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Volume 1

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AZAPO

Azania Peoples Organization

Constitution

and

Policy

One People One Azania

AZAPO

Azanian Peoples Organization

**Constitution
and Policy**

One People One Azania

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 subjected 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 gave 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 in Azania.
2. To found a movement that will unite all and liberate all from the exploitative and oppressive shackles.

SECTION 1

Name

The name of the organisation shall be the AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION, hereinafter referred to as AZAPO.

SECTION 2

Aims and Objectives

- No 2 19/9/77*
1. To conscientise, politicise and mobilise Black workers through the philosophy of Black Consciousness in order to strive for their legitimate rights.
 2. To work towards the establishment of an educational system that will respond creatively towards the needs of Azanians.
 3. To promote an interpretation of religion as a liberatory philosophy relevant to our struggle.
 4. To promote and encourage research into various problems affecting our people.
 5. To expose the oppressive and exploitative system in which our people are denied basic human rights.
 6. To work towards the unity of the oppressed, for the just distribution of wealth and power to all people of Azania.
- Annex No 2 2/6/87*

SECTION 3

Membership

1. Membership shall be open to Blacks only.
2. Every member shall subscribe to the principles, aims, policy, goals and philosophy of the organisation.
3. No membership shall be given to persons or organisations whose interests are in conflict with those of AZAPO.
4. Membership shall be:
 - a. by individual application
 - b. by group affiliation.
5. Every member of the organisation shall pay membership fee which shall be determined from time to time and a monthly subscription fee. Membership shall be renewable annually.
6. Any member or organisation whose interests have subsequently been proven to be in conflict with those of AZAPO shall be expelled forthwith.

SECTION 4

Composition of the National Council

1. The National Council shall comprise of:
 - i) Chairman
 - ii) President
 - iii) Vice-President
 - iv) General Secretary
 - v) Public Secretary
 - vi) National Organiser
 - vii) All the Secretariates
 - viii) Regional Organisers
 - ix) Branch Chairmen and an additional branch delegates.
2. a. No member of the National Executive Committee shall be eligible to serve as Chairman of the National Council. However the President shall chair the first Council after Congress.
 - b. The Chairman of the Council shall be elected from amongst the branch Chairmen and Regional organisers on a rotating basis.
 - c. At the end of each session Council shall elect a Chairman for its next sitting.

SECTION 5

Duties of the National Council

1. To receive and consider reports of the National Executive Committee.
2. To evaluate progress of the organisation.
3.
 - i) To regularly scrutinise the financial situation of the organisation.
 - ii) To review the financial records of the General Secretary.
4. To convene the National Congress.
5. The Council shall be empowered to appoint a Secretariate to deal with various aspects affecting Black People.
6. The Council shall be empowered to take any disciplinary action against any member who is guilty of misconduct.
7. The Council shall appoint an acting Chairman in an event where the current Chairman is unable to execute his duties.

Meeting of the National Council

1. The current Chairman shall preside at all meetings of the Council.
2. The Council shall meet at least once in three months at a venue determined by the current Chairman of the Council.

3. The current Chairman of the Council shall immediately inform the General Secretary who will then notify all the other members of the Council of such venue and date of meeting.
4. Failure by a member of the Council to attend two (2) consecutive meetings without adequate reason shall lead to the automatic suspension from the Council.

SECTION 6

Composition of the National Executive Committee

1. President
2. Vice-President
3. General Secretary
4. Publicity Secretary
5. National Organiser.

Duties of the President

1. The President shall be chief executive officer of the organisation.
2. He shall represent the organisation nationally and internationally.
3. He shall be responsible for the guidance and application of the principles, policies and goals of the organisation.
4. He shall preside at all meetings of the National Executive Committee.
5. He shall report and be responsible to the National Council.

Duties of the Vice-President

1. He shall perform the duties and functions which are otherwise performed by the President, if the President is unable to do so.
2. He shall assist the President in the execution of his duties, functions and responsibilities.

Appointment of Acting/or Vice President

In the event of both the President and Vice President being unable either temporarily or permanently to perform their duties the Executive Committee shall appoint a member of the National Council to act as President and/or Vice-President who shall hold office until the President or Vice-President is able to assume his duties or until a new President or Vice-President has been elected.

Duties of the General Secretary

1. The General Secretary shall act as the chief administrative officer of the organisation.
2. He shall be the custodian and see to the safe keeping of all the properties of the organisation unless the executive decides otherwise.
3. He shall be in charge of the secretarial work of the organisation.
4. He shall be responsible for the keeping of records of the organisation.
5. He shall be responsible for keeping the books of accounts, income and expenditure of the organisation.
6. He shall cause a balance sheet to be prepared and certified by auditors, annually.
7. He shall present an audited financial report to the National Congress.
8. He shall prepare and submit on a quarterly basis, financial report to the National Council.

Duties of the Publicity Secretary

1. He shall be responsible for projecting the image of the organisation.
2. He shall be responsible for issuing press statements on behalf of the organisation.
3. He shall be responsible for all the organisation publications and other material pertaining to his office.

NATIONAL ORGANISER

1. Shall be the co-ordinator of the Regional Organisers.
2. Shall be responsible in conjunction with Regional Organisers for the establishment of the branches.
3. Shall be the co-ordinating officer of the branches in all regions.
4. Shall be responsible for the formulation of various methods of approaching the community.
5. Shall visit the branches in all regions together with the responsible Regional Organiser.
6. a) Shall at least once every two months hold a meeting with Regional Organisers to inquire into the progress of the organisation.
b) Shall record these proceedings and report to the National Executive Committee.

SECTION 7

Election of National Executive Committee

1. Congress shall elect the National Executive Committee annually whilst the Executive Committee will meet at least once in every two months.
2. The term of the office by fulltime staff shall be extended for two years. Each year congress shall ratify the position.
3. The National Executive shall be empowered to appoint the secretariates in the different fields.
4. All Regional Organisers, elected to other position of the National Executive, shall ipso facto cease to represent their regions. The affected region shall thereafter elect a new Regional Organiser whose election shall be ratified by the National Executive Committee acting on mandate of the congress.

