

their identity further casts a doubt of the official explanation of their seniors. In Lesotho the local leaders assert that the violent insurrection taking place there is fully supported by South Africa. They further assert that the people responsible for this violence operate from some place inside South Africa, in short, that South Africa is being used as a spring-board against a neighbouring country. In Angola UNITA is said to be supported by South Africa. The readiness of the South African media to display Dr Savimbi and his group has a tendency of supporting this thinking. The recent SADCC Conference in Lesotho took pains to condemn South Africa for this destabilisation. History shall tell us the truth.

At home here the minority regime is throwing all efforts in dividing the oppressed to make them sing and dance to their music. The President's Council is a ploy to divide the masses. The Black Consciousness movement is the one most threatened because other forces are used to operate as separate ethnic entities that only come together when their ethnic interests are threatened to form sentimental alliances that make armophous manifestos. The challenges that face us with the President's Council's "gogga" is that the system has its quislings who are ready to serve in these structures and sell the masses. AZAPO as a mass political organisation is best poised to tackle the bull by its horns. The criticism that

we always have to contend with is that as a movement we are elitists only appealing to the "educated" who have no meaningful role to play in the resistance movement. As a mass organisation our support lies with the masses and the popular support we get from the people. Our people have never failed us yet when we approached them and exposed the realities of the challenges. I hereby urge this Congress to sit down and brainstorm our ways and strategies of destroying P W Botha's dream to ashes.

As a theme of this Congress and the whole year we have decided on "Mobilise and Consolidate the Liberatory efforts of the Oppressed Masses". It is historical that we have to meet under this cloud of fear and anxiety. The Labour Party dust has not settled down, the Transvaal Anti-SAIC Committee Congress resolutions are still debatable and open issues. This Congress must take decisions that shall be backed by practical actions of all concerned. Alliances with other genuine progressive Black organisations must be sought. AZAPO is duty bound to lead the campaign to oppose the President's Council as it is the only overt national liberation movement.

The challenges posed by this President's Council fiasco offer to us the opportunity to mobilise the oppressed taking advantage of the common threat experienced now. Some moves have been made to form some front, but as long as people still recognise ethnicity in the liberation struggle

the goal of a free and united AZANIA shall remain a pipe dream. Sections of the so-called progressive movement are questioning themselves on wisdom of the President's Council boycott. This is not surprising because the majority of them have a bad history of collaborating with the system. It is the task of AZAPO as a movement to protect the masses from leadership whose interests oscillate between the oppressor and the oppressed. Any leadership that has vested interests in the present capitalist system tend to be reactionary and counter-revolutionary. Because the white capitalist press see them as better alternatives to the so-called hot-headed radicals they build them as the leaders of the people. Time has come in the liberation struggle of the people for us to stop unholy marriages with such characters and expose them for what they are. The people's liberation can not be stopped by collaborationists and deliberate obstructionists who have already been bought over by 30 pieces of silver. Let the people fuel the wagon of liberation. Let us go out to all our areas and mobilise the people. I am convinced that much spade work has been done on conscientizing our people and now the cry is "Mobilise and Consolidate". The people are ready, they are just looking upon us for motivation and direction.

On the isolation campaign we seem to be winning friends and allies all over the world. Some gains have been made in this field and

with joy we can announce that some local groups and influential people have put their weight behind our call to isolate this racist regime. A word of caution is that

there is still a lot to be done in this field and no efforts should be spared in this concerted campaign.

In conclusion I want to urge all freedom loving pa-

triot to adopt the liberatory philosophy of Black Consciousness as a guide in their pursuit for the true and meaningful achievement. •

Address to Conference

by Saths Cooper

From its inception the BCM was diagnosed by its detractors and by the enemy as still born and given no chance for survival. We have been condemned as the ugly step-child of the Nats, racists in reverse, imperialist, capitalist and CIA agents — the vilification has been as numerous and as harebrained as its proponents are.

But the BCM has reached maturity, and, under the direction of AZAPO, has become the vanguard of the people's struggle in the country. AZAPO has no peer in the struggle to regain our land from foreign settler hands and restore power to people. Under AZAPO's direction BC has emerged as a viable and relevant philosophy. The scientific analysis of present society and the picture of what the future Azania ought to be can find no more progressive advance than that presented by the popular movement of the 80's.

Until BC took the country by storm in the early 70's, black was regarded as vile and white was considered the ideal to aspire to. Blacks were deliberately made to feel inferior and in all we attempted white standards became the norm. There was nothing unusual about this

phenomenon, for this has been the practice of oppressors the world over: divide, denigrate and dehumanise those whom they oppress while denying and distorting the history of the oppressed people.

The rise of the BCM ushered in a new and revolutionary era in the national struggle. The BCM restored hope, pride and solidarity in the people. In 1972 there was the Tiro affair and mass student action on tertiary campuses. 1973 saw massive strikes by workers. 1974 saw the Viva-Frelimo rallies. 1976 and 1977 were the watershed years in recent political activity. Since then the country and the people have never been the same.

