

AN ANALYSIS OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS /IN/ SOUTH AFRICA
ACCORDING TO THE THEORETICAL CRITERIA OF
A REVOLUTIONARY PHILOSOPHY

by

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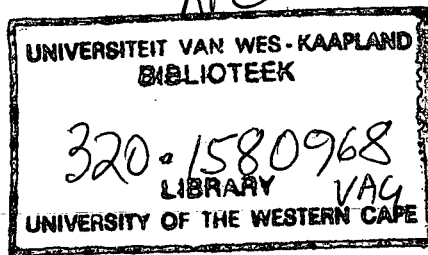


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C. Vagenas

SUMMARY

Title of Dissertation: An analysis of black consciousness in South Africa according to the theoretical criteria of a revolutionary philosophy.

Candidate: Costandinos Vagenas

Supervisor: Prof. J. Cilliers

Subject: Political Science

Degree: Master of Arts

This study was initiated, in the first place, by the dearth of analyses available on black consciousness in South Africa. The studies that do exist are usually to be found in the form of a chapter or two in a work on general black protest politics. This leaves virtually no room for a detailed analysis of the philosophy, and consequently, a few quotes by Biko, followed by general comment constitutes the most frequent form of "analysis". No theoretical framework is given and neither are the logical sequences in Biko's work analysed.

This dissertation sets out to make a contribution to the existing academic analyses of black consciousness. In attempting to do this, various obstacles have had to be overcome.

The most important obstacle has been the assertion that the black consciousness philosophy ostensibly precludes itself from objective analysis by whites. Consequently, the author has endeavoured to evaluate the philosophy from a theoretical framework which has been compiled from elements which characterise black consciousness ideas. This implies that any subjective inclinations which the author may have, are largely blocked from detracting from the essence of the approach of black consciousness to society.

The theoretical framework according to which black consciousness is analysed is a "model" of a revolutionary philosophy.

This model constitutes four basic elements:

- (i) the particular ideology's approach to conflict in society;
- (ii) the strata at which the ideology's message is aimed;
- (iii) the techniques which the ideology uses (or aims to use) in order to achieve its goals; and
- (iv) the picture which the ideology sketches of a future society under its influence.

These constituent elements have been compiled from the contributions of Marx, Trotsky, Lenin, Fanon, Malcolm X, Carmichael, and others.

Consequently, this dissertation sets out to compare Biko's ideas with each of the four elements above. Where it is necessary to present a more contemporary view of the direction in which black consciousness is moving, use is made of statements and policy guidelines issued by

such organisations as AZAPO, the NFC, and the AZACTU/CUSA federation, formed in October 1986.

The use of the above-mentioned model cannot be described as unobjective, in that black consciousness refers to itself as a "revolutionary perspective". The aim of this dissertation, thus, sets out, firstly, to prove that black consciousness is what it claims to be and, secondly, to create a framework according to which Biko's ideas can be logically arranged in terms of the philosophy's progression from one stage to the next.

SAMEVATTING

Verhandeling:	'n Ontleding van die swartbewussynsïdee in Suid-Afrika volgens die teoretiese eienskappe van 'n rewolusionêre filosofie.
Kandidaat:	Costandinos Vagenas
Studieleier:	Prof. J. Cilliers
Vak:	Staatsleer
Graad:	Magister Artium

Hierdie verhandeling is hoofsaaklik onderneem as gevolg van die gebrek aan ontledings oor die swartbewussynsidees in Suid-Afrika. Die ontledings wat wel bestaan beslaan gewoonlik 'n hoofstuk of twee in 'n werkstuk oor swart protespolitiek. Gevolglik doen die geleentheid hom nie voor om 'n breedvoerige filosofiese ontleding te maak nie. 'n Paar aanhalings van Biko gevolg deur kommentaar is die mees algemene vorm van "ontleding". Geen teoretiese raamwerk word gebruik nie en die logiese patroon in Biko se werk word ook nie ontleed nie.

Hierdie verhandeling poog om 'n bydrae te lewer na aanleiding van die bestaande gebrek aan akademiese ontledings van die swartbewusseinsfilosofie. Verskeie probleme is in die uitvoering van hierdie taak ondervind.

Die grootste struikelblok is die bewering dat die swartbewussynsfilosofie se uitgangspunt dit onmoontlik maak dat die filosofie deur blankes ontleed kan word. Gevolglik het die skrywer beoog om die filosofie te ontleed volgens 'n teoretiese raamwerk wat saamgestel is deur elemente wat die swartbewussynsidees kenmerk. Dit beteken dat enige subjektiewe neigings wat die skrywer mag hê, grotendeels nie die wese van die swartbewussynsfilosofie se benadering na aanleiding van die samelewing verkeerd kan interpreteer nie.

Die teoretiese raamwerk waarvolgens die swartbewussynsidees ontleed word is 'n "model" van 'n rewolusionêre filosofie.

Hierdie model bestaan uit vier basiese elemente:

- (i) die spesifieke ideologie se benadering na aanleiding van konflik in die samelewing;
- (ii) die groep vir wie die ideologie se boodskap bedoel is;
- (iii) die tegnieke wat die ideologie gebruik (of poog om te gebruik) om sy doelstellings te bereik; en
- (iv) die toekomsvisie wat die ideologie vir die betrokke samelewing voorhou.

Hierdie elemente is saamgestel uit die bydrae van mense soos Marx, Trotski, Lenin, Fanon, Malcolm X, Carmichael, en andere.

Gevolglik poog hierdie verhandeling om Biko se idees te vergelyk met elkeen van bogenoemde elemente. Waar dit nodig word om 'n meer kontemporêre siening te gee, word daar gebruik gemaak van die

beleidsrigtings en uitlatings van AZAPO, die NFC en die AZACTU/CUSA-federasie wat in Oktober 1986 gevorm is.

Die gebruik van bogenoemde model kan nie as onobjektief beskou word nie, omdat die swartbewussynsfilosofie homself as 'n "rewolusionêre perspektief" beskou.

Die doelwit van hierdie verhandeling is dus om, eerstens, te bewys dat die swartbewussynsfilosofie is wat hy sê hy is, en tweedens, om 'n raamwerk te skep waarvolgens Biko se idees logies ontleed kan word in die lig van die filosofie se verloop deur verskillende stadia.

INTRODUCTION

1.1 OBJECTIVE

The aim of this dissertation is to provide documentary information to answer the question: Does black consciousness in South Africa satisfy the theoretical criteria of a revolutionary philosophy?

In order to answer this question, two distinct analyses are required. The first asks "What is black consciousness?" and the second requires an answer to the question "What is a revolutionary philosophy?"

1.2 DEFINING "REVOLUTION"

Beginning with the second question, we need to look, firstly, at the term "revolution".

In a relatively general sense, the term refers to the substitution of a new system of government by violent means.

When the term "revolution" is used in this dissertation it will imply at least the following two points:

- (i) that a structural transformation has occurred which will lead to the reorganisation of the way in which the social classes are structured; and,
- (ii) that the economic system must be changed from a capitalist to a socialist one.

In fact, without the economic restructuring the social transformation would not be able to occur. Consequently, the fall of president Ferdinand Marcos and the accession to power of Mrs Cory Aquino in the Philippines in 1986 was not a revolution as it has been defined here, since a major restructuring of the social classes has not occurred.

We, therefore, distinguish between political and social revolutions. The Philippines experienced a political revolution, whereas Russia first experienced a political revolution (when Kerensky won the election) and then a social revolution (when Lenin took over some six months later).

Other countries which have experienced social revolutions include Mozambique, Angola, Ethiopia, Cuba and Vietnam.

1.3 DEFINING "REVOLUTIONARY PHILOSOPHY"

Looking more specifically at the concept of a "revolutionary philosophy", this dissertation lists various "requirements" (termed "theoretical criteria") with which the philosophy must comply in order to be termed "revolutionary". These criteria have been built up largely from the theories, writings, speeches, policy guidelines and political actions of numerous revolutionary thinkers: Marx, Lenin, Mao, Che Guevara, Carmichael and others. From these contributors to revolutionary theory it is possible to deduce certain basic similarities reflected in their writings. Four main elements can be identified:

(i) The first is the issue of dissatisfaction. A revolutionary philosophy comes into existence in order to offer a better alternative to the status quo. It addresses itself to certain underlying social, political and economic problems. Consequently, a revolutionary philosophy requires a pretext or cause, which calls it into existence. The exact location of the pretext can, naturally, differ from one revolutionary analysis to another, yet it is a pre-condition for the development of a revolutionary solution.

(ii) The second theoretical requirement which any revolutionary philosophy must satisfy is the question: To whom must the philosophy address itself? A political philosophy which is welcomed by everybody in a society cannot be a revolutionary one, since the eradication of social, political and economic grievances would, of necessity, have to radically alter the power structure within that society. A revolutionary philosophy needs to have a "target group" to which it can direct itself. In this dissertation the target group is termed the driving force.

(iii) The third theoretical requirement of a revolutionary philosophy is that it must direct the driving force towards the revolutionary goal. This is referred to as "revolutionary mobilisation".

(iv) The fourth requirement is that a revolutionary philosophy must be able to offer a better alternative to the existing situation. If the philosophy does not present the driving force with a better future, it is doomed to failure.

These four theoretical criteria are the minimum features which a political philosophy needs to possess before it can be considered revolutionary in terms of this dissertation.

1.4 ON THE USE OF "PHILOSOPHY" INSTEAD OF "THEORY" OR "IDEOLOGY"

The term "revolutionary philosophy" has been used to distinguish it from theories of revolution. This dissertation does not concern itself with analyses explaining the causes of revolution. Instead it focuses on "the study of the nature and implications of rational

thought" -- a phrase used by A.R.M. Murray in his book An Introduction to Political Philosophy (1953) (Van Dyke 1978, p. 95).

Used in this sense, the term political philosophy denotes the logical analysis of thought about politics expressed (implicitly or explicitly) either by political actors or by commentators on the political process. (Van Dyke 1978, p. 95)

However, it should be clearly understood that the term "philosophy" has different connotations when used in the expressions "revolutionary philosophy" and "black consciousness philosophy". The meaning of the former has been defined above. However, when this dissertation refers to black consciousness as "a philosophy" it is merely repeating a term used in such documents as the Azanian People's Manifesto (1983) and AZAPO's Constitution and Policy (1979). Black consciousness has avoided the term "ideology". It is, however, an ideology, if by ideology is meant "an organic system of ideas (usually centred on a basic value) that interprets reality from...a specific analysis of the present social order, relates it to a future ideal, and outlines a strategy to achieve the desired state, whether by maintaining the present order, or by reforming it, or by replacing it with a new order". (Leat, Kneifel & Nurenberger 1986, pp 281-2).

In order to accommodate this interpretation the word philosophy in the expression "black consciousness philosophy" will fall in line with the view that "the value judgements that figure in...an ideology are sometimes called...a philosophy of life. As reasons or motives for action, they influence and guide behaviour". (Van Dyke 1978, pp175-5).

1.5 BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS (BC)

By "black consciousness" this dissertation refers, firstly, to the ideas and actions which characterised the reasons for the break-away from NUSAS of Steve Biko and other black intellectuals.

Secondly, it refers to the refinement and philosophical under-pinning of these ideas by members of the South African Students' Organisation and the extension of these ideas to other organisations up to their banning on October 19, 1977.

Thirdly, the term includes the developments in the post-Biko era, starting with the moves to establish the Azanian People's Organisation and subsequent developments surrounding AZAPO and related organisations.

Fourthly, this dissertation includes the role played by this philosophy in the labour field through such organisations as the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions and the Council of Unions of South Africa. As well as the AZACTU/CUSA merger in October 1986.

The literature for this analysis is obtained from the following sources:

1.3.1 1967-1977

Information for this period comes largely from the numerous essays which Steve Biko wrote between 1970 and 1977, as well as from evidence which Biko gave in the SASO/BPC trial, which ended in December 1976.

1.3.2 1978-1986

For the position of black consciousness during this period, this

dissertation has obtained its information from various black consciousness publications, including AZAPO's official organ, "Frank Talk" and the National Forum's publication "National Forum Committee". An interview was conducted with the 1985 AZAPO president, Ishmael Mkhabela, the transcript of which appears in the appendix.

Finally, information for this period has been supplemented by various newspaper articles and interviews, the headings and sources of which are stated in the bibliography.

1.6 PROCEDURE

The procedure which this dissertation follows is to compare the analyses and views of black consciousness with the theoretical model of the minimum features which a political philosophy requires in order to be classified as revolutionary.

Each part begins with the views of either Marx, Trotsky, Lenin, Mao, Fanon, Carmichael, Malcolm X, and others on one of the four identified features. The decision on who to select for the basis of each feature was determined by one, or both, of the following two reasons:

1. The extent to which the writer is recognised as having broken new ground in a particular aspect of revolutionary theory; and,
2. the degree to which black consciousness has borrowed from a particular writer.

In each case this is followed by a "reply" from the black consciousness' perspective in the specific issue. This reply serves a dual purpose in that it makes the philosophy's view apparent and also serves as a basis for an analysis of the issue in question. However,

it must be stressed that this dissertation is not a "review" of black consciousness, but an analysis which attempts to place black consciousness' statements within a specific, logical framework. Consequently, extensive use is made of direct quotes from Biko's work.

1.7 SUMMARY

This dissertation begins with a historical background to the idea of black separatism. This covers a period from the birth of black religious separatism in the 1880s to the rise of Africanism and the role this had in the formation of the PAC, the spiritual departure point of the black consciousness movement.

The first chapter aims to trace the deep roots of black separatism as well as providing a historical background according to which tension between AZAPO and the UDF in the 1980s can be seen in terms of the conflict between the PAC and the ANC in the 1960s.

Following the first chapter, this dissertation is divided into four central parts, each of which looks at one of the four features of a revolutionary philosophy.

Part one comprises chapters two and three and analyses philosophical approaches to conflict. It has already been stated that a revolutionary philosophy addresses itself to certain underlying social, political and economic problems, and that such a philosophy requires a pretext or cause, which calls it into existence. A political philosophy which is considered revolutionary needs to clarify its position on the nature of the existing conflict and the respective roles of the masses and revolutionaries in terms of the philosophy's understanding of the conflict.

In this respect there are two dominant approaches. Marx's analyses are characteristic of a historical determinism which sees oppressed masses automatically responding to injustice, exploitation and oppression. Thus, society is blamed for conflict. This is termed a "socio-analytic" approach to conflict. The second major approach, explained in Lenin's analyses, is that there is nothing automatic about revolutionary resistance. Capitalist society caused injustice and oppression, but it did not guarantee conflict. This approach is termed the psycho-analytic view of conflict. In chapter three the position of black consciousness, in relation to these two approaches, is analysed.

Part two consists of chapters four to seven, and focuses on the need for and identification of a specific strata in society to which a particular revolutionary philosophy addresses itself.

The classic identification of a driving force was Marx's proletariat. This serves as a section of the theoretical basis of Part Two and is discussed in Chapter Three. Chapter Four follows with a discussion of Frantz Fanon's identification of "the colonised" as a driving force. Black consciousness in South Africa has borrowed heavily from this analysis by Fanon. Chapter Five discusses blacks as the driving force and looks at the contribution which the American black power movement has made in this field. Part Two is concluded with an analysis of what the black consciousness philosophy identifies as its driving force.

Part Three discusses one of the most vital aspects of a revolutionary

approach, namely that of its strategy to bring about its goals. Chapter Eight presents this issue in a historical and theoretical context by reviewing the contributions of Carmichael, Trotsky, Fanon and others. This serves as a basis for Chapter Nine, which is an analysis, firstly, of Biko's three-stage mobilisation approach and, secondly, of the approach by black consciousness in the 1980s.

Part Four looks at the theoretical requirement that a revolutionary philosophy must have the goal of a new vision for society, in which social, political and economic structures will be transformed. Chapter Ten considers this issue from a Marxist perspective, whereas Chapter Eleven presents the view of black consciousness with regard to what the social, political and economic situation will be like under a black consciousness government.

1.8 EXPLANATION OF ABBREVIATIONS AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS TERMS

Confusion is bound to arise when the black consciousness definition of a word's meaning is taken to imply what the standard Oxford dictionary definition states. For example, according to the Oxford dictionary, "racism" means:

1. a belief in the superiority of a particular race,
2. antagonism between people of different races
3. the theory that human abilities are determined by race.

In other words, a racist is a person who believes that his race is superior to another race and/or that human abilities are determined by

race and/or whose actions lead to antagonism between people of different races.

Not so, says black consciousness. Racism, the philosophy maintains, is defined as "discrimination or maintaining subjugation" (Biko: "Black Souls in White Skins", 1970). And when AZAPO's president, Ishmael Mkhabela was asked fifteen years later whether his organisation was "racist", he replied:

We think that the accusation of "racist" is unfounded in that for one to be a racist one must actually be capable to use his position to discriminate against other people, e.g. on a political, economic or ... social sphere. Now we do not have power to do that; we are actually on the receiving end of the power relation in this country (Interview, 1985).

It is thus impossible for any "true" black to be a racist in South Africa, because "one cannot be a racist unless he has the power to subjugate. What blacks are doing is merely to respond to a situation in which they find themselves the object of white racism". (Biko, op. cit., 1970)

Consequently, various terms used in the black consciousness vocabulary, are defined below:

Azania:

The new name for South Africa. It was originally used by the PAC and

then increasingly used by black consciousness exponents from the mid-1970's onwards. The word is derived from the Persian term "zanji" which means "black". Black consciousness holds the view that Azania means "land of the black people". However, this is disputed by blacks outside the BC movement. (See chapter 12). All official BC documents refer to South Africa as Azania and the post-apartheid South Africa is referred to as "free Azania" or "liberated Azania".

Azanian People's Manifesto:

The BC's counter to the Freedom Charter. The Freedom Charter was described by a PAC member, P.K. Leballo as "utterly useless". Over thirty years later, on June 12, 1983, the Azanian People's Manifesto was adopted as a separatist counter to the Freedom Charter's multi-racial approach. (See appendix). It is the official policy manifesto of the BC umbrella body--the National Forum Committee.

AZAPO:

The Azanian People's Organisation. The BC groups which had survived the 1977 bannings of the major BC organisations, i.e. the Black Priests' Solidarity Group and the Teachers' Action Committee, formed the Soweto Action Committee, chaired by Ishmael Mkhabela. A sub-committee, appointed to investigate "national possibilities", called a convention near Roodepoort on 28 - 31 April 1978. There it was decided that an interim committee under the chairmanship of Mkhabela be responsible for the creation of a political organisation to continue the BC philosophy. Shortly thereafter, Mkhabela was served with a banning order, but nevertheless the Interim Committee continued

to function and succeeded in inaugurating AZAPO in September 1979. (See appendix).

Today, AZAPO is the main black consciousness organisation in the BC movement and has placed more emphasis on the struggle of black workers, as opposed to the pre-1977 emphasis on blacks in general.

AZASM:

Azanian students Movement, a BC organisation, not to be confused with AZASO, a UDF-affiliated student organisation.

Black:

Any African, Coloured or Indian who feels that he is suffering oppression in South Africa and who supports the philosophy of black consciousness.

BC: Black Consciousness

BCP:

Black Community Programmes. This was the practical implementation of the BC principles of self-reliance. It was the collective name for a number of community projects in the early 1970's, which had blacks running projects for blacks.

Examples are the home industry centres run by the Border Council of Churches (including clothing and leatherwork) and the Zanempilo Community Clinic, near King William's Town. The BCP was banned on October 19, 1977 on arbitrary grounds.

BPC:

The Black People's Convention, founded in July 1972. It was the umbrella BC organisation under which the BCP, SASO and other BC organisations operated. The Convention had, as one of its aims, "to spread, popularise and implement the philosophy of black consciousness and black solidarity". The organisation was banned on October 19, 1977.

Colonised:

"The colonised" was popularised in Fanon's work "The wretched of the earth" (1961). It explains the oppression of masses in the developing countries in terms of the colonised and the coloniser. Biko used this to explain the situation in South Africa as one in which the whites had colonised the indigenous population. The black-white conflict is thus explained in terms of "local inhabitant fighting foreign oppressor".

Dialectic:

Using Hegel's dialectical idealism and Marx's materialist interpretation thereof, Biko applied the dialectic to the South African situation. He concluded that the thesis was white racism, and consequently the antithesis had to be a strong blacks-only front. That, in turn, would lead to a non-racial synthesis. Biko also believed in the historical inevitability of the struggle, i.e. that blacks would come to power.

Fanonesque: Referring to the ideas of Franz Fanon

Integration:

The "liberal" definition of integration is black faces attending white functions. This is rejected by black consciousness. Using the logical implications of the dialectic, BC believes that blacks and whites can only "integrate" once a new, non-racial society had come about.

Liberals:

The whites who spoke on behalf of blacks. Biko saw them as an obstacle to the black struggle.

Liberation:

The situation which will arise when South Africa is a country free from white racism and capitalist exploitation.

Manichean:

A term popularised by Fanon and implying that life is a constant struggle between "good" and "evil".

NFC (NF):

National Forum Committee. The black consciousness umbrella organisation founded at Hammanskraal, near Pretoria, on 11 - 12 June 1983. Its policies are contained in the Azanian People's Manifesto (APM) (See appendix). At the founding congress, it was stated that no ideological pre-condition was needed to participate in the N.F. although to date only black consciousness organisations have joined since the APM, by its very nature, excluded the ANC, UDF, Inkatha and white groupings.

Non-white:

Any African, coloured or Indian who rejects the black consciousness

philosophy and/or who participates in government created structures, e.g. Homeland leaders, members of the Houses of Delegates and Representatives, councillors, etc. ANC and UDF members present BC with a slight problem, since they are not as fully "black" - as BC would like - yet at the same time also definitely not "non-white".

Racism:

A mechanism used by whites to maintain control over blacks. It causes inferiority and psychological weakness in blacks which aids the whites in maintaining their grip. By definition, only people with power can practise racism. AZAPO, a blacks-only organisation, for example, can't, therefore, be called "racist".

SASO:

South African Students' Organisation. The all-black student organisation was formed in December 1968, with Biko named first president in July 1969. The organisation broke the political calm experienced after the 1960s political silence. SASO was the philosophical centre of the development of black consciousness in South Africa. The organisation was banned on October 17, 1977, although the courts had found —after a two-year trial ending on Dec. 15, 1976, —that SASO did not pose a threat to the state.

Settler regime: The South African government

Workers:

Rejecting the Marxist definition of the proletariat, BC describes only blacks as the "true workers" in this country.

CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Ever since white missionaries and philanthropists attempted to extend Western values and beliefs in Africa, Africans have displayed two distinct approaches to politics. The traditionalists have always rejected the foreign interference, feeling that by accepting a foreign value system, one was submitting to a position of perpetual inferiority - being relegated to the position of student; forever having to stand under correction from white teachers.

The second African approach not only tacitly accepted the imposed value system, but actively participated within its structures. The Africans who followed this approach were responding to the changing trends of a modernising society and described by some as following a "modern participatory approach". However, there appears to be some indcision on the exact terminology to use for the exponents of the two respective approaches. Gerhart (1978; p. 39) refers to the stereotypes as "realist and rebel", others speak of "moderate and radical", and of "separatist and integrationist". None of the above terms is completely descriptive of the two approaches, for the following reasons:

1. Neither approach was totally exclusive of the other, and since they both sought to further the interests of blacks, they actually complemented each other.

2. Some of the terms create continuity problems for this dissertation, in that the "moderates" (or "realists") of the 1940's were the "radicals" (or "rebels") of the 60s. What term would then be used, presently, to describe the "radicals" of the forties?

For the above reasons it has been decided to use the term "separatists" to describe those Africans who have consistently been opposed to the use of "white values" as a frame of reference from which to approach politics. The second approach cannot simply be referred to as an "integrationist" one, since this approach did not have integration as its primary motivating force. Hence, in the context of this dissertation, the latter approach will be referred to as one of "multi-racialism".

This dissertation investigates one branch of the separatist approach: that of separatist ideas from the late 1960s to developments in 1986. The philosophy of separatism, which ran alongside the broad stream of multi-racialism, passed through three distinct phases of development: Ethiopianism, Africanism and black consciousness.

2.2 Ethiopianism

The philosophy of religious separatism is documented as having originated in the Transkei in 1884. This was the Thembu Church of the Methodist minister, Nehemiah Tile.

Tile had left the Methodist Wesleyan Church two years earlier,

after clashing with his white superiors because of his participation in political matters.

The separatist movement only really began gathering momentum when the ideas of separatism reached the Witwatersrand. Odendaal (1984; p. 25) says that the influx of people from different ethnic backgrounds created the first mass movement of Africans on what may be termed national lines. This was the Ethiopian movement, formed when a break-away group of Wesleyans under the leadership of Mangena Mokone established the Ethiopian Church in Pretoria in 1892. (Karis and Carter, vol. 1, p. 7)

The concept of "Ethiopia" has several symbolic elements. In the first place Ethiopia was synonymous with Africa in early literature. Geiss (1968, p. 132) mentions the works of O. Cugoano's "Thoughts and Sentiments" (1788) and Young's "The Ethiopian Manifesto" (1829). In these works "Ethiopia" and "Ethiopians" were regarded as synonymous with "Africa" and "African" (Geiss 1968, p. 101).

Secondly, ancient Ethiopia was a symbol for the demand for equality, and writers like James Penington and Hosea Easton "often referred to the greatness of ancient Ethiopia in the same breath as to ancient Egypt" (Geiss 1968, p. 133). Here, too, we should also mention the contribution of Pixely ka Seme, who on 5 April 1906, delivered a prize-winning address at Columbia University:

The brighter day is rising upon Africa.
Already I seem to see her chains dissolve, her
desert plains with harvest, her Abyssinia and
her Zululand the seats of science and
religion. (Reproduced in Geiss 1968, p. 119)

Thirdly, we have the reference to such biblical texts as Psalm 68:31, "Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God", and Acts 8: 26 - 40. This was interpreted as a promise of the evangelisation of Africa.

Fourthly, we have most of the above confirmed in the Greek word "aithiopia" ("Ethiopia") meaning "land of the Negro".

Although the Ethiopian movement was outwardly religious, Roux (1964; p. 77) says that it was to a large extent political in its appeal.