Election of Regional Organiser

1. A month after the sitting of congress, the region shall assemble to elect among themselves their Regional Organiser.
2. The Regional Organiser shall be recommended annually by the regions and the names submitted to the national congress ie. each shall elect its organiser and their names shall be introduced and/or read to the national congress for their ratification.

SECTION 8

Powers and Duties of Regional Organisers

1. Shall be responsible for organising the people in his region.
2. Shall liaise between the National Organiser and his region.
3. Shall be responsible for visiting all branches in his region and be available for assistance and advise.
4. Shall be responsible for the cultural orientation and conscientisation of the black community in his region.
5. Shall be responsible for convening and presiding over regional activities.
6. Shall be responsible for submitting progress reports of the branches to the National Organiser.

SECTION 9

Branches

1. The National Organiser shall, subject to the approval of the National Executive Committee, establish branches in consultation with the Regional Organisers.
2. A branch shall consist of at least 20 members or any such number that the National Executive Committee may decide upon.
3. Delimitation of branches shall be determined by the National Organiser in consultation with the Regional Organiser.
4. Election of the Branch Executive Committee shall be held annually.
5. Each branch shall supervise all aspects and activities of the organisation within the area of its jurisdiction.
6. Each branch may submit to the National Executive Committee or National congress for consideration, recommendations concerning the principles, aims, objectives and goals of the organisation.
7. Each branch shall elect delegates to the National congress.
8. Each branch shall have an Executive Committee comprising of:
 - a) Chairman
 - b) Vice-Chairman
 - c) Secretary
 - d) Treasurer
 - e) Two (2) additional members.

SECTION 10

Powers and Duties of the Branch Executives

The Chairman shall:

1. Be the head of the Branch.
2. Be the chief executive member to whom the executive members shall be responsible.
3. Whenever possible and necessary represent the branch.
4. Carry out the aims and objectives of the organisation.
5. Preside at all the meetings of the branch.
6. He shall, within the policy of the organisation, in consultation with the Publicity Secretary and at least one member of his executive, issue press statement pertaining to his branch only.

The Vice-President shall:

1. Assist the Branch Chairman in the execution of his duties and deputise for him should he for some reason be unable to carry out his duties.
2. Be responsible together with other members for the maintenance of the branch.

The Secretary shall:

1. Be responsible for the safe keeping of the books and records of the branch.
2. Be responsible for the secretarial work of the branch.

The Treasurer shall:

1. Be responsible for the funds of the branch and shall keep a register of all the capital assets of the branch.
2. Deposit funds of the branch in a bank to be decided by the branch executive.

SECTION 11

Quorum

1. National Council: A third of branch chairmen will form a quorum.
2. National Executive Committee: A simple majority present will form a quorum.
3. National Congress: A third of the members of the congress will form a quorum.
4. Branch Executive Committee: A simple majority will form a quorum.

SECTION 12

Special Meetings

The Chairman of the national congress at the relevant time shall instruct the General Secretary to convene special meeting in respect of all urgent matters pertaining to the organisation and shall appoint the date, time, venue and agenda.

SECTION 13

Voting

1. Voting at National Congress shall be constituted as follows:
 - a) For the first hundred or part thereof each branch shall have three votes.

- b) For each additional three hundred or part thereof up to one thousand there shall be one additional vote.
- c) For each additional five hundred or part thereof up to two thousand there shall be two additional votes.
- d) No branch shall have more than ten (10) votes.
- e) Each member of the executive shall be entitled to one vote, providing that the Presiding Officer is entitled to a casting vote.
- f) Voting by proxy shall not be allowed.

SECTION 14

National Congress

1. The supreme and highest governing and policy making body of the organisation shall be the National Congress and it shall meet once a year, at a place and time determined by the National Council providing that:
 - a) The National Council may convene a special session of the National Congress wherever the Council sees it necessary and desirable to do so.
 - b) The National Congress shall comprise delegates from branches and the National Executive Committee.
 - c) The National Congress shall have the power and authority to take decisions by a majority vote of those present and voting in all aspects of the policy, principles, organisation's finance and discipline of the organisation, and all such decision shall be binding on the organisation and all its formation providing that the National Congress shall have the power and authority to abrogate, amend, rescind and/or alter its own resolutions and/or decision on constitution a policy, principle, aims, objectives and goals unless agreed to by not less than a two thirds majority of members attending the session.

SECTION 15

Notification of Meetings

Members of the National Council and National Congress should be notified of meetings not less than twenty on (21) days before such meetings take place.

SECTION 16

Finances

1. Funds shall be deposited with a bank to be determined by the National Executive Committee.

2. The National Executive Committee shall frame and prescribe regulations and procedures to be adopted and followed by any or all formations of the organisation with regard to finances.
3. The General Secretary shall be in charge of finances.
4. All financial transactions carried out in the name of the organisation shall bear the signature of the Secretary General and of either the President or Vice-President.
5. The organisation shall appoint a recognised firm of auditors who shall be allowed to inspect the financial records.
6. Books and/or records of the organisation shall be audited annually before the National Congress.
7. The financial year of the organisation ends in November.
8. All payments shall be made by cheque, except in the case of petty cash.
9. The organisation shall be a body co-operate, capable of managing its own assets and liabilities.

SECTION 17

Property

The organisation shall be empowered and entitled to sell, purchase, hire, lease, mortgage, pledge and in any way alienate or deal with both movable and immovable property acquired by any of its formation.

The properties of the organisation shall be registered in its own name or in the name of the Trustees appointed for the purpose by the Executive in the event of any law requiring this, on behalf of the organisation.