The 1976 uprising shocked big business and the government into the reality that South African society is divided into two antithetical camps based on race and class. The situation was explosive with the revolutionary BC organs at the helm — big business, with Pretoria's blessings launched organisations like the Urban Foundation to counter the BC threat. The onslaught against BC by the system was by means of:

(1) Improving the quality of

life in the ghettos, which in reality was a tactic to create a middle class to serve as a buffer between the two contending forces.

(2) The creation of various 'community-based' organs with reformist civic and civil demands.

(3) The promotion of a leadership from within the ranks of the 'non-white' bourgeoisie who occasionally mouth militant slogans and who have the ear of the media which is controlled by the racist capitalist ruling class. This liberal media is used to promote the idea that these are the authentic leaders of the people.

(4) Redefining the content of the concept Blackness in racist, reactionary terms. Hence they speak of Black Bank, Black business, Black Capitalist, etc.

(5) Creating the illusion that freedom is integration into a white racist way of life.

(6) Pumping capital into organisations supporting multiracialism.

One of the greatest threats facing the black people and their revolutionary organisation is the stranglehold that is once again being exer-

cised on the direction of the struggle by liberalism with its capitalist base. From the ash heap of history, to which they were rightly consigned in the early 70's, the resurgence of liberals in the early 80's has been confusing and sabotaging the people's struggle, resulting in retrogression and insidious inroads being made into black life, in order to further encircle the oppressed masses in a miasma of spiritual degradation and physical denigration. Some blacks are again becoming the walking/talking dolls of their white owners who provide them with sufficient remuneration to deliberately confuse and mislead the struggle back into their hands from which the BCM had wrenched it in the early 70's. These persons take whiteness as their modus operandi and take complete direction from whites who are part of the repressive machinery of the system. We refuse point blank to accept leadership from these white boys who have served their military conscription and done their stint on the border and who are now training on us.

Finding themselves unequal to the challenges of leading the oppressed masses and recognising the paucity of their effete ideas which were dismal failures up to the reign of the BCM, these summer-time revolutionaries worship in a frenzy of frenetic zeal at the shrine of their white gods. Not for them standing on their own feet, relying on their own abilities and strengths, taking their own successes, learning from their past fail-



ures.

Why do these non-whites fear black and their authentic leadership, but love whiteness? One wonders why some of these tribal leaders do not just join NUSAS, SASJ or some other PFP-type white body. Is it because they need a plethora of executive-only bodies so that the opposition to BC will appear overwhelming? If we are anti-white, then we can say with much more reason that they are anti-black!

In our own good time when we have completed our unfinished task of creating a self-sufficient and unshakable revolutionary consciousness, and honed the weapons of freedom that we have forged through our own resources, will we attend to the white problem. Until then we say whites and their supporters: if you con-

tinue to toy with the oppressed masses you must expect severe repercussions.

It has been said that the bourgeoisie will always jump onto the proletarian bandwagon to maintain and enhance its own class interests. During the French revolution they exploited the grievances of the peasants and workers in order to gain power. Many former colonial countries have been replaced by neo-colonial regimes. Again the people were mobilised to fulfil the ambition of the minority, bourgeois class. In this country persons put out as leaders and who consider themselves so are from amongst the merchants, professionals and intelligentsia, who exploits issues affecting the community, not out of a burning desire to eradicate injustice, but to

promote their own collective sectarian interests.

Consider, e.g., the case of the Group Areas legislation which has affected the working class especially with respect to housing, transport and schooling. In housing, they have established housing action committees with the leadership in the hands of the propertied and entrepreneurial class. In transport, action committees comprise many who have never used public transport in their entire sheltered lives. With regard to schooling they publicly encourage boycotts while their own children attend private white schools and they themselves are members of the PTAs of such elitist institutions. Certainly it appears that their children are being groomed at these private white schools for future leadership in the black community.

Since the rise of the BCM there has been an overhaul of thinking among blacks. Gross inferiority and a lack of purposefulness have been transformed into noticeable pride and revolutionary consciousness and activity unknown in the entire history of the struggle for re-possession of Mother Azania. If BC has burnt itself out, served its purpose and become outdated then there is pretty little that can be said of the analysis and models put out in the 40s and 50s and over which many false claims are made today.

In this country it is black which is arrayed against the white ruling class not any utopian/idealist composed

essentially of the incubus of white domination. We are fighting against the stark reality of white racism, fuelled by capitalism and imperialism, not against airy-fairy notions which sound nice on paper and on the white tribal campuses and the black bourgeois areas but which dare not be sounded in the black ghettos. So much have some of us been dehumanised and robbed of our initiative (if we had it in the first place) that we run the sprint away from ourselves at every turn and are prepared to sell our birthright. So brainwashed are these misguided individuals that they live white and do everything white, unfortunately they cannot moul the black skins underneath their self-denying, grotesque white masks.

