

AP10

e



Azapo had just completed a year since its official inauguration and was this in a position to hold its 1st Congress in January, 1981.

1980 was the most trying year for the organisation with its National Executive members as well as the branch Executive members were constantly being harrassed by the White Settler minority regime. When Congress was held, most of the branch Executive Members of the Northern Transvaal were still in detention following the successful bus boycotts there.

The other problem that faced Azapo was the ideological onslaught on the organisation. Some critics maintained that Black Consciousness had completed its logical cycle and that time had dawned for Black Consciousness to open up its ranks, because the ideology had now become racism in reverse.

The oppressive regime was also becoming more subtle in its operations. It aimed at not only dividing blacks into "Africans" into Zulus, Sothos, Tsongas, Transkeian Xhosas, Ciskeian Xhosas, etc. The Presidents Council was geared at hiring the so called colereis and Indians into the White laager.

It was in the light of the above that Azapo went to its first Congress with Courage and Persistence and the Demands of our time as its theme. This bulletin aims at highlighting the major papers that were adopted at Congress, why certain papers were presented, and any criticism on the contents of the papers, the format of the bulletin and any suggestions as to what should be included in the bulletin should be addressed to the publicity Secretary, Y.P.F Centre, 66 Small Street, Johannesburg.2000

There is general talks that Black Consciousness has logically completed its cycle and time has dawned for the Black Black Consciousness people to open their ranks hereby reviewing the ideology.

However, Azapo still defines Blacks as the oppressed people of this country who are deprived of their political, economic and social rights as citizens of Azania. That is why Azapo strongly adheres to Black Consciousness as a liberatory philosophy.

In the following article Azapo outlines its stand on Black Consciousness as driving force.

A PAPER ON "BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS AS A DRIVING FORCE" by Khangale Makhado.

SOUTH AFRICA appears to be a country of extremes in the African continent's political, economic and cultural context. Its capitalist exploitative economy is most developed and apparently it has the oldest Communist Party on the Continent; it is the only one with the grandiose and elaborate statutory racism on the scale never known in the history of the continent and Worldwide Humanity; it is the only one on the continent where the force of reaction amongst the Black oppressed, the base tribalistic and divisive so-called Bantustans, have had the long time to develop themselves.

Stooges Muzorewas and others elsewhere on the continent never had so much time to peddle their sordid waves as puppets Matanzima, Gatsha, Phatudi etc.

In the mist of all these, BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS emerged from the ashes of the mid-sixties' political lull to rally the oppressed Black people under its banner in a concerted drive towards total liberation from all forms of oppression and racism. BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS sees the South African society as divided into two distinct groups - one of the oppressors and the other comprising the oppressed. Whites are the oppressor group whilst Black are the oppressed.

Very simple indeed. There is no other group. In South Africa therefore one is either on the side of the oppressor or on the side of the oppressed. Black Consciousness is on the side of the oppressed, i.e. all those who are by law or tradition discriminated against in the South African context and identifying themselves as a unit in the struggle towards the realization of their aspirations. Black Consciousness is a realization by a Black man of the need to rally together with his brother around the cause of their oppression and to operate as a group in order to rid themselves of the shackles that build them to perpetual servitude. B.C seek to instil the Black community with the new-found pride in themselves, their efforts, their value system, their culture, their religion and their point of view to life.

It seeks to heighten their consciousness of problems related to their oppression, exploitation and dehumanisation whilst at the same time exploring the various options open to Black people's liberation. The "consciousness we speak about is a political one, different from the biological one. It is the consciousness that demands that people, after taking stock of their plight and problems, determinately take appropriate steps to pull themselves out of the morass of exploitation and oppression. An oppressed people that look for more remedies for their oppression and individual problems, cannot be said to be conscious in the political sense.