SECTION 18

Legal Procedures

The organisation may sue or be sued in its name, and shall appoint its own legal advisers. The President or Vice-President in the event of the President not being available for any reason whatever shall be authorised by National Executive at its special meeting to institute and defend all legal proceedings.

SECTION 19

Discipline

1. A member may be suspended or expelled for misconduct by the National Council or any Branch Executive Committee.
2. The Branch Executive Committee shall after the suspension of a member immediately inform the National Executive Committee or National Council whichever will meet first.

3. The National Executive Committee or National Council shall ratify or dismiss such suspension or expulsion.
4. Upon expulsion of a member all monies due to the organisation by such members shall become payable. If payment thereof is not made within 28 days the National Council may take such steps as it deems necessary to secure such a settlement.
5. Such a member shall cease to be entitled to any of the benefits of membership including the right to vote and shall be deemed to be out of good standing.
6. The National Council may suspend any office bearer from office on the recommendation and request of the National Executive until a decision is taken by the Congress which decision shall be taken by vote.

Resignation

A member may resign by giving one month's notice in writing to the Branch Executive Committee provided that no resignation shall take effect until monies due to the organisation by the member concerned have been paid.

SECTION 20

Dissolution

1. The National Council shall, should the need arise, convene an emergency National Congress which shall vote on the matter.
2. In the event of any assets left after the dissolution the National Executive Committee shall be empowered to distribute such assets to any Black organisation it deems fit.
3. Three months notice should be given to all Branches before such a meeting can take place.

SECTION 21

Amendments

All the provisions of this constitution may be repealed amended or added to any manner by the two thirds of the majority of the delegates present and voting.

SECTION 22

Interpretation of Text

1. Unless inconsistent with the context BLACK shall be interpreted as those who may by law or tradition are economically, socially and politically discriminated against as a group in the Azanian society, and identify themselves as a unit in the struggle towards the realization of their aspiration.

2. Unless inconsistent with the context, words purporting masculine gender shall also denote feminine gender.
3. Unless inconsistent with the context ORGANISATION shall mean the Azanian People's Organisation.
4. Unless inconsistent with the context EXECUTIVE shall mean the National Executive Committee of the organisation.
5. Unless inconsistent with the context COUNCIL shall mean the National Council of AZAPO.
6. Unless inconsistent with the context MOVEMENT shall mean AZAPO.
7. Unless inconsistent with the context PRESIDENT shall be the National President of AZAPO.
8. Unless inconsistent with the context REGION shall mean at least four branches in the same geographic contiguity.
9. Unless inconsistent with the context WORKER is a Black Labourer who even though he/she forms the backbone of the country's economy is forced under degrading conditions to sell his/her labour without sharing in the wealth he produces.
10. In the event of any dispute or disagreement from the meaning or interpretation of any section, sub-clause, word or words of this constitution, the final arbitrator shall be the Congress.

ON 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 on the acceptance in this apart 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 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 difference Black organisation 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 irreversible 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 the democratic government.
- d) A philosophy that relatively translates itself into an active opposition to government policies bent on enstranging 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 re-orientate 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 value of persons shall be held 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 by the myth that the 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. Class and Race

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 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. This gives rise to the ever increasing conflict between the white and the black races. The white race accumulates capital by exploiting the 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.

AZAPO POLICY ON LOCAL, NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

PREAMBLE

The Azanian People's Organisation, a black national political organisation working to bring about complete and democratic political, economic and social change in the whole of Azania notes that the Black people who are the workers and the majority are an oppressed and exploited people whose oppression and exploitation is perpetrated mainly at the following levels:

- a) The white ~~minority~~ government with its covert and overt institution,
- b) The National and multinational capital with its imperialistic inclinations

- c) **The collaboration of the superpowers and their beneficiaries who give moral and material support to the racist minority government of South Africa**

The AZAPO therefore adopts the following as its policy on local, national and international relations:

1. The AZAPO acknowledges the existence of the historical political organisations.
2. The rules and regulations governing the Organisation's recognition of other organisations as well as the Organisation's relationship with other organisations will be governed and guided primarily by the AZAPO policy.
3. The Organisation will forge working relations with religious, educational, sporting, cultural, trade, journalist unions, students and workers organisations which embrace the broad philosophy of Black Consciousness as defined by the AZAPO.
4. The Organisation in all its relationship with other bodies and/or powers shall retain and maintain its independence and direction in terms of policies, principles, programmes and ideology.
5. The AZAPO shall reserve the right of mandating and/or appointing a member(s) to be a spokesman(men) of the Organisation to the international community.
6. The AZAPO shall not implement programmes of other organisations which have similar aims and objectives at the expense of the programmes of the Organisation.
7. Further, the AZAPO shall have the right to confirm and/or repudiate whatever standpoints made by such spokesmen.
8. The AZAPO maintains that the struggle of the oppressed and exploited people of the world has local, national and international dimensions.
9. The AZAPO shall continually keep abreast of historical and recent developments and trends in local, national and international arenas.
10. The Organisation shall also continually guard against reactionary and counter-productive trends in its ranks as well as in the broad oppressive and exploitative machinery.
11. This policy is geared to reflect the Organisation's thrust to build a broad and extensive base essential for the realization of the objectives and aims of the Organisation.