At the back of it all ... was the growing feeling of national consciousness and revolt against whites, not only in religious matters, but in everything. (Roux 1964, p. 78)

Through the medium of the Church, the Ethiopians rejected the liberal principles of a multi-racial society. Instead, they supported separate, but African-controlled organisations. Their policy towards

the whites and the political set-up was not clearly formulated, sometimes leading to ambiguity. For example, some Ethiopians were prepared to accept white control in the short term, but that did not mean that they were not determined to extend the influence of exclusive African control (Karis & Carter, vol. 1, p. 8).

The Ethiopians felt that they would not be able to rely on whites to give them a fair deal in the social, political and economic spheres of the country. Africans would have to organise and start doing things for themselves. The movement worked on the principle of "Africa for the Africans".

Ethiopianism can be considered to be a forerunner of the more militant separatist philosophies. This can be seen by the degree to which the subsequent separatist movements became purely political extensions of the separatist churches. Whereas the latter derived political interpretations from the Bible, the former set about creating a theoretical basis of political philosophy as their point of departure. As the new purely political movements began to "replace" and extend the church's political role, the co-operation between separatist churches and black power movements remained strong. So, for example, Bishop L.M. Dimba (Head of the Federation of Bantu Churches) was invited to deliver the principle opening sermon and prayers at the PAC Inaugural Convention in 1959. He was assisted by the Rev. N.R. Tants, of the African Methodist Episcopale Church. Furthermore, it will be noted that following the banning of the PAC, some former members of the organisation formed a terrorist group in 1962, named "Poqo". The word is an adverb meaning "completely" and comes from the 19th

centuary term uPogo, which had been used by a "religious denomination that refused to have anything to do with the white man" (Roux 1966, p. 428). And in the 1980s we find the same principle of linking the theology of separatism with political ends, with one of AZAPO's aims being to promote an interpretation of religion as a "liberatory philosophy relevant to our struggle" (AZAPO "Constitution Policy" (sec 2 3).

2.3 Africanism

After the early 1940s, certain elements within the ANC began to feel increasingly uncertain about the organisation's multi-racial approach. Chief among these people was Anton Lembede. He had given up his teaching post in Heilbron in 1943 and moved up to Johannesburg, where the aging lawyer, Pixely Seme, agreed to article him as a clerk. (Lembede had obtained a BA and LLB degree through UNISA).

He was particularly upset by what he saw in the African townships when he arrived from Zululand. "What most aspiring young men took for the attractions and excitement of city life - flashy clothes, cinemas, jazz and jive, liquor and the search of money ... stood out clearly to Lembede as signs of degeneracy and cultural confusion" (Gerhart 1978, p. 58).

Lembede identified these new trends as major threats to the African way of life, and the reason why Africans were taking to

these "foreign" ideas so readily was because they did not have a strong African ideology which they could follow.

Lembede's philosophy, which was the cornerstone of the PAC's approach was anti-white, anti-Indian and anti-Coloured. (Van den Berge 1970, p. 168).

.....co-operation between Africans and other Non-Europeans on common problems and issues may be highly desirable. But this occasional co-operation can only take place between Africans as a single unit and other non-Europeans as separate units... non-European unity is a fantastic dream which has no foundation in reality. (Lembede, "Policy of the Congress Youth League", and reproduced in Karis & Carter, vol. 2, pp. 317-18).

This was the central theme of "Africanism". Africa was for the Africans, and the only way in which Africans would be restored to their glorious past, would be by an undiluted Africanist-only struggle.

After Lembede's death, the ANC Youth League continued the movement which Lembede had started, away from the idea of nationalism as defined by the ANC's old guard. And this brought up the question of what would be the place of whites in a future political order in South Africa. Within the League there were

two views on this. The one view, which was typified by Jordan K. Ngubane at this period of his own political development, was that whites had to be excluded from participation in the struggle in order for the African to build up his own spirit of self-reliance. Once he had done this, he could meet liberal whites and work out the details of a future non-racist state. The more radical members of the League, stuck to Lembede's position: liberal whites, they argued, had been responsible for stifling the African spirit of self-reliant nationalism and any concession or association with enlightened whites was, therefore, an indulgence with one's enemy. After blacks had attained their freedom, any whites who accepted an African government could stay in South Africa, while those whites who rejected majority rule could leave. (Gerhart 1978, pp 70-71).

The ANC entered the 1950s with its leadership divided among nationalists of different ideological leaning. The main concern for this dissertation is the increasing dissatisfaction of the Africanists.

Africanists felt that the multi-racialist Freedom Charter was destroying its 1949 Programme of Action. P.K. Leballo had become the central figure in a growing Transvaal group of orthodox nationalists after becoming involved in ANC politics in Orlando in 1952. He considered the Freedom Charter to be "a political bluff":

It promises a little wonderful heaven if not utopia around the corner ... It is utterly useless to go around shouting "The people shall govern", "The people shall share", without practical steps towards that government. We are merely being made tools and stooges of interested parties that are anxious to maintain the status quo. (Leballo, "The nature of the struggle today", and reproduced in Karis & Carter, vol. 3, p. 503).

Building on Lembede's cure for the "sickness of African society". the Africanists believed that it was essential that the African masses be instilled with pride, confidence and a spirit of self-reliance. It was believed that such a vast mass of non-conformist Africans would bring down the pillars of white rule, through repeated programmes of mass action: strikes, boycotts, marches, demonstrations, etc. But in order to reach that stage, a vital frontier had to be crossed: the need to reach out to Africans psychologically; to tell them that they are "inferior to no other race", and that they should stand tall and proud. This could only be achieved by "closing ranks"; getting Africans together in their own organisations, which were run and managed by themselves. Here they wouldn't have to worry about offending the "good" whites in the audience or in the organisation by the sharpness of their tone. No longer would they have to take cognisance of white opinion, no matter how revolutionary it was, and no longer would Africans have to feel inferior at debates

when they spoke in their second or third tongue. No longer would they have to "compete" with or live up to white standards. Why should they anyway, they argued? White standards were "foreign". In the final analysis, all that really counted would be Africans and their standards.

Even if we grant the sincerity of whites, Indians and coloureds who want to collaborate with us the fact remains that the only way in which white domination will ever be broken is by black force. When that day comes, if we have to stop and ask ourselves whether a particular white man was a friend of ours in the past, then we will never be able to act. After it is all over we will grant all those who accept African hegemony their full rights as private citizens of an African state. (An Africanist spokesman in 1958, as quoted in Gerhart 1978, p. 163).

Thus, by the late 1950s the ANC was housing two totally opposite views on South Africa and how change should come about. These were the "Africanists" and the "Congressites".

[See table below]

Congressites

- Anti-apartheid membership should be open to all races.
- Important aspects of the liberation strategy focused on its financial and organisational needs.
- South Africa would have a better future if there was a consistent policy of multi-racial co-operation before and after the liberation struggle
- Sympathetic towards ex-SACP members but not pro-communism

Africanists

- Membership for Africans only
- Focused on an attractive-sounding ideology which would attract the African masses.
- There would be no future for Africans if they didn't first become conscious of their identity and unity as the oppressed and hated their white oppressors
- Staunchly anti-SACP

Matters eventually came to a head. The Africanists broke away and founded the Pan Africanist Congress at a three-day conference in Orlando in April 1959. (Karis & Carter, vol. 3, p. 314).

The date for the "new beginning" (6 April) was chosen to coincide with the 307th anniversary of Jan van Riebeeck's arrival at the

Cape. The following is found in the agenda of the congress:

Today, 307 years ago, began the act of Aggression against the Sons and Daughters of Africa, by which the African people were dispossessed of their land, and subjected to white domination. As it was here, and this day that it began, it is imperative that it should be here, and on this day that it should be buried. (Quoted in Daniel 1975, p. 216)

The PAC's increasing militancy and the PAC's "no bail, no defence, no fine" campaign on March 21, 1960, led to the nationwide political unrest which caused the ANC and PAC to be banned on 8 April 1960.

In February 1962, the PAC's military wing, Poqo, came to public attention when the organisation attacked police patrols, in Langa (Cape Town).

Through information obtained from underground meetings, Poqo members had stated the following:

1. Peaceful solutions had been dropped by the PAC in favour of violence.
2. The PAC hoped greatly for support from African states.

3. The PAC had planned to form an army of 50 000 men.
4. Attacks on police patrols and other security institutions were mentioned in order to obtain weapons and material for incendiary devices.
5. Property belonging to whites had to be set alight and whites had to be murdered so that full independence could have been achieved by March 1963.
6. Robert Sobukwe had to be freed from jail, by any means possible.
7. Any black man testifying against Poqo would be murdered.
(De Jong, 1982, p. 90)

By June 1963, 3246 suspected members of Poqo or the PAC had been arrested, wiping out Poqo activities. (Incidentally, Steve Biko's brother was one of those arrested for being a suspected Poqo activist, and was jailed for nine months). (Gerhart 1978; p. 259).

With all the charismatic leaders of the 1960's in detention or in exile and the PAC and ANC apparently silenced, African politics were directionless. As Gerhart puts it: "Silence pervaded African political life in the 1960s to an extent which had not been known since the years before 1912".

2.4 Black Consciousness

It was not until the late 1960s that a new impetus came from black students. This was the founding of the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) in December 1968, with Steve Biko named as first president in July 1969. The philosophy adopted was termed "black consciousness". It called for a united front of Africans, Coloureds and Indians against whites. It is this philosophy which occupies the central analysis of this dissertation.

2.5 Summary

This chapter has endeavoured to stress the fact that black consciousness, as it manifests itself in South Africa in the 1980s, is an extension of the separatist tradition with its roots emerging in the Ethiopian movement's philosophy of religious separatism.

The spiritual link between Anton Lembede's Africanism and Steve Biko's black consciousness approach, should thus be understood within the context of this separatist tradition.

Having briefly reviewed the historical progression of black political separatism, this chapter concludes the background information required for a lucid understanding of this dissertation's central analysis.

Part One

**CONFLICT: A THEORETICAL
PERSPECTIVE**

Central to an understanding of this dissertation is the issue of conflict in society, for the idea of revolution would not be able to gain ground if some sort of conflict did not exist. A revolution is ostensibly aimed at ending existing grievances and injustices found in the specific society. But, whereas it is generally agreed that grievances are necessary before unrest, rebellion and revolution can occur, the issue of where the origin of conflict lies illicitly less unanimity. Consequently, we have scholars presenting "theories of conflict." Theories of conflict aim to answer the question of why conflict arises in society. Within this theoretical analysis of conflict, we find two broad theoretical approaches to the phenomenon: these may be referred to respectively as the socio-analytic and psycho-analytic approaches. These will be discussed in the first chapter. In Chapter Two, the position of black consciousness with respect to these theoretical considerations will be analysed.

CHAPTER THREE: SOCIO-ANALYTIC AND PSYCHO ANALYTIC THEORIES OF
CONFLICT

3.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at conflict from two contradictory, but not necessarily mutually exclusive, theoretical perspectives.

These two theoretical approaches to analysing conflict have been termed the socio-analytic and psycho-analytic theories, respectively. The former approach is associated with Marx's economic and historical determinism, although an acceptance of Marxist doctrine is definitely not a pre-condition for subscribing to this theory. The latter approach sees less determinism in its understanding of conflict, and falls more in line with Lenin's approach to revolutionary organisation.

This chapter serves as a theoretical basis from which the approach of black consciousness, towards understanding conflict, is analysed in Chapter Four.

3.2 THE SOCIO-ANALYTIC APPROACH

The socio-analytic approach, favoured by the majority of sociologists, seeks the origins of conflict in the study of social conditions. This approach focuses on what, at the end of the eighteenth century was referred to as the "social condition" (Beckett, 1970).

Initially revolutionary thought had run alongside the liberal tradition, which concerned itself with the questions of political arrangements and tyranny. An example of a revolution fitting in the "liberal" mode, would be the American Revolution. Brinton (1953; pp. 24-25) describes the American Revolution as "predominantly a territorial and nationalistic revolution, animated throughout by patriotic hatred for the British." Its consequences were thus political rather than the overturn of the social order.

However, unlike the American Revolution, the French Revolution ushered in a new era in that its focus on social conditions was a unique phenomenon. It is within the new emphasis on the social environment that the socio-analytical approach seeks to analyse the origin of conflict.

This socio-analytical approach is clearly illustrated in Arendt's analysis of the French Revolution:

... since the eighteenth century, we have come to call
[the phenomenon] the social question and what we may

better and more simply call the existence of poverty. Poverty is more than deprivation, it is a state of constant want and acute misery whose ignominy consists in its dehumanising force; poverty is abject because it puts men under the absolute dictate of their bodies...It was under this rule of necessity that the multitude rushed to the assistance of the French Revolution, inspired it, drove it onward, and eventually sent it to its doom, for this was the multitude of the poor. (Arendt 1963; p.54)

The socio-analytic approach is also a very deterministic one, since it tends to project the following view: just as day follows night, so unrest, rebellion and even revolution will arise as a result of poverty, exploitation and misery. We see this deterministic approach very clearly in Marx's theories. His dialectic even offers "scientific" backing for his argument. See, for example, how he characterises revolt, throughout the ages, as a consequence of oppression:

The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebian, lord and serf, guildmaster and journeyman, in a word oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common

ruin of the contending classes. (Marx and Engels writing in The Communist Manifesto and reproduced in Ebenstein 1969, pp 722-741).

Thus, Marx believed that an historical trend was being followed which, according to Marx's dialectic, would cause the development towards communism to proceed "through the dictatorship of the proletariat. It cannot do otherwise, for the resistance of the capitalist exploiters cannot be broken by anyone else or in any other way." (Marx quoted in Macridis 1980, p. 289).

We also see this characterisation on numerous occasions in his Das Kapital. In the following extract, Marx quotes a medical doctor from Newcastle, after explaining "capitalist justice":

Capitalist justice is truly to be wondered at!...The worker, with his wife and children and chattels, is thrown out into the street, and if he crowds in too large numbers near districts where the local authority insists on decency, he is prosecuted in the name of public health!...Newcastle...takes second place after London in the housing inferno. Not less than 34 000 persons live there in single rooms. Because of their absolute danger to the community, houses in great numbers have recently been pulled down by the authorities in Newcastle..."There can be little doubt that the great cause of the continuance and spread of typhus has been the over-crowding of human beings, and the uncleanliness of their dwellings...The

rooms...are...a disgrace to any civilised community; in them, men, women and children lie at night huddled together...[and because of day-shift following night-shift]...the beds having scarcely time to cool; the whole house badly supplied with water and worse with privies; dirty, unventilated, and pestiferous." (Marx, vol. 1, chap. 25, sec. 5(c), pp. 815-816).

This is the context within which the origin of conflict is analysed. Society, expressed in structures in which there is exploitation of man over man, is the cause of conflict. According to Marx, this has been the case "of all hitherto existing society" and this will continue until all unjust structures are removed. This is why Marx, in presenting his utopia, explains that eventually the state will "wither away", since peace cannot become lasting while "oppressive structures" are maintained.

As shall be discussed in Chapter Three, Marx paints a picture of a society so oppressed, exploited and dehumanised that month after month it comes closer and closer to a threatening revolt of such magnitude that it will overthrow the existing order by means of a violent revolution: the logical consequences of social injustice.

3.3 THE PSYCHO-ANALYTIC THEORY OF CONFLICT

Opposed to the socio-analytical view is the psycho-analytical approach.

An exponent of the psycho-analytical approach is Brian Crozier, who

does not look for the origins of conflict in the social environment, but in the mind of the potential rebel. "A rebellion," he says, "begins when somebody feels strongly enough to DO something." (Crozier 1974, p. 14). The term "rebellion" as it will be used in this dissertation covers all forms of protest, from violent resistance to the very idea of protest itself. This definition is also used by the Critical Theorists:

Thought itself is already a sign of resistance, the effort not to let oneself be deceived. Thought is not simply against order and obedience, but rather puts them in relation to the actualisation of freedom. (Horkheimer, quoted in Howard 1977, p. 114).

How does the psycho-analytical approach substantiate its claim that it is not the social environment, per se, which causes conflict? Well, this approach goes out from "the observable fact that the silent majority is almost infinitely tolerant." (Crozier 1974, p. 14).

Conditions that are tolerated by many people over a long period may be intolerable to a few over a relatively short period. The key to rebellion lies not in the objective phenomena but in the subjective reaction to them. (Crozier 1974, p. 14)

A factor which the psycho-analytical approach finds common to all rebels, revolutionaries and political activists, is FRUSTRATION. Crozier defines frustration as "the denial of something one wishes to have, or believes oneself entitled to have, regardless of the thing

desired, or of the objective validity of the claim" (p. 17). Furthermore, the psycho-analytical approach explains the act of rebellion as being caused by what is termed the "frustration threshold". In the rebel, this threshold level is lower than that of the masses. The success of the act of rebellion will, therefore, depend on the rebel's success in "persuading (or forcing) others to share their refusal to tolerate." (Crozier 1974, p. 17)

A classic example of this is the way in which the American masses were persuaded "to share their refusal to tolerate." According to Wood (1973; p.115), "the objective social reality scarcely seemed capable of explaining a revolution."

The Revolutionary rhetoric, the profusion of sermons, pamphlets, and articles in patriotic cause, could best be examined as...a concerted and self-conscious effort by agitators to manipulate and shape public opinion...Through the use of ideas...the influence of a minority of agitators was out of all proportion to their number. The revolution thus became a display of extraordinary skillfulness in the manipulation of public opinion. In fact...no disaffected element in history has ever risen more splendidly to the occasion." (Wood: "The American Revolution" in Kaplan 1973, p. 115).

The following quotation by Che Guevara is a further affirmation, to

exponents of the psycho-analytical approach, of its "correctness".

The road is long and full of difficulties. At times the route strays off course, and it is necessary to retreat; at times a too rapid pace separates us from the masses, and on occasions the pace is slow and we feel upon our necks the breath of those who follow upon our heels. Our ambition as revolutionaries makes us try to move forward as far as possible, opening up the way before, but we know that we must be reinforced by the mass, while the mass will be able to advance more rapidly if we encourage it by our example. (Che Guevara in Cranston 1970, p. 45).

But does this mean that social, political and economic conditions are not important in a psycho-analytical study? Definitely not! On the contrary, it is recognised that a rebellion is unlikely to begin if the environment is not "conducive" to such resistance. But, as Crozier explains, "the social environment, in itself, is not the cause of rebellion, even if it is the essential background." (Crozier 1974, p. 14).

When Marx's revolutionary predictions did not materialise, revolutionaries had to find a way to get the masses moving. It might have been true that the masses were suffering terrible exploitation, but, as the psycho-analytical approach explains, the masses are "infinitely tolerant". It was Lenin who realised very clearly that the "awakening...[of]...the proletariat, and a still broader non-strata...is a matter of extreme importance." (Lenin quoted in

Ebenstein 1969, p. 758). Thus, if the masses had to be "awakened", it clearly proved that revolutionary awareness was not an automatic consequence of social injustice. This assertion formed the departure point of Lenin's mobilisation strategies. "Socialist consciousness," he said, "is something introduced into the proletarian struggle from without, and not something that arose within it spontaneously." (Lenin: What is to be done? in Friedland 1982, p. 75).

3.4 Summary

In comparing the two approaches one can say that the socio-analytic theory proclaims that "unjust society causes conflict", whereas the psycho-analytic theory would reply that "unjust society increases the potential for conflict, but that does not guarantee it, which means that other factors must be involved".

The latter approach had to be developed after it became obvious that Marx's "logical conclusions" of the inevitability of widespread conflict were not so logical after all.

In the next chapter, Steve Biko's writings will be analysed in the context of these two approaches.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE PERSPECTIVE OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

Black consciousness is a revolutionary perspective that penetrates to the depths beneath the mask of blackness.

(Frank Talk. July/Aug 1984, p. 2)

4.1 Introduction

It will become apparent that the black consciousness philosophy can be better understood in terms of the psycho-analytic approach, for the following reasons:

Firstly, Biko sought to develop a framework which would explain how it was possible that in a society with South Africa's social injustices the masses were not involved in mass resistance. Thus, the socio-analytic approach could not clarify this.

Secondly, the analysis and response of black consciousness are heavily psychological in nature.

Thirdly, the ostensibly passive nature of the masses and the need to activate the masses (central tenants of the psycho-analytic approach) are clearly borne out in the black consciousness philosophy.

These psycho-analytic features of black consciousness are discussed in this chapter. In section 4.2 the general psychological point of departure of the philosophy is analysed. The use of Anton Lembede's perceptions in helping Biko to build a new approach will be looked at as well. Furthermore, this chapter will attempt to offer

psychological reasons for the origin of a black consciousness philosophy. This will be done by making use of the analyses of the American social analyst, Anne Wortham.

4.2 Psychological Point of Departure

Regarding the psychological nature of black consciousness, the main aim of the philosophy is to affect a psychological change within the masses. "Being black", Biko wrote, "is a reflection of a mental attitude". (Biko: "The definition of black consciousness", 1971). It is this "mental attitude" which black consciousness aims to shape into a positive force in - what B.C. refers to as - the black man's struggle for humanity. In fact, the philosophy follows a two-step strategy to liberation: psychological liberation followed by national physical liberation of the masses. Psychological liberation is a precondition for national liberation and it is required because the masses have "lost their personality" (Biko: "We Blacks").

The departure point of black consciousness is that blacks are psychologically ill-equipped to fight a successful liberation struggle. This idea that African society is psychologically "sick", can be traced back to Anton Lembede's writings in the 1940s.

For the first time, the psychological effect which white rule was apparently having on the black mind, was highlighted by Lembede:

Moral and spiritual degeneration manifests itself in such abnormal and pathological phenomena as loss of self-confidence, inferiority complex, a feeling of frustration,

the worship and idolisation of white men, foreign leaders and ideologies. All these are a pathological state of mind. (Lembede, 1946, in Karis & Carter, vol. 2, p. 318)

Lembede also described the inferiority complex which Africans had, as "a psychological malady; the opium that dulls our mental faculties and represses our physical energy" (Lembede, 1947, in Gerhart 1978, p. 62). It is this "psychological malady" which black consciousness seeks to overcome.

The second psychological aspect, concerns the relationship between those who have the "correct" mental attitude and those who should, but don't. The latter refers to the uninformed masses whereas the former refers to those who "know the way". Biko spoke of the former as "the sleeping masses", saying that there was an "urgent need for ... (their) ... re-awakening" (Biko: "We Blacks"). According to Biko, the masses were living in ignorance, "bearing the yoke of oppression with sheepish timidity" (op. cit.)

Not only is the analysis and response of black consciousness psychological in nature, but there are even psychological theories for its origin and development. A major study into the psychological driving forces which lead to the development of a black consciousness approach, has been made by the American social analyst, Anne Wortham. Whereas her study focuses particularly on ethno-race consciousness in the United States, her findings are also relevant to an analysis of the black consciousness movement in South Africa. Wortham labels the black consciousness exponent a "spiritual separatist". According to

her study, blackness (as defined by black consciousness) "is a concept of attitudes, values and a method of awareness peculiar to certain blacks. It is not a concept of human biology and thus does not apply to everyone of African descent. It is rather a concept of psycho-intellectual orientation that designates how certain individuals perceive themselves and their existential circumstances .. these spiritual separatists claim not to care what whites think of them, but their whole scheme of thought and behaviour is predicated precisely on the fact that they feel rejected - if not by white individuals, then by white society and its culture" (Wortham 1981, p. 211).

Wortham also points out that since the self-identity of the spiritualist is frustrated by what he perceives as the misconception of him by whites, he turns to his race for some kind of identity. And in this case it is a black identity. This affords him an added sense of security, in that he claims it is beyond the power of whites to grasp or understand what it is to be black. He is no longer interested in integration with whites in order to achieve "brotherhood" and "equality", because he sees himself as fundamentally different to whites in psychology. He also believes that this fundamental difference arises not only from his environment (in our case, the apartheid laws and white attitudes), but that it is dictated by his biological heritage. Biko makes the latter quite clear in his analysis of African culture, when he points out that the African mind operates differently to the Western mind.

.... whereas the Westerner is geared to use a problem-

solving approach following very trenchant analyses, our approach is that of situation-experience ... (Biko: "Some African cultural concepts", 1971).

The difference which Biko sees between Westerners and Africans in their approach to life, is not environmental. It goes deeper than that, and therefore - according to Biko, it cannot be altered:

We as a community are prepared to accept that nature will have its enigmas which are beyond our powers to solve (Biko, op. cit.).

Thus here we have Biko stating that differences between blacks and whites are a consequence of fundamental issues related to biological and psychological factors. This is part of the justification on which the philosophy's moral views are built, concerning such issues as black-white integration and the dialectic. The foundation is laid here for the analysis of blacks and whites as two social entities with irreconcilable differences. Consequently, they shall be placed as opposites on the dialectic's basis, from which a new, non-racial synthesis will emerge.

4.2.1 The security of black consciousness

Black consciousness is a response to white racism and a psycho-intellectual strategy to counter it. The B.C. exponent builds an impenetrable psychological wall around him and his community. Whereas whites had previously labelled him as "inferior", he now labels

himself as living a life beyond the perception of whites. By idealising his "blackness" as unknowable to others, the spiritual separatist exempts himself from their judgement. And just as whites had tried to protect their pseudo self-esteem by means of apartheid, so the spiritual separatists look for protection in the separatism of a special kind of consciousness - "black consciousness". Just as whites had placed "whites" and "non-whites" labels on trains, toilets and waiting rooms, so the spiritualist places labels on such fields as journalism, history, sociology, literature, music and art. This calls for the rewriting and revision of history. Black history cannot be understood or written by whites. "We have to rewrite our history and describe in it the heroes that formed the core of resistance to the white invaders". (Biko: "White racism and black consciousness", 1971). As for journalism, reporting "reality" will be far off for as long as the Press is controlled by whites: "A journalist from a liberal newspaper like 'The Sunday Times' of Johannesburg, describes a black student - who is only telling the truth - as a militant, impatient young man" (Biko: 1978; p. 89).

The same goes for politics. Whites cannot possibly know what is good for blacks: "The Progressives [PFP] have never been a black man's real hope. They have always been a white party at heart, fighting for a more lasting way of preserving white values in this southern tip of Africa" (Biko: "White racism and black consciousness" 1971).

Hence the "black experience" is made irreducible. It is not to be questioned and not to be subjected to explanation by conventional means. You have to be black to have the ability to perceive "reality".

