doctors, and train their own auxiliary personnel. These facilities are severely under-funded in all states, and give medical care to people of all races who need such. They are co-ordinated



throughout the country by the National Aboriginal and Islander Health Organisation whose secretary is Gary Folley, a Sydney based militant and veteran of many struggles since the early 1970's.

One of the purposes served by the courts and the prison system in Australia is the disruption of Aboriginal community and family life. For dozens of offences over which whites and other immigrants get bail and fines, Aboriginal people face incarceration in a backward and punitive prison system. No matter what excuses apologists for this practice put forward, the reasons Aborigines make up over 12% of the prison population when they constitute less than 1% of the population is the racist outlook of police and court officials over which no corrective measures are being taken nor have been attempted by any minister, government or institution.

Several regional organisations have taken up issue of Aboriginal imprisonment both through organising juridical intervention and through agitation for political reform on the issue. These services are again run and managed by the Aborigines.

#### The Lands Councils

Land is the basis for all forms of economic activity. Land use amongst Aborigines has always been non-destructive and has involved only such exploitation of natural resources as would not destroy the ecology. This was tied to a cultural outlook which revered nature and saw the land as being a source of sustenance for the body and the spirit. "The land, our mother" is a statement that encapsules Aboriginal relation to the soil.

Acknowledgement of the Aboriginal people's prior occupancy and ownership of Australia, the restoration of their sacred sites and significant ancestral lands, as well as compensation for all the lives, property and dignity lost, are the basic issues to the struggles in Australia. No other issue supercedes it in urgency.

Aboriginal people elect representatives and nominate elders to regional lobbies which trace and identify lands which were recognised even in terms of European laws and treaties as residual Aboriginal heritage, which have subsequently been stolen, occupied by white or other external interests. These bodies are known as Land Councils. They are the main political representative movements of the Aborigines, and are largely not recognised by Federal and State governments. One of the watersheds of the Land Rights struggle was the establishment of an Aboriginal embassy in a colony of tents on the lawns of the Australian parliament in Canberra in 1972. The struggle to

maintain the embassy against police attempts to dismantle the tents and disperse the participants brought the struggle to the Aborigines, one of the most hidden in the world, to the attention of the international community.

Because of the brainwashing against Aborigines in white socialisation, most whites are hostile to the Aborigines, and especially resentful towards those who are assertive or voice the wish of other Aborigines for justice.

Barbara Flick, who is a member of the New South Wales Lands Council, and also of the Co-operative For Aboriginal Education, which runs the Tranby College which trains Aborigines in Co-op management, has been one of the prime targets of abuse, harassment and violence from elements of this stripe. Besides the standard obscene phone calls, Ms Flick has had traps set for her car as she left her parents' home in one of the reservations. Also, when her brother died in police custody about 3 hours after being arrested for a drinking offence, the doctor who performed the post mortem said he had been too drunk to have hung himself as the police alleged.

Michael "Shorty" O'Neal, who was Publicity Secretary for the North Queensland Lands Council has virtually had legislation passed by the State government in Queensland to permit the latter to detain him as a mental patient largely for the criticism he has directed at the government through a quarterly newspaper, The Message Stick.

Other forms of violence used to keep Aboriginal people cowed include a massive incidence of rape against Aboriginal women by white men which is almost regarded as a form of sport in country areas. This is a practice that goes on with complete connivance from the police and total indifference from the politicians.

#### The Multinationals

While the struggle of the Aboriginal people is a distinct struggle for self-determination, it is aligned with other struggles in that country against violence either by the state or by fascist groups and by Multinational mining corporations. A growing number of intellectuals, workers and small business entrepreneurs realise that while Australia has a pro-Western capitalist state form, it is exploited and abused by American and Japanese business interests. It is certainly not treated as an equal and an ally by the USA and its corporations. For instance, US military and communications installations, potentially in the front line in the event of a nuclear war between the Soviet Union and the US, are not accessible to the

Australian army or government.

As has occurred with the indigenous people of the North Americas, the miserable and arid bits of land they were left as reservations by the colonisers, have turned out to contain rich deposits of minerals for which the Aborigines demand royalties and consultation. On many sites where oil, uranium or diamonds have been located on Aboriginal territory, communities have been removed from land which has supported them, to camps where they live off hand-outs and are devastated by disease, frustration and alcohol. This was the case with the people of Weipa and Maapoon in the early 1970's. There was a variation on the same theme in 1981, when Rio Tinto wanted to drill on a sacred site at Noonkanbaa in Western Australia. There was a heroic resistance by a community which had rebuilt itself after prior disruptions of its life, and was running a successful cattle business. Charles Court, the West Australian State Premier and fascist bully mounted a massive military type police operation to force a convoy of trucks bearing the drilling equipment through a series of pickets and blockades. The move was so provocative, it must have been calculated to induce the Aborigines to violent reaction. Fortunately, that did not occur as it would have signalled another excuse for the murder of Aborigines. In an ingenious move in public education, an Aboriginal support group in Melbourne a few thousand kilometres away erected an oil drill on the grounds of a Catholic cathedral. The church leadership agreed but the dramatic impact allowed a lot of whites to think on the issue of Aboriginal religion and its abuse for the first time.