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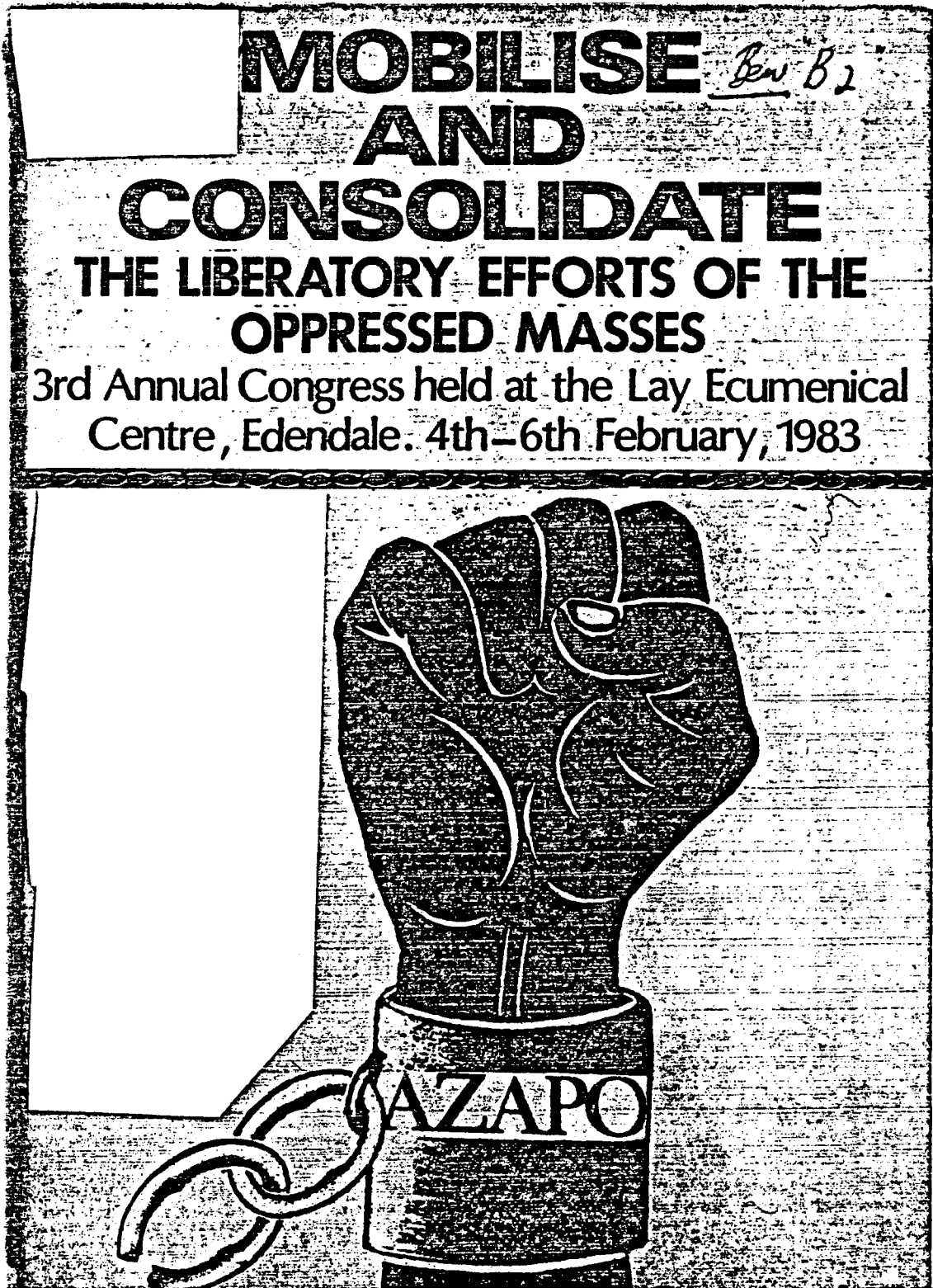
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AZAPO, 1983 a





**MOBILISE
AND
CONSOLIDATE
THE LIBERATORY EFFORTS
OF
THE OPPRESSED MASSES**

Azanian People's Organization
3rd Annual Congress , Edendale ,
4th–6th February , 1983 .



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Foreword

It is the desire and the hope of the Executive Committee of the Azanian People's Organization that the papers put together in this publication, the resolutions emanating from Congress will serve as a ray of light in this hour of political gloom in the Country. The mood of the Congress shall not be captured in full particularly with the exclusion of numerous fraternal greetings, in word and in writing, from fraternal organisations. It would have been a serious omission on the part of the Organisation, however, not to have made this offering possible.

Delays and setbacks have been numerous with promises made and broken by printers. They have repulsed our papers from their desks for fear of police harassment or purely on ground of racial or ideological bias against the sentiments expressed therein.

This publication is an expression of a determination to be heard in an inhospitable world. It is not an unassailable contribution, but a piece which it is hoped shall foster some considerable amount of discussion and revolutionary reflection among those who love Azania, its offspring and its destiny.

AZAPO is indebted to the Conference participants some who had to work against odds at a short notice to ensure that Conference should be jerked to the challenges of the day.

Our special word of appreciation to our fellow-travellers, those who are still prepared to offer a hand of friendship and support. To those who urged us to continue with this project and thus patiently wait for it to see the light of day, we are grateful for the inspiration.

We dedicate these pages to those who have already paid the ultimate price in the cause. To all who have selflessly taken over from those who have fallen. To those who have parted with son, mother, daughter, father, sister, brother, and all the shining examples of Nkrumah's vision of an emancipated Africa.

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Mobilise and Consolidate the Liberatory Efforts of the Oppressed Masses

Muntu Myeza

There are millions of Black people who would have loved to be at this third congress of the Azanian People's Organisation. Many of those people cannot be here because some are trying to eke out a living for themselves and their families through these trying times. Some cannot attend because they have been forced to find shelter in distant lands by the oppressive white racist settler regime of South Africa. Others are unable to come to this Congress because they are restricted by the white laws to tiny portions of our land. A great number still is incarcerated and made to languish in the dungeons of oppression erected through the length and breadth of this our beloved country. These are the people we must think of today and through the duration of the Congress. A great responsibility is placed on our shoulders to interpret and articulate their true values and ideals. As the Congress progresses we must bear in mind the anguish, trauma and terror that our people are suffering at the heel of white oppression. We must assume the role of the father to the fatherless, the mother to the motherless. We must instil courage, fortitude and inspiration to those who have lost their husbands, wives, sons, daughters or beloved ones during the course of our lives under oppression. We must be a source of comfort and hope during the long hours of misery and loneliness. Best of all we must open up new horizons to a better life. We must offer a definite and feasible prospect of good life in freedom.