The stark reality of white racism can only be confronted and destroyed by the revolutionary working class and peasantry, not by whites themselves. We do not choose to perpetuate our slavery in the guise of a so-called progressive alliance with our slave-masters or with tribal groupings.

Post-'76 has indicated to the oppressed on the one hand the depth of anger never previously experienced in the history of liberation of Azania, the oppressed having experienced the power of mass-action — the potential for instant mass reaction will more and more frequently be demonstrated in future years.

On the other hand the ruling class is experiencing epi-

leptic spasms in an effort to find a solution in order to defuse the national discontent and at the same time counter the inevitable threat of having governments around the borders sympathetic to the black cause.

The militarists and the imperialists/liberals are at loggerheads. Botha, supported by his military chief, Malan, strongly supports a military solution to the border conflicts as well as the national militant resistance of the oppressed internally. The imperialist west has attempted to convince the militarists that a military solution is a recipe for disaster, and that the long-term interests of the ruling class can only be guaranteed by progressively removing the most obvious points of friction, i.e. racial discrimination.

This reasoning, which will enhance the upward mobility of the aspirant bourgeois elements of the black community, is aimed at absorbing most of the critical energies of this group, from which much of the black political leadership emanates. By enjoying a direct stake in the economic fruit cake, this group may become a buffer between the ruling class and black discontent.

The antagonistic ideas of the militarists and the liberal economists have in time been moderated, and they are increasingly finding common ground. The military have been fused with the ameliorative — the whipping-up of a siege mentality amongst whites now goes hand in hand with a national programme of conci-

liation — sport is being de-racialised, places of entertainment declared open, sympathetic government attitudes to multiracial organisations:

The history of struggle in Azania has firmly entrenched non-collaboration as a principle of struggle from the time of tribal resistance to the era of political organisation; collaboration with the enemy has consistently been interpreted by the oppressed as selling out or deceit.

The proposed President's Council is hoped to be partly a political and partly a military solution. The political motive is the same as that which applied to the now dead and buried CRC and SAIC. Militarily it is hoped that should the majority of the Coloureds and Indians accept the PC, conscription could be made compulsory and ranks of the army could be swelled by willing non-white soldiers.

The BCM owes it to itself as well as to its adherents to spell out in clear terms the ideological base that guides it. We live in a country where the system of laws is aimed at not only inhibiting all active resistance but also at castrating creative thought.

While we do not hesitate to affirm the class nature of our struggle, we stand committed to the fact that the struggle will continue to be manifested in terms of colour, of black and white. Anyone proclaiming mechanistic rehashes of mid-nineteenth century thought without critical and dialectical application to our pre-

sent situation is not only guilty of impeding the progress of the struggle but of deliberately sabotaging it. The task of conscientisation will only cease at the rendezvous of victory! The soul-force of our struggle — its blackness — must be shouted from the rooftops all over the country. This objective reality also guides us as to whom we may or may not work with: organisations of the oppressed community led and supported by the oppressed. NUSAS, e.g., as a white student talk-shop can on this criterion alone, never be an organisation of the people. We have made a proper analysis of who we are and where we are going to: we are the mass movement of the oppressed black marching to a socialist Azania free of any form of racism or exploitation of any sort.

The year ahead is fraught with great perils for the oppressed. It is now, more than ever before in the history of resistance to settler domination, that we need to be well prepared for the total onslaught being waged against us by the Pretoria regime and its surrogates. We have to be on guard against the so-called new dispensations and the conspiracy between

certain supposedly leftist groups and the liberal capitalist camp to further the seeds of ethnicity and encourage tribal alliances and patriotic participation in systems machinations. Our minimum demand is for re-possession of what is rightfully ours. And importantly, we need to differentiate between those who represent the true struggle for liberation in Azania and those who masquerade as its democratic saviours.

Our only salvation lies in our standing up and being counted as a united black people without being diverted by the strenuous multiracial efforts to make us forget who our real enemy is.

The year ahead will require courage and commitment from us all. The oppressed majority can maintain its spirit of fortitude and dignity in these trying times, and will continue its vigorous rejection of white settlerdom and its progressive apologists. We must be prepared for a long, difficult struggle for freedom in our beloved country and realise that our liberation can only come through our own hands. Nothing can stop us achieving it. •



Security Legislation

Don Nkadimeng

Security legislation

One of the most eminent black lawyers and a leader in his own right, DIKGANG MOSENEKE, delivered a scholarly paper at this Congress a year ago, on the findings and recommendations of the Rabie Commission dealing with Security laws.