4.2.2 Black Pride

"Say it loud! I'm black and I'm proud".

(Biko: "Some African cultural aspects ", 1971)

The need for blacks to have a more positive self-image and the ways in which this is achieved is discussed in chapters eight and nine. In this chapter, we are analysing black consciousness from a purely psychological angle.

Black consciousness and black awareness are really substitutes for self-consciousness and self-awareness. The symbol black is a symbol of contempt for individual identity and achievement. It is used to reduce the relevance of individual character, personality, performance, social and economic position, and educational qualifications by using "black", though the "community" may differ in actual skin colour. It also attributes a black awareness to the "community", whether it has it or not. Individuality is seen by the spiritual separatist as the white man's concept used to weaken black solidarity. While the symbol black is used to reduce or eliminate differences in individual achievements among Africans, so-called coloureds and Indians, it is also used to distort the meaning of pride which is derived from those achievements. According to Aristotle, a man is thought to be proud who thinks himself worthy of great things because he is worthy of them. Thus a proud man claims according to his merits. The black spiritualist, on the other hand, claims

according to the cumulative merits of his ancestors; he claims black pride.

But as Steven Lord points out in his book Race Pride versus self-esteem (1973), the pride based on the traditions of one's ancestors is not the pride of self-esteem achieved, but an attempt to disguise the lack of self-esteem:

Note that this kind of "pride" is entirely unearned - the individual in question had nothing to do with who his ancestors were. The man who desires a sense of "race pride" is a man looking for an automatic identity and a pseudo self-esteem that he will not work for and cannot lose, usually because he needs a substitute for the authentic pride that stems from personal achievements and virtues of character.

(Lord in Wortham, 1981, p. 215)

In the study The Marginal Man: a study in personality and culture (1937) Everette Stonequist developed a theory known as the "marginal personality". This theory offers an explanation for the conflict which sometimes arises between personality and culture. According to Stonequist, the marginal personality "suffers from incomplete assimilation, fluctuating between his desire for membership in the dominant culture and his loyalty to his ethno-racial sub-culture" (Wortham 1981, p. xvii). Thus whereas the black separatist desires the socio-economic advantages and equal access of a desegregated society, i.e. "white things and white institutions" - he rejects what

he calls the white definition of how he ought to live. Furthermore, this conflict is one he experiences personally and he believes that it is in his mind that the solution must be found. The dilemma of the type which Stonequist refers to as "the marginal personality", is that his "race consciousness exists as a kind of double consciousness, thus ... his 'blackness' is explained within the context of how he perceives his position in a predominantly 'white' society." (Wortham 1981, p. 209).

Wortham (op. cit. p.210) cites the following passage by a young black student at a predominantly white American University to illustrate this double consciousness:

Being black means to open my textbooks and see pictures of white folks and to read white-washed theory, philosophy and history which are irrelevant to me.

Being black means to go to a white counsellor whom I don't trust, and who doesn't know how to handle my presence or my problem

Being black is to watch whites look upon my natural hair, my moustache, my African garments, my black music and literature, my black community language, and my other symbols of black pride as being deviant

Being black is to go into a class disadvantaged and find that I have a teacher who believes it is impossible for a black student to make an "A" or "B" grade.

Being black is not having a penny in my pocket and seeing white students visit Europe and Mexico and driving fancy sport cars, and at the same time knowing that their parents got rich off the sweat and pain of my parents and ancestors ...

Being black means to be in an ocean of white stimuli, to be angry consciously or unconsciously, to continuously struggle with oneself to deny hostile feeling, angry feeling ...

Finally, being black means to be lonely, hyperalienated, depressed, displayed, ignored, and harassed. Just the fact of being black is to be at the brink of revolt.

Although Wortham's analyses explained underlying psychological reasons which give rise to a black consciousness perception, they do not explain why it should influence only some blacks in South Africa.

The main deduction that can be made, is that people who resorted to an Africanist or black consciousness approach, were more frustrated than

other blacks. Two main reasons are mentioned here; and they emerge from psychological differences which two authors (Kuper 1965, pp. 133-34; Gerhart 1978, pp 141-45) have distinguished between PAC and ANC leaders. According to these findings, a high proportion of leading PAC activists had grown up in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal (Sotho-speaking areas) whereas Nguni-speaking groups came from Natal and the Eastern Cape. The Sotho speakers found themselves in the regions of South Africa where black-white relations were the most strained and the concentration of Afrikaans-speaking whites is the highest. The Nguni-speaking groups, on the other hand, were surrounded by predominantly English-speaking whites, where the influence of the philanthropists and missionaries had made black-white relations less confrontational than in the northern provinces. (Gerhart 1978, p. 142). However, this contradicts Biko's situation: he was born and grew up in the Eastern Cape and Natal and educated in an English Roman Catholic School.

The picture is, perhaps, given more validity if we look at the results of Kuper's research. He has noted that a large number of Africanist leaders were thwarted in their ambitions for higher professional achievement with teaching being the main profession open to African university graduates, with very limited opportunities for entrance into medicine and law. The few who managed to achieve success in these professions, despite the many restrictions, received not only more prestige and significantly higher income than teachers, but also independence. Teachers held their posts at the discretion of government departments, whereas the lawyers and doctors had the option of self-employment. The ANC's leadership from 1950 - 1960 had several

doctors and lawyers whereas of the fifteen most important figures in the Africanist movement, then, ten were aiming, or had aimed at careers in law and medicine, of which only two succeeded. Gerhart (1978, p. 144), also points out that for such highly motivated men, the restrictions of the South African system resulted not only in anger and frustration, but also in a determination to totally eradicate its injustices. A "blacks only" approach to politics would help in the need for self-esteem, prestige and independence of action.

4.2.3 Frustration

If the degree to which one's aspirations are blocked is a measure of frustration, then Steve Biko was a very frustrated man.

Born in King William's Town on 18 December 1946, Steve Biko was the son of a government-employed clerk, who died when Biko was four years old. Steve Biko's older brother, a student at Lovedale High School (Alice) was arrested in 1963 because he was a suspected Poqo activist, and jailed for nine months. Biko (then sixteen years old) was interrogated by the police about his brother's activities. According to Gerhart (1978; p. 259) Biko was expelled from Lovedale because of his brother's activities, but according to "Frank Talk", (Sept/Oct. 1984, p. 10) "the school was closed down as a result of strikes by senior pupils". In any case, Biko entered St. Francis College at Marianhill (Natal) which was a liberal Catholic boarding school and one of the few remaining private high schools for Africans in South Africa.

In 1966, Steve Biko (then 19 years old) enrolled at Natal University Medical School (non-white section). This section, reserved for Africans, Coloureds and Indians, was called Wentworth. Biko was soon elected to the SRC, and in July 1967, he was a delegate at the NUSAS annual conference, hosted that year by Rhodes University. At the university the accommodation and eating facilities were segregated, and Biko questioned the peculiar situation of black-white student relations: Biko was studying at a segregated medical school; he belonged to a multi-racial student organisation, where - after the daily conference - he had to sleep and eat separately from the white delegates. This unnatural situation led him to believe that blacks should separate completely from whites. He felt the time was ready for blacks to stand on their own feet, to identify their own grievances in their own phraseology and set their own goals. Biko, and those who supported his sentiment, broke away from NUSAS under the slogan "Black man you are on your own". They formed the all-black South African Student's Organisation (SASO) in December 1968, and in July 1969, Biko was named first president.

In December 1970, he married Nontsikelelo Mashalaba from Umtata. Because of his political activities, he was expelled from the University of Natal in June 1972. In the same year he played a major role in the formation of the Black People's Convention (BPC), an adult umbrella black consciousness organisation.

On March 1, 1973, Biko and seven other SASO/BPC leaders, were banned under the Suppression of Communism Act. He then began studying law through UNISA. His banning order restricted him to the Ginsberg

township (King William's Town). Here he founded the East Cape Branch of the Black Community Programme (BCP) which had been established in Pietermaritzburg in July 1972, in order for blacks to prove to themselves that they could manage their own community development without white help.

In 1974, Biko was charged with breaking his banning order by "receiving visitors at home". The court found him not guilty and he was acquitted. The following year an extra clause was inserted in his banning order prohibiting him from being associated with the BCP or entering it's King William's Town offices. But this did not stop him from assisting other black activists. He established the "Zimele Trust Fund Foundation" to help political prisoners and their families. He also founded the "Ginsberg Educational Trust" for the purpose of assisting black students. In September 1975, he was refused a passport to attend a conference to which he had been invited by the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission in Germany.

In April 1976, he was again charged with "breaking his banning order". The court discharged him. In June of that year, he gave evidence for the defence at the SASO/BPC trial, where nine leaders of the black consciousness movement were charged under the Terrorism Act. From August to December 1976, he was detained for 101 days under the Terrorism Act in an East London jail. He was released without being charged. In January 1977, he was elected Honourary President of the BPC. Two months later he was arrested for "defeating the ends of justice". He was later acquitted. In July, he was again arrested and

accused of "telling school children to renege on statements they had made to the police", but the court acquitted him.

On August 19, 1977, Lieutenant Alfred Oosthuizen of the Grahamstown Police, ordered Biko's detention on suspicion that he "was involved in the distribution of pamphlets inciting blacks to riot". He was held in the Walmer Police Station (P.E.) for 20 days, in solitary confinement and the court heard that he was "kept naked and at night handcuffed and his feet tied by leg irons, which in turn were locked to the walls".

On September 6, Biko was taken to the security police in the Sanlam Building, in Port Elizabeth, where the court found that interrogation began at 10h30 and lasted until 18h00, by which time Biko "had admitted responsibility for compiling the pamphlets".

On September 11, Biko - suffering from serious injuries - was transported 1000km by car to Pretoria, where he died the following day.

In 1985, the three doctors responsible for Biko, were found guilty of varying degrees of "disgraceful conduct" and on October 16, 1985, Dr. Benjamin Tucker was struck from the medical roll for life.

[The table on p. 56 shows Biko's main brushes with the authorities.]

			Age
1963	Biko interrogated because of his brother's activities		16
June 1972	Expelled from Natal University for "political activities"		26
March 1973	Banned	No legal recourse	27
1974	Charged	Found not guilty	29
Dec. 1975	Charged	Case never concluded	29
April 1976	Charged	Found not guilty	29
Aug. 1976	Detained - 101 days	(Without trial)	29
March 1977	Charged	Found not guilty	30
July 1977	Charged	Found not guilty	30
August 1977	Detained -	(Without trial)	30
12 Sept. 1977	Biko dies in detention		30

Information compiled from: "Stephen Bantu Biko: 1946 - 1977", Frank Talk, Sept/Oct. 1984, pp. 10 - 11; "Room no. 619" Frank Talk, Sept. Oct. 1984, pp 12 - 13,; Stubbs 1978, pp 155 - 216; Evening Post, Oct. 17, 1985; E.P. Herald, Oct. 18, 1985; Gerhart 1978, pp. 259 - 261).

Biko's frustration stemmed not only from his brushes with the authorities, but also from the experiences of his friends, many of

whom were also politically active and also found themselves in detention.

Earlier in the year ... Pumzile Majeke, was banned to his home in the Transkei on 17 July Mapetla Mohapi .. was detained under section 6 of the Terrorism Act. On 5 August at 11.30 pm, Steve telephoned: "Mapetla has died in detention". (Stubbs 1978; p. 195; p 208)

Biko's experiences reflect a life of extreme frustration, not least of which being his return to his hometown ostensibly a failure, as far as his academic aspirations were concerned. Furthermore, the whole milieu in which he found himself was one of harsh authoritarianism, involving state coercion against himself, his family and his friends. Experiencing a lifestyle in which his brother was arrested, his wife banned, his friends dying in detention and he himself experiencing untold hardship at the hands of the police, there can be little wonder that Biko demanded nothing less than a revolutionary transformation in this country.

4.3 Summary

This chapter has analysed black consciousness' approach to conflict in terms of the psycho-analytic perspective. It has shown that Steve Biko, the father of black consciousness in South Africa experienced a great degree of frustration directed both against the system as well as against the black man's inability to adequately liberate himself from his feelings of inferiority. Using the findings of Wortham, this

chapter showed how the black consciousness philosophy fulfils the requirement for individual self-esteem by providing the black man with his own frame of reference from which to view reality. It did this by instilling pride within the black man as well as making his blackness unknowable to others, thereby exempting himself from their judgement.

Part Two

THEORIES OF THE DRIVING FORCES

As has been stated, the psycho-analytical approach holds the view that although the social conditions are not, in themselves, the "revolutionary spark," they are important in making the masses prone to the revolutionary idea, whether they consciously desire it or not

Theories of the driving force (sometimes called the motive forces) are concerned with where the potentially revolutionary class lies. Its exact location has differed from one social set-up to another as well as from the interpretation of one revolutionary to another.

In Marx's time, and for some time thereafter, the driving force was located within the proletariat. However, by the time of the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917, Marx's requirements of an industrialised state and a big proletariat were not applicable. In fact, not only did the peasants form a powerful driving force, but revolutions moved from the industrialised states to the developing nations, e.g., China, Vietnam, Cambodia, Cuba, Angola and Mozambique, to name only few.

In recent years, the driving force has shown revolutionary potential in groups other than the proletariat or the peasants. These social groups include students, ethnic and racial groups, women, and what Friedland (1982; p. 51.) calls the new working class.

In South Africa, the EXACT location and composition of the revolutionary class has differed from the interpretations of different

organisations at different times. So, for example, the South African Communist Party aimed at conscientising the proletariat and the peasants, whereas the Pan Africanist Congress aimed its strategy at organising the Africans. The ANC came to accept any social group which seriously adhered to the Freedom Charter. After its banning, the ANC did not prevent whites from joining Umkhonto; the issue was not which class you came from, but whether you were prepared to loyally work for the ANC's cause. AZAPO, on the other hand, clearly defined the "blacks" as the oppressed in South Africa. This meant Africans, "so-called Coloureds" and "so-called Indians". There was no place for whites, no matter how revolutionary they might be, in the strategy of black consciousness. Consequently, none of the "classic" driving forces is directly transferable to the South African situation. Therefore, driving forces in the following three strata will first be discussed to serve as a broader theoretical background for an analysis of black consciousness' driving theory. These are

- (i) the proletariat
- (ii) the colonised, and
- (iii) blacks.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE PROLETARIAT AS THE DRIVING FORCE

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter the "classic driving force", namely that of Marx's proleteriat will be discussed. Its significance to this dissertation lies not in its rejection by black consciousness, but by its adaption to suit South Africa's unique situation, as analysed by black consciousness.

The exact role which Marxism should play in the black separatist philosophy has long been a contentious issue and has its roots in the role which the South African Communist Party has been playing in the liberation struggle in South Africa.

The formation of the ANC Youth League in December 1943 had been largely as a reaction to the increasing influence which the SACP and other multi-racial influences were having on the ANC leadership. The driving force behind the formation of the Youth League was Anton Lembede, who disliked Marxism for three main reasons.

Firstly, South Africa's Communist party had been established by whites, who counted blacks as well as whites under the same oppressed class. Thus, if Africans were to adopt Marxism, it would mean that they would continually be "corrected", just as white missionaries had done before. It would also mean that Africans and whites would have to team up against the capitalists. Lembede felt that in the same way that whites had done before, they would perpetuate a paternalistic attitude towards Africans.

Secondly, Marxism rejects religion as a myth, whereas for the African, man's spiritual side has always played an important part in life. Even before Christianity became accepted by Africans, the belief in a life hereafter had always been deeply rooted in African culture.

Thirdly, Marxism is something totally foreign to Africa. This last point was made quite clear by Vusi Nkumane at AZAPO's national congress held in January 1981, when Nkumane "severely criticised liberals and Marxists, saying he was opposed to foreign ideologies being used to define the struggle...Nkumane called for an identification with African cultural perspectives, which he said were embodied in black consciousness". (E.P. Herald, Jan. 26, 1981.)

However, there has been a softening in the black consciousness attitude towards Marxist terminology. So, for example, AZAPO's official organ, Frank Talk, stated that "acceptance by the delegates of the class analysis did not imply that AZAPO had embraced Marxism" (Feb./March 1984, p. 11). While this was an attempt to play down the importance of Marxist analysis, it is clearly a defeat for the view expressed by Nkumane.

5.2 Marxist Theory

The relevance of Marxist analysis will receive more attention in Chapter Eight. Chapter Five, however, will provide part of the theoretical basis required for an analysis of the following chapters.

The classic theory of the proletariat as the driving force comes to us from the writings of Marx and Engels. Writing in *Das Kapital*, Marx presented the proletariat as the logical driving force of the fourth stage of his dialectic. Each of the first four stages of Marx's five-stage dialectic had been characterised by a particular economic system which led to a specific political system.

In the earlier epochs of history, we find almost everywhere a complicated arrangement of society into various orders, a manifold gradation of social rank...

Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat. (Marx and Engels writing in "The Communist Manifesto" and reproduced in Ebenstein 1969, pp. 722-741).

The new epoch initiated by the American and French upheavals of the late eighteenth century, featured capitalism as its economic system. Marx called the new political systems bourgeois democracies. The term "democracy" was given to the political systems because there was a pretense of popular government through legislative representation, but the capitalist was still in control. Marx believed that the tension between the capitalists and the proletariat would build up into a new, and this time final, dialectical struggle, which would lead to the fifth and final epoch, communism.

Why the proletariat? In order to explain this, we need to look at the "inherent contradictions" which Marx saw in capitalism. On the one hand capitalism produced a class which was the owners of the means of production. This class, the bourgeoisie was driven by the profit motive. Owning the factories and farms, the bourgeoisie held wealth and wanted to increase that wealth year after year. On the other hand, capitalism created a working class, the proletariat. This class actually produced the wealth which the bourgeoisie claimed for itself. In order to increase its wealth, the bourgeoisie had to exploit the proletariat, paying them low wages. Which means that the proletariat necessarily has to live a poor existence:

Accumulation of wealth at one pole is, therefore, at the same time the accumulation of misery, the torment of labour, slavery, ignorance, brutalisation and moral degradation at the opposite pole. (Marx, vol. 1, p. 799).

But, due to what Marx referred to as "the anarchy of capitalism," a situation will arise where the proletariat will increase in number year after year, while the bourgeoisie decreases accordingly. This will come about as a result of the following sequence of events: Marx explained that capitalism produces commodities for distribution and circulates money in order to purchase the products. "As a means of circulation," Marx wrote in *Das Kapital*, "money circulates commodities." (Marx, vol. 1, p. 213). As long as there is enough money to purchase the goods, then the capitalist economy is free from crises. However, because of capitalism's "inherent contradictions"

such a balance could not last for long, Marx believed. This is because the money which is paid out as wages initially finds its way back into circulation. However, gradually it no longer becomes necessary to buy machines or other capital, and the money begins accumulating in banks. Since there is thus less money in circulation, less goods can be purchased, which means that some workers have to be retrenched, which means even less money is circulated, which leads to economic recession, then depression, and finally the economy comes to a complete halt.

This disturbance and stagnation paralyses the function of money as a means of payment...and this is further intensified by an accompanying breakdown of the credit system, which had developed alongside capital. All this therefore leads to violent and acute crises, sudden forcible devaluations, an actual stagnation and disruption in the reproduction process, and hence to an actual decline in production. (Marx, vol. 3, p. 363).

Now the scene is set for a capitalist system in such a serious crisis, that the position of the oppressed becomes unbearable, and a revolution occurs in which the few remaining rich citizens and the government (which is only the rich in control) are overthrown by the proletariat.

Much of the importance of Marxist analysis in contemporary society, though, rests not on this projection by Marx, but in his explanations of the exploitation of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie. The former

colonies were contemporary versions of the exploitation and oppression which had existed in industrial Europe in the 19th century. Wealth, power and authority rested with a few settlers, whereas the vast majority of the population was exploited on farms and at the few industrial plants. The difference in living standards between the "oppressors" and the "oppressed" was physically visible. The "oppressors" owned the farms, land, factories, and lived in the better houses; whereas the "oppressed" worked for low wages or only for some food; they owned nothing and their housing conditions were extremely poor in comparison with the "exploiters". Marx's descriptions of the evils of the capitalist system are vivid:

Just as the savage must wrestle with nature to satisfy his needs, to maintain and reproduce his life, so must civilised man, and he must do so in all forms of society and under all possible modes of production. (Marx, vol. 3, p. 959).

5.3 Summary

The relevance of Marx's writings in contemporary society is its adaptability to various social set-ups. Although many of his arguments have since been proven false, revolutionaries cling to Marx's basic idea: part of the population is suffering and being exploited, while a small elite reaps the benefits: power, luxury and "the good life". This flexibility which Marx's analyses allow will clearly be seen in the South African version of the class struggle as explained by the black consciousness philosophy.

CHAPTER SIX: THE COLONISED AS THE DRIVING FORCE

For the native, life can only spring up again out of the rotting corpse of the settler. (Fanon 1965, p.72).

6.1 Introduction

The analyses of Frantz Fanon occupy a central position in the philosophical debrature point of black consciousness. In fact, black consciousness students (of the late 1960s and early 1970s) would have been hard-pressed to find a "foreign" analysis of social oppression more appropriate to the South African experience, than the works of Frantz Fanon.

Fanon was a black psychiatrist born in Martinique, who became an Algerian citizen by choice. As head of the psychiatric service, in an Algerian hospital, he led a double life for a period, caring for French policemen by day, while training saboteurs by night.

Dealing both with the oppressors and the oppressed, he found himself in a relatively unique position. Using his training as a psychologist and relying on his personal experiences in Martinique, Fanon set out to analyse the situation in Algeria from a psychological point of view. He referred to the foreigners as "colonisers" and to the indigenous population as the "colonised", and compared the different perceptions of the mind of each group.

It is his work Les Damnés de la Terre (1961) that contains his central psychological analysis that has so widely been used by the American

"black power" movement. And Steve Biko has borrowed greatly from this book, at times quoting Fanon, re-writing Fanon without reference, and adapting parts of Fanon's analysis to have direct relevance on a specific aspect of South African society which Biko wanted to focus on.

The title of Fanon's book comes from the first verse of the Internationale and has been translated into English as The Wretched of the Earth (1965). However, the direct translation "damned" would have been more appropriate. This is because Fanon sees the colonised as having been "damned" to an ostensibly hopeless position, from which escape is only possible through psychological liberation brought about by the colonised rediscovering themselves.

At the time of writing this dissertation, Fanon's work was still banned in South Africa. The reasons, from the South African authorities' point of view, are not difficult to see, and can be summarised in three main points:

Firstly, the similarities between the former Algerian colony and contemporary South Africa: This refers to white "foreigners" in control over the black "indigenous" population. The methods of control include a firm hold by the police and military over the locals, who live in slum areas outside the white cities. All forms of protest or resistance are put down harshly by the authorities, which leads--inevitably--to deaths in detention, torture and the accidental deaths of innocent bystanders during riots and unrest. This, in turn, leads to the authorities setting up commissions of inquiry, which end up declaring the police not guilty. The book deals extensively with

mechanisms which the whites use to control the blacks, including institutionalised racism.

Secondly, Fanon does not write the book from the viewpoint of an objective observer, instead he sides completely with the colonised. Describing their oppression and suffering as if it were his, the book creates a black-white frame of reference from which every action is judged. Everything the whites do is evil, whereas the colonised can do no evil. Every action taken by the oppressed is morally justifiable.

Thirdly, the book broke new ground on the issue of violence. Not only is Fanon strongly in favour of violence against the regime, but violence becomes the cornerstone of Fanon's revolutionary approach. It is an absolute necessity for the oppressed to actively participate in some or other form of violence in order to become psychologically reborn. This can include the transportation of bombs and weapons or even the actual act of involving oneself in violent activity, such as killing an oppressor.

The Wretched of the Earth was important reading matter for study groups of SASO and helped the students to formulate significant ideas which form the cornerstone of black consciousness. Consequently, this chapter summarises some of Fanon's main ideas with reference to aspects of the driving force. Other aspects of Fanon's work are discussed in Chapter Nine.

6.2 Colonial Manicheism

The central theme in Fanon's work is the "Manichean world" (Fanon

1965, p. 33) which characterizes colonial life. In this Manichean caricature, everything that the colonised do to hasten their psychological and physical liberation is good. This social division between "the natives" and "the foreigners" helped black consciousness in South Africa to interpret the situation here as one between coloniser and colonised. This will be discussed in later chapters. However, it is not difficult to understand the similarities which SASO students saw between white suburbs and "the locations" on the one hand and the Algerian situation described by Fanon:

The settler's town is a strongly-built town, all made of stone and steel. It is a brightly-lit town; the streets are tarred and the refuse bins swallow all the left-overs...The settler's feet are never visible, except perhaps in the sea; but there you're never close enough to see them. His feet are protected by strong shoes although the streets of his town are clean and even, with no holes or stones. The settler's town is always a well-fed town...its belly is always full of good things. The settler's town is a town of white people, of foreigners.

The town belonging to the colonised people, or at least the native town, the negro village, the medina, the reservation, is a place of ill fame, peopled by men of evil repute...it is a world without spaciousness; men live on top of each other and their huts are built on top of the other. The native town is a hungry town, starved of bread, of meat, of

shoes, of coal, of light...it is a town wallowing in the mire. (Fanon 1965, p. 31).

These, then the two sides of Fanon's Manichean world. Not only are there stark contrasts between the two worlds, but for Fanon there is a physical dividing line "the frontiers are shown by barracks and police stations. In the colonies it is the policemen and the soldiers who are the official, instituted go-betweens, the spokesmen of the settler and his rule of oppression." (Fanon 1965, p. 31).

6.3 Psychological Consequences

Having analysed the outward appearances of the colonised state, Fanon's work moves to the next stage, which is the effect that the coloniser's measures have on the colonised's psychological well-being. Here again we find the significance of the colonised described as "damned", because not only are they economically and politically "damned", but psychologically as well. This is because blackness--the skin colour of the oppressed--comes to be associated with something wicked and animal-like. Consequently, the black man perceives so much hatred and hardship - because of his skin colour - that he begins to hate his blackness. Just as the proletariat became alienated from themselves in Marx's classical theory, so the black man becomes alienated from himself. The challenge with which he is now faced is how to escape from this psychological tension. And when he sees no way out for him, he becomes a despondent person. For every solution he sees, he discovers his blackness to be a stumbling block. He desires "white things and white institutions" (Wortham 1981, p. 109), but that is impossible--which only further increases his frustration,

bitterness and despair. And this psychological pain which is inflicted on the colonised, causes--what Fanon describes as--"a state of permanent tension" within the native.