This is our duty as a ~~people's Liberation Movement~~. We must bear this duty selflessly and unflinchingly. We must remain forever vigilant against attempts to frustrate and throw the focus of our perspective, out of direction. Our commitment to the liberation of our land and people must be tempered with iron tenacity and unwavering resolve. Through honest constant and consistent evaluation and assessment of our methods and progress, we shall be able to give expression to the true aspirations of our People. This is the duty that faces each and every committed person at this

time, during the Congress and afterwards until Azania prevails. Even when Azania is established, it shall remain our duty to guard jealously the interests and values of the new order because the forces of destruction are always relentlessly at work with their devilish manoeuvres.

AZANIA

The Azania which we have given to our land does not and is not merely a geographical and historical meaning. It is also an expression and embodiment of the values and ideals of the society we envisage and are struggling for. The name Azania marks a decisive severance of ties with the callous disrespect of humane values and ideals practised by whites in our country since their arrival. Since the advent of the white man on our shores the history of our land is littered with innumerable incidents of viciousness perpetrated against our people in the name of white supremacy. We refuse to be associated with the acts of naked terrorism such as slavery, the massacre of Sharpeville and the slaughter of our people during 1976 and afterwards. We reject utterly the legacy of the exploitation and racism that whites have visited on our people ever since their arrival. Our people have been, and still are, unwilling and bitter victims of this bloody and messy history. At best, we would dearly love to see racist inhuman statute laws and the accompanying sordid acts of cruelty rot into oblivion in musty archives. At worst, we are able and willing to work towards the obliteration of this sad phase in the history of Azania. This latter task we are willing to undertake as the people of Zimbabwe are doing presently. The humane society we are fighting for cannot afford to have, let alone practise, a satanic ideology of racism which has no place anywhere in the world. The choice rests on the proponents and practitioners of racism whether we shall allow it to die a peaceful, albeit dishonourable death, or we shall have to actively work towards its obliteration from the face of the earth.

The title Azania also defines the character and ownership over land. The Europeans dispossessed us of our land but its ownership has never been in doubt despite the futile attempts by their naive and dishonest propagandists and historians. Our land is one monolithic whole and we shall continue to regard it as such. We do not and shall continue not to reorganise the various areas which the white rulers have given to a coterie of yes-men as states. We regard this dismemberment as a desperate attempt at dividing our people with the view to maintaining themselves in a position untrammelled supremacy. The current so-called constitutional development is and a confirmation of this conclusion.

We reject equally strongly the attempts to assign us to various portions of the country and the labels that go with such compartmentalization. Black people are neither legal blacks, urban blacks, Indians, Coloureds nor are we citizens of any country but Azania.

All the people who belong to this country by birth or adoption have an equal right to live, work and stay in any part of the country that they choose. This, in a nutshell, defines the character of Azania and all the sane and peace-loving peoples of the world embrace this principle.

The People

The Azania People's Organisation restricts its membership to Black People only. Needless to say Black People in this context includes the so-called Indians, Coloureds and Xhosas, Pedis, Zulus, etc. This is the class of people capable of bringing about fundamental change in our country. This is the class that is oppressed by the white class — the white ruling class is composed of Europeans of various extractions like Italians, Dutch, Portuguese, English, etc. Analysed in the sociological terms the South African society defines itself into two classes with conflicting values and ideals, namely, the Blacks on the one hand and whites on the other. Various groupings are to be found on either side of the dividing line but race determines the class as a class in our economic and socio-political situation. The various groups or classes on either side of the divide, like intellectuals, students, workers, artists, do not, in themselves form a class. Only when they perceive themselves as forming a unit and become conscious of themselves as a class *for itself* with the requisite attitude towards the oppressive class do they become a class. In our context Black people do perceive themselves as a class for itself. Examples of this face are manifold, the events of June 16, 1976 and the aftermath being only one example, testify to this fact. It is a fact that some individuals from the oppressive class have labelled and reneged against their class. This does not however, in any way gainsay the fact that the oppressed class is incapable of a radical point of view from within its confines. The whites in this country are incapable of a radical change of view point because they are satisfied by this situation within the capitalist system. If they are not satisfied for a time, there are reasonable prospects of getting satisfaction in time within the same system. Consequently, the possibilities of a radical change of view point are short circuited and they remain satisfied or likely to be satisfied by and within the system and therefore seek to perpetrate the system.

The same does not hold for the Black man. The Black man is conscious

that he is alienated and treated like a commodity that can be used or discarded as the situation demands. He is estranged from the goods he produces the work he performs and other men. The intrinsic human value that a man has is lost and he is no better from the commodities he produces or helps in producing. His value as a human being is relegated to a callous exchange value. This psychological phenomenon is crucial in understanding the reactions to change by either of the two classes. One writer puts it succinctly when he says:

The objective reality of social existence (being) is 'the same' in its immediacy for both proleteriati and bourgeoisie. But this does not prevent the specific categories of agency whereby both classes lift this immediacy into . . . and through which the merely immediate reality becomes for both archical objective reality – from being radically different as a result for the differentiation of the two classes in the same economic process'

In other words the perception of one thing by both members of the two classes produces two distinct reactions governed by their class positions. A person charged under the Terrorism Act is viewed as a terrorist by whites and as a freedom fighter by Blacks. A policeman who kills or maims a child during an uprising is seen as a fascist murderer by the oppressed and as an agent of law and order by the oppressors. There are numerous real examples to confirm this assertion.

It is the duty and responsibility of the popular people's movement, AZAPO, to analyse, assess and articulate the peoples aspirations truthfully and realistically. We must determine clearly what our goals are, the method through which we want to achieve those goals and whether there is a reasonable probability of our methods succeeding. These three aspects are important in the mobilisation of the people for liberation.