The Internal Security Act (Act No. 74 of 1982) embodies most of the Recommendations of that Commission. This Act, which came into operation on 2nd July 1982, repeals and consolidates a plethora of Security legislative enactments passed between 1950 and 1978. It is a massive piece of legislation, spanning eight chapters and covering no less than 47 fine-printed pages.

I shall not attempt to discuss the Act section by section, but I shall try to emphasise only those sections of the Act which make inroads into the fundamental individual rights of the freedom of speech, freedom of movement, of assembly, worship, the right to protection by the courts of law and the right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty.

Definitions

The only definition worthy of note in this Act is that of *Communism*.

The Minister of Law and Order has wide powers to declare organizations and publications unlawful. The Minister need only be satis-

fied that such organizations or publications are communist-inclined, or that will endanger the security of the State or the maintenance of law and order. Then the axe will fall.

The powers to restrict, house-arrest, or to ban individuals has not been minimised in the new Act. But where the Minister bans a person from belonging to an organization or restricts him to a particular place or prohibits him from attending certain gatherings, then he must give reasons for his action.

An allowance may be paid out of State Coiffers to a person restricted at a particular place.

Sections 28-31 (inclusive) provide for detention incommunicado as we know it. Section 28 roughly corresponds to the former section 10 of the Internal Security Act of 1950 (Preventive Detention). And Section 29 corresponds to the former Section 6 of the Terrorism Act of 1967. In terms of this Section, a person may be detained for purposes of interrogation for an indefinite period, except that six months from the date of his detention, the Commissioner of Police must advance reasons to the board of review why the detention should be continued. Thereafter the Commissioner

must give reasons at intervals of not more than 3 months.

Section 30 gives the Attorney-General the right to refuse bail to any detainee who has been charged.

Section 31 provides for the detention of State witnesses. After six months of detention, the detainee must be released unless charges have been brought against an accused against whom the detainee has "agreed" to give evidence. Detention is incommunicado, provided that the A-G may allow certain persons to visit the witness (these are usually parents or spouses).

The Act provides for the offences of Terrorism, subversion, sabotage, harbouring, communism and related security offences. Terrorism is punished the same way as treason from as little as a R40.00 fine to the death penalty. For subversion the penalty is a maximum 20 years imprisonment, plus a further 5 years if the subversion resulted in violence that could reasonably be foreseen. Sabotage carries a maximum of 20 years imprisonment and communism 10 years. Harbouring or abetting a "terrorist", "saboteur", "communist", etc exposes the harbourer or abettor to the same penalties as the harboured or the abetted.

There are elaborate pro-

cedures in the Act, which include the manner of challenging one's detention after certain periods of detention, which provide for review of restriction upon person, the provision of reasons for banning an organization or a publication.

The Board of Review, consisting of three members amongst whom may be a Judge of the Supreme Court, offers some token protection. But generally the security checks and balances contained in the Act are inadequate.

Two other Security measures passed at the same time as the Internal Security Act must be referred to.

These are:

- Demonstrations in or near Court Buildings Prohibition Act, No. 71 of 1982, and
- Intimidation Act, No 72 of 1982.

The two Acts do not represent all legislation dealing with Security. An endless list can be made of all laws directly or indirectly affecting the Security of the State or the Maintenance of the Law and Order. Examples are

Black Administration Act, the Black (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, the Black Labour Regulations Act, the Black Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Reference Books Act, the Orderly Removals and Resettlement of Black Persons Bill (soon to become an Act), the Prohibition of Political Interference Act, and so on.

These and many other laws of this Government create a situation of institutionalised violence.

We must live with the knowledge and belief, however, that no amount of security legislation can forever

suppress man's inborn desire for justice and liberation.

On 24 November 1982 the Minister of Law and Order, Louis le Grange, issued a Press Statement in connection with the rights of detainees under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. At the same time, he issued certain Directions regarding detainees, which shall be binding on all members of the South African Police. Non-compliance with the Directions is criminal and may lead to disciplinary steps being taken against the member(s) concerned.

As you shall realise from your reading of these regulations, the greatest flaw is that they are internal and are therefore not subject to independent scrutiny or enforcement. Except by the police themselves, no provision is made for the monitoring of their implementation. •

Some thoughts on the "Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill"

George Maluleke

The present comprehensive statute under which the Government controls and regulates the lives of Blacks in the so-called white South Africa is known as the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act No. 25 of

1945.

The subtitle to this act reads:-

"To consolidate and amend the laws in force in the Republic which provide for improved conditions of residence for Blacks in

Urban Areas and prescribed areas; for the better administration of Black Affairs in such areas; for the regulation of the ingress of Blacks into and their residence in, such areas; for the procedure to deal with idle or un-



desirable Blacks in areas outside the scheduled native and released areas and with Blacks whose presence in prescribed areas is detrimental to the maintenance of peace and order, and for other incidental matters." This no doubt leaves you breathless.

The Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Person's Bill was intended to replace Act 25 of 1945.

For the scholar who has got the disposition and energy to do a thorough study of the influx control and pass laws affecting Black people in South Africa, there is more than sufficient material to keep him busy for years, particularly if one bears in mind that as early as 1923 Act No. 21 of 1923 known as the Blacks (or then Natives) (Urban Areas) Act was promulgated and this Act was repealed as a whole in 1945 by Act 25 of 1945.

Between the years 1945 and 1979 the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act No 25 of 1945 was amended

no less than 33 times, and the various proclamations which rained and indeed still continues to rain in this field of influx control and pass laws are countless.

A reading of the mass media seems to suggest that this bill will be shelved once more and there is a possibility that it may be assigned to the waste paper basket.

Accordingly I see it as the object of this address to highlight some of the more pernicious provisions of the Bill with the purpose of indicating just how much more inhuman man can be to man.

It has been suggested before that one of the reasons for influx control in South Africa consisted in the need to regulate the inflow of persons into the so-called urban areas in order to ensure, inter alia, that there is sufficient accommodation and job opportunities for those people that are already in such urban areas. It has even been suggested that one of the sad results of the industrial revolution in En-

gland was that many rural folk flowed in large numbers from the rural areas into the cities with the hope of finding employment opportunities and this led to the rising of slums and poverty.

Please do not say I advocate that there is a moral basis for influx control as practised in South Africa. The one immoral aspect of influx control, South Africa style, is that it is based and is intrinsically part of a racial policy. It will be remembered that after the depression in the 1930s a poor white problem emerged in South Africa. Even the few history books that are prescribed for our schools in South Africa mention how many rural Boers or farmers abandoned their farms and streamed into the towns, but no influx control or pass laws were promulgated in order to control this inflow of rural whites into the towns.

To the extent that influx control and pass laws in South Africa are intended for and are applicable exclusively to the Blacks, and even for that reason only, such measures must be seen to be unjust and are a violation of fundamental human rights to people who it is so self-evident, are the overwhelming majority in the land of their birth.

The present situation

I propose to refer to certain of the sections and provisions of this particular bill particularly in so far as such provisions bring out vividly the extent to which the South African Government is determined to press on re-

ardless with its apartheid policies. The Prime Minister is presently being hailed in certain quarters in the United States and some of the other Western Countries as being a champion of change. I have never been to the United States (thank God), but judging by the popularity of the present American President to the SABC one must conclude that our present Prime Minister must also be a very popular man with the Reagan Administration. Perhaps the reason for this collusion is to be found in the fact that South Africa may be earnestly trying to deal with the Black people in South Africa in the same manner that the early white settlers in America dealt with the Indians. One is struck by the similarities.

History has it that some of the American leaders gave as the moral justification for pushing Indians out of the rich prairie lands the argument that the Indians misused the land and did not have any knowledge of farming and agriculture and that the American white farmer was for that reason entitled to the land more than the Indians were.

When last did you hear that same argument given as the moral justification for giving the Blacks only 14% of the land in South Africa?

It is not too simplistic or naive to conclude that the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Person's Bill is intended to be a very strong and potent instrument to keep black people out of over 85% of South Africa. Some of the provisions which make this clear

are the following:

(a) Section three of the Bill prescribes inter alia that no black person may be in town at night between 10pm and 5am unless he is authorised by permit to be there and also has approved accommodation. For what it is worth, we may mention here that section 10 of the present Act 25 of 1945 does at least allow a Black person to enter a town for up to 72 hours without the need to obtain a permit. One does not require any magnifying glass to see how much worse the Orderly Movement Bill would make the position if it became law.

(b) It is also provided for in the Bill that Black people coming from the homelands and who wish to remain overnight in white South Africa must obtain a permit provided that such permit would be issued to applicants who have approved accommodation and that the permit will only be valid for a maximum of 14 days per annum.

I find it very difficult to accept that the people who drafted the Bill are qualified legal experts who have gone through the same educational training as I have and that a Government which has pretensions of being God-fearing and Christian

can put forward such a Bill.

There are also provisions relating to how the present Section 10 should be improved. For instance Section 6 makes provisions for a new creature known as the Permanent Urban Resident and details relating to the place and birth and the parentage and the household of which Blacks may become Permanent Urban Residents.

The Bill also makes provisions for those Blacks who may for one reason or other require hotel accommodation in town and also for those Blacks who may be doing night shifts and under what circumstances and conditions such black people will escape summary arrests and prosecution. There are also provisions relating to increased fines for people who transgress any of the provisions in the Bill. In order to discourage those employers who may take a chance and employ blacks who do not possess qualifications or permission to be in town, the maximum fine is R5000 or 12 months imprisonment, or both.

Of course the Bill would not have been complete without provisions making it difficult or impossible for aggrieved persons to obtain protection from the courts.