When the native is confronted with the colonial order of things, he finds he is in a state of permanent tension. The settler's world is a hostile world, which spurns the native, but at the same time it is a world of which he is envious...not of becoming the settler, but of substituting himself as the settler. (Fanon 1965, p. 42).

Since the natives are in a permanent state of tension, they become psychologically affected. This is expressed in such maladies as depression, feelings of inferiority and dreams in which they wanted to become white or disappear. They begin to believe that they are "less human". The question which now arises is how to put an end to the situation. But before a solution can be offered, Fanon first analyses the coloniser's mechanism for perpetuating the colonised's oppression.

According to Fanon, the colonisers use a specific strategy to maintain their control over the country and its masses. This is racism. In the Fanonesque analysis racism is not a psychological aberration, but - just like Marx's views on religion - racism is an instrument used to keep the masses oppressed. But what are the features of this tool? It takes various forms: denigration of the African's values and traditions, attacking his way of life, and basically destroying his frame of reference. Consequently the colonised become easily

influenced, easily swayed. This results in the creation of a new value system; that is one of the superior-inferior mentality. The coloniser is always superior, better educated, more cultured and always "right", whereas the colonised are made to feel inferior, thus falling into the "racist trap". It now becomes easier for the colonisers to maintain their privileged position, forcing the indigenous population into a "permanent state of subjugation." But this state of tension has another goal as well. And that is the further weakening of the masses' revolutionary potential by causing the colonised to direct their frustration and aggression towards their own kind:

The colonised man will first manifest this aggressiveness which has been deposited in his bones against his own people...The native's muscular tension finds outlet regularly in bloodthirsty explosions -- in tribal warfare, in feuds between sects and in quarrels between individuals.
(Fanon 1965, pp 42-3)

6.4 Summary

This chapter has focused on aspects of the colonised as the driving force as they relate to black consciousness' application thereof. A deeper analysis on Fanon's mobilisation ideas will be dealt with in chapter nine. The next two chapters, however, will look at blacks as the driving force. Chapter seven will look at blacks from the perspective of the American Black Power movement, whereas chapter 8 will analyse the issue from a South African black consciousness perspective.

CHAPTER SEVEN: BLACKS AS THE DRIVING FORCE

you are rich because you are white, you are white because you are rich. (Fanon 1965, p. 32).

...if I can't live here, well, then neither will you. You couldn't have built it without me; this land is also mine; we'll share it, or we'll perish, and I don't care!. (James Baldwin: "A letter to Americans" in Wagstaff 1969, p. 123)

The truth is that Black ghettos are going to continue to blow up out of sheer frustration and rage...There comes a point beyond which people cannot be expected to endure prejudice, oppression, and deprivation, and they WILL explode. (Charles Hamilton: "An advocate of Black Power defines it" in Wagstaff 1969, pp125-6)

[Father]: Son, what do you want for Christmas?

[Child]: A machine-gun, shotgun, a box of hand grenades, a box of dynamite and a box of matches.

(Feaver: "Black Power" in Cranston 1970, p. 158).

Introduction

Three of the above quotations have been taken from American black power advocates, protesting the injustices of American society in the 1960s and early 1970s. The black American experience, then, is

particularly relevant to the South African situation, for various reasons. In the first place, the impact which the American black power movement and writers have had on the black consciousness movement in South Africa is immense. The analyses of Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, George Hamilton and Eldridge Cleaver, have had a great influence on the writings of Steve Biko. Furthermore, the analyses of some of the works of these authors were popular exercises at SASO leadership seminars.

Secondly, in both South Africa and the USA, one found similar grievances amongst the blacks: the whites made the rules and the blacks were discriminated against: in the southern USA, residential areas and amenities were segregated, under a "separate and equal" ruling. In practice this turned out to be "separate and unequal," giving rise to much dissatisfaction among blacks. In fact, certain of the black power exponents advocated the view that the situation of US blacks was "colonialist".

Looking back briefly at an analysis of the proletariat and the colonised as driving forces in their respective circumstances, one notices certain common characteristics. In the first place, the ostensibly revolutionary strata was being oppressed by a situation imposed without its consent. Secondly, Marx's proletariat and Fanon's colonised masses could be visually identified by their respective oppressors. In the case of the former, the shabby clothes of the worker would be in stark contrast to the elegance of the 19th century gentleman. In the case of the latter, the oppressed would be in Islamic dress (if female) or in relatively poor clothes, and would be

speaking Arabic.

Blacks, as the driving force, thus continue in this tradition:

- (i) They were brought to the US as slaves and after emancipation found themselves restricted by oppressive measures. They had no part in the implementation, neither did they have much power in bringing an end to the situation of injustice.

- (ii) They could easily be identified by the colour of their skin, making the perpetuation of their exploitation commonplace.

Chapter Seven discusses the blacks in the USA as a driving force from which black consciousness in South Africa managed to learn much.

7.2 Organisation of US blacks

The first major efforts to organise blacks within a revolutionary movement in the US came about with the formation of the American Communist Party after the First World War. Friedland (1982; p. 39) tells us that the communists (who were mainly white radicals) organised blacks as workers, as unemployed and through organisations struggling for "negro rights." However, this strategy of the communists did not prove very successful, one of the reasons being the manipulative nature of the Communist Party. In his work "Reluctant Reformers: Racism and Social Reform Movements in the United States" (1974) Allen says that Philip Randolph's Negro Rights movement was attacked by the communist "party for reasons which were diametrically opposite from one year to the next! Before the 1941

Nazi attack on the Soviet Union, Randolph's movement was vilified because it did not vigorously oppose the 'imperialist' foreign policy of the Roosevelt administration. After 1941 the party, now pro-war and loudly patriotic, accused Randolph and his movement of 'sabotaging' the war effort." (Allen quoted in Friedland 1982, p. 40).

But it wasn't until the initiative came from blacks themselves that the movements for black rights really gained momentum. The most influential "civil rights" organisations in the 1960s were made up of such movements as Dr Martin Luther King's "Southern Christian Leadership Conference" (SCLC). This organisation welcomed whites and worked in such a way as not to alienate white Americans. However, a new tendency arose within the civil rights movement. This new tendency called for "black power" and a rejection of white values. Whites had "not cared" for blacks, they claimed, so why should blacks not begin working in their own self-interest, it was argued? One such movement was the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee (SNCC) founded in 1966.

7.2.1 The Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee

The SNCC elected Stokely Carmichael as their chairman in 1966. The new chairman surprised whites by expelling them from the movement.

According to Wynn (1974, p. 176), Carmichael "was to the creation of the black power ideology and movement what Karl Marx was to the

creation of the Marxist ideology movement."

The Carmichaels grew up as the only black-skinned family in their neighbourhood. Stokely Carmichael attended a school where only 50 of the 2000 pupils were black. Here he tried very hard to mix with whites on a person to person basis, but while Carmichael was trying to forget his blackness, he was always being asked to represent the "Negro" point of view. According to Feaver (1970; p. 149), Carmichael came to experience a serious crisis of racial identity, and eventually stopped trying to integrate himself with white society.

Carmichael is best known for his political ideas set out in a book which he co-authored with Charles Hamilton, that is "Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America" (1967). The influences of Fanon's ideas on these and other Black Power exponents can clearly be seen in this work. The view was held that the position of black Americans to whites was a colonial one. The black ghettos were America's "internal colony."

Again we feel that the SNCC and the Civil rights movement in general is in many aspects similar to the anti-colonial situations in the African and Asian countries. We have the whites in the movement corresponding to the white civil servants and missionaries in the colonial countries who have worked with the colonial people for a long period of time and have developed a paternalistic attitude toward them...The broad masses of black people react to American

society in the same manner as colonial peoples react to the West in Africa, and Latin America, and have the same relationships - that of the colonised towards the coloniser. ("Who is the Real Villain - Uncle Tom or Simon Legree."(1966) and reproduced in Wagstaff 1969, pp 117-118).

The influence of Fanon's "Manichean World" in which everything the one race does is "good" while everything done by the others is "evil", can clearly be seen in the statements made by the SNCC.

In the books that children read, whites are always 'good' (good symbols are white), blacks are "evil" or seen as savages in the movies, their language is referred to as a 'dialect', and black people in this country are supposedly descended from savages.

Any white person who comes into the movement has these concepts in his mind about black people subconsciously. He cannot escape them because the whole society has geared his sub-conscious in that direction. (Wagstaff, 1969, p. 112).

The revolutionary potential thus found in black America is a consequence of black frustration at the situation resulting from white attitudes, laws and actions. Consequently, radical anti-white speeches and talk of violence was common in the emerging black power years. A 1967 SNCC leader, Brown, suggested that "The white man won't get off our backs, so we're going to knock him off. If it comes to the point that black people must have guns, we will have means and

ways to obtain those guns." (quoted in Feaver 1970, p. 147). Increasingly, the radical movements began speaking of the "real proletariat" and the "black proletariat":

The black power movement has been the catalysts for the bringing together of the real proletariat, ready to fight by any means necessary for the liberation of our people. (Carmichael, quoted in Feaver 1970, p. 154).

7.2.2 The Black Panther Party

But certainly the most radical of the American Black Power movements was the Black Panther Party, which was formed in 1966. It used Marxist phraseology and was committed to violent revolution. The BPP was so named after the black panther, which only attacks when driven into a corner or when attacked, but then it completely devours its enemy in retaliation. The Black Panthers felt that they had been trapped by the Establishment, by "racist America." And because the policeman was regarded as the official representative of the Establishment, policemen were seen to be the enemy of the black man.

The Black Panther Party had been formed by Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale. Seale first introduced Newton to Fanon's "The Wretched of the Earth" and Newton "eagerly seized upon it, as well as the works of Mao, Guevara and Malcolm X." (Feaver 1970, p. 159). However, the best-known Black Panther is Eldridge Cleaver, whose work "Soul on Ice" was one of the works read by some SASO students. Cleaver had also studied "The Wretched of the Earth" and described it as "the Bible" of

the black liberation movement in America. Of the work, he said:

What this book does is legitimize the revolutionary impulse to violence. It teaches colonial subjects that it is perfectly normal for them to want to rise up and cut off the heads of the slavemasters, that it is a way to achieve their manhood, and that they must oppose the oppressor in order to experience themselves as men. (Cleaver's "Psychology: The Black Bible" and quoted in Feaver 1970, p. 168).

The solution which most black power advocates saw was that blacks had to cut off from white society. Once separated, blacks would redefine their values and then enter the mainstream of American society, a proud and strong people. As one black power exponent said: "for the black in America the only solution is complete separation from the white man! (Malcolm X quoted in Wortham 1981, p. 173).

Malcolm X was a minister of Islam at the New York temple. The black muslims taught that white was evil and that black was good. They also believed that Christianity "and the remnants of slave mentality had kept the black man doped in subservience to whites, and that black men had to free themselves from Christianity and those remnants of slave mentality." (Wynn 1974, pp 134-135).

7.3 Summary

Social and political ideas from the USA became the subject of intense scrutiny by certain black groups in South Africa. Of great influence on the perceptions of the black consciousness students in South Africa was the relevance attached to the similarities between "oppressed US blacks" and blacks in South Africa. Particularly significant is

the terminological revolution in the use of the word "black". SASO used the term "non-white" as late as December 1969.

Having looked at three of the strata which have been described as possessing revolutionary potential, namely the proletariat, the colonised and blacks, the next chapter will see how black consciousness has borrowed from these three analyses in order to present a unique, South African interpretation.

CHAPTER EIGHT: SOUTH AFRICA'S BLACKS - THE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS PERSPECTIVE

We go about organising and mobilising the oppressed and exploited in this country and that determines our constituency, simply because we see that they are the section of the community which holds prospects for fundamental change in our country. (Mkhabela in an interview with the author)

8.1 Introduction

In the previous three chapters, various driving forces have been analysed. Marx explained how the proletariat would react to their intolerable circumstances and eventually come to power. Fanon showed how the colonised would be driven to violence in order to drive out the colonisers. Hamilton warned of continued black ghetto explosions, illustrating the latent revolutionary potential of American blacks.

The elements which led to revolutionary driving forces in the instances above, are all present in South Africa. This country has often been described as being on the road to a "full-scale revolution", "genocide", "bloodbath", etc. One group perceives itself as exploited and oppressed and will do anything in its power to bring the situation to an end. The problem has always been how? But before this can be answered, it is necessary to know who to organise.

Is the South African set-up a racial war, a class struggle, an ideological conflict, a nationalist struggle or a cultural one? Should the strategy be fought along a multi-racial proletarian programme; by a black proletariat; or by blacks in general? Should the black middle class and black capitalists be included? Should a multi-racial front be formed, irrespective of class? If class is a factor, what role should the peasants play?

This chapter will discuss the issue of the driving force from the perspective of black consciousness. However, as has already been pointed out, there are significant differences in emphasis in the style of the philosophy in the pre-and post-Biko eras.

Before Biko's position is analysed, it is necessary to recap the previous separatist philosophy which remained the only separatist approach until Biko opened a new path.

Being a branch of the separatist approach--as opposed to the ANC's multi-racial policy -- it was Anton Lembede who first formulated a clear separatist strategy. It was apparent to Lembede that the driving force for change would have to be the Africans. In fact, Lembede aimed to restore African unity through African pride. Unity could only be achieved if one knew one's enemy. A multi-racial approach would weaken the unity and disrupt the liberation strategy.

.... co-operation between Africans and other Non-Europeans on common problems and issues may be highly desirable. But this occasional co-operation can only

take place between Africans as a single unit and other non-Europeans as separate units..... Non-European unity is a fantastic dream which has no foundation in reality. (Lembede: "Policy of the Congress Youth League" in Karis & Carter, vol. 2, pp. 317 - 18).

An Africanist spokesman put the need for this anti-white anti-Coloured and anti-Indian approach in more perspective in 1958:

Even if we grant the sincerity of Whites, Indians and Coloureds, who want to collaborate with us. The fact remains that the only way in which white domination will every be broken, is by black force. When that day comes, if we have to stop and ask ourselves whether a particular white man was a friend of ours, in the past, then we will never be able to act. After it is all over, we will grant all those who accept African hegemony their full rights as private citizens of an African state (Gerthart 1978, p. 163).

By the time Biko entered Wentworth, this "fantastic dream" of which Lembede had spoken about two decades earlier, had - in fact - become a reality on the segregated campus. For the Africans, Coloureds, and Indians were thrown together as one unit. It soon emerged that these students had common aspirations and experiences, and that they were at Wentworth because they were not white. Consequently, the racial dividing line became more pronounced: you were either white or not white, you were either an "oppressor" or part of the "oppressed".

Because of this new situation which had developed, the students began rethinking ideological concepts which had been passed down by the Africanists. A new approach was needed, and fortunately for the students, they could look to Fanon's experiences and the Black Power Movement in the USA for guidelines.

Looking for an alternative to "Negro" and "Colored", the term "Black" became increasingly popular in the late 1960s among black American militants. The light-complexioned writer Malcolm X (Malek Shabazz) was idolised as a "black" hero, which proved to show that you didn't have to be very black to be "black". Increasingly, American radicals used the term "black" to differentiate between people - not on the colour of their skin as such - but by their degree of oppression. At SASO's July 1970 annual conference, with increasing Indian and coloured supporters, the student organisation formally amended its own constitution to substitute "black" for "non-white".

Henceforth, for SASO and the BPC, the driving force for change would be "the blacks". But a driving force for what change? From what and towards what? What are the problems involved? What strategy is to be followed?

Biko's position will now be analysed and consequently Biko will be quoted at length to do justice to his unique style of interpretation.

8.2 Biko's Analysis

Biko clearly identified the need to define the problem in new terms, developed by the people involved in the struggle. Biko spoke out

against an over-hasty attempt to offer "anti-apartheid solutions".

One needs to understand the basics before setting up a remedy. A number of the organisations now currently "fighting against apartheid", are looking on an over simplified premise. They have taken a brief look at what is and have diagnosed the problem incorrectly. They have almost completely forgotten about the side effects and have not even considered the root cause. Hence, whatever is improvised as a remedy, will hardly cure the condition. (Biko: "We Blacks")

Henceforth, the liberation struggle would involve Africans, coloureds and Indians. They would have to work as a combined "black unit". Since SASO students were redefining accepted concepts they were working on a new strategy, and looked at what the previous strategies were. "To get the right answers," Biko wrote, "we must ask the right questions, we have to find out what went wrong - where and when". (Biko 1978; p. 87).

The reason why Biko asks this question, is because he found certain "truths" inexplicable. How was it possible for a small minority of whites to remain in power over a vast majority of blacks? Why didn't blacks do something? Why have they tacitly accepted the situation? What have blacks achieved since the formation of the ANC in 1912? What has happened to the proud, fighting spirit displayed in the 18th and 19th centuries. In short, what is wrong with the black man?

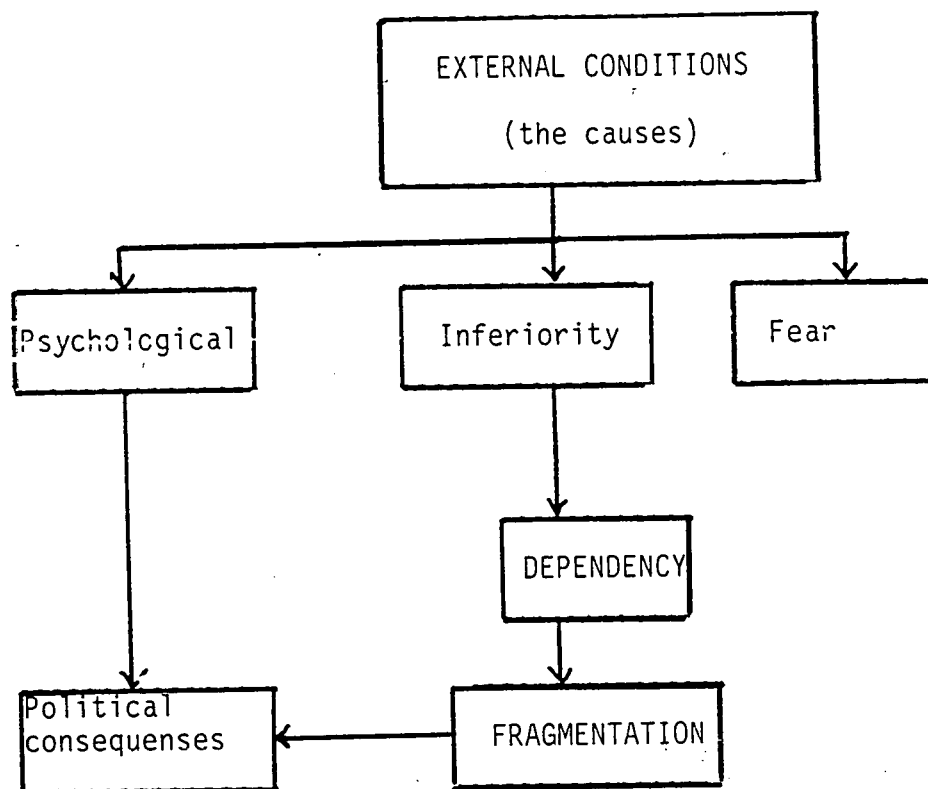
What makes the black man fail to tick? Is he convinced of his own accord of his inabilities? Does he lack in his genetic make-up that rare quality that makes a man willing to die for the realisation of his aspirations? Or is he simply a defeated person? The answer to this is not a clearcut one: but the type of black man we have today, has lost his manhood. Reduced to an obliging shell, he looks with awe at the white power structure and accepts what he regards as the "inevitable position"... All in all, the black man has become a shell, a shadow, of man, completely defeated, drowning in his own misery, a slave, an ox bearing the yoke of oppression with sheepish timidity

This is the first truth, bitter as it may seem, that we have to acknowledge before we can start on any programme designed to change the status quo. (Biko: "We Blacks")

Being the "first truth" on the psychology of the black man, the question arises as to why or how such a situation developed.

What had obstructed the blacks from carrying out their revolutionary potential to the full? What was holding the revolution back? Only by answering these questions, could a new strategy hope to be successful.

The explanation of the problem is a three-stage analysis. These stages may be referred to as: (i) the external conditions which lead to (ii) psychological and (iii) political consequences.



8.2.1 External conditions

This refers to the measures which Biko saw society subjecting the masses to. From Biko's many essays, it soon becomes clear what he considered to be the root of the black man's problems in this country. Biko described it as "the one force against which all of us are pitted" (Biko: "The definition of black consciousness"). That "force" is white racism. But according to Biko, there was more to racism than meets the eye. Biko repeats Fanon's view that racism is a clever mechanism which whites use to maintain control. Thus racism is the reason and excuse for the implementation of controls on the lives of blacks. Blacks are kept separate and treated differently, because they are described as "animal-like" "incapable", "dangerous",

"ignorant", etc. It is this racism which leads to the weakness and passive humility of blacks. The intentions of this "colonialist strategy" are exposed by their effects.

One of the most important aims of colonialist racism is the denigration of the indigenous population's culture, history and traditions. By denigrating this "base" it becomes easier to break down the natives psychologically. According to Biko, the missionaries were "in the forefront of the colonisation process" (Biko 1978; p 93). Consequently, Biko understands Christianity [as it manifested itself in South Africa] as a tool of the colonialists, to be used in the subjugation of the indigenous population.

It was the missionaries who confused us people with their new religion. By some strange logic, they argued that theirs was a scientific religion and ours was mere superstition in spite of the biological discrepancies so obvious in the basis of the religion. They further went on to preach the existence of Hell, scaring our fathers and mothers with stories about burning in eternal flames and gnashing of teeth and grinding of bone. This cold cruel religion was strange to us but our forefathers were sufficiently scared of the unknown impending anger to believe that it was worth a try. Down went our cultural values.

(Biko, "Some African Cultural Concepts", December 1971).

This paragraph is highly revealing of Biko's views on the type of Christianity propagated by the missionaries (and by implication - the colonialists).

The missionaries:

1. Confused the indigenous population;
2. Laid claim to a superior religion: (thereby laying the seeds for part of the inferiority complex which blacks would experience);
3. Scared the Africans with terrible stories; and
4. Consequently contributed to the decline of the African's cultural standards, and are therefore indirectly responsible for the "sickness of African society", which was first written about by Lembede.

How did the missionaries "contribute" to this moral decline? According to Biko, the Africans who had been exposed to Christianity were required to do away with African customs which were considered "paganistic." (This included the wearing of tribal clothes). Having accepted Christianity, they were required to wear clothing which was no longer "immoral". This enabled the easy distinction between the converted (amagqobhoka) and the pagans (amaqoba).

Stripped of the core of their being and estranged from each

other because of their differences, the African people became a playground for colonialists. It has always been the pattern throughout history that whosoever brings the new order, knows it best and is therefore the perpetual teacher of those to whom the new order is being brought ... The acceptance of the colonialist-tinted version of Christianity marked the turning point in the resistance of African people" (Biko, 1978; p 56).

Biko extrapolates the church's colonialist origins to its contemporary obstructive nature. And since the church's message is, therefore, essentially colonialist-centered, it can not offer the Africans any guidance. On the contrary, the Church had become a colonialist institution, actually aiding the process of creating an inferior sense of being within the Africans. To put it in Biko's own words: "... if Christianity in its introduction was corrupted by the inclusion of aspects which made it the ideal religion for the colonisation of people, nowadays in its interpretation it is the ideal religion for the maintenance of the subjugation of the same people" (op. cit.).

Biko goes on to spell out how Christianity's colonialist interpretation further demoralises the black man's spirit:

... in a country where father and son, mother and daughter alike develop daily into neurotics through sheer inability to relate the present to the future, because of a completely engulfing sense of destitution, the Church further adds to their insecurity by its inward-directed definition of the

concept of sin and its encouragement of the "mea culpa" attitude.

Stern-faced ministers stand on pulpits every Sunday to heap loads of blame on black people in townships for their thieving, house-breaking, stabbing, murdering, adultery, etc. No-one ever attempts to relate all these vices to poverty, unemployment, overcrowding, lack of schooling and migratory labour ... our Churches through our ministers see all these vices ... not as manifestations of the cruelty and injustice which we are subjected to by the white man but inevitable proof that after all the white man was right when he described us as savages. (Biko 1978; pp 56-7)

Another aspect of this "strategy" was the use of education to perpetuate this subjugation. The white colonialists aimed to teach the natives just enough to keep them "ignorant". Thus while whites were receiving a better education than blacks, they both had to compete for the same jobs. In conversation with whites, blacks would immediately feel disadvantaged. But instead of trying to lay the blame for the problem at the door of "bantu education" the black man blames himself. Another aspect of this "educational strategy" was the attempt to create a sense of inferiority in the black man by painting a degraded picture of the black man's history. Biko quotes Fanon on this issue:

Colonialism is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the Native's brain of all form and content, by a kind of perverted logic, it turns to the past

of the oppressed people and distorts, disfigures and destroys it. (Fanon quoted in "White Racism and Black consciousness" 1971).

Extrapolating Fanon's views on the South African situation, Biko wrote that the black man is made to feel ashamed of his traditions. This reinforces a sense of inferiority which plays directly into the hands of the whites. The whites are also responsible, according to Biko, for creating a major disruption in the African tradition of respect for one's elders.

..... how can one prevent the loss of respect of child for father when the child is effectively taught by his know-all white tutor to disregard his family's teachings: How can an African avoid losing respect for his tradition when in school, his whole cultural background is summed up in one word: "Barbarism?" (Biko: "White racism and black consciousness", 1971)

8.2.2 Psychological consequences

The main effects which Biko observed are psychological: alienation and a deep sense of inferiority.

..... the black man in himself has developed a certain state of alienation, he rejects himself, precisely because he attaches the meaning to all that is good, in other words he associates good and equates good with white. This arises

out of his living and it arises out of his development from childhood.

