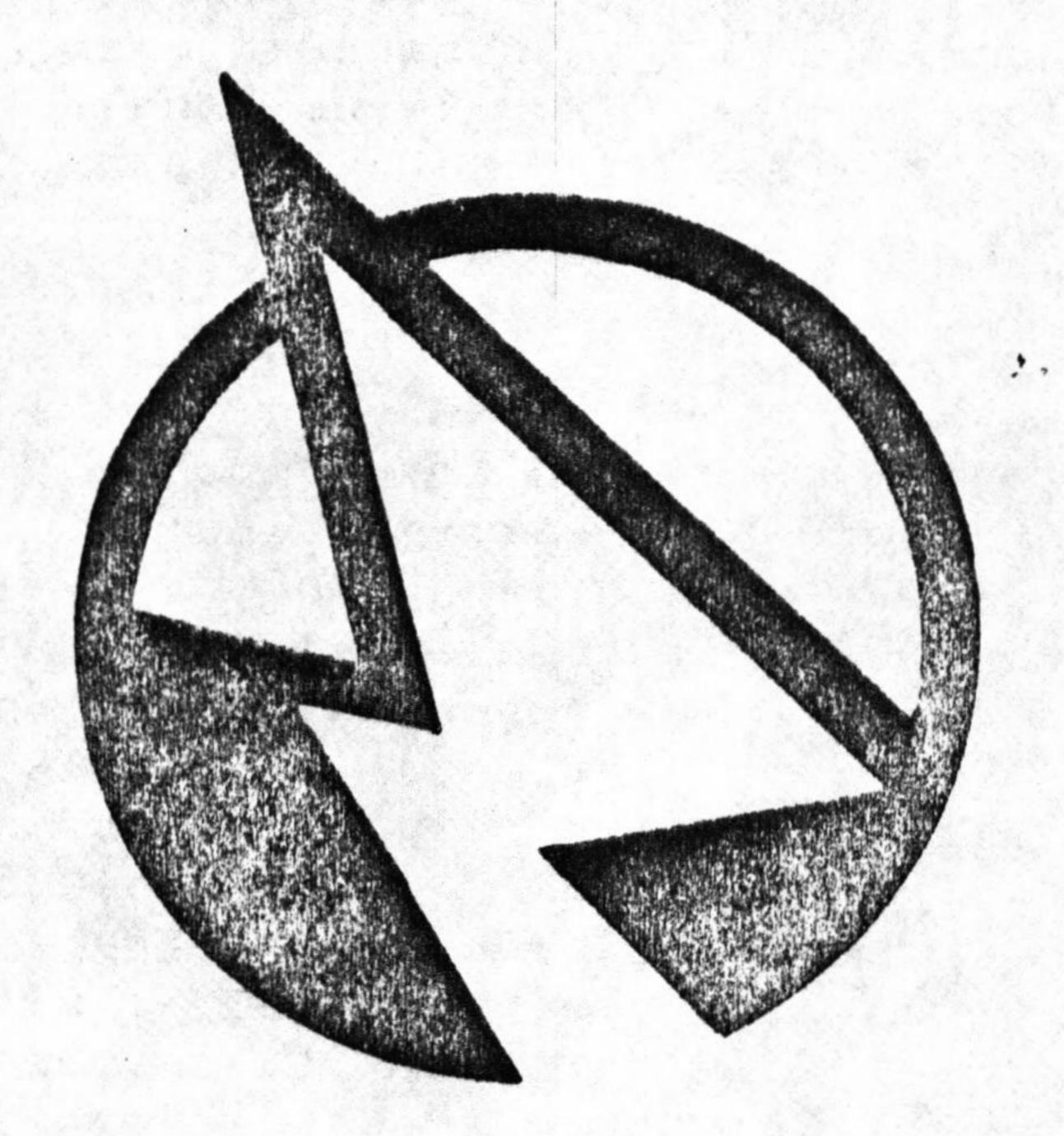Programme for Activities.

13th December, 1978

OKHELA

notes Amsterdam.

1. Development in the five task areas

2. our levels in problem solving

3. Programme.

1st December 1978

Position Paper.

A. Development of tte five task areas:

    1. Cadre Building

    2. Boer - worker alliance

    3. Vokksfront

    4. Plan for the future

    5. International ~~TakkasxxTaksx~~ Tasks.

B. Four levels in problem solving:

    1. Ideological

    2. Political Stands

    3. Organisation

    4. Technical

C. Programme.

B. Four levels in Problem Solving.

1.   Ideological.

What isk the ideology of Okhela? As a group, it is the spirit party spirit spirit. It is the link to what must be done. The main function of Okhela as group, following particularly on the setback in 1975, was to develop the ideas which form the basis to link us to the republican tradition. It was the elaboration of the identity crisis as both a cultural and a political response to the impasses we have reached in social relations within the colonial state. It is an ideology which grew essentially in isolation from the ANC-SACP, eventhough the original original impulse came from within the ANC. To this extent we have taken on the Maluti orientation, that is, the ideology of black nationalist tradition within the ANC as it is being elaborated by the ANC(AN).