RECENT CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS

by Don Nkadimeng

In 1909 the Union of South Africa Act was passed by the British Parliament. This Act established the Union of South Africa and came into operation in 1910.

Nothing in this Act is said about the Constitutional rights of the black majority of this country. It is from this period that the black resistance against white domination took an organised form.

Constitutional changes brought about since 1910 were and remain a response by whites to black resistance and struggle for their fundamental rights. The current proposals of the apartheid government must be seen in this light. The black resistance is no weaker than it was in 1652, and any so-called constitutional changes are nothing but obstacles placed in the way of the liberation struggle. In no way do the recent proposals address themselves to the genuine aspirations of the majority in this land.

It is my belief that AZAPO and other liberation movements shall not see these new constitutional proposals as posing any serious threat to the liberation struggle, but rather as a temporary diversionary measure against the inevitable

black majority rule. They pose no bigger threat to black unity and resistance than the bantustans, community councils, coloured representative councils, South African Indian Councils, and all other schemes and devices conceived ever since political organization of the black people commenced in earnest after 1910.

Since 1652 blacks fought desperately against land dispossession. Up to this time the black struggle was a military one. Blacks lost to the superior might of gun powder, and from 1900 the techniques of petition, negotiation and non-violent direct action characterised the resistance.

Black majority rule was the theme of all black organizations like Imbumba Yama-Afrika (1882), the South African Native National Congress (1912, later renamed African National Congress), the Pan African Congress of Azania, the Transvaal British Indian Association, and many more nameless movements.

For 330 years the principle of black majority rule remained non-negotiable; it is still non-negotiable in 1983. Any organization which will

be satisfied with anything less, and any person who accepts anything less, cannot claim to represent the true aspirations of the black man in this country.

The National Party Constitutional Proposals
During February 1982, the President's Council made known certain of its recommendations. Amongst these were the present National Party proposals. These proposals comprise the following:

(a) The Proposed New Parliament

It is proposed that a new central Parliament be formed which consists of three Chambers, one each for whites, "Coloureds" and "Indians". The present all-white House of Assembly shall serve as a Chamber for whites.

Separate Voters' Rolls shall be compiled for these groups, and the members to the respective Chambers will be elected according to these separate Voters' Rolls. Each of the three chambers shall decide only on matters affecting its own racial group. Legislation dealing with matters common to all shall become law only after all the

Chambers have approved it.

A provision will be made for the creation of Permanent Committees, which shall strive to minimise the conflict between the chambers.

(b) The new Executive President

The present offices of the State President and the Prime Minister will be combined into one. The new President becomes both the head of State and of government.

The President shall be elected by an Electoral College consisting of 50 whites, 25 coloureds and 13 Indians. These members will be elected to the Electoral College from the ranks of and by the members of the various Chambers. The President himself shall not be a member of any of the Chambers.

The President shall be the chairman of the new Cabinet, and his term of office will be the same as that of the new Parliament.

An important function of the new President shall be to decide on the question of whether a matter is of an own or common interest.

(c) The new Cabinet

The proposed new Constitution shall provide for the formation of a Cabinet comprising as many Cabinet Ministers as the Constitution shall determine.

The Cabinet shall be appointed by the President, who shall have the liberty to appoint persons from or outside the members of the three Chambers. The Cabinet shall exercise executive power in respect of the mat-

ters of common interest. For matters of own interest special cabinet committees will be created for each Chamber.

(d) The President's Council

The President's Council will consist of 60 members — 20 whites, 10 coloureds and 5 Indians. The remaining 25 members are appointed by the President.

The functions of the President's Council shall be to advise Parliament on national issues, intended legislation and on whether a matter is of an own or common interest. In the event of a conflict between the Chambers, the President's Council shall give a final and binding decision.

The Implications of the Proposals

As Time-buying Device

It is an open secret that the Government has been under international pressure, even from her faithful bed-fellow, the two-year old Reagan Administration, to bring about certain adaptations in the application of the apartheid policy. Immediately after the proposals were made known, the Americans declared: "...the political change as an organic process is under way in South Africa".

White Domination

The proposals contain water-tight guarantees that apartheid and white domination shall remain with us for some time to come. The whites are in the majority in the Electoral College (50, 25 and 13), as well as in the Pre-

sident's Council (20, 10 and 5 plus a further 25 potentially white appointed members). The proposed new Cabinet is more than likely to have a white majority as well, not to speak of the important permanent committees to be established for minimising conflict between the Chambers.

In addition to these in-built guarantees for white domination, the National Party gave certain assurances to its Congress when it launched a campaign for the acceptance of the proposals: the corner stones of apartheid remain — the Group Areas Act, segregated education, the Immorality Act, the white-dominated economy. The congresses were even assured that as long as the National Party controlled Parliament, no black Cabinet Minister would be appointed to a white portfolio. Notwithstanding these provisions and promises, there are some black individuals who not only claim that black majority rule may be achieved in this situation, but who also arrogantly tell us that we must support their participation in this unholy alliance with oppression of the masses.