In the Azanian context, particularly, the Black Consciousness outlook, taken as a philosophy or ideology has neither better nor equal in its ability to analyse, interpret and articulate the aspirations of our people. A more viable, more dynamic, more vibrant, more forthright ideology as firmly embedded in the circumstances that nurtured it has still to emerge in our country. Black Consciousness has served and shall continue to serve the people well in the quest for true humanity. There is no need for us here to enumerate the many successes that Black Consciousness has had, nor is there a need to count new fields that we have broken and the heights we are yet to reach. That we leave to our historical monitors and political commentators.

The aspect which is important in the methods we embrace towards the

attainment of our goals is the process of bargaining. The most important principle to observe in a bargaining process is strength — to bargain from a position of strength. It is an exercise in futility to bargain from any position but that of strength. Ours is a strong and vicious enemy and any thoughts to the contrary are a mere delusion. Any consideration which involves revolutionary change in South Africa must take into cognizance the absolute disregard for human feeling and morality by the racist regime. Hence, even when considering the bargaining process with the whites, their siege-mentality must be taken into account. Bargaining in this context does not mean the cap-in-hand, tail-between-the-legs variety. On the one hand, bargaining power can mean the absolute, utter and complete failure by those in power to meet the proposals they are presented with as was the case in Cuba, Iran, Mozambique and Angola. It can also take the form of failure to meet most of the proposals as was the case in Zimbabwe. On the other hand bargaining can take the form that we see in Italy and Portugal presently. At the bottom of the scale we have the form of bargaining that plagued our country until the advent of the Black Consciousness Movement. Our opponents are in the habit of asking whether the means we seek to employ in our quest for freedom are violent or peaceful means. Rightfully such questions belong to the place like John Vorster Square, Compol Building, and other such dens of human suffering. If this question of 'peaceful means' has to be answered at all, then one can rely on the answer given by one of the well-known revolutionaries who, when answering a similar question said,

Where the forces of oppression come to maintain themselves in a given situation, peace is considered already broken.

When we consider the method and direction towards the attainment of our liberation, focus must be brought to bear on those areas which add to our strength and those which diminish our efforts. We must realise that we are not dealing with a static situation. The oppressors are constantly trying to absorb, divert and thwart our efforts. It spares no effort, money or time, even in embarking on clandestine, cloak and dagger actions which cannot bear even a cursory moral scrutiny. Consequently, the revolutionary of today must learn to 'fly without perching' because the enemy has learnt to shoot without missing.

In this regard we must adopt the principle of principled selective acceptance or rejection. This means that the liberating phenomena should, after careful scrutiny be adopted and conversely, those that are critical to our liberatory efforts should be rejected. The persistent efforts to divert

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the struggle from its true course must be rejected as vehemently as possible. The present form is that of trying to deceive our people and the international community that there is some real change occurring in this country. This is presently done through the so-called Constitutional reforms. It is not our function in this discussion to analyse these so-called reforms as such. What we must be wary of is the danger that those people who are drawn from our midst as Black people present to us. These people are deserters and political spies. Their conduct is not anything new in the struggles of oppressed peoples. Ours is not an exception. They must be viewed for what they are and treated accordingly. They help the system to build a shaky credibility for itself in return for juicy crumbs from the master's table. This, of course includes all the veteran sell-outs and arch-collaborators who have grown rich at the expense of our people.

The world in general and South Africa situation in particular, has progressed so much that tribal clique-ism and ethnicism as a socio-political determinant has become obsolete. In this day when man is literally reaching for the stars, it is disgusting to see grown up men trying to perpetuate an impossible social structure. When mankind should be coming together in even greater conglomerations it is only the usual racists that seek to turn the wheel of history backwards. We all need each other as men in the world to do battle against new phenomena to open new frontiers of knowledge, to combat the famine and poverty that is rampant in the world. Only sick irridentists fail to see the advantages and absolute necessity for the unity of Black people for liberation in our country in particular and mankind in general.

It is time that at some stage in our history Black People did regard themselves as separate and distinct ethnical units. This might have been justified because of the circumstances existing then. Nevertheless society is not static. The change in circumstances necessitates a corresponding change of consciousness. It is not surprising that the white rulers encourage and actively promote the ossification of our people's conception of themselves. This practice is in persuance of their notorious and nefarious policies of divide and rule.

It also not a secret that some of our own people have at various stages in our history, regarded themselves as distinct 'National groups'. To this end some of the old organisations of the people thought it proper to galvanise and organise the people on the basis of tribalism and ethnicity. They even felt it correct to encourage and advise certain individuals to participate in the fraudulent government institutions. Today those individuals, after tasting the nectar of collaborationism are using that ill-advised and short-sighted piece of non-advice as a lever within which to jam the

wheel of change.

The reasons for such massive blunders and political monkey-jives lie in the absence of an analytic perception which comes with a thorough-going, uncompromising ideology. This look of ideology is engendered by a consuming love of sensationalism and a heavy reliance on the dubious virtues of the white media. The strangest thing is that some people and organisations fail to recognise the obsolescence of their ideas.

Black Consciousness has proved itself as the ideology which interpretes the situation of our people most accurately. It is here that the Black Consciousness Movement has its greatest strength, i.e. its ability to analyse accurately, galvanize and mobilize the people for the final decisive victory we all aspire to.

However, the Azanian People's Organisation, as the only popular political organisation in the country must work tirelessly to shoulder the task of carrying the hopes, prayers and desires of our people to fruition. Azapo does not need to prove its credentials to anyone but she does need to come forth more forcefully as the only liberation movement capable and willing to achieve the liberation that has so far eluded the Black People. Consequently, Azapo must organise, mobilise and consolidate the whole Black population in its various formations and locations under her banner. Our organisation must not only be heard but must be seen and felt by the people wherever they may be. Our presence must be experienced in the places of work, in schools, at universities, in sport, in religion, in the buses, in the streets, in the farms and all other places where Black people are to be found. We are fighting for complete and total liberation hence our efforts must be complete, total and unsparing.