Black Consciousness asserts that Black liberation can only be brought about by Blacks themselves and nobody else. It therefore exhorts Black to close their ranks, solidify their unity and by so doing realise the power they can only wield as a group. It urges them to strive for reliance upon their own efforts and resources as much as possible where their struggle for liberation is concerned. Hence the slogan "Black man, you are on your own". Thus in our country no genuine struggle for liberation can be waged without offering a strong counterpoint to the white races that permeate our society so effectively. The apologist of Apartheid and other B.C detractors have called B.C protagonist reverse racist and white haters. How frivolous. Are Black people expected to hate racism and oppression in a vacuum? Aren't they entitled to concretise their hatred by hating the oppressor, who in this case is the white man? This does not constitute racism at all. It is simply a matter of hating an evil phenomenon and its perpetrators or practitioners. But as soon as racism and oppression are done away with, and the white man is simply another human being and not an oppressor.

Blacks shall have no cause to hate him. The hatred of Whites by Blacks is completely justified as long as Whites remain oppressors. It is ridiculous to hate the stick that hits you but love the man who wields it. This is the practical side of the whole issue. For reasons of group cohesion the ranks of the oppressed and recognition of Blacks as the only custodians of their own liberation, Black Consciousness believe in the exclusion of Whites from their struggle. There can be no viability in the union of the oppressor and the oppressed, since their interests are opposite of one another. P.C does not deny the existence of a tiny group of Whites who can identify themselves with the Black man struggle. Such Whites are indeed a rare species and hard to get. However, the priority Blacks have and the desire to solidify the ranks of the all important oppressed, require the exclusion of Whites who, in any case, are mere sympathisers who know nothing about the Black man's experience of oppression.

Some of the most diligent critics of B.C are found among the ranks of those dogmatics and blinker-wearing socialists who see the S.African situation as a simple classical situation of the class struggle (It should be noted that we are talking about dogmatic socialists here, and about socialist as a whole) According to them in South Africa the struggle is between the workers on the one hand, and Capitalist on the other. They advocate the rallying and unification of all workers, Black and White, under the same banner in order to confront the capitalist exploiters. They refuse to accept the fact that in the South African situation racism transcends everything and that it has seriously blurred and distorted the classical capitalist class division and related contradictions. It is painful to observe that we are dealing here with people who have learnt some good and elegant theories and formulas, and who are intent on applying them blindly to any situation confronting them.

That is indeed a pity, because the said theories recognise the fact that no two situations can be identically the same in the World. It is incumbent upon freedom fighters in each situation to study it as objectively as possible and devise the necessary and suitable strategies. No matter how powerful and famous a mathematical formula is, we cannot solve every problem with it. One should fit a problem to the formula and not the other way round.

Now let us look at the eight classes of society and assess their composition and behaviour in the South African situation.

(1). THE INTERNATIONAL BOURGEOISIE

This comprises international capitalists whose domain of both political and economic activities have gone beyond the borders of their own countries. They are the essence of imperialism, since they are actual exporters of capital which became a matter of great political, economic and social consequence in the host country and compels the exporting country to have vested interests in the domestic affairs of the host country. In our country, this class is represented by foreign multinational investors like the IBMs, GENERAL MOTORS, DUTSUN NISSAN, etc. They are exploiting the available black cheap labour and other resources for their own benefit and that of the South African white racist minority. They do all in their power to strengthen the white racist economically and politically which thing allow the white racist to spurn World opinion and perpetuate their evil apartheid system.

(2) THE NATIONAL BOURGEOISIE

This class consist of those capitalist whose capital is confined to the borders of their own countries. It is a very powerful group which holds the real reins of power and government in its country and manage things to its own advantage. It consists almost entirely of Whites in our country and there no significant Black capitalist in our country, The little ones who are there are incapable of playing their ruling class role due to the constraints of Apartheid.

They had no political powers at all and their meager capitalist activities are severely curtailed and restricted by the demands of Apartheid. This small number of Blacks belonging to this class regard themselves just as oppressed as any other Black group of Blacks.