Black Unity

Do the proposals seriously threaten black unity? Your answer is NO, Mr President, and so is mine. The new black apartheid allies have never been part of the black resistance: they are the opportunists who move from one apartheid institution to the other, from a Coloured

advisory council to a coloured Representative Council to a coloured chamber.

If black unity is the catalyst for the transfer of power as we believe it to be, it is no surprise that those who want to retain that power do their best to break that unity: to us black unity is our trump card; to them it is anathema. Far from being a threat to black unity, the new propos-

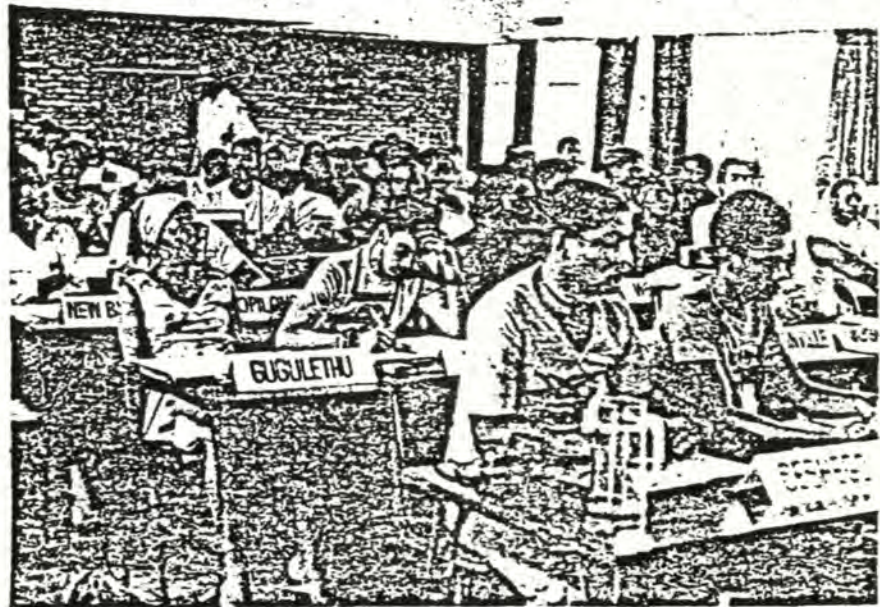
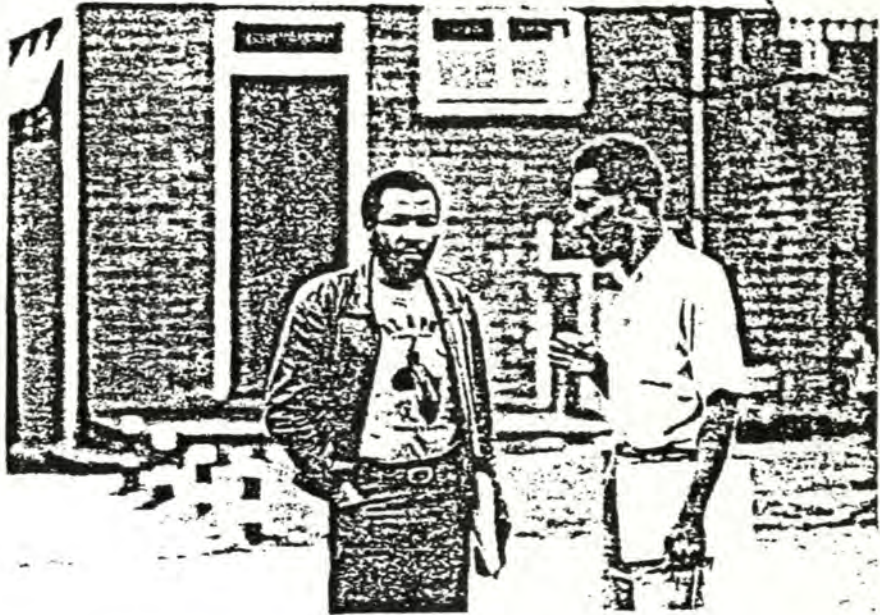
als must be seen as nothing more than the extension of the status quo.

Reflections

As measured against the black aspirations, the National Party proposals are a non-issue. If our true aspirations are to rule ourselves in the country of our birth, then we cannot try to reform or revise constitutio-

nal concepts which are foreign to our being and circumstances, whether from within or from without. Nothing short of the complete overhaul of the present system will suffice, and it is only when this happens that we can claim to be legatees to the resistance started 330 years ago by our forefathers. •





The National Situation

by Neville Alexander

WE meet at one of the most important moments in the history of this country. For reasons which I shall expound in more detail presently, the rulers of South Africa are faced with the most severe crisis that their system of racial capitalism has yet had to contend with. A complete realignment of political forces involving a major shift in the direction of national affairs is being undertaken in order to salvage the system that guarantees for white South Africa perpetual domination of the black working people. For the politicians of the ruling class, this new situation is unexplored territory. It is a situation fraught with disaster for them and we will do well to remember this since it implies mortal danger for those of us who are defined by them as being on the left, i.e. those whom they see as terrorist predators lurking in the African bush to pounce on the apparently intrepid but actually timid "explorers".