We must delineate clearly between what our priorities are and the matters of lesser importance. It is the responsibility of AZAPO to take the lead in charting the course towards liberation. At the end of this congress the people must be in no doubt as to what our priorities and programmes are.

LEADERSHIP

Unlike some organisations, the Black Consciousness Movement embraced the principle of an extended and collective leadership. Each Black person who is true to the aspirations, values and ideals of the Black people must feel represented and having a recognised say in our movement. Our concept of leadership is not the type of leadership that comes from the top downwards only. Our idea of leadership is one that travels both vertically and horizontally. Azapo must assume its rightful position as the central

co-ordinator of all decisions and policies of our huge movement.

It is only through selfless commitment that we shall be able to consolidate the forces we mobilise. Persistent and consistent hard work is the staff which true revolutionary movements are made of. We must not fall short of this task. The blood and tears of the Azanians who have suffered, the anguish of the living and the dead Black men and women must be a source of inspiration to spur us to further heights. We must bear in mind constantly that men and women have died and multitudes are suffering and carry the scars of sad encounters with the vicious white racist regime. The pain and misery we see about us, which we ourselves experience must be enough to put fire in our blood and ice in our minds; to give us courage and fortitude to carry our struggle forward

Our struggle is a true and just one. We have suffered endless trials and tribulations and yet liberation has always eluded us. It is our task to make the freedom of our people from white bondage a living reality. Not only do we of the Black Consciousness Movement desire and hope for liberation but we are also willing and able to work for its achievement. We know we can overcome oppression and we shall vanquish the enemy. Azania shall be free because the time and truth are on our side.

Let us work ceaselesly for

ONE AZANIA, ONE NATION

ONE MOVEMENT, ONE PEOPLE

AMANDLA!

Presidential Address

Khehla Mthembu

It is with mixed feelings that I address this 3rd Annual congress of AZAPO, the people's liberation movement. With sadness and joy I draw the attention of this Congress to the absence of Comrade Thabo Ndabeni, our gallant former National Organiser languishing in jail for refusing to connive with the system. This is the second congress that Thabo is not able to attend. It is with joy that our Comrades from our Robben Island unit have been allowed to join in this bigger cell to which we all

as one unitary and determined force in opposing all forces of evil and bring to an end this draconian system of rule.

The liberation struggles of the world are characterised by the oppressor, oppressed, the exploiter and the exploited. In our country the oppressor exploiter is gradually accepting the fact that his days are numbered but unfortunately he is bent on buying time with gimmicks like the President's Council, the granting of pseudo-independence to his

lies, chiefly America, is bent on destroying its neighbours and destabilising them. This destabilisation is done under the cloak of "destroying terrorists wherever they are". The arrogance this regime has shown in invading a foreign country to massacre helpless refugees and local people of that country is completely incompatible with the assurances their leaders preach.

South Africa has not convinced us yet about her innocence in supporting the reactionary MNR of Mo-



belong. Black Consciousness proponents and other lovers of freedom over the world are looking at this Congress to further guide the liberation struggle to greater heights. We meet today in the midst of all confusion perpetuated by both the system and other reactionary forces so let us emerge from this Congress

lackeys, the homeland leaders, the upgrading of collaborationist local management bodies, the importation of international mercenary sport crews and many other retrogressive and myopic strategies.

The white minority regime, fully abetted by the white electorate and fully supported by its western al-

zambique. The display of dead South African soldiers in Zimbabwe was a confirmation that the SADF respects no boundaries.

We are told that those soldiers were playing truant and wandered in Mugabe's territory. Surely it was too high a price to pay for delinquent boys. The earlier refusal of the SADF about

their identity further casts a doubt of the official explanation of their seniors. In Lesotho the local leaders assert that the violent insurgence taking place there is fully supported by South Africa. They further assert that the people responsible for this violence operate from some place inside South Africa, in short, that South Africa is being used as a spring-board against a neighbouring country. In Angola UNITA is said to be supported by South Africa. The readiness of the South African media to display Dr Savimbi and his group has a tendency of supporting this thinking. The recent SADCC Conference in Lesotho took pains to condemn South Africa for this destabilisation. History shall tell us the truth.

At home here the minority regime is throwing all efforts in dividing the oppressed to make them sing and dance to their music. The President's Council is a ploy to divide the masses. The Black Consciousness movement is the one most threatened because other forces are used to operate as separate ethnic entities that only come together when their ethnic interests are threatened to form sentimental alliances that make armophous manifestos. The challenges that face us with the President's Council's "gogga" is that the system has its quislings who are ready to serve in these structures and sell the masses. AZAPO as a mass political organisation is best poised to tackle the bull by its horns. The criticism that

we always have to contend with is that as a movement we are elitists only appealing to the "educated" who have no meaningful role to play in the resistance movement. As a mass organisation our support lies with the masses and the popular support we get from the people. Our people have never failed us yet when we approached them and exposed the realities of the challenges. I hereby urge this Congress to sit down and brainstorm our ways and strategies of destroying P W Botha's dream to ashes.

As a theme of this Congress and the whole year we have decided on "Mobilise and Consolidate the Liberatory efforts of the Oppressed Masses". It is historical that we have to meet under this cloud of fear and anxiety. The Labour Party dust has not settled down, the Transvaal Anti-SAIC Committee Congress resolutions are still debatable and open issues. This Congress must take decisions that shall be backed by practical actions of all concerned. Alliances with other genuine progressive Black organisations must be sought. AZAPO is duty bound to lead the campaign to oppose the President's Council as it is the only overt national liberation movement.