(3). COMRADES BOURGEOISIE

This is the managerial class. This is the very skilled class which is in charge of the actual running of capitalist production. It plans and erects necessary production infrastructure, such as building and machines; it hires and fires workers, it markets products etc, while the real capitalist owners are idling, gambling or walking half naked on the various beaches of the World. To a large extent this class consists of whites in this country and it is completely reactionary.

(4). THE PETTY BOURGEOISIE

This is a class of students, teachers, lawyers, journalists, doctors, nurses etc. Although not well off it is just comfortable. Classically, it is not associated with revolutionary fervour. In our country this class consists of both whites and Blacks. The white members of this class are just part and parcel of the white racist power structure and have a vested interest in its perpetuation. Their Black counterparts, however, are subjected to the vicariousness of racism and many of their members have joined the Black liberation struggle. The leadership of the Black liberation struggle is provided largely by this class. Its revolutionary zeal and participation was amply demonstrated in the 1976 uprising and the continuing resistance by our people to the white oppression.

(5). THE PROLETARIATE

This is the class of wealth-producers- the workers whose existence depends entirely on the selling of their labour to the capitalist for a wage. Classically it is the most revolutionary class in the society. In our country it consists of both blacks and whites. The white components of this class have not escaped the all pervasive racist mania which is the sketch of our country. The white working class works and votes to promote and maintain the present racist set-up which is affording them benefits they can only have by keeping the Black man oppressed. Traditionally and classically, trade unions promote and protect the interest of all the workers against the evil machinations of the capitalist exploiters. In South Africa, the White trade unions have ganged up with the white capitalist and Government to trample the Black worker. Together they have fashioned laws, regulations and traditions that have reduced the Black worker to a Neo-slave. Furthermore almost every white worker is an employer of a Black man as a so-called maid, garden boy etc. Thus all white people, be the capitalist or workers, have a common interest in keeping the Black man as poor and voiceless as possible.

N

Now, with the white worker as thoroughly reactionary as this, where does the "logic" of the apostles of the "unity of all white and black workers" lie? How can a black worker even start approaching a white worker, who insists on being called "Baas" to discuss problems they do not have in common. In fact, the black and white workers are each with their own problems. The blinker-wearing socialist refuses to see all these.

They refuse to accept the P.C view that the only workers in South Africa are the Black workers, and that the bribe white working class should be regarded as part of the enemy. Presently the white capitalist and their State, having been alarmed by the resilience of the Black worker and his unrecognised Trade Unions have decided to change tactics and strategies. They will now register Black Unions in order to emasculate them. We all know how hysterical the white workers are in his opposition to the move,

simply because he believes the black worker will be able to threaten the privileged position of his white counterpart.

(6) THE LUMPEN PROLETARIATE

It consist of the won't works. It is a class that completly refuse to work within the morality of capitalist system. For capitalist and their State, This cãass is the constant headache and menace. The huge security fences around properties, the nigh watchmen, the buglar alarms etc,,are all provided in honour of this cãass. Well over 90% of all the inmates of prisons are members of this group. In our country it consists overwhelmingly of Blacks. Due to its hatred of authority af any kind, this class is at all times ready to participate in the Liberatory struggle, as demonstrated by its role in the 1976 uprising. The only drawback about this class is its general lack of intergrity and hence its coupling acts like looting for personal gain.

(7) THE RICH PEASANTRY

It consist of those who are able to produce a surplus from their limited agricultural activities who might even hire others to assist with related chores. The surplus is sold. It is the very small class indeed and it is largely severly restricted by the unavailãibility of land for the expansion of their farming activities.

The 1% land allocated to Blacks in this country hits the class particularly hard. Like other Black classes, it thoroughly loathes Apartheid.

(8) THE POOR PEASANTRY

This consist of those peasants who can hardly make a living from their meage. and poor farming activities. It consist entirely of Blacks in the rural areas of our country. It is from this class that the bulk of the migratory labours are drawn. In fact, this class leads a dual life some where between the peasantry and prolerariate. It leads a particularly harsh and miserable life away from its family assosiatiãns crowding the develish hostels.