The ïeas which unite the group have been developed in terms of the needs of the white masses. This is a departure from the anti-apartheid tradition which tends to reject the legitimacy of the white masses, and to see the role of white activity in the nationalist movement mainly as a limited class role, or else as a limited role dependant entirely on the "requests" of black organisations. The former aspect is dominant in the anti-apartheid movement stands abroad and propagated by the ANC-SACP, while the latter has been the stand elaborated by the younger generation of liberal miltancy with the Nusas whites. In contradcition to all of this, Okhela sees the role of white nationalists in the iinx national liberation struggle. This is a consequence of posing the issue for the role of whites in the manifesto as being both in terms of race and of class. In the perspective of the unsolved "nasionale vraagstuk", the national dimension assumes importance.

In the meantime it is clear that what was predicted in the ˆlgiers notes of 1975, i.e. that the patriotic element in the republican tradition will emerge as a vanguard force in the anti-imperialsit movement in defence of t the local masses, has turmed out to be the case. And the language again assumes a uniting role and formative role in a process of cultural revolution, as the essential dimension in the resolving of contradictions of the national

question. It is becoming exciting to be a Maluti!

The function of ideologiy is to unite a group to a social movement
so that the former may influence the direction of events in the latter.
With Okhela over the years this ideolgical formation internally has focussed
particularly strongly on the unconditional affirmation of Breytenbach in the
face of heavy criticism from the side of the orthodox reform movement. By a
consistent defence of the Okhela manifesto certain key issues were focussed
upon whereby an antaognistic relation developed with the ANC-SACP. The
antagonism is ideological in that the social reality with which we are involved,
in terms of our own indides, is that of the republican tradition and
anti-ikperialsit tradtion which the Moscow Communists runnig the ANC-SACP wish t
drive under. The relation has become antagonistic also politically in that we
were not in p position to accept their realities of the Morogoro princizles
of 1969 whereby the ANC became an orhodox communist party posing as a national
liberation movement.

A significant point of difference between those holding on to the
okhela manifesto and the ANC-SACP revolves around the role of the prisoners.
Our prisoners are martyrs for the republican cause. W have defended Breytenbac
as such, and extended this defence to the other casualsties going back to the
many who fell in the epic struggle agaist the British Imperialists during the
second war of liberation, to the republican heroes who fell dueing the
rebellion (agaist the Smuts conspiracy to involve Maluti in the British
Imperialdit wars) the many who fell with the various uprisings of the white
workers. And to the list we have included John Harris. In the affirmation
of the republican martyrs there is an untapped ideological school to
sustain the coming generatio̧s of Maluti militancy.

The growing samizdat trend in Maluti is seen as an ideological response
to the back consciousness movement, or the renascence of the antixximpxxiaixxit
black nationalist movement. Steve Biko is a peoples martyr, and he is
one of the key elements in the ideological formation of the volksfront.

Abroad Okhela elements have grown and developed ideologically becuase of
the sharing of experiences with other anti-imperialit groups. A firm schooling
into the background of the Irish Republican movement has been crucial in puˈtin
us in touch with our own tasks to elaborate the republican tradition in defence
of our own national and class interests.

2. Political.

Ir is only after the consistent elaboration and clarity in ideology
that the task of poltical problem saaving is possible. Thus, the political
stands that Okhela was able to elaborate have been firmly linked to
the crucial phase of ideological formation.

Most crucial political stand is that of linking to our own masses in terms
of the class and the national dimensions. This is a key linke in the Okhela
manifesto and it is cornerstone in developing the politics of solving the
identity crisis . From this flows the firm stand on the language question
as an integral part of the identity crisis, to be seen in terms of the
unsolved national question. By July 1978 we were able to openly confront the
ANC-SACP on this crucial issue and to this the elaboration of the need
for a Maluti Samizdat, also opposed openly and publicly by the ANC-SACP
spokesperson Laguma. And Samizdat has now firmly been established and sees
the role of the language in terms of state repression and the need to
oppose the state on these grounds. In the new samizdat lies the germs for the
cultural response to the black consciousness movement and the seeds which will
grow in the volksfront to oppose the growing threat of external intervention
against the interests of the indigenous people.

Another key political stand is that we have taken against the
issue of disinvestment. We do not see the disinvestment campaign of the
anti-apartheid movement to be in the interests of the indigenous masses,
rather it represents a form of imperialsit intervention which must be firmly
opposed. On this we have come full circle after having been in the vanguard
during the pre- 1975 period when we actively elaboreated economic sabotage
from abraod within the anti-apartheid movement and as part of the movement.

On the anti-apartheid movement we have taken an antagonistic stand. It
is the weak link in the state. The anti-apartheid movement is part of the state.
It never broke its links with the colonial state but merely transferred these
links from the body-politic of the colonial state to the sanctuaries it sought
abroad. It therefore has become the vanguard intervention movement linked to
the alien state of imperialism. It is closely linked to the international
organisations expressing compromised interests between the super pow
while in the western countries it is part of the ideolgcal apparatus of the
host states. It is given full succour by the western media and is financed
by the alien states in terms of their own decolonisation needs. As the weak

link in the new state-in-becoming it must be opposed and isolated.