Because Aborigines are at the receiving end of the direct abuse by these companies and their lackies in government positions, they have fewer illusions about the way Australian society is run and, with their allies in the labour and non-aligned movements in Australia, constitute the cutting edge of the struggle in Australia for the true independence and the application of Australian resources to the needs of Australia's people.

A major weakness in the outlook of a lot of white activist groups is that they fail to give priority to spreading among other whites, starting with their own children, a resistance to joining in the abuse of Aboriginal people. Since the relatively high standard of living enjoyed by every racial group except the Aborigines in Australia is due to the expropriation of their land and the devastation of their society whose effects continue unchecked.

Fortunately, most of them have come to terms with the fact that

they can only support the Aborigines in their struggle, and so do not attempt to impose themselves as leadership of that struggle.

From the time that they took a leading role in demonstrations against white South African sports teams, Aborigines have consistently supported the struggles of African peoples in Azania, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Angola when the last three were still waging their independence struggles. It has been a perennial weakness in our struggle that although we have sought support for it far and wide, we have not sought to find out and to align ourselves with those struggles which have not had prominent coverage in the media. WE NEED THEREFORE TO PLEDGE AND DEMONSTRATE FULL SUPPORT FOR THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE OF AUSTRALIA.

MANIFESTO OF THE AZANIAN PEOPLE

Political developments inside Azania, especially the adoption of the "Manifesto of the Azanian People", are most exhilarating and gratifying. Every true Azanian patriot cannot but smile with satisfaction, for the adoption of this Manifesto by the National Forum representing more than 200 Black organisations, marks a giant step forward in our struggle against the racist settler-colonialist order which has oppressed us for so long. This Manifesto is the first public document of the people adopted on Azanian soil, with such a clear and bold commitment to socialism. The National Forum pledged that it shall work for the establishment of an "anti-racist, socialist Republic" - where the "means of production, distribution and exchange" are controlled by the workers. The only other document to match the "Manifesto of the Azanian People" in clarity are the Political Programme of the now defunct Azanian People's Revolutionary Party (APRP) and the Political Programme of the B.C.M.(A). The three documents are the same in content, with the latter two - adopted in exile - eclipsing the first in detail.

The fact that the Manifesto was adopted by representatives of such a vast array of organisations gives it a mighty clout. The other two historical documents, namely the Freedom Charter and "Towards a Free Azania - Projection: Future State" of the now banned Black People's Convention (B.P.C.), pale into anachronisms in the face of this Manifesto and should rightly be superseded by it.

The National Forum was called to unite the oppressed (Black) people against the dangerous President's Council scheme in the short term. The "Manifesto of the Azanian People" is meant to provide the basic principles upon which such unity would be based. But, no sooner had the dust settled had some elements, acclaimed by the press as supporters of the Freedom Charter or Charterists, as they are generally called, started fulminating unashamedly. None of these ranters attacked the contents of the Manifesto. Instead, they attacked the Black Consciousness adherents who are considered the main driving force within the National Forum. They dare not criticise the "Manifesto of the Azanian People" as such, for that document is ten times more revolutionary than the Charter, which, to say the least, is just a list of "klagtes en versoeke" (Complaints and requests). The Charter has many faults, but its main sin against

the Azanian people is its denial of the National Question in our country. Its assertion that Azania "...belongs to all those who live in it, Black and White" negates the settler-colonialist nature of our oppression. The truth of the matter is that the British colonialists transferred the colonial power they exercised over our country to their settler kith and kin in 1910 and then declared South Africa a sovereign, independent state. The owners of the country, the Blacks, were neither consulted nor did they have anything at all to do with that legal fraud. Indeed, this transference of colonial power to the white settlers was an anti-Black act and it continues to brutalise our people up to this day. This denial of the National Question by the Charter reduces the struggle to a mere campaign for civil rights, which explains the love the Charter enjoys from the White liberal left. The Manifesto, on the other hand, fully recognises the settler-colonialist nature of our oppression and sees the struggle of the oppressed Blacks as a fight for the reconquest of their land and the realisation of their sovereign independence. Thus, the legitimisation of the 1910 Union of South Africa fraud by the Charter, is effectively reversed and corrected by the "Manifesto of the Azanian People". Is this perhaps the reason why the Charterists rant and rave against the Manifesto?