Having glance briefly at this classes, it is clear that the South African situations defies the normal of classical class orientations. Almost in toto, the White working class has defected to the capitalist class and operate as such politically and economically. On the other hand, none of the Black cãasses plays its traditional role, due, largely, to the all pervasive monster called white racism. Black people tend to see themselves, not in terms of economic classes, but in terms of their experiance as an oppressed and exploited group.

At this time BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS is facing an onslaught from both left and right but resisted the tough task it has been facing. Having seen the situation for what is objectivly is, Black consciousness offers itself as thee only viable and appropriate vehicles Black people can ride to final victory and freedom.

AZAPO AND OTHER B.C ORGANIZATIONS I SAY LONG LIVE AND WISHING YOU ALL THE COURAGE AND PERSISTENCE IN PERSUATION OF YOUR DUTIES IN ONE AZANIA, ONE NATION.

There has been a lot of debate and misconception as to the meaning of the word "Azania". Some people claim it means the "land of slaves". This is a contradiction in terms because no slave can own any land. In the following article I attempt to explain the Origin, Meaning and Significance of the word "AZANIA".

Azania is a Greek transcription of the Arabic name Adjan (pronounced A-DZ-AN) which refers to the East African shore consisting of countries like Somalia, Ethiopia, Kenya and Tanzania.

It is very important to note that Azania has been placed on linguistic evidence in the central area of the Northern Savannas. From here it seems likely that the small groups (different linguistic groups) followed the rivers that traverse the rain forest till they reach the central part of the Savannas. From this point the steady pressure of population growth probably caused the migration of the Black groups in all different directions, thus bringing them into contact with the people of different stocks like the Bushmanoids, Bushmanoids of Southern Africa, the Azanians of Eastern Africa, the Indonesian and the Arabs of the coast with whom they merged to form Swahili.

Swahili comes in because of the very strong trade relations between South Arabia and Azania which date back to many centuries B.C. This Azanian civilisation was mature, had a culture of its own and an accomplished language viz. Swahili. Here one must stress that the Swahili language and culture is an Arabised African product whose basis and most of its elements are African.

The characteristics of the Azanian civilisation were that it consisted of a sedentary, agricultural and iron-age folk who practised irrigation works such as canals and terraces, roads, mine workings and smithies, cairns and rock paintings.

The years between 500 and 1500 were the millennium of maximum growth and development of iron age culture in Eastern and Southern Africa. Social and economic growth was given an impetus by a more advanced culture; the emergence of larger and stronger tribal societies; the increasing demand from the coast for ivory and iron and gold and other goods, and the expanding capacity of these settled peoples of the interior to supply this demand and to buy in turn imports from the coast.

The move downwards came about during the 14th century when East Africa suffered a long series of migratory invasion from the north, mainly by pastoral nomads from the horn of Africa. The Azanians were organised whether for peace or war on the extended family of negroid and Bushmanoid tradition, while the nomads were organised to move and fight in larger cohesive groups. The technically more primitive nomads were militarily stronger, both by the manner of their lives and the method of their organisation. The Azanians were thus overwhelmed by this barbaric invasion from the North North, their civilising growth stultified and brought to an end.

However, in Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Transvaal the nature of the Azanian culture modified and changed one more by further migration and development in the new

circumstances, re-emerged flowering and outlived the barbaric invasion in its splendour and majesty. The re-emergence of this civilisation emphasised the fact that these Africans were all branches from single stem because of the similarity in their use of stone dwellings, irrigation, conservation, in their mining and metal work, in their knowledge of a widely various pharmacopeia, in their fusion of tribal law and custom with an intertribal and tribute paying system of centralised power, in their habits and in their indigeonous pottery.

In Swahili its kusini and zasi; in shona which all mean south. Etymologically the common heritage of Swahili clearly emerges. In Zulu zansi means down or south. When one looks at countries where the phoneme za or z emerges, one discovers that such countries are situated in the southern hemisphere, e.g. Zanzibar, Mozambique, Zambia, Zaire, and perhaps Zimbabwe. In the ~~later~~ letter zi can be compared to the Zulu ningizimu which also means south. Ia is a suffix that denotes land whilst the Swahili nia refers to the innermost part of man, heart, mind conscience or disposition.