When you go to school for instance, your school is not the same as the white school, and ipso facto the conclusion you reach is that the education you get there cannot be the same as what the white kids get at school. Now this is part of the roots of self-negation which our kids get even as they grow up. The homes are different, the streets are different, the lighting is different, so you tend to begin to feel that there is something incomplete in your humanity, and that completeness goes with whiteness. This is carried through to adulthood when the black man has got to live and work. (Biko 1978, p. 105)

The same sense of inferiority is experienced because of the "education strategy". Biko explains it as follows:

English is a second language to you; you have probably been taught in a vernacular especially during these days of Bantu education up to standard 6; you grapple with the language to JC and matric, and before you conquer it, you must apply it ... at university. As a result, you never quite catch everything that is in a book; ... you understand the paragraph but you are not quite adept at reproducing an argument that was in a particular book. This makes you less

articulate as a black man generally, and this makes you more inward-looking...(Biko 1978, p. 107).

This "inward-looking" experience, forces blacks to find the reason for the lack of ability to express themselves in an articulate way within themselves. They begin to believe that they are genetically inferior. This intensifies at university level where, in multi-racial classes, blacks find themselves "forced into a subservient role of having to say yes to what they (the white students) are saying ... This in a sense inculcates also in numerous students—a sense of inadequacy. You tend to think that it is not just a matter of language, you tend to tie it up also with intelligence in a sense, you tend to feel that that guy is better equipped than you mentally".
(Biko 1978, p. 107)

Another consequence of the "colonialist power structure" was the policy "if you cannot make a man respect you, then make him fear you"
(Biko 1978, p. 76).

It is fear that erodes the soul of black people in South Africa - a fear obviously built up deliberately by the system through a myriad of civil agents, be they post office attendants, police, city officials, army men in uniform, security police or even the occasional trigger-happy white farmer or store owner. It is a fear so basic in the considered actions of black people as to make it impossible

for them to behave like people - let alone free people (op. cit.).

Being gripped by fear (because of the "system") was further exacerbated by the physical insecurity of township life. Biko said that the security situation "helps to build up the sense of insecurity which is part of a feeling of incompleteness; you are not a complete human being; you cannot walk out when you like ... it is an imprisoning concept itself". (Biko: 1978, p. 111)

8.2.3 Political consequences

The major effect of this "strategy" was the political consequences which it created. The first of these effects was the dependency which it created in blacks.

Having been taught that Western culture and civilisation are superior to the indignous one, and that the indignous culture is "barbaric" and something to be ashamed of, blacks have tended to reject their values, continually trying to emulate "white culture". The consequence of this is that whites are always elevated to a leadership position, whereas blacks will have to follow. Whites have always had the last word in such areas as the English language, maths, science, agricultural methods, religion, philosophy, finance, fashion, etc.,etc. In all these and other fields, blacks are entering a pre-determined value system. "Right" and "wrong" are defined in terms of white culture and white values.

Let us take the definition of "beauty", for example, the way that

African women make themselves up:

They use lightening creams, they use straightening devices for their hair and so on. They believe that their natural state, which is a black state, is not synonymous with beauty and beauty can only be approximated by them if the skin was made as light as possible and the lips are made as red as possible, and their nails are made as pink as possible ... (Biko 1978, p. 104).

Clearly then, blacks have been induced to follow white advice and white guidelines. The problem which develops here, when one comes to issues of politics, is that blacks seek political advice from white liberals. Strategies to counter apartheid are based on white perceptions of the problem. And white perceptions and strategies are totally useless, because in the end, the white liberals only want what is good for themselves. Liberal whites want a multi-party, capitalist democracy. Furthermore, this must be achieved through peaceful, evolutionary means. Who says blacks want a liberal Western democracy? Who says they are in favour of evolutionary means? This is what liberals want, but is it what blacks desire?

The limitations that have accompanied the involvement of liberals in the black man's struggle have been mostly responsible for the arrest of progress. Because of their inferiority complex, blacks have tended to listen seriously to what the liberals had to say with their characteristic

arrogance of assuming a "monopoly on intelligence and moral judgement" these self-appointed trustees of black interests have gone on to set the pattern and pace for the realisation of the black man's aspirations. (Biko: "White racism and black consciousness")

The end result of this development is black fragmentation, because liberals advise fighting within the system. Blacks thus become split on the following questions: do you use the structure created or do you reject the structures totally? Do you use peaceful or violent means? Blacks are fragmented not only by apartheid's "divide and rule" philosophy, according to Biko, but by the confusion spread by liberal strategies. Too many blacks were still trusting liberals. Biko found that situation lamentable. In fact, homeland leaders, according to Biko, "are subconsciously siding and abetting in the total subjugation of the black people of this country. By making the kind of militant noise they are now making, they have managed to confuse the blacks sufficiently to believe that something great is about to happen" (Biko: "Let's talk about Bantustans").

Those, then, were the issues concerning the question on "what are the factors obstructing blacks as the driving force?"

8.3 The Post-Biko Era

After Biko's death, the black consciousness movement no longer had the father of the philosophy at hand to advise them on the best approach

in an ever-changing environment. One such development was the liberalisation of the labour laws which made it possible, after 1979, to legally form independent trade unions and to strike. This brought the whole issue of capital, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat to the fore again.

The emphasis now focused on the black worker. The available analysis from Biko's writings had stressed the point that Marx's classical analysis could not be applied to the South African situation. The most reactionary strata in white society is the white Afrikaans, working class. Biko wrote that this class actually had an interest in maintaining the status quo. To the liberals and leftists advising a joint proletarian struggle, Biko wrote: "Let them go to Van Tonder in the Free State and tell him this". (Biko 1978; p. 89).

The basis had thus been laid for defining class in terms of race.

8.3.1 The Black Proletariat

The black working class inspired by revolutionary consciousness is the driving force of our struggle...They alone can end the system as it stands today, because they alone have nothing at all to lose. They have a world to gain in a democratic, anti-racist and socialist Azania. (Azanian People's Manifesto).

In September 1979, the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) was inaugurated by an Interim Committee formed the previous year. The change in emphasis to the black workers was immediately recognisable in the preamble to the organisation's constitution:

..... recognising that black workers particularly are responsible for creating the wealth of our country

..... (that) workers are subjected to the most inhuman and ruthless laws

..... that the oppressive system in its efforts to render the worker powerless.....

and whereas the worker is more determined to see freedom and justice, and desirous of occupying his rightful place in the land of his birth

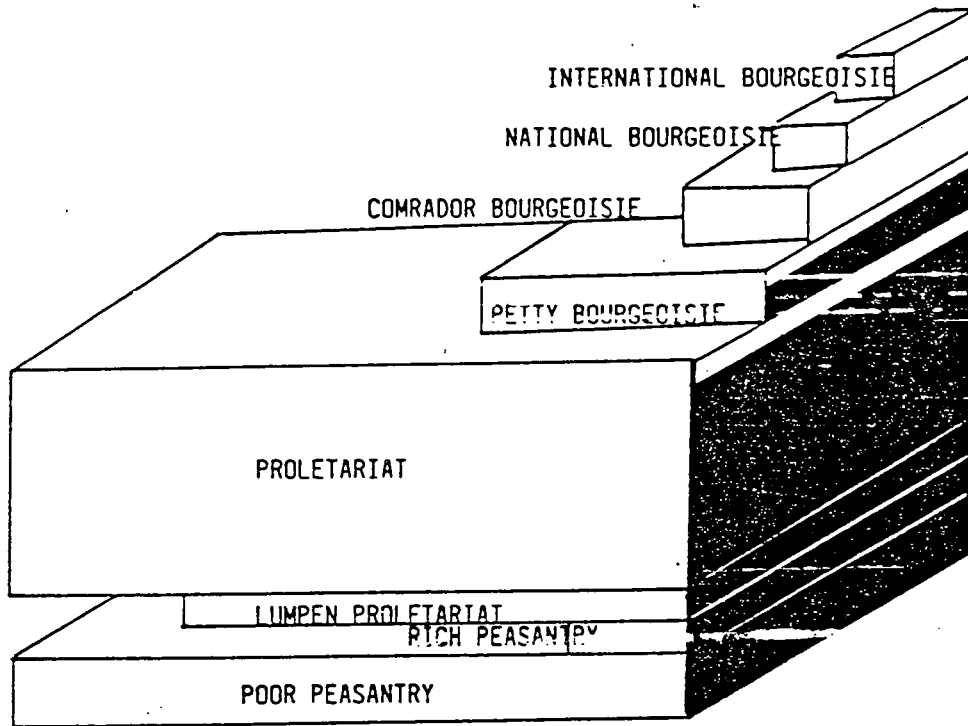
And further believing that black consciousness be developed and maintained as a true philosophy for workers

(AZAPO: Constitution and Policy).

This introduces the whole concept of capitalism and the proletariat. But more specifically, black consciousness speaks of the "black proletariat".

Azapo's class analysis of the South African situation takes the form

of eight classes. Three of which exist only in the white strata; three only in the black strata and two present in both strata:



By the "international bourgeoisie" is meant the owners of the big multi-national companies, whose massive investments in various countries can influence political and economic issues. In the South African context, those foreign companies' investments are seen to be "aiding apartheid". The "national bourgeoisie" refers to South Africa's big national companies as well as those people who are ostensibly holding the real reins of power. The class which does not own the companies, but does the managing, is the "comprador bourgeoisie". These three classes consist almost exclusively of whites, who are described as "reactionary". The few blacks who find themselves in the comprador and national bourgeoisie, are described as being "frustrated" because of apartheid restrictions.

The petty bourgeoisie is the first of two classes found in both strata. It is often referred to as "the middle class", comprising professionals and students. In classical Marxist analysis this class is not considered revolutionary. This Marxist view holds true for the whites, in that it is considered in their interest to maintain the existing power structure. The same cannot be said of the black petty bourgeoisie. Contrary to the classical view, the leadership in the liberation movements comes largely from this class.

The ANC's leadership from 1950 - 1960 had several doctors and lawyers, including Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo. The position in the 1980's is a similar one, with many of the leadership posts in Inkatha, AZAPO, the UDF, and the main trade union federations held by university graduates, notably in such fields as journalism, theology, medicine and law.

"The Proletariat" falls under the same racial divisions as the previous class. Whereas this class is classically the most revolutionary, the South African experience shows that this holds true for the blacks only. It is, in fact within the white proletariat, that some of the most reactionary elements in South Africa society are found. The position of the black proletariat is similar to the position of the proletariat which Marx and Engels described in Industrial England. The similarities range from low wages and lack of social welfare, to high unemployment and poor housing conditions. This is the class which AZAPO publicity secretary, Imrann Moosa, described as the most "oppressed and exploited" group in South Africa. (Weekend Post, May 11, 1985). On issuing a joint statement

of their merger, the black consciousness-oriented Council of Unions of SA (CUSA) and the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (AZACTU), issued a policy document, stating that "the most oppressed and exploited will transform South Africa, armed with the principles of anti-capitalism, anti-imperialism, anti-racism and anti-sexism". The federation also stands for "worker control and black working-class leadership" (E.P. Herald, October 7, 1986).

Two months earlier, Pandeloni Nefolovhodwe, co-ordinator of the 80 000 member black consciousness AZACTU, said:

We believe that black workers are the vanguard of the struggle in South Africa. They alone can hope to bring about fundamental change in the country. But they will have to co-operate with revolutionary political and community organisations in order to do so.

(The Star, July 16, 1986)

The path followed by black consciousness to apply a South African version of Marxist analysis, was not a smooth one. Much time had been spent on the definition of terms. Is the struggle in South Africa a class struggle or a nationalistic one? Does one talk about "classes" or racial groups? These initial ideological problems were reflected at various conferences.

The last three classes in AZAPO's analysis, are found mostly among blacks. The lumpen proletariat consists of the people who refuse to work and make their living through crime. They are referred to as the tsotsis. Apart from the social stigma attached to them, AZAPO considers this class to always be ready to participate in the struggle, if need be. The major negative quality of this class is its lack of integrity.

The rich peasantry consists of those black farmers who produce a surplus and might even offer employment to others. This class is very small and because of the restrictions placed on it by apartheid, it can be relied upon by the liberation movements.

The poor peasants are described as those peasants who are only managing to survive. The class consists entirely of blacks in the rural areas. This class finds itself caught between the peasant and the proletariat because it is from this class that most of the migrant workers are drawn.

8.4 Summary

In reviewing this chapter, it becomes clear that the separatist tradition has moved its emphasis, for the driving force, from Africans in general, to blacks in general to the black proletariat. However, the general strategy of the strength of unity and united opposition holds true for all three. As far as the latter two are concerned, Biko's guidelines still remain the frame of reference, in terms of which the struggle is defined.

Having identified the driving force, the issue which black consciousness seeks to address is "what to do if people were so demoralised, divided and psychologically depleted that they simply did not have the will to be involved in a nationalist struggle for liberation?" (Ranugu 1982, pp 251 - 252). The answer to this question is the subject of Chapter Ten.

Part Three

REVOLUTIONARY MOBILISATION

Part III consists of two chapters, the first chapter discussing the theoretical and historical background to revolutionary mobilisation, whereas Chapter Ten analyses the approach of black consciousness to this vital issue.

Chapter Nine: A Theoretical and Historical Perspective

This chapter consists of a collection of the main elements found in various mobilisation strategies and has been compiled from the following main sources:

- * a selection of writings, speeches and programmes from the American black power movement;
- * various selections from Trotsky's strategies; and
- * an analysis of Fanon's other major work L'an V de la Révolution Algérienne (1959).

9.1 Introduction

By revolutionary mobilisation this dissertation refers to the strategies used to make the masses aware of their exploitation and oppression, and to direct these hostile energies towards undermining a bourgeois system in order to establish a socialist state. In reviewing the writings of Lenin, Mao, Guevara, and other revolutionary thinkers, one soon realises that mobilisation strategies vary from one situation to another, in the same way that practical and theoretical considerations of driving forces differed. Stokely Carmichael's mobilisation strategies would have been as ineffective in Tsarist Russia as Mao's strategies would be in contemporary America. The lesson we learn from this is that mobilisation strategies are bound by their historical and temporal contexts. Furthermore, the revolutionary energies fluctuate from time to time. If we look at South Africa, for example, we can identify various periods of hostile energy exploding

into the open: early 1960s, followed by a period of political tranquility; Soweto 1976, and then the present revolts, which started in 1983. Thus, there were periods of serious unrest followed by relative calm and limited disruption (e.g. strikes, boycotts, etc.) This reality, noticeable throughout the history of modern revolutionary mobilisation, is a drawback for revolutionaries, since they are already fighting an uphill battle to KEEP the masses "awake".

The point that has consistently been stressed throughout the preceding chapters is that there is very little that can be considered "automatic" in revolutionary transformations. Moving from an existing oppressive system to a political utopia requires much analysis and planning by revolutionaries. It is incumbent upon revolutionaries to address the central injustices affecting the masses and to propagate the possibilities for a better future, free from injustice. This is done in various ways.

9.2 ELEMENTS OF REVOLUTIONARY MOBILISATION

9.2.1 A New Value System

In order for a mobilisation strategy to be effective, it is vital that a revolutionary does not have to be tied down to definitions of morality and legality, and values which are determined by the system. In fact, the very essence of being a revolutionary is that you totally reject the accepted norms in society. A revolutionary is nothing more than an opposition parliamentarian if he has to challenge the political order within an existing framework. The Sikhs showed their displeasure at the Indian Government's handling of Sikh grievances by assassinating Mrs Indira Ghandi; and Spain's Basque separatists; France's Action Directe; Belgium's Fighting Communist Cells; Italy's Red Brigade, Greece's "November 17"; Northern Ireland's IRA; Palestine's Arafat and Abu Nidal factions; Turkey's Armenian Revolutionary Army; Lebanon's fighting militias; Bolivia's "Shining Path"; Japan's revolutionary anarchists; the Philippines' communist New People's Army (now fighting the democratically-elected Aquino government), and the ANC and SWAPO, have all redefined the system's definitions of morality, in order to make their respective causes "just". As Fanon said: "good is quite simply that which is evil for 'them'" (1965; p. 40).

Morality is thus judged in terms of its relevance to the attainment of the desired goal.

The great debate on the issue of "whose morality?" seems to have

centered on the question of whether violence, as a strategy, is to be followed or not. Judging morality from the perspective of the South African state, we see that Inkatha, the UDF and AZAPO are tolerated, whereas the PAC and ANC are not. A similar situation applies to all the countries listed above: in France, Italy and Greece, for example, working for a revolutionary transformation through the Communist party is legal, whereas using the methods of Action Directe or the Red Brigade is not. And whereas Lenin still defined morality in "bourgeois" terms when he said: "It is necessary...systematically to combine legal with illegal work, legal with illegal organisation." (Ebenstein 1969, p. 754), Trotsky defined the only "permissible and obligatory" means as those "which unite the revolutionary proletariat, fill their hearts with irreconcilable hostility to oppression, teach them contempt for official morality and its democratic echoers..." (Trotsky: Their Morals and Ours in Friedland 1982, pp. 138-139).

This redefinition of values and morality in a revolutionary context is highlighted in Fanon's work L'An V de la Révolution Algérienne. Fanon devotes most of the book to an analysis of the symbolism which the Veil has for Muslim society. He shows how the Algerian women became a "new person", free from psychological liberation. This "evidence" helped Fanon to vindicate the theory of the cathartic effects of participating in revolutionary action.

According to Fanon, the colonisers launched a massive psychological onslaught on the Algerian woman in the belief that by winning over the women, the rest will follow.

..... pictured as humiliated, sequestered, cloistered ... It described the immense possibilities of women ... transformed by the Algerian man into an avert, demonetised, indeed dehumanised object. The behaviour of the Algerian was very firmly denounced ... as medieval and barbaric .. Algerian women were invited to play a "functional, capital role" in the transformation of their lot ... In the colonialist programme, it was the woman who was given the historic mission of shaking the Algerian men.

(Fanon's L'An V de la Révolution Algérienne (1959) with an edited version in Kaplan (ed.) 1973, pp. 434-5)

Fanon described the various phases through which Algerian society progressed. Initially the veil was worn because tradition demanded a rigid separation of the sexes and because the colonised wanted the veil removed. This only reinforced its prevalence, making the veil a major symbol of resistance. But then the next phase was entered, which began to recognise the important role which the Algerian women can play in the revolutionary struggle. Hence, the women removed the veil and began to appear Westernised. Unknown to the colonised, these ostensibly modern women, were transporting messages and weapons.

When this became widely known, every European and Algerian carrying a parcel was stopped and searched. Hence, the women reverted to wearing the veil again, carrying "a bomb, or a sack of grenades, bound to her body by a whole system of strings and straps. For the hands must be free ... showing empty and apparently mobile and free hands is the sign that disarms the enemy soldier" (Fanon, op cit. p 457). Thus, the Algerian women reverted to the veil by choice. "By engaging in violence, she has become fully human" (Cranston 1970, p. 127).

Thus, according to Fanon, violence is not only morally acceptable, but participating in it should actually be encouraged, because it makes a person more human. Being "more human" allows one to see life more clearly. Consequently, the coloniser's tactics became transparent and backfired. The colonised no longer permit themselves to become psychologically intimidated. A typical example of psychological strength is illustrated in the following piece by Fanon:

To the saying "all natives are the same"
the colonised person replies "All
settlers are the same".

When the native is tortured, when his wife is killed or raped, he complains to no-one. The oppressor's government can set up commissions of inquiry ... if he wants to; in the eyes of the native, these commissions do not exist .. the native has always known that he need

expect nothing from the other side .. on the logical plan, the Manicheism of the settler produces a Manicheism of the native. To the theory of the "absolute evil of the native" the theory of the "absolute evil of the settler" replies. (Fanon 1965, pp 71-2)

9.2.2 Raising consciousness

Various elements of revolutionary mobilisation, which can be deduced from previous strategies include the need to raise the consciousness of the masses. A highly revolutionary mass can only be obtained if the oppressed are aware that they are being exploited and by whom this exploitation is being orchestrated. The reason for the exploitation, as seen by the revolutionaries, also needs to be understood and accepted by the people. The revolutionaries will explain the injustices in such a way that the masses believe that the maintenance of the status quo is dependent on their continued exploitation. Furthermore, the raising of consciousness helps to unite people by making them aware of a "them" and an "us". "We" are being exploited

by "them", and "our" freedom depends on the termination of "their oppression " of "us".

As an Afro-American I am rejected and discriminated against. We are the most excluded, the most discriminated-against group in the United States; the most discriminated-against class. So it is only normal that I direct most of my energy toward the liberation of my people, who are the most oppressed class.

(Williams: "Every Freedom Movement is Labelled Communist" in Wagstaff 1969, p. 107).

9.2.3 Increasing participation

Another element in revolutionary mobilisation is the need to increase the number of people participating in the struggle. The more members a revolutionary organisation has, the more influential it becomes. However, it is not enough simply to get new members. What a movement has to do is get people involved in deciding policy, drawing up pamphlets, organising and arranging meetings. "Unless there is increased participation in the determination of policy - in the analysis of events and the planning of revolutionary strategies - mobilisation degenerates into simple manipulative techniques that give participants a false sense of their involvement" (Friedland 1982; p 127). This process also helps to bridge the gap between the revolutionaries and the people who are being made conscious of the

situation. This bridge-building strategy is one of the revolutionaries' most important functions. The more the masses participate and spread the revolutionary ideas the easier the work of the revolutionary becomes. To facilitate this aim, revolutionary organisations have public meetings, congresses and publications (from pamphlets and general newsletters to intellectual journals - in which the intelligentsia analyse issues of strategy and policy).

Why is it that a movement which initially starts out as a "liberation movement" and talks about "freedom", "democracy" and "justice" at the beginning of the struggle, often fails to explain to the masses that the future state will be a one-party Marxist-Leninist one, with collective farms and no "bourgeois trade unions"? An apologist for self-proclaimed Marxist-Leninist governments such as Ethiopia, Angola and Mozambique, the Soviet author K.N. Brutents, says that the liberation movements were not clear in what they wanted:

"The fact that many revolutionary democratic parties did not advance socialist slogans at the beginning of the struggle," he writes, can be attributed to "an attempt to provide a theoretical foundation for their own activity". (Brutents 1977, vol. 2, p. 24). Such a view is rejected by the Ethiopian exile, Dr. Aradom Tedla. Speaking of the Ethiopian experience in Cape Town in May 1986, he said that the present revolutionary government in power had "deceived" the masses. The liberation movement had swept up the students and other petty-bourgeois elements to work for "democracy" in Ethiopia. Tedla said that the movement never used the terms "Marxist-Leninist", "communist" or even "socialist", until victory seemed inevitable. In fact, in December 1974, the new revolutionary government had declared that they were "not Marxist-Leninist". This, Tedla said, had merely been an

attempt to consolidate it's actions. In 1984 the revolutionary regime declared Ethiopia a one-party, Marxist-Leninist state. (Africa Insight, Vol 15, no. 3).

The attitude of a liberation movement towards religion has also become a crucial factor in recent revolutionary struggles. If Marxism-Leninism is fully embraced, it would mean a commitment to atheism. However, this would alienate a large section of the "oppressed", without whom the revolutionary struggle could not be taken to its logical conclusion. As a consequence, religion needs to be adapted to fit in with the struggle. Christian principles of "love", "peace", "conciliation" and "spiritual nourishment" are played down or ignored. Instead God is seen to be a force fighting for the right of the oppressed. God has, thus, taken sides; He has chosen the poor and oppressed. In fact, if liberation theology had not been developed, liberation movements would have had to reject religion as "the opium of the masses". However, with the refinement of liberation theology, its use has been noted very strongly in central America, Africa, Asia and the Middle East. Examples of movements whose strategies have been inseparable from religion, include the National Front of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, the Congolese Workers' Party, the Democratic Party of Guinea, the Sudanese Union of Mali, the left Baathists of Syria, the Burma Socialist Programme Party, the Muslim forces in Iran, Lybia and Lebanon, the Roman Catholic affiliated liberation movements in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Chile; and various African movements. Nkrumah, for example, called himself a Marxist and a Christian at the same time, saying he saw "no contradiction between the two" (Brutents 1977, Vol. 2, p. 26). Oliver Tambo has also on numerous occasions, described himself as a "committed Christian". As leader of the ANC, should one then deduce that the Pretoria and

Amanzimtoti bomb explosions are part of a struggle for Christian justice? The Soviet view on the use of religion in liberation strategies, is summed up by Brutents:

.... many of the religious principles in revolutionary democracy, and especially in its radical wing, are dictated principally by the effort to secure the broadest possible support, to wrest this dangerous weapon from the hands of reaction ...(Brutents 1977, vol. 2, p. 28)

9.2.2.1 Slogans & Programmes

There are various means of raising consciousness; one of the most important being the use slogans and the popularisation of programmes. With regard to the former, Lenin's slogan "Land, Bread, Peace" was very effective in that it managed to consolidate the three main revolutionary strata: land for the peasants, bread for the proletariat, and peace for the soldiers. In the American context, the cry "Black Power" became a very effective slogan in the 1960s and early 1970s.

The only way we gonna stop them white men
from whuppin' us is to take over. We

been saying freedom..and we ain't got nothin'. What we gonna start saying now is BLACK POWER. (Carmichael in Cranston (ed) 1970, p. 41).

We see that the effectiveness in slogans lies in their ability to be easily remembered. This enables many people to quickly learn using them. An effective slogan also has immediate contextual significance. We need only think of "Amandla!", "Apartheid divides, UDF unites," "Bullets won't stop us," and "Viva Mandela" in the South African context. Regarding programmes, Trotsky's contribution to mobilisation theory is noted in his strategy of "transitional demands.":

It is necessary to help the masses in the process of daily struggle to find a bridge between present demands and the socialist programmes of revolution. The bridge should include a system of transitional demands, stemming from today's conditions and from today's consciousness of wide layers of the working class and unalterably leading to one final conclusion: the conquest of power by the proletariat. (Trotsky: "The Spanish Revolution", quoted in Friedland 1982, p. 118).