Zinzi Mandela fired the first salvo on behalf of the Charterists at a June 16 Service in Lenasia when she called the more than 800 Black people representing their more than 200 Organisations at the first National Forum "ideological bandits". Only a non-socialist can call socialists "ideological bandits". So, who is Zinzi? It is doubtful that she has appreciated the full impact of her rather unfortunate outburst. Most probably those words were constructed in cosy white liberal suburbs and she was only employed as a megaphone with a famous label. Perhaps the young woman needs more political education than angry condemnations. Maybe, the first thing that she should learn is that the struggle for liberation has nothing to do with royalty. Being born a Mandela does not confer upon her any kind of political 'princessness', which gives her the right to go about insulting people on public platforms.

The other "born again Charterist" to foul the air was Curtis Nkondo, alias Curtis Bowers, the deposed former president of the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), a leading Black Consciousness organisation. Nkondo said in Port Elizabeth that he "does not



understand why there should be Black Consciousness when there is no yellow consciousness or green consciousness". This must surely be the upper limit of stupidity. Does it mean he never understood what was going on as Black Consciousness rampaged all over the face of Azania through the years and conscientised millions of Blacks in the process? Literally, the entire present generation of young activists are products of Black Consciousness, directly or indirectly. He did not understand why the likes of Mthuli Shezi, Mapetla Mohapi, Onkgopotse Tiro, Steve Biko, etc. died. Did he preside over AZAPO without understanding what he was presiding over? Has this man of 58 been in a haze all these years? Do his Charterist colleagues imagine what he knows what the Charter is all about? He must rank as one of the most spineless opportunists who ever soiled the Azanian political scene. It is perhaps not surprising, for he is amongst those who were thoroughly apolitical until the militant students dragged them out of their cocoons in 1976, screaming and squealing, and put them on the burning political platform. What has become clear is that he is void of any political principles as AZAPO learnt after electing him its president. He blundered all over the scene abandoning every principle of the Movement whenever it seemed expedient to do so. The organisation found itself with no alternative but to chuck him out. He has now joined the band of shady former B.C. turn-coats who respect few principles, if any, and whose role on the Azanian political scene is to start as many fires as possible. It is to be hoped that these are but the views of a few and that the majority of Azanian patriots and revolutionaries will feel motivated and strengthened by the National Forum and its work. In particular, it is to be hoped that a lot of us will rally around the "Manifesto of the Azanian People" and consider it our own.

I-Azania eyethu!

Power And Solidarity!!

#### THE ACCORD OF NKOMATI - A TRIUMPH FOR THE DESTABILISATION POLICY

With much fanfare and feasting, the so-called Accord of Nkomati was signed by racist South Africa and Mozambique on the 16th March, 1984. For the racist, settler-colonialist regime in Pretoria, which had always been shunned by all peace-loving countries of the world, the occasion provided a propaganda exercise on an unprecedented scale. It was indeed sickening to hear the racist S.A. Prime Minister, Pieter Botha, in the presence of Machel, portraying the Boers as virtuous Africans who have always championed the struggle against colonialism and oppression. These were the words of the same Botha whose forces had fought alongside the Portugese colonial forces against Frelimo during the liberation struggle and fought alongside the Rhodesian forces against the Zimbabwean liberation forces. It is the same Botha whose forces continue to destabilise the majority of the front-line states. Yes, it is the same Botha whose racist regime maintains a fascist and repressive machine which ruthlessly brutalises, kills, maims and dehumanises the Black people in Azania. This is the upper limit of cynicism and hypocrisy which only the Boers are capable of reaching.

Amidst all the dazzling euphoria created by the signing of the non-aggression treaty between racist South Africa and Mozambique, it is important to keep in mind the fact that the root cause of tension in Southern Africa is the contradiction between the settler-colonial system in South Africa on the one hand and freedom and independence in the front-line states on the other. In a desire to maintain its diabolical system, the Boer regime embarked on a destabilisation campaign against the front-line states geared at rolling back the frontiers of freedom and independence. The signing of the Nkomati Accord marks the succumbing of Mozambique to racist South Africa's policy of destabilisation and a triumph for Pretoria and the so-called policy of constructive engagement pursued by the Reagan administration. The racist bigots in Pretoria will certainly also see it as a vindication of their belief in the superiority of Europeans over Africans. Recognising that racist South Africa has changed nothing in the direction of transforming itself from settler-colonialism to freedom, it should be accepted that it is the just socialist system in Mozambique that has compromised with the unjust system in South Africa. The Pretoria regime will certainly try its best to employ its superior economic resources to turn Mozambique into one of its soul-less, consciousnessless and