The name Azania is also derived from the Egyptian word Zanj which means Black People. For Blacks in this country. Azania is associated with the liberation of their land, whilst South Africa is associate with apartheid, colonial oppression, fascism and all the other oppressive measures that are being meted out against Black people.

It is for the reason that Black Consciousness refers to our beloved country, as Azania. It is calling on the Black people's conscience, hearts and minds to rise up, to recreate and relive the life that was created by the Azanian civilization. It calls on Black people to realised their importance in this continent, to see their value and to recognise the contribution they have made to the world in general.

In the 19th century, when imperialism gained momentum, everything great, everything fine, everything really successful in human culture was labelled as white. Black people in Africa who showed any trace of progress were labelled as white. A system first conscious and then unconscious of lying about Blacks became so wide spread that the authentic history of Africa ceased to be taught. With the wink of an eye, printing, smelting of iron, the beginnings of social organisation, not to mention political life and democracy, were attributed exclusively to whites.

All that I have just mentioned were the inventions of Black man in Africa and his contributions to the world as a whole. Azapo therefore, calls upon all Azanians to resume their position as pace-setters in the world. Like the muslims and Azanians a call to prayer, a call to commitment, an observance of the doctrine, a cherishing all that is of value, an appreciation of all that is good, a reverence of beauty and the majesty of the divine creation, Azapo calls upon all Blacks in this country to do everything in their power to restore Azania to its formidable position in the international field. Is there any other way of achieving this than being proud of Azania our country? We are all beneficiaries of that magnificent, superb and inimitable Azanian civilization. Let us all then rise up, one in deed, united in action, steadfast in our goal and fight for our inalienable rights as One People, in One Azania, One Nation.

There is general concern about the increasing polarisation between Black and White in the country. Some people believe that peaceful change is still a possibility in South Africa. Hence moves and talks towards a National Convention. However, Azapo has a different view on the National Convention and its stand on this is this.

Today it is an open secret that the Idea of a National Convention was mooted as far back as 1978. Individuals from various organisations, Black and white ranging from church, welfare, service to political organisations. On the political organisations all except one or two are working within government created institutions. What it must stress is that these people came as individuals with no mandate from their respective organisations. But as individuals attending they gave a de facto acceptance to the idea of National Convention to their organisations. Monthly informal meetings were held in 1978 and the last meeting was held in August last year. After this meeting a meeting was to be held where the National Convention movement was to be formally launched and constituted. This proved to be a disaster because one of the major participants in these talks did not attend, and the press gave it a premature blow up thereby embarrassing some of the participants. The next formal meeting will be next Sunday February 1, 1981, to prepare for a bigger more formal meeting hopefully on the 1st March 1981. Due to the attacks and especially Azapo's rejection of National Convention, this movement has been renamed the Constitution Movement, and its task is to draw a new acceptable constitution for this country. A questionnaire to this effect has been drafted by Mr. Van Zyl Slabbert leader of the PFP.

The initiative in this move was taken by the Black Sash and all the monthly come-togethers were chaired by their chairperson Mrs. Joyce Harris. Two things that must be highlighted are:

- (1) This move is a result of the 1976 aftermath
- (2) It comes immediately after the banning of 18 A.C. organisations in 1977.

1976 gave birth to liberal organisations like the Urban Foundation, whose main objective was to diffuse and to blunt Black anger and militancy of the oppressed Blacks will thus be "protected" by the maintenance and sustenance of capitalism and will be a catalyst towards meaningful change.

Similarly the Black Sash seems to have exploited the bannings of WPC and Saso specifically and started this move of an internal settlement thereby trying to promote a South African Muzorewa. The PFP also joined the bandwagon for similar reasons. Again we have the case of liberals entering our struggle at leadership level rather than at grassroot level, deciding what is good for us, "fighting" our struggle for us thereby giving a white head to a Black body.