A good example of this strategy of transitional demands, can be seen

from the official ten-point Party Programme of the Black Panther Party, drawn up in October 1966:

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destination of our Black Community.
2. We want full employment for our people.
3. We want an end to the robbery by the CAPITALIST of our Black Community.
4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.
5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.
6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.
7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.
8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal state, county and city prisons and jails.
9. We want all black people when brought to jail, to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, defined by the constitution of the United States.
10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing justice and peace. And our major political object, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony, in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.
(Reproduced in Cranston 1970, pp. 160 - 161)

Objectives which have immediate contextual meaning include: "freedom", "full employment", "decent housing", "education", "exemption from military service", "end to police brutality", "release

of prisoners", etc. These messages aim to attract responsiveness and support from the masses. Having identified with these demands, the readers are exposed to more deep-rooted assertions. The programme links these demands to an end to capitalist "robbery"; a restructuring of the American legal system and the attainment of "power". By the time the reader gets to point ten he is immediately confronted with a further list of demands - "land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice, peace" - all of which he whole-heartedly supports. This is immediately followed by the main intention of the B.P.P.: that is the possibility to mobilise for an independent black state. The programme also does not pass beyond the "transitional" issues: Where will this state be situated; how socialist will its economy be; what type of political system will it have; how viable is such a state? etc. etc. It can clearly be seen that this is not the aim of publicising the programme. The masses will not be mobilised around issues of propability and workability. The masses are not attracted by theoretical and constitutional philosophising. The masses will only pay attention when they hear things which have a direct bearing on their daily lives. Thus, if a movement demands "land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace", it is assumed that these demands will be met if the movements political goals are met. When the programme then says: "And our major political objective is", one is assured of at least a sympathetic attitude.

The above programme is also a good example of trying to draw a clear distinction between the "oppressors" and the "oppressed". It begins each point with "we want ...", a term expressing separateness as well

as deprivation. Frequent use is made of terms which enhance the idea of a common mass, sharing a common tragedy and destiny: "our Black Community", "our people", "our true history" "our role". The programme also conveys a sentiment of a people suffering extreme injustice; point four, for example, implies that the existing conditions were unfit for humans. Notice, too, how the programme puts "CAPITALIST" in bold letters, as it does "POLICE BRUTALITY" and "MURDER". And, as with the rest of this programme, the replacement of capitalism and the new economic system which will follow, is not mentioned, since it will only "confuse" the masses.

Thus, demands are made that reinforce a group's revolutionary consciousness and at the same time accentuate the "them" and "us" mentality. According to Trotsky, these demands should have immediate relevance, and they would serve as a transitional phase towards the ultimate goal of a socialist transformation. The general idea behind this approach is not to confuse the people with demands with which the masses cannot immediately identify, since they do not have the knowledge of what the full implications of certain policies would be. Counter-revolutionary forces maintain that this approach is a clever mechanism, designed to mislead the masses. The masses, it is contended, are not given the full story. If we examine this within the South African context, we find conflicting charges on such issues as the "Freedom Charter" and, say, disinvestment and economic sanctions. If we take the disinvestment issue, we find certain circles arguing that it is "the last peaceful means" for bringing about change. Critics of this view argue as follows: disinvestment means more unemployment, more poverty and more frustration. This

makes the situation more tense which creates possibilities for more unrest, deaths, funerals and increased politicisation and polarisation; the ingredients for large-scale revolts. However, the activists maintain that disinvestment will lead to the downfall of apartheid. Thus "if you are against apartheid, you support disinvestment." It is further alleged that blacks have already "suffered so much", that disinvestment and sanctions can do very little more harm to blacks. "The masses want sanctions" is the cry of the activists. However, the misleading strength of the disinvestment calls is exposed by two opinion polls which asked the black man in the street whether he would be prepared to lose his job if there were a chance that it would bring about an end to apartheid. Two polls were conducted: one by Prof. Lawrence Schlemmer (1984), then of Natal University, and Mark Orkin (1985) of the Community Agency for Social Enquiry. The results have been tabulated as follows:

	ORKIN	SCHLEMMER
Pro-investment	26%	75%
Conditionally pro-investment	49%	
Anti-investment	24%	25%
Don't know.	1%	-

(Louw & Kendall 1986, pp 228-231)

The cry should thus be "the masses don't want apartheid, but they don't want disinvestment either." However, that is not a revolutionary cry, which means it wouldn't work for the activists. Truth, is thus one of the first casualties in a mobilisation strategy. As Fanon said: "Truth is that which hurries the break-up of the colonialist regime, it is that which protects the natives, and ruins

the foreigners. In this colonialist context, there is no truthful behaviour." (Fanon 1965, p. 40)

9.2.2.2 Study Groups

On the purpose of study groups, Friedland (1982; pp 133 - 176) has distinguished between the significance of the discussions and differences between the Old Left and the New Left. According to Friedland, the New Leftists "were much more concerned about learning environments and the size of the organisation than were the older generation ... the study groups were not considered intermediate organisations in which people learned and were tested. Rather, those groups were intended to provide education and a linkage to action". This trend has been noticed in many developing countries. The few people who had received an education, found themselves becoming only more curious. This forced them to seek out the banned political writings which "had the solutions". Having discovered the "way out", they realised that in order to transform the system, the masses would have to become involved. The onus now lay on those who "knew the way" to spread the knowledge.

9.3 Summary

This chapter has reflected on some of the main elements of any strategy of revolutionary mobilisation.

Its main emphasis has been on the need for the educational elite to educate the masses and to get them involved in the revolutionary struggle.

A central tenant of revolutionary mobilisation is the creation of a new value system, in which "right" and "wrong" are judged in terms of the oppressed's aspirations.

The following chapter will analyse the mobilisation message prevalent in the black consciousness philosophy.

CHAPTER TEN: BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS: REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY

We believe it is the duty of the vanguard political movement which brings change to educate people's outlook ... They've got many things to learn. All these must be brought to them and explained to the people by the vanguard movement which is leading the revolution.

(Biko: "Our strategy for Liberation")

We wish to warn that there is no "right moment" in a revolutionary struggle: every moment is the right moment for something. (Frank Talk, July/Aug 1984)

10.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter some of the main features found in a strategy of mobilising the masses towards the overthrow of an existing order and the creation of a new one, were discussed.

In this chapter an analysis will be made of the approach of black consciousness towards the methods required to create a new social, political and economic order in South Africa. Chapter Ten may be divided into two broad sections, i.e., 10.2 and 10.4.

Section 10.2 will discuss the mobilisation strategy of black consciousness from Biko's perspective. This is done by quoting from some of Biko's many essays, as well as by making use of the memoirs of Aelred Stubbs.

Section 10.4 will present the position of black consciousness in the post-Biko era, when new labour legislation created new possibilities for mobilising the workers at the point of production.

This chapter presents the centre-piece of Biko's analyses. Faced with the reality that neither the PAC or the ANC had managed to overthrow the white government or had even so much as presented the masses with a realistic ray of light, Biko found himself developing a theory which, if widely implemented, would not only offer hope, but could lead to the establishment of a new social and political system in this part of the world. That, after all, was why Biko spent much of his time in various projects: to liberate the masses. How this could be achieved was the question which occupied top priority in Biko's mind.

Reading Fanon's Wretched of the Earth, definitely got Biko thinking of the extreme importance which the psychological perception of the masses had been playing in blocking the revolution, and what a vital weapon this was if it could be put to effective use in directing the masses.

The liberation of blacks from their counter-revolutionary perceptions would be the catalyst which could lead to a united black mass and

inevitable liberation.

In this chapter the strategy which Biko envisaged for "awakening the masses" and removing "the yoke of oppression" will thus be outlined.

Black consciousness aims to "open the eyes of the oppressed," since it considers that to be one of the main stumbling blocks to the creation of a new order in South Africa.

In keeping with the approach of this dissertation, the mobilisation messages of black consciousness will firstly be analysed from Biko's position, followed by the position of BC in the post-Biko era, where new labour legislation created new possibilities for mobilising at the point of production.

10.2 Biko's Strategy

The reader will recall that Biko had identified the issues of inferiority, alienation and fear as the main issues to be tackled. Three broad elements are prescribed as a means to hasten "the revolution". These will be discussed under the headings: psychological liberation, black unity and political liberation.

10.2.1 Psychological liberation

Blacks would never be able to determine their own destiny if they were not directly responsible for defining the issues involved in their situation. Where were they going to and what were the obstacles impeding them?

The first step was to make the black man throw off his feeling of weakness and inferiority; to restore to him the pride and dignity which he once possessed. The black man also had to realise that he was partly responsible for the situation in South Africa. If he had not given in to the whites, his position today might have been different. The moment the black man began to realise that the most powerful weapon which the coloniser had was the mind of the oppressed, the sooner he would be able to liberate himself. And the only way in which the black man's mind would no longer be the victim of colonialist strategy, would be when blacks began countering the psychological onslaught against them. Every aspect of the black experience which had negative connotations, had to be turned into powerful motivating forces. One could start with the colour black. Ridiculed, insulted and abused by the oppressor, the black man had to turn this concept into something very positive: "Say 'black is beautiful'. Say it out loud, repeat it and believe it". This same formula was used by Lembede in 1947, when he wrote: "we must believe that we are inferior to no other race on earth, we must develop race pride". (Gerhart 1978, p. 62)

Race pride could only come from a positive evaluation of one's language, culture and history. Everything the coloniser had done to destroy the black man's history, had to be clearly noted.

We have to rewrite our history and describe it in the heroes that formed the core of resistance to the white invaders.

More has to be revealed and stress has to be laid on the successful nation-building attempts by people like Shaka, Moshoeshoe and Hintsa. (Biko: "White racism and black consciousness").

Concerning culture, Biko wrote that the adoption of black theatre and drama was an important innovation which needed to be encouraged and developed. (How ironical that the depiction of the events surrounding Biko's death was to become a stage production played to many tens of thousands of people throughout South Africa). On the issue of the significance of culture, Fanon had also written that "to fight for national culture means in the first place to fight for the liberation of the nation". (Fanon 1965, p 187)

On the responsibility of the writer, Fanon had written.

The colonised man who writes for his people ought to use the past with the intention of opening the future, as an invitation to action and a basis for hope. But to ensure that hope and to give it form, he must take part in action and throw himself body and soul into the national struggle. (Fanon 1965, p 187)

Not only did Biko throw himself "body and soul" into the struggle but fully agreed with the need to link the past with events of the future.

The masses needed vision and direction
They needed to be given the hope that a better future was awaiting them. The most revolutionary driving force would be that mass of people which was the most motivated. And inspiration could only be really effectively created if the masses understood the struggle in concrete terms. One such example is that in Biko's view South Africa displayed all the characteristics of a colony. The whites were "foreigners" and "settlers", who were oppressing the indigenous population. On this type of analysis, Nolutshungu notes that

Black Consciousness signified an unwillingness on the part of the militants and their supporters to define themselves their grievances and their hopes in terms of the language and categories of the oppressor, which would mean doing battle on a field and with the weapons of their enemy's own devising.
(Nolutshungu 1982,
pp 151-2).

A clear example of a major philosophical and conceptual definition of terms is evident in Biko's rejection of "the white man's religion".

... the only path open for us now is to redefine the message in the bible and to make it relevant to the struggling masses. The bible must not be seen to preach that all authority is divinely instituted. It must rather preach that it is sin to allow oneself to be oppressed. The bible must continually be shown to have something to say to the black mass to keep him going in his long journey towards realisation of the self. This is the message implicit in "black theology" ... While basing itself on the Christian message, black theology seeks to show that Christianity is an adaptable religion that fits in with the cultural situation of the people to whom it is imparted. Black theology seeks to depict Jesus as a fighting God who saw the exchange of Roman money - the oppressors' courage - in his father's temple as so sacrilegious that it merited a violent reaction from Him - the Son of Man (Biko: "We Blacks").

{ Jesus is thus seen as having come to earth to liberate man from his state of oppression; He was a "freedom fighter", fighting for "equal rights". }

Having created a new series of values and interpretations, the black man could be psychologically released from the limitations of the white man's perceptions. For the black consciousness exponent, life takes on a far greater depth; blackness is no longer a constraint, but a symbol of hope; a source of pride. It is the realisation that liberation will come. With this realisation, the psychological voice of oppression is lifted and the black man becomes released from his inferiority and alienation.

The powerful effect of this message has found its way into many areas of the post-Biko black experience. The following two verses, for example, come from a praise-song sung at Desmond Tutu's enthronement as Archbishop of Cape Town (Versus 43 - 46).

But a black skin
Doesn't mean darkness
And a white skin
Doesn't mean brightness
(The New Nation, 11-24 Sept. 1986)

If the psychological problem has been overcome, half the battle is won. Psychological liberation was the first step to national liberation.

10.2.2 Black Unity

This forms the central feature of the grassroots strategy. Being psychologically prepared, blacks no longer need liberal whites to define black issues and fight black battles. "The presence of white liberals amongst us," wrote Biko, "is irksome and of nuisance value. It removes the focus of attention from essentials and shifts it to ill-defined philosophical concepts that are both irrelevant to the black man and merely a red herring accross the track. White liberals must leave blacks to take care of their own business while they concern themselves with the real evil in our society - white racism" (Biko: "Black souls in white skins"). This view co-incides precisely with the Black Power approach in the USA. See, for example, this 1966 SNCC Position Paper on Black Power:

Blacks, in fact, feel intimidated by the presence of whites, because of their knowledge of the power that whites have over their lives. One white person can come into a meeting of Black people and change the complexion of that meeting. People would immediately start talking about "brotherhood", "love", etc. race would not be discussed...

{ The reason that whites must be excluded is not that one is anti-white, but because the effort that one is trying to achieve, cannot succeed because whites have intimidating effect

.... White people who desire change in

this country, should go where the problem
(of racism) is most manifest.
(Wagstaff 1969, pp 112-13).

The central idea behind this "blacks only" approach is the concept of group power. Biko wrote about the role of the black group in terms of the struggle. It was agreed that the future society would be a racist-free one, but the means to that goal followed a dialectical method. The thesis, or status quo, was a strong white racism. The natural antithesis was, therefore, a strong black consolidation of power. The synthesis being a non-racial society. Critics of this dialectical approach point out that, if it were true, white racism would have to be opposed by an equally strong black racism. How can black consciousness then speak about "black unity" as antithesis? The answer lies, naturally in the approach to the issue. If you view the situation from a white concept, then - yes - it probably looks very racist. But, as explained earlier, BC does not share this view.

Further means to decrease black dependancy, were to initiate self-help programmes for blacks. Biko made significant strides in this area with the establishment of the B.C.P. (Black Community Programmes) in the Eastern Cape.

The BCP was the practical side of the black consciousness philosophy. Biko had managed to rent a disused church in the middle of King William's Town. The Centre also had a showroom where the public could buy the articles (e.g. clothing and leatherwork), made by the black

home industries, as well as a publishing section. In April 1975, the Zanempilo Community Health Clinic was established outside King William's Town. A fellow medical student, Dr. Mamphela Ramphele, was the centre's first practitioner at the institution. Aelred Stubbs wrote "It was, more than any other institution or project, the incarnate symbol of Black Consciousness, expressed in the black-designed, black-built buildings, but above all in the staff who serviced it, there was no need to shout the message in words. Only deeds can be heard by the poor and the oppressed. They came, they paid something if they could possibly afford it, they were properly examined, treated with dignity and respect as full human beings given the best medication available, hospitalised if necessary, taught how to feed and care for their newborn infants, given lessons in hygiene and diet, helped with family planning, and all this was done for them by their fellow blacks and not for personal gain but in a spirit of sacrificial devotion". (Stubbs 1978, p. 169).

Community Project. J

According to Stubbs, Biko "recognised the vital need to conscientise and thus politicise the masses by community development action" (op. cit., p. 181) and that the BCP and Zimele were just such means through which the black consciousness movement acquired grass-roots support in the area.

Biko also came to realise the significance of black economic power, if used for political advantage, as well as the many possibilities which could exist if blacks supported black businesses, "We must seriously examine the possibilities of establishing business co-operatives whose

Black Based Businesses

interests will be ploughed back into community development programmes because we have allowed it to be. Now that we know we are on our own, it is an absolute duty for us to fulfil these needs. (Biko 1978; p. 97).

Black unity had to be further enhanced by the elimination of points of friction between Africans, Coloureds and Indians. This would only be achieved by a common commitment to the liberation struggle. A way of fostering this would be to attract people who were committed to the aims of the philosophy. Initially, Biko explained, the issues with which the movement would have to deal, would seem unimportant and not very threatening to the state's power. However, as the people begin to develop their strength, the issues which are challenged and the forms of action taken, will become increasingly important to the struggle. The central explanation behind this is the idea that the most effective way to radically change the status quo in South Africa, would be best attained if all blacks unite to form one solid mass of angry, unco-operative people. A solid block of psychologically well-prepared, conscientised and committed blacks would be able to bring the country's economy to a complete halt at short notice. The transfer of power from "the settlers" to "the indigenous population" would then be inevitable.

10.2.3 Political liberation

"A struggle for full democratic rights must be linked to a socialist revolution". (Frank Talk, July/Aug. 1984, p. 8)

One of the main shortcomings of previous liberation strategies has been their inability to effectively move further than the stage of conscientisation. Black consciousness, on the other hand, sought to channel the pent-up forces "of the angry black masses" (Biko: "We Blacks"). What the philosophy wanted to ensure was the creation of a clear, common goal in the minds of the people "and to make possible total involvement of the masses in a struggle essentially theirs" (op. cit.). This total involvement was of the utmost importance if the lessons which were learnt in liberation struggles in black Africa were to be put into practice. Nkrumah had said:

We know that never in history has self-government been handed to a colonial and oppressed people on a silver platter ... the dynamic must come from us.

(Frank Talk, Feb/March 1985)

This lesson Biko repeats, adding his own style to the message:

We must learn to accept that no group, however benevolent, can ever hand power to the vanquished on a plate ... The system concedes nothing without demand, for it formulates its very method of operation on the basis that the ignorant will learn to know, the child will grow into an adult and therefore demands will

begin to be made. It gears itself to resist demands in whatever way it sees fit. (Biko 1978; p. 91)

The deduction that Biko makes from the above is that you are ridiculed by those in power if you enter into negotiations instead of making strong demands outside the system. "That is why", Biko said, "We must reject the beggar tactics that are being forced on us by those who wish to appease our cruel masters". (op. cit.)

10.3 The Issue of Violence

In theory, violence would not be necessary if every black person in the country was totally committed to black consciousness. The government would not be able to govern a country in which more than eighty percent of the population refused to co-operate. If every black man refused to carry a pass, refused to keep out of "whites only" areas, refused to take the slightest insult from a white, refused to answer when spoken to in Afrikaans, refused to be cooperative and pleasant to whites in general, the apartheid laws would be laws on paper only. Homelands could not be created, since no black person would enter into any agreement. And the economy would come to a virtual standstill because every able-bodied white would have to prevent blacks staging sit-ins at white schools, white waiting rooms, white suburbs, white beaches, etc. Biko believed fully that regardless of how long it took, a situation pretty close to the above one was possible. It should be born in mind that a true black consciousness believer would be fearless. Biko represents the

ultimate example of this characteristic which black consciousness exponents should have. Some months before his death, Biko stated the following in an interview on how he handled police interrogations:

I only understand one form of dealing with police, and that's to be as unhelpful as possible ... We had a boxing match the first day I was arrested. Some guy tried to clout me with a club. I went into him like a bull And .. he said ... "I will kill you". He meant to intimidate. And my answer was: "How long is it going to take you?" Now of course they were observing my reaction. And they could see that I was completely unbothered. My attitude is, I'm not going to allow them to carry out their programme faithfully. If they want to beat me five times, they can only do so on condition that I allow them to beat me five times... I said to them, "Listen, if you guys want to do this your way, you have got to handcuff me and bind my feet together so that I can't respond. If you allow me to respond, I'm certainly going to respond. And I'm afraid you may have to kill me in the process even if it's not your

intention. (Biko 1978; pp 152-3)

Clearly, though, it would have been unrealistic to expect that blacks would never have to resort to violence, although Biko emphasised that the reason why black consciousness exists, is "to explore as much as possible non-violent means within the country". (Biko: "Our strategy for Liberation").

However, "if the opposition is prepared to fight with their backs to the wall, conflict can't be avoidable" (op. cit.). Yet, Biko's main hope, publically at least, expressed non-violent strategies. This, according to Stubbs (1978; p. 143) should, however, "be understood in the context within which he was forced to speak". Stubbs, who knew Biko personally, also writes that "Steve always recognised the relevance of a guerilla warfare strategy, but that this alone was not enough". (p 120)

The same context within which Biko had to speak, applies today. Any organisation advocating violence or inciting people to use violent means, would not be able to function openly within South Africa. However, condemnations on the use of violence are also conspicuously absent. Look for example at this reply given by the 1985 AZAPO president, Ishmael Mkhabela, to the question: "What is AZAPO's view about violence as a solution to South Africa's problems?"

Response: We think that the oppressed have a right to use available means to

change their disadvantaged and oppressed situation. It is purely academic to argue about whether people can resort to violence or not. (Interview)

This type of reply should be understood not only in terms of legal considerations, but also in terms of the violent milieu in which activists operate. A case in point is Nkosi Molala, who took over as AZAPO president in October 1986. Molala was convicted of sabotage in November 1976 and was jailed for seven years on Robben Island. In September 1986, he attended the funeral of the people who were killed during the anti-rent protests in Soweto. At the funeral he was shot with a teargas canister, causing him to lose an eye. Molala described the loss as "part of the price I have to pay for liberation" (The Star, 18 Oct. 1986).

10.4 Trade Unions

As Mkhabela said, for AZAPO, the argument is "purely academic". More important is that "we go about organising and mobilising the oppressed and exploited in this country" (op. cit.). But more specifically, AZAPO recognises the importance of mobilisation at the point of production. On this issue, AZAPO's policy statement on trade unions, reads:

Realising the imbalance of power between the owners of capital and black workers, we acknowledge trade unions as instruments that can bring about the

redistribution of power. In the unique situation that is South Africa, Trade Unions should go beyond the problems of management and labour. We envisage a persistently militant system of Trade Unions which will challenge the discriminatory labour laws of the white minority government and thereby bring about change.

From the above statement AZAPO's two main principles on the role which trade unions should play, can be seen.

Firstly, trade unions should operate on the principle of extending the Black Consciousness idea that only blacks can further their aims. It is, therefore, imperative for blacks to form and run their own trade unions.

Secondly, trade unions should go beyond issues affecting wages, and should use their power to bring about political change.

Both these principles emerge clearly from a paper presented by Quarish Patel of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa, at an AZAPO symposium in April 1981. Regarding the first principle, Patel outlined two trends in trade unions in South Africa: "the 'non-racial' trade unions on the one hand and the black consciousness-inspired trade unions on the other". (Patel, quoted in Frank Talk, Feb./March, 1984, p. 17).

Patel uses parenthesis when he speaks of " 'non-racial' trade unions", as if to say that these do not exist in South Africa because it is an "unnatural" sense of integration. At the same time, however, he defines the opposite of "non-racial" not as "racial", but as "black-consciousness-inspired". This again shows how sensitive the black consciousness movement is about being described as "racist".

Regardless of the criticism against the BC approach, there can be no compromise on the "blacks only" approach which it has towards trade unions.

With all humility we feel that the only leadership which can spearhead a move towards Union unity can only be genuine if it will take into consideration the bitter experience of the Black workers. Nobody outside that experience, no matter how revolutionary he can be, can adequately advance the cause of the Black working class. Let unity moves be left to the genuine leaders in Black Unions. ("The Labour Situation and AZAPO", AZAPO Review, Feb. 22, 1983).

Regarding the second principle that the responsibility of trade unions should extend beyond the factory floor, because "workers do not cease

to be - or to exist - as people after downing tools at knocking-off time," (Patel, op. cit., p. 17), Patel quotes the "lessons" which trade unions can learn from the neo-Marxist writers, Sorel (1847-1922) and Gramsci (1891-1937).

According to Sorel only the working class has the "moral virtues necessary to rejuvenate society" (Patel, op.cit., p. 17). But Gramsci points out that although Sorel's view is correct, the masses won't automatically rejuvenate society until their revolutionary consciousness is first raised.

According to Gramsci it is, therefore, imperative that the masses are helped along by those who "know better". It is necessary to "organise a great army of disciplined and conscious militants, ready for every sacrifice, educated to put their slogans into practice simultaneously, ready to assume effective responsibility for the revolution, ready to be agents of the revolution". (Gramsci, as quoted by Patel, op. cit. p. 17).

The trade union body closest to the black consciousness movement is the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (AZACTU). Formed in August 1984, Azactu comprised eleven mostly black consciousness-leaning unions:

- * Black Allied Mining and Construction Worker's Union
- * Insurance and Assurance Worker's Union
- * African Allied Worker's Union
- * Amalgamated Black Worker's Union

- * Black General Worker's Union
- * S.A. Scooter Drivers' Union
- * Black Health and Allied Worker's Union
- * Orange-Vaal General Worker's Union
- * S.A. Democratic Worker's Union

(The Sowetan, Jan, 15, 1985)

Azactu claimed 80 000 members before it joined the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA) to form the second largest federation in South Africa, representing a paid-up membership of 248 000. When the merger was adopted by over 1000 delegates in the first weekend of October 1986, James Mndaveni was chosen as president. The new federation's constituent parts and the language in which its policies are framed, generally reflect adherence to the views of the black consciousness movement. Its policy document states that "the federation will strive to interpret the working class' ongoing struggles in terms of a principled working class ideology". On the issue of the national liberation struggle, the federation believes that the exploitation and oppression of workers "can only be replaced by a democratic society founded on the non-existence of any form of discrimination". On the best means to achieve this, the federation believes that the "most oppressed and exploited are the ones capable of bringing about desired transformation armed with the following principles: anti-capitalism, anti-imperialism, anti-racism and anti-sexism". (City Press, 21 Oct. 1986; E.P. Herald, 7 Oct. 1986; Solidarity, May/June 1985, p. 5; MacShane et. al. 1984, p. 11).

