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### A LIBERATION AGENDA

It has been said that freedom is like a curve on the road of the struggle. That curve may look like the end of the road, but when you approach the curve, you realise that the road unfolds in ever so many ways. Therefore, despite the status quo or immobilising talk about freedom or democracy, the liberation struggle continues.

Besides, there are two aspects to freedom. You are free from something, and free to do something. It should therefore not be enough to free your hands and feet from the chains that made it difficult for you to do something, you should also be free to do something to develop yourself to make up for the time lost while you were in chains. Any freedom that begins and ends with the breaking of the chains, but forces you to remain where you were when you were in chains, is no freedom at all.

Let us put it differently. If your lack of freedom or bondage constituted your living in a shack and being unemployed and poor, your freedom should place you in a decent house with gainful employment that should take you out of poverty. That is what the breaking of the chains means. The simple declaration of freedom does not necessarily amount to the attainment of substantive freedom.

Some members of the Black elite cringe when they hear the term “revolution”. To them, revolution is about violent overthrow of one government to be replaced by another. That is a simplistic and cynical view of what a revolution is about. A revolution is primarily about the radical transformation of a political and an economic system and their replacement with a completely new political and economic system or social formation. The terms “revolution” and “liberation” go together. While revolution is the means, liberation is the end. That end does not wait for the end of the revolution to be realised. It quantitatively emerges and grows throughout the waging of the revolutions, which is the means. More than freedom which is generally limited to civil liberties like freedom of expression and movement, liberation goes further to agitate for the social ownership of the means of creating wealth and its distribution and redistribution to bring about an egalitarian society. It should now be clear why in AZAPO we tend to be biased to the radical term “liberation”.

By this move, we are agitating for the Liberation Agenda to be adopted and implemented by all Black people and their organisations. These organisations should not be limited to the political ones. Be they political, social, economic, cultural, faith-based, labour, business, academic or sports, we mean all the organisations of Black people must implement the Liberation Agenda. As a matter of convenience, the political organisations tend to lead when it comes to the matters of the revolution and liberation. We never fail to caution political organisations to look beyond the winning of seats in Parliament and confront the real issues of the ownership of the land and the means of production by means of which wealth is created. Black people need that spiritual growth that position them to realise that it is never enough to demand a right to work for white people. We have to use the power at our disposal to demand the wherewithal to establish and own the companies that create the wealth. There is a sense in which there is a difference between State Power and People's Power, which we refer to as Black Power.

We have to go beyond the demand for income to the demand for wealth. The time has come for Black people to ask liberatory questions about who owns which property in the land of their forebears. Who owns the house you call your home? The bank. Who owns the bank? White people. Who owns the land on which your home is built? White people's bank. Who owns the car in your garage? White people's bank. Who owns the Malls and retail stores from which you buy your clothes and groceries? White people. Who owns the farm that distribute the food to the Malls? White people. What do we own as Black people in the land of our forebears? Nothing. I doubt if we have ownership over our own bodies. They control our minds through religion, education and the media. It is at that critical stage when we ask these liberatory questions that Black people could meaningfully and practically talk about the beginning of a conscious movement for the restoration of their humanity and dignity in the land of their forebears.

Black people must so institutionalise their liberatory attitude such that every individual consciously acts within the domain of the Liberation Agenda. A parent should bring up their child to nurture them in the cause of liberation. Beyond seeing a future breadwinner in their child, they must see a revolutionary or a freedom fighter, if that sounds cool for you. Beyond developing a scientist or an entrepreneur, an educator or an academic should nurture a revolutionary in that learner or student. Beyond fighting for a living wage, a trade unionist should help imbue the workers with the revolutionary spirit of working towards the ownership of the companies that employ them as workers. The priests should tone down the indoctrination of the congregants to faithfully worship for walking in the imaginary streets of gold and places of endless milk and honey. The spiritual teaching should be about the right of the congregants to eat bacon and egg here on earth and this side of the grave. The teaching should extend to urging the congregants to own the farms that produce bacon and egg.

We are here talking about the Liberation Agenda within the context of the revolution. What kind of Black public representatives that find it difficult to make laws that liberate themselves and the people? I think it is Kwame Turé who tells us there is no need to fight over the crumbs that fall from the white people's tables because the whole loaf belongs to us. In AZAPO we would go a revolutionary step further and caution that it is not enough to own the whole loaf of bread. Black people must demand to own the bakery that bakes the bread. We must demand to own the wheat from which the bread is made. We must demand to own the land from which the wheat grows. That means we must repossess the land. That is what the Liberation Agenda is all about.

As has been alluded to above, the implementation of the Liberation Agenda should start at the family level. There is a saying in one of our Afrikan languages that “ugotywa usemanzi”, which means it is easier to bend the stem of a tree while the tree is still young and wet. Any postponement to do the bending when the tree is old and strong would amount to the breaking of the tree with all the environmental challenges of being without a tree. This is a reference about teaching the children and socialising them into the Liberation Agenda and all the progressive cultural values that go with it. We should not surrender our children to the State. The family has a fundamental role in preparing the children to be ready to change society. No one says it better than American slave abolitionist Frederick Douglass, “It is easier to build strong children than to repair broken men”.