On the colonial state we have taken the position that our own sanctuary for anti-imperialist activity must be based in the tolerances allowed by the state. There is a growing antagonism in the body politic and there is room for the elaboration of the identity crisis as the necessary repsonse to the black consciousness movement, much of which is already on the barricades under arms.

Our primary flashpoint in the armed struggle is the destruction of the fascist menace. We have abandoned and actively opposed the holy cow of the anti-apartheid movement which has been the tacit endorsement of the miltary intervention adventures of the Soviet Union in Africa, and now sitting on ghe shpulders of the xxxxxxxxd colonial state. On the overall stand on the sta there is thus the need to continue a defensive endorsement of its tolerant functions to oppose exte al intervention.

3. Organisation.

The main focus in the activiteis based on the Okhela manifesto are ideological. We are nowhere close to elaborate a mass armed struggle, nor do we intend to disrupt the phase of ideological formation by the premature endorsement of the holy cow. It was thrown out by Breyten during his second tri a stand which has been endorsed by the group.

In the organisation of the ideological struggle, i.e. the elaboration of the politics of identity crisis, the basic organsiation of the revolutionary action group, along the lines propounded by Breytenbach, have been a natural development in no ways alien to the republican tradition in our masses. There is the element of sponataniety which is an orgnaisational lifeline to ensure that the white consciousness movement reains vigourous and in touch with the needs of the masses. In the suzdat phase it is ideolgical formation which is far more important than formal structures. The needs of the masses can never be delegated as takks to individuals, however well meaning some of them anglo-saxons may be.

4. Technical.

This should normally be the easiest level of problem solving. The
political problems are the most difficult, the organisational a little less
difficult and the technical the easiset. One cannot really speak of the
ideological level as few problem solving. It becomes an area for
insight and inspiration.

If one has look at the Okhela experiences then it is clear that
the time before 1975 was one where we were heavily focussed on
the level of technical problem solving. Ideological development was merely
a question of getting a little drunk every now and then, speaking of snoek
and biltong and the wild dream now and the n as to what Christiaan
De We t would think of what we were doing, but that was that. Further, the
ideological problem was a very defensive one of keeping out of our way
the book worms who normally pose as the well read classical marxists.
Moerdyk was one of these, and we derived great pleasure from the mere fact
that with a little bit of technical talk we could undermine his integrity
to such an extent that he took his hat and left the group. The Zardos
distortion was thrown over board for the same reason. And we celebrated with
boerewors and biltong, long live the anarchist tradtion in Maluti!

Similarly, the political problem before the 75 event was merely a
inner plot session with Sam or Bob. We shared confidential information
and the politics was limited to this. It was lighting candles in the arsehole
of the ANC, watching out for the same time that we were not going to be
caught by the holhangers.

The ideological limitation was passed down to the level of the
political problem solving. From here we gathered more distortions which
were passed down to the level of the organisational problem solving, and the
final distortions in the technical level were solved by endorsement from the
top, the ideological king whom we worshipped. Endorsement for succour
from the anti-apartheid sanctuary, in our case mainly from the Dutch
anti-apartheid movement, more particularly from the Algiers base.

Now, who is still surprised at the events in 1975?

The Atlas phase of Okhela was technically top heavy. It did not take much blasting by the enemy to completely bring the top heavy edifice flat on its broken pieces of relatively sophisticated technical feats. Right through the Sputnik phase we were still left in a position to demobilise criticism on the basis of the past tachnical feats. At the same time we avoided like the plague falling into the same pitfall. Sputnik was taking the bit firmly in the teeth. If we had to defend the manifesto out in the cold, and on top of that defend the stands that Breytn was taking, anarchist as they seemed at face value, look for example at the letter to van den Bergh, then the bit was 100% ideological. And there are no distoritions that can be passed down for technical problem solving. That type of technical approach we now leave to the holhangers who on the basis of their own ideological bankruptcy have got to solve the colonial question of MMaluti over te heads of the people by calling in brother Ivan, - the tehnical problem reduced to foreign tanks!

We have at the presnt stage reduced the technical problem to a matter of communication. And the extent of the problem is guaged by what is being done, and what is being done on the basis of political stands, and political stands are the working out of the ideas which hold us together, as individuals and as a group, and put us in touch with the social realities which we influence. At present the samizdat phase is primarily an ideological one. If a bit of writng is godod and provocative, i.e. ideologically relevant, the contents will circulate with a minimum of technical problem solving. And the same with moving around.

It is from the samizdat phase that the organisational principles and material and technical problem solving for the armed struggle phase will evolve. The armed struggle must be internalised, i.e. not an external sanctuary based intervention. Arms come from the enmy, the enmy is the state, and the soldier must be won. In this neat little bit of reality the problem of technicalities can be worked out at all levels.

C. Programme.

1. Release Breyten .
2. Samizdat
3. Solidartiy activism, the international task.