The following unions make up the federation:

1. African Allied Workers' Union
2. Black Allied Mining Construction Workers' Union
3. Black Domestic Workers' Union
4. Black Electrical and Electronics Workers' Union
5. Black General Workers' Union
6. Brushers and Cleaners Workers' Union
7. Building Construction and Allied Worker's Union
8. Domestic Workers' Association of South Africa
9. Engineering and Allied Workers' Union of SA
10. Food and Beverage Workers' Union of SA
11. Hotel Liquor, Catering and Allied Workers' Union of SA
12. Insurance and Assurance Workers' union of SA
13. National Union of Farmworkers
14. National Union of Public Service Workers
15. National Union of Wine, Spirit and Allied Workers
16. National Union of Workers of SA
17. S.A. Chemical Workers' Union
18. SA Laundry, Drycleaning and Dyeing Workers' Union
19. Steel, engineering and Allied Workers' Union
20. Textile Workers' Union
21. Transport and Allied Workers' Union
22. United African motor and Allied Workers' Union
23. Vukani Guards and Allied Workers

(City Press, 7 Oct. 1986)

Because of the important role played by the worker in the black

consciousness philosophy of the 1980s, the issue of capitalism and the mobilisation against capitalism, becomes crucial. Black consciousness refers to the economic system in South Africa as "racist capitalism". In a paper by a former Robben Island prisoner, Eric Molobi, it is stated that the problems which the "black proletariat" now experiences, will remain if apartheid and capitalism are not both eradicated: "substituting a black owner of the means of production for a white one does not solve the problem of labour exploitation". (Frank Talk, Feb/March 1984 p. 13)

Molobi explains that in South Africa, the protest of the black worker "against conditions in the township, is also a protest against the system of capitalism which has actively aided in creating cheap labour reserves" (op. cit.).

The Azanian People's Manifesto, which was formulated by the black consciousness umbrella organisation, the National Forum Committee, states that its "struggle for national liberation is directed against the system of racial capitalism which holds the people of Azania in bondage for the benefit of the small minority of white capitalists and their allies, the white workers and the reactionary sections of the black middle class".

10.5 Educating the Masses

By means of slogans, meetings, congresses, deputations, addresses, pamphlets and journals, the black consciousness movement vigorously endeavours to fulfil its pledge, set out in Section 2.1 of AZAPO's

constitution.

To conscientise, politicise and mobilise black workers through the philosophy of black consciousness in order to strive for legitimate rights.

The expression "One People, One Azania" is one of black consciousness' most enduring slogans, making use of the myth of a once great Azanian civilisation. The fact that historical evidence is lacking, is irrelevant in revolutionary mobilisation. Commenting on the mobilising effect of myths, AZAPO member George Wauchope, wrote "Azania is a historical and political myth. But myths are not lies. They are an outline of reality. And a liberation movement can certainly use myths in order to unite the oppressed, to serve as a rallying point" (F.T., Nov./Dec. 1984, p. 8).

10.6 Summary

Black consciousness organisations have, in recent times, been severely restricted in their mobilisation efforts, in much the same way that most political movements have been affected by the State of Emergency.

Official BC journals, newsletters and pamphlets have, at the time of writing this, gone out of print. With various black consciousness figures in detention, or in hiding, and official gatherings prohibited, the BCM will have to find alternative means to reach the masses.

Regardless of which methods are used, the trade unions and organisations subscribing to the black consciousness philosophy will not refrain from keeping the principles of psychological liberation and "blacks only" strategies alive in the revolutionary struggle.

Part Four

THEORIES OF FUTURE ARRANGEMENTS

CHAPTER ELEVEN: THEORIES OF FUTURE ARRANGEMENTS

11: Introduction

It has already been stated in the introduction to this thesis that by the term "revolution" is meant a transformation which has as its goal, a socialist state. A revolutionary strategy, as used here, is therefore implicitly anti-capitalist.

In order for any revolutionary idea to succeed, it is imperative that the revolutionaries offer the masses a vision of a future society free from the present injustices. Having aroused the masses, the revolutionaries need to inspire hope, without which there can be no motivation, and without motivation "revolutionary zeal" becomes impotent intellectual criticism. History is full of examples of revolutionaries projecting vision of a brighter future. Lenin, in his famous slogan, offered the soldiers peace, the workers bread and the peasants land. The new Russia would be a country free from the Czar's tyranny and exploitation. The land and the factories would belong to "the people". The wealth of the nobility would be "divided amongst the people". "All Power", Lenin said, "would go to the Soviets". Lenin even promised freedom of the Press, with opposition newspapers, free to discuss and criticise the State's actions. (Medish 1985, p. 216)

From Russia and China to Mozambique and Nicaragua, we see the results of revolutionaries promising much more than could realistically be

offered. The masses were offered anything from "Power" and "freedom" to "work for all" and "land". The masses were urged to join the "democratic struggle". Whether revolutionaries firmly believe that a Marxist-Leninist state is the first step to Utopia or whether they are merely interested in seizing power, is an issue which will be reflected on later in this chapter. Let us first analyse Marx's predictions for the post-revolutionary period, since his ideas have been the romantic background according to which revolutionaries have played out their "historical mission".

11.2 Marxist utopia

It has already been stated that Marx saw the proletarian revolution as inevitable, and that the proletariat would come to power because it was described by Marx as "the class that holds the future in its hands" (McLellan 1971, p. 163). However, one of the many weaknesses in Marx's theories is that he did not give us a clear-cut account of the revolution. From the sketchy accounts which Marx left us, he sets out a type of two-stage scheme.

In the first stage the revolution is followed by "the dictatorship of the proletariat".

The development towards communism proceeds through the dictatorship of the proletariat; it cannot do otherwise, for the resistance of the capitalist exploiters cannot be broken by anyone

else or in any other way. (Marx quoted
in Macridis 1980, p. 109)

However, here we come across our first problem because Marx did not say whether it was a dictatorship over the proletariat by a leadership group, as Lenin claimed, or whether it was to be a dictatorship by the proletariat over other elements in society, as is suggested by others. Leaving the interpretations for a moment, Marx recommended that after the revolution, the state should nationalise all land, businesses, and private homes. As a first step, the people paying rent should continue to do so, however, the money had to be paid to the state. The state, in turn, was to use this money for "public purposes". In order to create a more equitable social system, the wealthy citizens would have to pay a heavy progressive income tax. Furthermore, the automatic right of inheritance would be abolished, and property would pass to the state. The state would also confiscate the property of those people who had fled as well as those people whom Marx termed "rebels". In order to control the circulation of money, credit would have to be centralised in the hands of the state, by means of a state bank which had an exclusive monopoly. Marx also called for the centralisation of the means of communication and transport under state control. A national policy for agriculture and the establishment of "industrial armies", which would have to keep the farms and factories producing, was also needed.

Marx clearly pointed out, though, that the attainment of Utopia was not an instantaneous event. It would take time, although Marx did not specify how long. Socialism, the period which would follow the

revolution, would be a transition period, in which society would gradually move towards the existence of only one class. Marx also firmly believed that as the society became more socialistic, it would become increasingly productive. In order to understand this, we need to briefly look at two of Marx's theories: the Theory of Work and the Theory of Self-Alienation. By interacting with nature in what is termed "labour", individuals developed and changed their own character. Work is a form of "self-creation". The product of our labour is part of work, and something of us is in our product.

Since work is a form of "self-creation" it should be enjoyable, yet because the capitalists squeeze every possible cent of profit from the workers, they make the conditions of work intolerable. Furthermore, the process of mechanisation has contributed to the monotonous character of the work. Hence, instead of enjoying self-creation, the proletariat grows to hate the very process by which they could refine their own nature. As a result of this, they become alienated from themselves. They begin to hate themselves. However, under an increasingly socialist system, with a proportionable reduction in human exploitation, workers will increasingly begin to enjoy the process of self-creation. No longer are there capitalist bosses to make the working conditions of the proletariat intolerable; no longer is work a fight for survival.

Because self-creation becomes -- what it should be -- enjoyable, productivity increases. As the different social classes begin to disappear, human conflict will decrease and so will the need for the

dictatorship of the proletariat. This is when we move into the second stage, called communism. Under communism, society produces enough of everything. The proletariat is assured of freedom from poverty, hunger and fear. Because man is no longer alienated from himself, society undergoes a change of character - so to speak. Society under communism, will know no crime, prisons, or fear. And since Marx saw governments as a mechanism for the maintenance of the privilege of a few, the government would have to disappear as well. In fact, Marx predicted the "withering away" of the state structure. Only a small group of administrators will remain to administer the economy. As Engels said:

In the final stages of communism, the government of men will change to the administration of things. (Quoted in Baradat 1979, p. 166)

Internationally, the same would occur. Since dialectical materialism was a law of historical development, Marx expected socialism to be adopted in every country of the world, sooner or later. And as the various countries become socialist, they would recognise the divisiveness of national boundaries and would remove the lines separating them until finally, all national boundaries would have withered away and the entire world would be a single socialist brotherhood or worldwide Utopia.

11.3 Idealism vs Reality

So much for the dream. What about reality? A tendency has arisen amongst some Western writers to see the call for a proletariat "people's democracy" in developing states as nothing but a transparent attempt to gain power. They point out that in various countries, e.g. Kampuchea, Ethiopia, Mozambique and Nicaragua, the situation of the average citizen is worse than it was before the revolution. Forces which had initially supported the "democratic struggle", were to discover, to their detriment, what "democracy" meant to the revolutionaries.

Nicaragua's President Daniel Ortega did in 1986 what Lenin did in 1917: the suspension of freedom of the Press. The Roman Catholic Church, which had supported the "democratic struggle" and the "freedom fighters" found its radio station closed down after the revolution, because of anti-government news programmes. Criticism is acceptable it seems, as long as it is directed against the "imperialist West".

The continual flagrant violations of basic human rights in "people's democracies" and the myth of a "classless state" is common knowledge in the Western liberal democracies. In any Marxist-Leninist state one finds class distinctions between government officials and peasants, the intelligentsia and the urban factory workers, ordinary party members and the "nomenklatura". Even an anti-capitalist writer such as William Friedland writes that it is not

feasible any longer to simply offer
"socialism", undefined and undelineated,

as the solution to the nightmares of capitalism as we experience them ... After learning of the horrors of the gulags, most people do not want to launch an act of faith into the future. They are worried, justifiably, about elitist parties and undemocratic orientations.

(Friedland 1982, p. 210)

A further point emerging from complete state control by revolutionaries, is the terror with which power has to be maintained. This was present in the reigns of terror from Lenin to the present revolutionary governments. However, this should not be surprising, since these new people's democracies are only following a policy laid down by Engels and quoted by Lenin in "The State and Revolution".

Have these gentlemen (the anti-authoritarians) ever seen a revolution? A revolution is certainly the most authoritarian thing there is; it is the act whereby one part of the population imposes its will upon the other part by means of rifles, bayonets and cannons - authoritarian means, if such there be at all, and if the victorious party does not want to have fought in vain, it must maintain this rule by means of the terror which its arms inspire in the

reactionaries. (Quoted in Swartz 1972
1972, pp 70 - 71)

Could Engels have realised how clearly he was to expose the anti-democratic nature of violent revolutionary struggles? Why is this so?

Liberation movements originally set out to put an end to a state of oppression in which one strata of society dominates, controls and oppresses and exploits the other strata. Wherever there is injustice in society, there is a natural tendency for persons or groups of persons to feel strongly enough about the situation to want to do something about it. This was the situation in Tsarist Russia, with Lenin seeking by all means possible to end a system of government which had executed his brother and which he found to be oppressive in the extreme.

By the very nature of their existence, liberation movements will be opposed by the state. Consequently, the revolutionaries have to develop channels for conveying instructions and for organising the masses. Lenin found the most suitable strategy to include the formation of underground cells and the use of democratic centralism within these cells. Democratic centralism is anathema to democratic pluralism, which thus ensures that the post-revolutionary order will be one in which power is centralised in the hands of a few.

Yet this cannot be spelt out in fine detail by the leaders of the vanguard party, since it might appear "irrelevant" at the time. But more importantly, the masses will not mobilise to fight for "bad tasting medicine", but they will eagerly throw their weight behind the

call for "freedom". Without the projection of a "liberated society" a revolutionary movement is doomed to failure.

11.4 Summary

This chapter has concluded the last part of the theoretical background forming the central thread of this dissertation. It has looked at the last requirement which a political philosophy should satisfy to be considered "revolutionary", and that is its perception of how society will look when its ideals have been implemented.

The chapter started with Marx's utopian descriptions of full communism, an ideal which, no doubt, inspired Lenin to believe that by overthrowing the democratically-elected Kerensky government, he was doing the masses a favour. However, revolutionary idealism and political realities usually do not coincide, and history is proof thereof.

CHAPTER TWELVE: BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS AND A "FREE AZANIA"

AZAPO is a revolutionary movement ...
because it demands sacrifice in the
present for a better world in the future.
(F.T., July/Aug 1984, p.2)

12.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at the issue of what kind of state black consciousness propagates.

The closest that South Africa will get to utopia, is summed up in the term "a free Azania". The chapter begins with a look at why the name was chosen, following which the policies of a free Azania will be analysed.

12.2 Why "Azania"?

The word has its etymological origin from the Persian word "zanji" which means "black". However, this is where the agreement on the word's implied meaning ends. "Zanji" was used by the Arab slave-traders to refer to their black slaves (or merchandise). Consequently the term "Azania" means "land of the black slaves". Azapo rejects this interpretation most vehemently. A black consciousness exponent, George Wauchope, writes: "This is a contradiction in terms, for slaves are by definition people who are owned. They can hardly own let alone land". (op. cit. p. 7). This counter-argument is

ridiculous in the extreme, since the expression "land of the slaves" can obviously not imply that the slaves own the country. The statement can only mean one of the following:

- the land known for slaves;
- the land where slaves can be found;
- the land where slaves live, etc.

In fact, the nearest equivalent which could mean "land of the black people" is "Ethiopia", which is derived from the Greek words "ethiops" (Negro) and "ethiopia" (land of the Negro). Ironically, all available evidence indicates that "Azania" means the opposite of what black consciousness intends it to mean:

the name "Azania" actually celebrates racist terminology and (the) negation of the human beingness of black people can we afford a name for a liberated South Africa which has such ugly connotations?

(F.T., Feb/March 1985, p. 9)

Wauchope admits that Azania might sound "artificial" and "arbitrary" to some, but then attempts to refute criticism by saying, ironically, that one "cannot play silly games for new 'names' for our country. 'Azania' has been baptised on the bloodstained streets and banners of Soweto, Gugulethu, Chatsworth, New Brighton and even in the remotest corners in the land" (F.T., Nov/Dec. 1984, pp 7 - 8) This

uncompromising attitude illustrates the ideological rigidity of the black consciousness movement. If a principle has been laid down it has to be adhered to. This dirigisme was clearly illustrated in 1980, when AZAPO's president, Curtis Nkondo, was removed from his post for doing, inter alia, the following:

- he had nullified the policy of non-negotiation by asking Mrs Helen Suzman to negotiate with the government on his behalf for the release of his brother, Zinjiva Nkondo, from detention,
- his meeting with a visiting US senator when AZAPO policy was not to talk to officials of the Western Five countries because of their involvement in Africa (Gordon 1981, p. 56)

The choice of "Azania" reveals a few more facts. Firstly, AZAPO's ideological ties with the PAC, since it was the PAC which first adopted the term. And in the second place, the fact that black consciousness will not hesitate to take a derogatory term, "zanji" and ascribe to it a positive meaning. That is, after all, why the term "black" was decided upon by SASO. This re-evaluation of the meaning of words is central to the black consciousness belief that the "oppressed" could only begin advancing once they were the initiators of their ideology and goals.

12.3 Features of Azania

How will the "liberated Azania" look? From the Azanian People's Manifesto, and various other black consciousness policy documents and

statements, it becomes apparent that the future Azania will have three main characteristics: it will be "socialist", "democratic" and "anti-racist".

12.3.1 Socialism

Biko had been weary, at the SASO/BPC trial, to use the term socialism when explaining the organisation's goals. Instead, he used the term "black communalism". Of course, there could be no doubt that this did not imply a return to an African rural economy. Yet, speaking more freely in an interview some time later, Biko answered the question of whether the future state would have to be a socialist one, by saying:

Yes, I think there is no running away from the fact that now in South Africa, there is such an ill distribution of wealth tht any form of political freedom which does not touch on the proper distribution of wealth will be meaningless.

(Biko 1978, p. 149)

Speaking in 1977, Biko had also mentioned that there would be a limited place for private enterprise. However, the exact nature of the role and extent of the private sector was explained in vague and even contradictory terms. For example, Biko said there would be "state participation in industry and commerce" with a "judicious blending of private enterprise", but at the same time there would be "complete ownership of land"! (Biko 1978, p. 149). The new state

would also have to see that blacks got what was "rightfully theirs".

In its Azanian People's Manifesto, adopted on June 12, 1983, at the founding of the National Forum Committee, no mention was made of "private enterprise". In fact the Manifesto declares that in the "socialist republic of Azania" there would be "worker control of the means of production, distribution and exchange" and it also states that "the land and all that belongs to it shall be wholly owned and controlled by the Azanian people."

The list of demands issued in the manifesto reflects many of the "guarantees" listed in the constitutions of socialist states.

1. The right to work.
2. The right to form trade unions that will heighten revolutionary worker consciousness.
3. The establishment of a democratic, anti-racist worker Republic in Azania where the interests of the workers shall be paramount through worker control of the means of production, distribution and exchange.
4. State provision of free and compulsory education for all and this education be geared towards liberating the Azanian people from all forms of oppression, exploitation and ignorance.
5. State provision of adequate and decent housing.
6. State provision of free health, legal, recreational and other community services that will respond to the needs of the people.
7. Development of one national progressive culture in the process of struggle.

8. The land and all that belong to it shall be wholly owned and controlled by the Azanian people.
9. The usage of the land and all that accrues to it shall be aimed at ending all forms and means of exploitation.

(List of demands from the "Azanian People's Manifesto")

12.3.2 Democracy

Replying to the question of whether Biko would like to see a one-man, one-vote franchise in the new South Africa, he—replied: "yes ... entirely one-man, one vote, no qualification whatsoever except the normal ones you find throughout the world". (Biko 1978, p. 150)

The only way in which a government can guarantee the right to work is to own all the means of production. Since a peaceful nationalisation of all property is unrealistic, the state would, of necessity, have to resort to draconian measures. The history of revolutionary takeovers clearly illustrates this point. Where the new government cannot immediately implement socialism, the blacks will still remain "economically trapped". To illustrate this point, the official publication of AZAPO, used Zimbabwe as an example in its Nov/Dec 1984 issue, quoting Dr Ushewokunze - Zimbabwean Minister of Home Affairs:

Since Independence it has openly been acknowledged that although we may be politically free - and even this is doubtful

because of the Lancaster House Agreement - we are still not economically free.

AZAPO, therefore, has as one of its official objectives, the "just distribution of wealth and power to all people of Azania. Without the distribution of wealth, democracy would have a hollow ring to it. Ironically enough, AZAPO warns that even once the revolution has occurred, that still does not mean utopia is around the corner. In an editorial, Frank Talk (July/Aug. 1984) warned:

The liberation struggle is a ceaseless struggle: it does not end with political "independence". If the oppressed and exploited ... thought that milk and honey will flow when there is a takeover from a fascist regime, the costs for the liberation movement will be very, very dear.

Such "realism" appears surprising, considering that after nearly 70 years the Soviet Union still finds itself in need of Western loans and grain. How many centuries will it require Poland and Ethiopia to reach the "milk and honey" stage?

Azapo's democracy, quite clearly, does not imply a multi-party "bourgeois democracy".

12.3.3 Anti-Racism

Black consciousness documents continually reaffirm their belief in non-racialism. This would be the end-result of the dialectic in which black consciousness had acted as the antithesis.

The "Western" understanding of the term "non-racialism" as applied to a society, would mean a country in which merit and not race is the important criterium. The term "anti-racist" implies a policy aimed at eradicating all attempts to propagate race as a factor in determining any aspect of an individual's day-to-day life. Consequently, it is logical that the constitution of the day would permit an active anti-racist programme. Extrapolating contemporary conditions to a "free Azania", it would be inconceivable for an Azanian government not to ban the AWB, HNP, CP and NP, at least.

The fact that AZAPO excludes whites in order to comply with the requirements of its dialectic, has caused some UDF-affiliated organisations to call AZAPO "reactionary" and "racist". In reply to criticism from the UDF and other anti-apartheid organisations 1985 AZAPO president, Ishmael Mkhabela, said: "I would just take their criticism as some of their political slogans and jargon" (Interview).

Ironically enough, the other anti-apartheid organisations regard AZAPO's definitions and policy guidelines as "political slogans and jargon".

12.4 Summary and Evaluation

This chapter has presented the main aspects of the future prospects for South Africa if:

- (i) the black consciousness strategy succeeds; and

(ii) a black consciousness-oriented government comes into power.

To the average black South African, life in Azania certainly sounds more prosperous and just than under present conditions.

Everyone will have work. The country will be democratic. There will be no racism. The state will provide "adequate and decent housing". The farms, factories and businesses will belong to "the people". The state will provide "free health, legal, recreational and other community services". And the state will actively work to end all forms of "oppression, exploitation and ignorance".

How realistic is such an image of paradise? Sadly, it does not stand up to the realities of global tendencies. Black consciousness has confused "racist capitalism" with "people's capitalism".

The former system has restricted the fruits of capitalism to a legislated élite, whereas the latter system has become the envy of the developed countries.

People's capitalism refers to the phenomenon in certain developed capitalist countries in which private profits, initially restricted to the upper and middle classes, are now also enriching the working class. This has led to a situation where, in Britain, one out of every five Britons owns shares across all boards of the London Stock Exchange.

The influences of individual economic freedom has been viewed with great interest in socialist and communist countries. So, for example, China began introducing agricultural privatisation, which led to massive increases in agricultural output, and an increase in rural

income of more than 200% between 1979 and 1985. Even Cuba has now introduced land privatisation reforms, and the Soviet Union recently introduced private taxis and is presently experimenting with greater economic freedom for state enterprises.

July 1985 saw Kenya, Cameroon, Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Malawi, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Sierra Leone, Senegal, Gambia, Botswana and Ghana attending a conference in Nairobi to increase the role of private investment in their respective countries. The OAU also took the historic step at the beginning of 1986 when it recommended at the special session of the United Nations in New York that its member states should encourage "the positive role of private enterprise". (Compiled from: The Star, Dec. 4, 1986; The Sunday Star, Dec. 7, 1986; The Sunday Times, Dec. 26, 1986; Time, July 28, 1986.)

Ideological rigidity instead of economic pragmatism, is thus the norm for the black consciousness movement.

CONCLUSION

This study set out to achieve two goals. The first being to provide documentary evidence that black consciousness, as it is known in South Africa, is a revolutionary political philosophy, and secondly, to provide a theoretical framework according to which the ideological tenants of black consciousness can be analysed.

Regarding the second aspect, this dissertation began by grouping various elements in Biko's numerous essays into four main categories, i.e., those coinciding with parts I-IV of this dissertation.

In reviewing these chapters, it will become evident that no single essay dealt exclusively with one of the four main issues. This dissertation has thus grouped and synthesized corresponding elements from the various essays, and by doing this, it is now possible to categorise any of Biko's statements in terms of the theoretical model. The same applies to the post-Biko interpretation of black consciousness ideas.

Regarding this study's second objective, namely the classification of black consciousness as a revolutionary philosophy, this dissertation has proven, beyond doubt, that black consciousness merits this label, in terms of the theoretical criteria considered above. In fact, the entire contents of this dissertation's assertions of the nature of black consciousness can be summarised, most succinctly, in the following poem by Essop Patel:

Revolution is

revolution is...

when the first ray of light

slashes night and day asunder

revolution is.....

when a women gives birth

with her thumb raised high

urging "Amandla!"

revolution is.....

when a child marches from a womb

with a raised clenched fist

saying "mama we are on our own!"

revolution is.....

when consciousness tears the mask

hiding my sister's beautiful face

redeeming her blackness

revolution is

when pick-axes and ploughs

pause to determine the worth

of sweat on labouring backs

revolution is

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

Patel: "Fragments in the sun"
[Source: Frank Talk]

In this poem, black consciousness is eulogised as a "ray of light" which violently breaks open the cleavage which multi-racialism tries to conceal. The first stanza also illustrates the hope which the philosophy inspires, by illuminating the road ahead. The logical progression of history is exposed in the dialectical symbolism of day following night. And the effect of the first stanza's play on lightness and darkness recalls Fanon's Manichean world of good and evil, except that here black consciousness has redeemed the mind, and the masses have evolved from the despair of gloom, ignorance and darkness into the light of mental clarity and psychological liberation. Black consciousness does this by tearing away "the mask" of darkness, and inferiority, which has kept the black man confined to the parameters of the coloniser's strategies. Since black consciousness has moved beyond the restrictive confines of colonial values, blackness has its intrinsic beauty restored to it (v.14,15). Fanon's "damned of the earth" have been saved from damnation; ugly has become beautiful; evil has become good; despair has given way to hope and assurance. This steadfastness and fatalistic clarity of the dialectic is revealed in the awareness of the reason for one's existence. Infants are no longer simply born, without hope or reason. Instead, children are created for the revolution. The child "marches from a womb", strong and confident. His fist is raised and clenched

in the black power salute, and he is politically conscious. Echoing Biko's slogan at the founding of SASO, the child exclaims that blacks are on their own. This political realisation will spread throughout the community, and will be especially relevant to the workers, suffering under the double blow of racism and capitalism. But, in the progressively dynamic nature of the poem, the situation begins to move to its climax. The masses, symbolised as a forest, will begin to rise up, driven by their poverty and exploitation, into a new era of political awareness and liberation. The "river" (in v. 24) refers to the cathartic nature of participating in the revolutionary process, as Fanon spoke of it, whether this be a literary contribution or violent physical involvement, as expressed in the words "slashed", "asunder", "marches", "sharpen", and, of course, "revolution".

This dissertation, corresponding roughly to the progressive stages of the poem, has shown that black consciousness - as a philosophy - fulfils the theoretical criteria of a revolutionary philosophy. Black consciousness replaces the ideological bankruptcy which Lembede identified in the 1940s. It was the absence of a strong theoretical basis which had handicapped blacks in the same way that the New Leftism of the 1960s in Europe and North America failed, if it is judged by its own criteria. New Leftism was a success in getting people into the streets, but by refusing to introduce theory into their movement it failed to do what it imagined it could: i.e. free people from "capitalist exploitation". But whereas New Leftism rejected theory, Lembede and Biko eagerly sought one, for the very reason that Ranuga (1982; p. 321) had written:

Like all successful revolutions, the Azanian revolution cannot do without the weapon of theory.

Today this remains the guiding light for black consciousness exponents.

APPENDICES

Appendices one to four contain the policy statements of the major black consciousness organisations in South Africa, from the late 1960s to the early 1980s. The central theme running through SASO, the BPC, AZAPO, and the NFC is clearly noticeable: that is one of black separatism and the need for black solidarity. The time span between the first policy document and the last one--a difference of twelve years--also highlights the increasing conviction and boldness with which these movements expounded the black consciousness philosophy.