F.T.O

We are here faced with a total onslaught and it is imperative that we know what we know what we are fighting for and who we are fighting against. We must be able to tell our genuine friends from our genuine enemies. In order to do this we must have a clear and concise revolutionary thinking. We must have absolute ideological clarity which clarity must be coherent, comprehensive and adaptable.

Those who want to participate in struggle for liberation must therefore ask themselves whether they want to be reformists, revisionists or revolutionaries. We know that reformists abandon their original principles and expect others to do the same. Revisionists add to or modify their original principles. Whilst revolutionaries are fighting for the complete overhauling of the system. I leave it up to you to decide on which of these three categories the National Convention move falls.

This brings me back to the basic tenet of Black Consciousness viz. that in South Africa today there is only one class of people who have nothing at all to lose if the present system were to be radically changed in such a way that class is the Black working class. It alone can look at the situation without any qualification or reservations. It alone can question the holy-cow not only of the so-called petty apartheid but of the socio-economic system of the total onslaught.

Black workers has nothing to lose but the chains that bind him in the form of pass laws, influx control, migratory labour, inferior education, rent hikes, bus fare hikes, force resettlement, evictions, detentions without trial, banning orders, banishment, death in detention and all the myriad of the South African oppressive laws.

In short, the rank and file Black activist is the crucial lynchpin of the workers' organisation. His resources derive from those he represents and organises: he or she depends, not on their passive consent but upon their active support. He is in the struggle not because of moral obligation, nor because of pangs of conscience but because he really lives and feels the agony of oppression. It is therefore he, who because of ideological commitment, faith and wisdom in the organisation, will continue with his valour in the struggle because of the practical knowledge and experience he has acquired in the quagmire of oppression.

The present initiative for a National Convention comes from quarters that have ulterior motives and have certain privileges that they want to protect. Hence the smothering and grooming of Black Leadership that they will manipulate at will.

At this juncture it will be opportune to juxtapose this move towards a National Convention with the historical events with our neighbouring countries in Southern Africa. Colonialism will be the operative word.

Colonialists usurped our countries from us and imposed their rule on us, and dominated all aspects of our lives thereby alienating us from our traditions, culture, mores and norms. Protests against foreign domination were made, negotiations failed and the last resort was the bush, and we had to fight fire with fire.

The first of our neighbours to be liberated were the former Portuguese colonies. The pressure the freedom fighters exerted through the guerilla warfare caused Portugal so much in terms of human lives military warfare, financially etc. that the likes of General Spínola could no longer stomach the idea of fighting a losing battle hence the take over by the military junta which gave in to the liberation

4. The historical political organisations such as ANC, PAC, and EPC should be party to the talks.
5. The attack on our brothers at the borders should come to an end for we believe that the people who have resorted to the armed struggle have done so because of frustration that their protests and complaints have fallen on deaf ears.
6. There can be no negotiation between non equals.

From the foregoing, it is clear that time is not yet ripe for a National Convention and that it is an exercise in futility. We should pressurise and force the SA government to a negotiation table, and when we do this, I hope they won't be in a pathetic and hopeless condition in which Smith was, when he went to Lancashire.

Collection Number: AK2117

DELMAS TREASON TRIAL 1985 - 1989

PUBLISHER:

Publisher: **Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand**

Location: **Johannesburg**

©2012

LEGAL NOTICES:

Copyright Notice: All materials on the Historical Papers website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

Disclaimer and Terms of Use: Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

People using these records relating to the archives of Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, are reminded that such records sometimes contain material which is uncorroborated, inaccurate, distorted or untrue. While these digital records are true facsimiles of the collection records and the information contained herein is obtained from sources believed to be accurate and reliable, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand has not independently verified their content. Consequently, the University is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the website or any related information on third party websites accessible from this website.

This document is part of a private collection deposited with Historical Papers at The University of the Witwatersrand.