

The nation-wide raid on leaders of the Black Consciousness Movement on 22 May 1984 underlines yet again the fascist nature of the South African regime. The crackdown on AZAPO is directly linked to the Accord of Nkomati.

This issue of **Frank Talk** focuses on the Nkomati Accord and some of its implications for the people of AZANIA.

As the National Internal Summit called at Edendale found, the Botha regime wishes to steamroll on all effective opposition. Nkomati allowed them to silence the exiled movements for some time to come.

After succeeding in this, the settler minority focused on the spectrum of black opposition inside the country. Their choice of first target is not insignificant: having studied all the movements inside the country, the settlers realized that enemy number one was Black consciousness. As the National Summit predicted, the system's strategy is first to extinguish the true revolutionaries and then woo the 'co-optables' to a National Convention.

Black Consciousness was born and nurtured in the crucible of fire. Decapitation of leadership has, however, always been costly for the movement. When AZAPO was born, it measured the crucial need for an overt liberation movement against the very predictable repression by the

state.

In fact, BC takes into account that the central problem in any struggle is to find an antidote to fear. Crushed by the realities of routine, we all hesitate to participate in the liberation struggle. We fear losing our family and our friends. We fear wasting energy.

AZAPO is a revolutionary movement precisely because it calls for a break with routine, because it demands sacrifice in the present for a better world in the future.

No doubt, the sacrifice seems real and immediate while the better world appears distant and very uncertain.

Steve Biko was absolutely correct when he wrote:

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

It is to be noted that the Black Consciousness nine, who were convicted on the **State v Cooper and Others** were convicted for celebrating the accession to power of Frelimo in Mozambique and showing solidarity

with Frelimo.

Now that Frelimo, despite its gallant anti-colonial efforts, has been forced to compromise with the rapacious white settlers, it seems that the system once again hopes to erase BC.

We say that any attempt to eradicate BC is doomed to failure. BC is a revolutionary perspective that penetrates to the depths beneath the mask of blackness. As such, to eradicate BC one has to commit genocide against the entire Black population in this land.

**Frank Talk** emphasizes that a vital lesson of Nkomati is that the liberation struggle is a ceaseless struggle: it does not end with political 'independence'. If the oppressed and exploited are 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. This is what Frelimo is learning.

We wish to warn that there is no "right moment" in revolutionary struggle: every moment is the right moment for something.

And this is the right moment for us to sit as one big unit under the leadership of the black working class, and to use the very concept of BC to unite ourselves. We must cling to each other with a tenacity that will shock the perpetrators of evil.

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