Appendix 1: The Policy Manifesto of the South African Students' Organisation

[SASO was founded in December 1968 with Biko named first president in July 1969]

1. SASO is a black student organisation working for the liberation of the black man first from psychological oppression by themselves from inferiority complex and, secondly, from the physical one accruing out of living in a white racist society.
2. We define black people as those who are by law or tradition, politically economically and socially discriminated against as a group in the South African society and identifying themselves as a unit in the struggle towards the realisation of their aspirations.
3. SASO believes that:
 - (a) South Africa is a country in which both black and white live and shall continue to live together;
 - (b) that the white man must be made aware that one is either part of the problem or part of the solution;
 - (c) that, in this context, because of the privileges accorded to them by legislation and because of this continual maintenance of an oppressive regime, whites have defined themselves as part of

the problem;

- (d) that, therefore, we believe that in all matters relating to the struggle towards realising our aspirations, whites must be excluded;
- (e) that this attitude must not be interpreted by blacks to imply "anti-whitism" but merely a more positive way of attaining a normal situation in South Africa;
- (f) that in the pursuit of this direction, therefore, personal contact with whites, though it should not be legislated against, must be discouraged, especially where it tends to militate against the beliefs we hold dear.

4. (a) SASO upholds the concept of black consciousness and the drive towards black awareness as the most logical and significant means of ridding ourselves of the shackles that bind us to perpetual servitude..

(b) SASO defines black consciousness as follows:

- (i) Black consciousness is an attitude of mind, a way of life.
- (ii) The basic tenant of black consciousness is that the black man must reject all value systems that seek to make him a foreigner in the country of his birth and reduce his basic human dignity.
- (iii) The black man must build up his own value system, see himself as self-defined and not defined by others.
- (iv) The concept of black consciousness implies awareness by the black people of power they wield as a group, both economically and politically and hence group cohesion and solidarity are important facets of black consciousness.
- (v) Black consciousness will always be enhanced by the totality

of involvement of the oppressed people, hence the message of black consciousness has to be spread to reach all sections of the black community.

(c) SASO accepts the premise that before the black people should join the open society, they should first close their ranks, to form themselves into a solid group to oppose the definite racism that is meted out by white society, to work out their direction clearly and bargain from a position of strength. SASO believes that a truly open society can only be achieved by blacks.

5. SASO believes that the concept of integration cannot be realised in an atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust. Integration does not mean an assimilation of blacks into an already established set of norms drawn up and motivated by white society. Integration implies free participation by individuals in a given society and proportionate contribution to the joint culture of the society by all constituent groups. Following this definition, therefore, SASO believes that integration does not need to be enforced or worked for. Integration follows automatically when the doors to prejudice are closed through the attainment of a just and free society.
6. SASO believes that all groups allegedly working for "integration" in South Africa...and here we note in particular the [Progressives] and other liberal institutions...are not working for the kind of integration that would be acceptable to the black man. Their attempts are directed merely at relaxing certain oppressive legislations and to allow blacks into a white-type society.
7. SASO, while upholding these beliefs, nevertheless wishes to state that black consciousness should not be associated with any particular political party or slogan.

[Source: Van der Merwe, Charton, Kotzé, Magnusson 1978, pp. 99-100]

Appendix 2: The Black People's Convention

[Drawn up in July 1972]

Preamble

We, the black people of South Africa, declare that having examined, analysed, assessed and defined our needs, aspirations, ideals and goals in this country; and noting that there is a dearth of a political movement to articulate these needs, aspirations, ideals and goals, and having further unconditionally declared our faith in the effectiveness, relevance and capability of black political movements as the only media through which our liberation and emancipation could be effected and realised, and believing that:

1. black people in South Africa have unique needs, aspirations, ideals, difficulties and problems pertaining to them;
2. it is an inalienable birthright of any community to organise itself into a political movement for the effective translation of its needs, ideals, and goals into reality;
3. it is necessary and essential for blacks in South Africa to unite and consolidate themselves into a political movement if their needs, aspirations, ideals and goals are to be realised and actualised;
4. there is a crying need in South Africa for blacks in South Africa to re-assert their pride, human dignity and solidarity through a political movement; and whereas we are aware and conscious of our responsibility and obligation towards the liberation and emancipation of blacks, we are, nevertheless prepared and determined to accept this responsibility,

we, therefore, resolve to found a political convention; we further resolve to adopt this draft constitution as the constitution of this political movement, which would:

1. articulate and aggregate the needs of black people in South Africa;

2. represent the black people nationally and internationally.

PRINCIPLES AND AIMS OF THE CONVENTION

1. to unite and solidify the black people of South Africa with a view to liberating and emancipating them from both psychological and physical oppression;
2. to spread, popularise and implement the philosophy of Black Consciousness and Black Solidarity;
3. to formulate and implement an educational policy of blacks, by blacks for blacks;
4. to create and maintain an egalitarian society where justice is meted equally to all;
5. to formulate, apply and implement the principles and philosophy of Black Communalism -- the philosophy of sharing equally;
6. to create and maintain an equitable economic system based on the principles and philosophy of Black Communalism;
7. to reorientate the theological system with a view to making religion relevant to the needs, aspirations, ideals and goals of the black people.

OBJECT OF THE CONVENTION

The object of the convention is to unite the South Africa blacks into a black political organisation which would seek to realise their liberation and emancipation from both psychological and physical oppression. The convention shall operate outside the white government-created systems, structures, and/or institutions -- and shall not seek election to these.

1. Membership shall be open to blacks only.
-

1. Unless inconsistent with the context, "black" shall be interpreted as meaning Africans, Indians and coloureds.

[Source: Van der Merwe, et. al. 1978, pp. 91-2]

Appendix 3: AZAPO Constitution: Preamble

Whereas we, the Black people of Azania,

Conscious of the philosophy of Black Consciousness as a living force amongst the majority of our people;

And recognising that Black workers particularly are responsible for creating the wealth of our country;

And whereas workers are subject to the most inhuman and ruthless laws;

And further realising that the oppressive system in its effort to render the worker powerless and perpetually subservient, creates and utilises tactics of divide and rule that give birth to factionalism and tribalism;

And whereas the worker is more determined to see freedom and justice, and desirous of occupying his rightful place in the land of his birth;

And also that it is an inalienable right of any community to organise itself into a political movement to express and manifest its aspirations, ideals and goals;

And further believing that Black Consciousness be developed and maintained as a true philosophy for workers;

Therefore resolve

1. To found a political movement which will express and manifest the aspirations of the Black people of Azania.
2. To find a movement that will unite all and liberate all from exploitative and oppressive shackles.

AZAPO'S POLICY

1. Preamble

The philosophy and policies of the Organisation will be on the broad provisions of the philosophy of Black Consciousness. We shall adapt ideas and experiences of humanity to our unique circumstances in this part of Africa. In our self-acceptance and our self-affirmation we

shall take into account our historical and national peculiarities and disseminate ideas which will liberate people from bondage and give them rightful liberty and freedom.

2. Black Consciousness

We recognise the philosophy of Black Consciousness as a living reality amongst the majority of the Black people of Azania. We acknowledge the philosophy of Black Consciousness as the fruition (culmination) of the liberatory efforts on the part of different Black organisations throughout the history of resistance against white domination.

We understand the philosophy of Black Consciousness as:

- a. A framework whose internal dynamics give form to the entire nature of Black aspirations.
- b. An irreverible process of self-understanding and self-assertiveness of the Black people of Azania in the face of oppressive socio-political structures imposed by the white government.
- c. A firm expression of the will of Black people to participate fully in the power structure of a democratic government.
- d. A philosophy that relatively translates itself into an active opposition to government policies bent on estranging the Black people from themselves; an active resistance to every form of injustice meted out to the Black people.
- e. A philosophy that gives direction to the Black people in an attempt to reorientate their entire value system.
- f. A philosophy that grasps Black solidarity as an imperative element that militates against any form of sectionalism and ensures a united effort towards changing the status quo.
- g. A philosophy that understands the position of the Black people who

are de facto a race of workers, therefore an inevitable agent of change within the present political system.

- h. A philosophy that seeks to create a just society where the values of persons shall be supreme.

3. Bantustans

We recognise the fact that the entire country of Azania belongs to the Black people, hence our vehement rejection of the bantustan policy. The policy of bantustans has arisen from the myth that Black people consist of separate nations. This is an imposition of the white government aimed at:

- a. Depriving the Black people of their inalienable right of citizenship in the country.
- b. Destroying the unity and solidarity of the Black people.
- c. Fostering the apartheid policy of divide and rule.
- d. Facilitating a continued economic exploitation of the Black people and perpetuating white domination.

4. Race and class

We recognise the fact that in our country race is a class determinant. Thus the concentration of economic and political power in the hands of the white race enables it to promote a rigid class structure. The Black people on the other hand constitute a people racially discriminated against and economically exploited. That gives rise to the ever increasing conflict between the whites and the black races. The white accumulates capital by exploiting Black labour and by virtue of their possession of political power, they maintain themselves in a position of privilege.

5. Trade Unions

Realising the imbalance of power between the owners of capital and Black workers, we acknowledge Trade Unions as an instrument that can bring about the re-distribution of power. In the unique situation that is South Africa, Trade Unions should go beyond the problems of management and labour. We envisage a persistently militant system of Trade Unions which will challenge the discriminatory labour laws of the white minority government and thereby bring about change.

[Source: AZAPO Constitution and Policy]

Appendix 4: The Azanian People's Manifesto

[Adopted June 12, 1983 at the founding of the National Forum Committee]

Our struggle for national liberation is directed against the historically evolved system of racism and capitalism which holds the people of Azania in bondage for the benefit of the small minority of the population, i.e., the capitalists and their allies, the white workers and the reactionary sections of the middle classes. The struggle against apartheid, therefore, is no more than the point of departure for our liberatory efforts.

The Black Working class inspired by revolutionary consciousness is the driving force of our struggle for national self-determination in a unitary Azania. They alone can end the system as it stands today, because they alone have nothing at all to lose. They have a world to gain in a democratic, anti-racist and socialist Azania, where the interests of the workers shall be paramount through worker control of the means of production, distribution and exchange. In the socialist republic of Azania the land and all that belongs to it shall be aimed at ending all exploitation.

It is the historic task of the Black working class and its organisations to mobilise the oppressed people in order to put an end to the system of

oppression and exploitation by the white ruling class.

OUR PRINCIPLES

Successful conduct of the national liberation struggle depends on the firm basis of principle whereby we will ensure that the liberation struggle will not be turned against our people by the treacherous and opportunistic "leaders" and liberal influences. The most important of these influences are:

- * Anti-racism, anti-imperialism and anti-sexism
- * Anti-collaboration with the ruling class and all its allies and political instruments
- * Independent working class organisations, free from bourgeois influences

OUR RIGHTS

In accordance with these principles the following rights shall be entrenched in Azania:

- * The right to work
- * State provision of free and compulsory education for all. Education shall be geared towards liberating the Azanian people from all forms of oppression, exploitation and ignorance
- * State provision of adequate and decent housing for all
- * State provision of free health, legal, recreational and other community services that will respond positively to the needs of the people.

OUR PLEDGES

In order to bring into effect these rights of the Azanian people, we pledge ourselves to struggle tirelessly for:

- * The abolition of all laws, institutions and attitudes that discriminate against our people on the basis of colour, sex, religion, language or class

- * The re-integration of the bantustan human dumping grounds into a unitary Azania
- * The formation of trade unions that will heighten revolutionary worker consciousness
- * The development of one national culture inspired by socialist values

[Source: National Forum Committee]

Appendix 4: Extract of an interview with Ishmael Mkhabela [1985 AZAPO President].

QUESTION: CRITICS ACCUSE AZAPO OF BEING A "RACIST, ANTI-WHITE" ORGANISATION. IS THIS A VALID ACCUSATION?

RESPONSE: I think we are just pro-black. We go about organising and mobilising the oppressed and exploited in this country and that determines our constituency, simply because we see that they are the section of the community which holds prospects for fundamental change in our country. We think that the accusation of "racist" is unfounded, in that for one to be a racist one must actually be capable to use his position to discriminate against other people, e.g., on a political, economic, or for that matter, social sphere. Now we do not have the power to do that; we are actually on the receiving end of the power relation in this country. Apparently, people who would accuse us of being racist are those whose racial and racist intensions are frustrated, in that we are not allowing people--who by tradition or history--have been enjoying positions of credibility and advantage to abuse the oppressed and exploited.

QUESTION: WHAT DOES AZAPO SEE AS ITS MAIN DIFFERENCES WITH THE UDF AND INKATHA?

RESPONSE: The UDF is a front. AZAPO is an organisation with its constitution and policy. We believe in black consciousness. Obviously some of the affilliates of the UDF should be believing in black consciousness.

Our view of the power relation and the agents for change is different, in that the UDF does believe that those who are

part of the problem can actually play a role in changing it. But we strongly believe that freedom cannot be given on a platter and that those who oppress and exploit have no historical role to change the status quo because they are actually enjoying its fruits. We differ with the UDF there.

As far as Inkatha is concerned, it is working within the government-created structure; we don't. It is also predominantly ethnic, or tribal, in affiliation, constitution and perception; we are not.

QUESTION: WHAT IS AZAPO'S VIEW ABOUT VIOLENCE AS A SOLUTION TO SOUTH AFRICA'S PROBLEMS?

RESPONSE: We think that the oppressed have a right to use available means to change their disadvantaged and oppressed situation. It is purely academic to argue about whether people can resort to violence or not.

QUESTION: WHAT IS AZAPO'S VIEW OF TRADE UNIONISM IN GENERAL?

RESPONSE: We believe in organising the black community in all sectors, be it in labour, be it in church circles, or any sphere of our existence. We believe in organised industry, initiating trade unions where we think there is a need to initiate one. We believe in working with existing trade unions.

We believe that the trade union movement can play a vital role in the process of change; in the struggle for change, while acknowledging some of the weaknesses which are inherent in the system of trade unions, wherein we find that they are likely to be looking at the subsistence objective, rather than maybe the fundamental objective of bringing

about change.

QUESTION: WHAT ROLE CAN YOUR ORGANISATION PLAY IF IT IS ATTACKED BY THE UDF AND INKATHA AS "IRRELEVANT"?

RESPONSE: I think we are not accountable to other organisations; that is why we have a constitution and policy of our own. Now as far as the views in which other organisations perceive us; that is not our main or primary concern, because our role is a struggle. I would not actually take their criticism seriously. I would just take their criticism as some of their political slogans and jargon.

QUESTION: THE VIEW IS ALSO EXPRESSED THAT IF AGREEMENT CANNOT EVEN BE REACHED AMONG BLACKS, IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO ARRIVE AT A SITUATION WHERE ALL GROUPS, INCLUDING THE AWB FOR EXAMPLE, WOULD BE ABLE TO REACH AN UNDERSTANDING WITH OTHER GROUPS. WHERE DOES ONE START TO RECONCILE SUCH WIDELY DIFFERING POLES?

RESPONSE: I think that people fail to understand that their disunity is not a phenomenon unique to the black community. It is true that within the white community there are differences. And as far as the black community is concerned, it is the position of our oppression and exploitation which, irrespective of their differences, does actually cement our oneness in struggle. Now as far as whites are concerned: until the system--which has thrived on one group or racial entity oppressing the other--is removed, then the whole question doesn't become as formidable as it may sound at the moment.

QUESTION: WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO WHITES IN AZAPO'S AZANIA?

RESPONSE: I think that the problem of people who have long been under the system of apartheid always think in terms of racial groups, whites, blacks, you name them. And every time the

problem is approached from that angle. As far as AZAPO is concerned, we feel that we should work towards the creation of a system wherein people will be judged in terms of their allegiance to their common nation, common destiny--which in our political terms is crystalised in the concept of a free, anti-racist, socialist Azania.

QUESTION: IS IT CORRECT TO SAY THAT IN AZAPO'S ONE-PARTY AZANIA A FREE, INDEPENDENT AND CRITICAL PRESS WOULD BE OPPOSED?

RESPONSE: I think people fear change and they will go on creating monsters. They'll go on actually rationalising their fears and that is reflected by people who would create a situation of freedom which denies the process of the concept of freedom. Now I don't know where they get that. That is definitely more the stereo-type view of what a black, liberated country is supposed to be.

QUESTION: WHAT DOES AZAPO ESTIMATE ITS NUMBER OF SUPPORTERS TO BE?

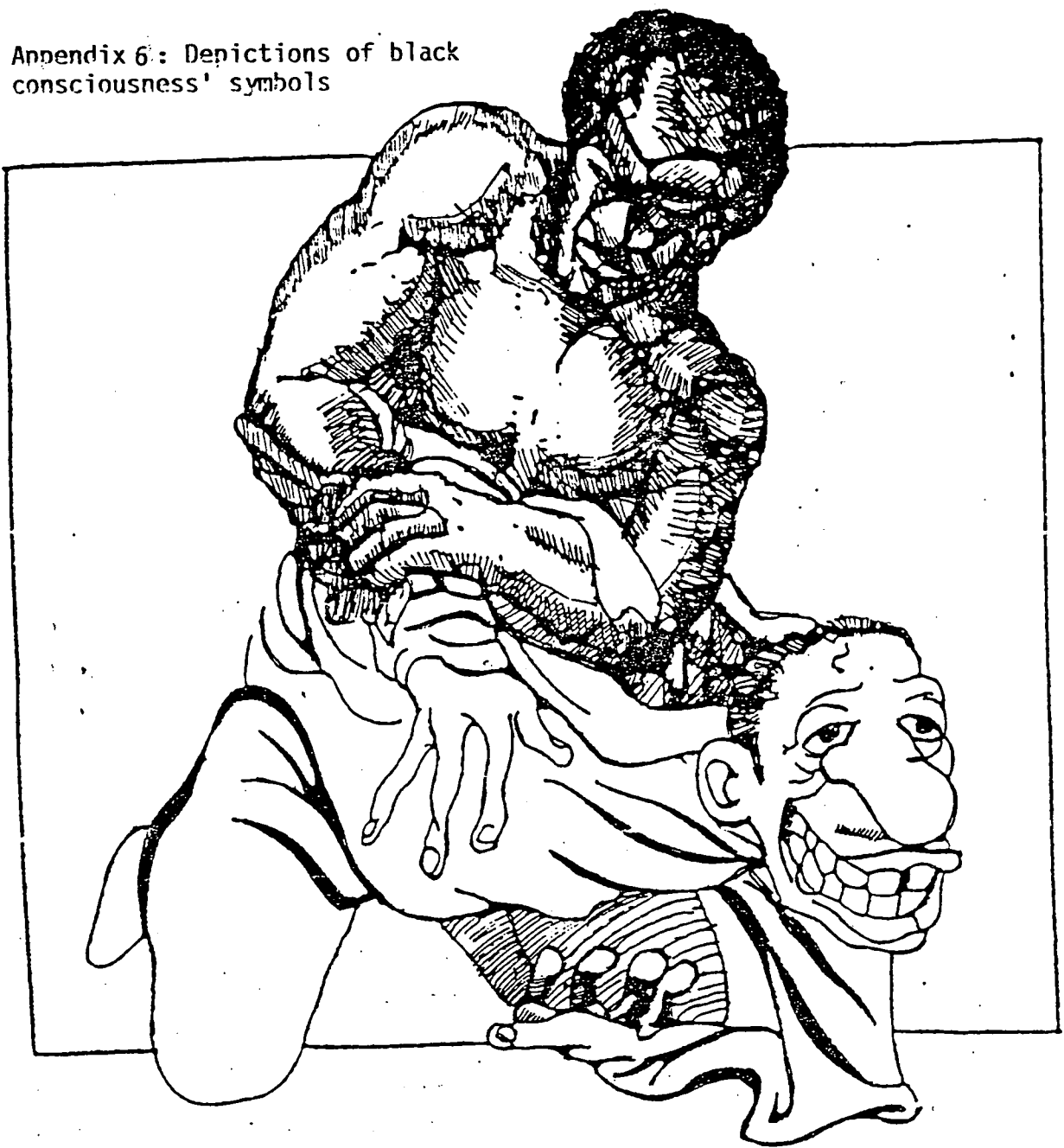
RESPONSE: Their particular number has not been a thing which we have really been working on. Our supporters can be seen in trade unions, the cultural groups, women's groups and others in the community. Since the formation of the black consciousness movement, we have not worked on what one can call strictly card-carrying membership. The question of a figure or number is actually academic at some stages.

QUESTION: DO YOU THINK THAT SOUTH AFRICA WILL EVENTUALLY REACH THE POINT WHERE MOST GROUPS ARE POLITICALLY AND ECONOMICALLY GENERALLY SATISFIED, OR ARE WE GOING TO SEE A SITUATION OF PERPETUAL CONFLICT, IF NOT BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE, THEN BETWEEN BLACK AND BLACK?

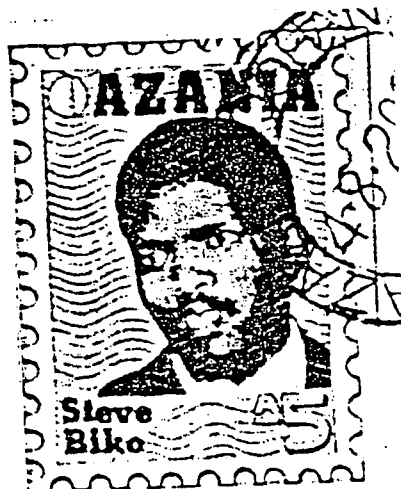
RESPONSE: Let's accept that the whole concept of satisfying people's needs should be seen as an unfolding struggle. We cannot

really think that the day we reach a particular point all our problems will be solved. That is not the reality, anyway. But, where there is a need and there is a general acceptance that we have to solve such problems, then solutions will be sought from time to time.

Appendix 6: Depictions of black consciousness' symbols



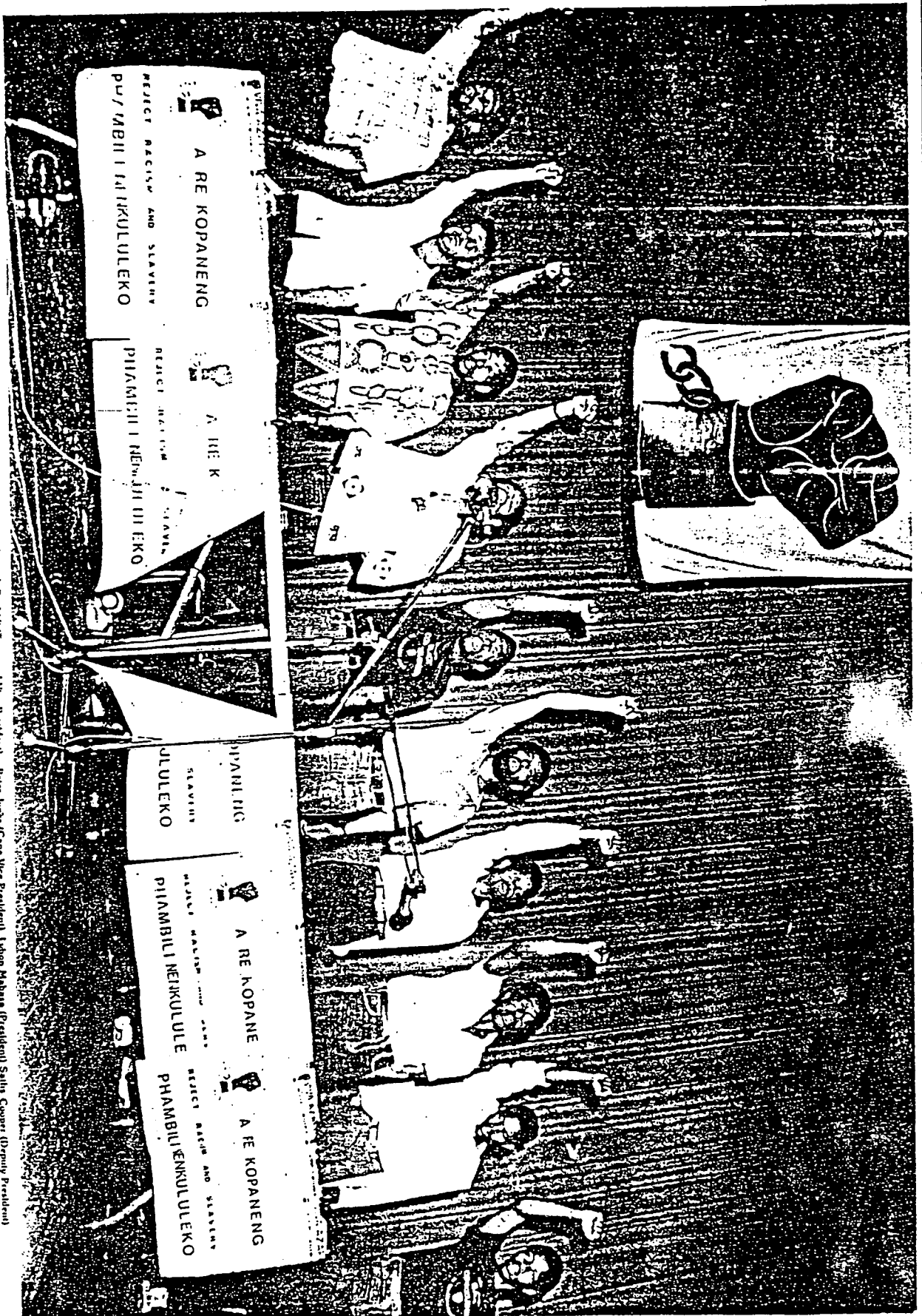
[Sources: Frank Talk]



Appendix 7: Photo of AZAPO Congress

[Source: Frank Talk, Feb/March 1984]

AZAPO's new leadership makes office



From Left to Right: Muntu Ka Myeza (Politely Secretary), Jantzen Moots (Natal Vice President), Kenneth Mchidi (Transvaal Vice President), Pasi Jamba (Cape Vice President), Lydon Mabasa (President) Sallis Cooper (Deputy President) Zinhlele Qindi (Trophies Co - Ordinator), Sefiso Nyaka (Secretary General), Fikile Qili (Free State Vice President), Thabo Ndabeni (National Organizer)

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