understand why there should be Black Consciousness when there is no yellow consciousness or green consciousness". This must surely be the upper limit of stupidity. Does it mean he never understood what was going on as Black Consciousness rampaged all over the face of Azania through the years and conscientised millions of Blacks in the process? Literally, the entire present generation of young activists are products of Black Consciousness, directly or indirectly. He did not understand why the likes of Mthuli Shezi, Mapetla Mohapi, Onkgopotse Tiro, Steve Biko, etc. died. Did he preside over AZAPO without understanding what he was presiding over? Has this man of 58 been in a haze all these years? Do his Charterist colleagues imagine what he knows what the Charter is all about? He must rank as one of the most spineless opportunists who ever soiled the Azanian political scene. It is perhaps not surprising, for he is amongst those who were thoroughly apolitical until the militant students dragged them out of their cocoons in 1976, screaming and squealing, and put them on the burning political platform. What has become clear is that he is void of any political principles as AZAPO learnt after electing him its president. He blundered all over the scene abandoning every principle of the Movement whenever it seemed expedient to do so. The organisation found itself with no alternative but to chuck him out. He has now joined the band of shady former B.C. turn-coats who respect few principles, if any, and whose role on the Azanian political scene is to start as many fires as possible. It is to be hoped that these are but the views of a few and that the majority of Azanian patriots and revolutionaries will feel motivated and strengthened by the National Forum and its work. In particular, it is to be hoped that a lot of us will rally around the "Manifesto of the Azanian People" and consider it our own.

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economically dependent neo-Bantustans.

We fully understand and appreciate the difficult circumstances in which our Mozambican brothers and sisters find themselves in at present. The Mozambicans have been living under war conditions for the last twenty years, a situation which denied them suitable conditions for reconstruction and economic development. The past three years were particularly difficult for them: a devastating drought combined with South African banditry to exercise severe pressures on the Mozambican government and its people. It is only right and wise for the Mozambicans to search for solutions which will ensure the survival and progress of their country. To this end Mozambique opened dialogue with the racist Pretoria regime which dialogue led to the signing of this so-called non-aggression pact which, whilst humiliating Mozambique, accords the racist Pretoria regime an honour it does not deserve. By their own admission, the Boers are not hallucinating about prospects of humiliating all the front-line states in a similar fashion one by one and finally gaining membership of the O.A.U., as promised by Kenneth Kaunda, without redressing the grievances of the Azanian people. Our view is that our brothers and sisters in Mozambique went too far by signing this unequal treaty. And the pomp and ceremony that accompanied the signing of the Accord of Nkomati suggested to us that our brothers and sisters in Mozambique experienced no pain at their compromise with racist settler-colonial oppression in Azania. Furthermore, we seriously doubt the sincerity and good faith of the Pretoria racist bigots. As long as the Mozambicans continue to espouse and implement an economic system based on Marxism-Leninism, the Pretoria herrnvolk regime is likely to continue to use its superior economic and military resources in an attempt to turn Mozambique away from socialism and the socialist bloc. That's a mission the Boers will share with the whole capitalist west.

For the oppressed people of Azania, the slogan: Aluta continua, remains. If anything, things look more ominous for us now. We see a partnership of the Reagan administration and the racist Pretoria regime working towards the creation of conditions in Southern Africa favourable to the continuation of our oppression and exploitation. A Philip Habib of Southern Africa has emerged in the person of Chester Crocker to frustrate our struggle and deny us freedom, justice and peace in our own country. Just like the Palestinians, we have no alternative but to continue the struggle for the reconquest of our land and all its resources. It is important that

everybody accept that there can be no peace and relaxation of tension in Southern Africa as long as the settler-colonialist regime still exists in Pretoria and Pretoria continues to occupy Namibia against the wishes of its people. Fortunately for us, some of the front-line states have not changed their views on the plight of the Azanian people and will not forsake us. Our task remains the intensification of the struggle inside Azania. With firm determination and commitment we shall overcome all obstacles put in the path to freedom by the racist illegitimate regime in Pretoria. The Zimbabwe revolution triumphed in spite of many a detente exercise conducted by the Smith-Muzorewa regimes and their Pretoria backers to alienate the Zimbabwe liberation movement from the front-line states. The racist settler-colonialist regime in South Africa should know that it can't create peace within its borders by destabilising the neighbouring states to submission and then signing non-aggression pacts with them. The true road to peace is to be found in the resolution of the contradiction between the oppressive power structure in South Africa and the oppressed and dehumanised of Azania.

Down with "constructive engagement"!!!

Down with the Botha settler-colonialist regime!!!

Forward to an anti-racist, socialist Azania!!!

AMANDLA!!!



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