The crisis of the system of white supremacy is the historic opportunity for the oppressed and exploited people of our country. How to take the tide at the flood has become the vital question in the politics of national liberation for all those who would consciously intervene in the great movement of history which is now engulfing Southern Africa.

For we also are in many ways venturing out into uncharted seas where any false tack can lead to instant and irrecoverable disaster. It ought not to surprise us, therefore, that the present controversies within the liberation movement, properly so called, concern the compass of principle, programme and policy which will help to steer us into the safe and exciting harbour of a socialist Azania.

The crisis of the rulers

Let us consider some relevant aspects of the rulers' position. The rapid development of capitalism during the last two-and-a-half decades has given rise to contradictions which cannot be resolved within the system even though this fact does NOT mean that the system will break down or collapse of its own accord. The decisive importance of manufacturing industry, the increasing prominence of transnational corporations, the importance of foreign trade for the South African economy: these and many other developments have rendered the economy vulnerable to the ebb and flow of world capitalism. Gone forever are the days when the predominance of gold mining and the fixed price of gold insulated the country to a certain extent from the hot and cold winds of international trade. Gone are the

days when shortages of skilled labour could be corrected relatively easily by importing white immigrants mainly from Western Europe, North America and from down under.

Today, profits and employment are generated crucially in the manufacturing sector even though the gold-mining industry remains pivotal to the economy. That is to say, any downward movement in the business cycle, any inflationary infection from outside the RSA, has catastrophic potential for the system as a whole. I want to draw your attention to only two important consequences of the qualitative change that has taken place in the economic life of the country.

Firstly, adequate numbers of skilled people can no longer be imported from abroad. This means that more and more black people (those classified Black, Coloured and Indian) have to be trained to occupy skilled positions. Usually, this can only be done by kicking upstairs the white worker occupants of the job category concerned. They are graced with the title of supervisor or junior manager and remunerated accordingly in return for shutting up and forgetting about their holy cow of job reservation. Usually, also, the former job category is diluted or subdivided so that two or more so-called

semi-skilled black workers producing much more and much more efficiently than the pampered and sheltered skilled white worker of yesterday, earn, relatively speaking, only a fraction of his or her wages.

This process coupled with the overall expansion of the economy has led to a fundamental alteration in the relative strategic importance of white and black workers within the system of South African economy. Previously, white workers had the power to cripple the economy because of their virtual monopolisation of productive skills. Today, increasingly it is the black workers who are acquiring this strategic leverage. The white workers, on the other hand, are becoming more and more dispensable as a class. We shall see presently what the political implications of this development are.

A second consequence of the qualitative change in the economic life of South Africa is the fact that it is becoming increasingly difficult to lessen the effects of unemployment and underemployment by turning off and on the tap of migrant labour as in the past. The proletarianisation and urbanisation of the black people cannot be halted or even braked. They have to be treated as a modern labour force as in any other comparable industrialised country. Imagine for a moment what chaos would ensue if the road haulage drivers and the drivers of delivery vans and trucks in Johannesburg alone were to refuse to drive



their vehicles for a few days! The dilemma for the rulers in this connection is how to reconcile the iron laws of capitalist development with the Bantustan/apartheid strategy designed for an earlier phase of that development. Koornhof's bills have in this context a historic character similar to the notorious segregatory Hertzog Bills of 50 years ago.

From within the system, pressures are building up such that it can no longer be run in the same way as before. The acquisition of productive skills, and strategic leverage as well as the dramatic increase in their purchasing power have imparted to the black workers and their children a self confidence and a historic optimism that makes them demand ever more insistently their human rights to equality and liberty. Daily, in factories, in mines and even on many white-owned farms they prove that they

are not the simple moronic labour units of Verwoerdian mythology but normal flesh-and-blood human beings who are becoming ever more conscious of their historic mission to liberate the entire population of South Africa. A white-only government cannot represent this surging mass of humanity nor can it hope to repress them forever. Hence the political and social crisis of the ruling class.

From the outside the system, taking for our present purposes South Africa only, new and inexorable forces have come into being and press in remorselessly on those at the helm of South African affairs. Ever since the defeat of Hitlerism, the days of white racism have been numbered in the world. Decolonisation was one of the processes that expressed this global demise of the master race. The notorious White South of Africa has during the past 10 years wit-

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