The challenges posed by this President's Council fiasco offer to us the opportunity to mobilise the oppressed taking advantage of the common threat experienced now. Some moves have been made to form some front, but as long as people still recognise ethnicity in the liberation struggle

the goal of a free and united AZANIA shall remain a pipe dream. Sections of the so-called progressive movement are questioning themselves on wisdom of the President's Council boycott. This is not surprising because the majority of them have a bad history of collaborating with the system. It is the task of AZAPO as a movement to protect the masses from leadership whose interests oscillate between the oppressor and the oppressed. Any leadership that has vested interests in the present capitalist system tend to be reactionary and counter-revolutionary. Because the white capitalist press see them as better alternatives to the so-called hot-headed radicals they build them as the leaders of the people. Time has come in the liberation struggle of the people for us to stop unholy marriages with such characters and expose them for what they are. The people's liberation can not be stopped by collaborationists and deliberate obstructionists who have already been bought over by 30 pieces of silver. Let the people fuel the wagon of liberation. Let us go out to all our areas and mobilise the people. I am convinced that much spade work has been done on conscientizing our people and now the cry is "Mobilise and Consolidate". The people are ready, they are just looking upon us for motivation and direction.

On the isolation campaign we seem to be winning friends and allies all over the world. Some gains have been made in this field and

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with joy we can announce that some local groups and influential people have put their weight behind our call to isolate this racist regime. A word of caution is that

there is still a lot to be done in this field and no efforts should be spared in this concerted campaign.

In conclusion I want to urge all freedom loving pa-

triot to adopt the liberatory philosophy of Black Consciousness as a guide in their pursuit for the true and meaningful achievement. ●

Address to Conference

by Saths Cooper

From its inception the BCM was diagnosed by its detractors and by the enemy as still born and given no chance for survival. We have been condemned as the ugly step-child of the Nats, racists in reverse, imperialist, capitalist and CIA agents — the vilification has been as numerous and as harebrained as its proponents are.

But the BCM has reached maturity, and, under the direction of AZAPO, has become the vanguard of the people's struggle in the country. AZAPO has no peer in the struggle to regain our land from foreign settler hands and restore power to people. Under AZAPO's direction BC has emerged as a viable and relevant philosophy. The scientific analysis of present society and the picture of what the future Azania ought to be can find no more progressive advance than that presented by the popular movement of the 80's.

Until BC took the country by storm in the early 70's, black was regarded as vile and white was considered the ideal to aspire to. Blacks were deliberately made to feel inferior and in all we attempted white standards became the norm. There was nothing unusual about this

phenomenon, for this has been the practice of oppressors the world over: divide, denigrate and dehumanise those whom they oppress while denying and distorting the history of the oppressed people.

The rise of the BCM ushered in a new and revolutionary era in the national struggle. The BCM restored hope, pride and solidarity in the people. In 1972 there was the Tiro affair and mass student action on tertiary campuses. 1973 saw massive strikes by workers. 1974 saw the Viva-Frelimo rallies. 1976 and 1977 were the watershed years in recent political activity. Since then the country and the people have never been the same.

The 1976 uprising shocked big business and the government into the reality that South African society is divided into two antithetical camps based on race and class. The situation was explosive with the revolutionary BC organs at the helm — big business, with Pretoria's blessings launched organisations like the Urban Foundation to counter the BC threat. The onslaught against BC by the system was by means of:

(1) Improving the quality of

life in the ghettos, which in reality was a tactic to create a middle class to serve as a buffer between the two contending forces.

(2) The creation of various 'community-based' organs with reformist civic and civil demands.

(3) The promotion of a leadership from within the ranks of the 'non-white' bourgeoisie who occasionally mouth militant slogans and who have the ear of the media which is controlled by the racist capitalist ruling class. This liberal media is used to promote the idea that these are the authentic leaders of the people.

(4) Redefining the content of the concept Blackness in racist, reactionary terms. Hence they speak of Black Bank, Black business, Black Capitalist, etc.

(5) Creating the illusion that freedom is integration into a white racist way of life.

(6) Pumping capital into organisations supporting multiracialism.

One of the greatest threats facing the black people and their revolutionary organisation is the stranglehold that is once again being exer-

cised on the direction of the struggle by liberalism with its capitalist base. From the ash heap of history, to which they were rightly consigned in the early 70's, the resurgence of liberals in the early 80's has been confusing and sabotaging the people's struggle, resulting in retrogression and insidious inroads being made into black life, in order to further encircle the oppressed masses in a miasma of spiritual degradation and physical denigration. Some blacks are again becoming the walking/talking dolls of their white owners who provide them with sufficient remuneration to deliberately confuse and mislead the struggle back into their hands from which the BCM had wrenched it in the early 70's. These persons take whiteness as their modus operandi and take complete direction from whites who are part of the repressive machinery of the system. We refuse point blank to accept leadership from these white boys who have served their military conscription and done their stint on the border and who are now training on us.

Finding themselves unequal to the challenges of leading the oppressed masses and recognising the paucity of their effete ideas which were dismal failures up to the reign of the BCM, these summer-time revolutionaries worship in a frenzy of frenetic zeal at the shrine of their white gods. Not for them standing on their own feet, relying on their own abilities and strengths, taking their own successes, learning from their past fail-



lures.

Why do these non-whites fear black and their authentic leadership, but love whiteness? One wonders why some of these tribal leaders do not just join NUSAS, SASJ or some other PFP-type white body. Is it because they need a plethora of executive-only bodies so that the opposition to BC will appear overwhelming? If we are anti-white, then we can say with much more reason that they are anti-black!

In our own good time when we have completed our unfinished task of creating a self-sufficient and unshakable revolutionary consciousness, and honed the weapons of freedom that we have forged through our own resources, will we attend to the white problem. Until then we say whites and their supporters: if you con-

tinue to toy with the oppressed masses you must expect severe repercussions.

It has been said that the bourgeoisie will always jump onto the proletarian bandwagon to maintain and enhance its own class interests. During the French revolution they exploited the grievances of the peasants and workers in order to gain power. Many former colonial countries have been replaced by neo-colonial regimes. Again the people were mobilised to fulfil the ambition of the minority, bourgeois class. In this country persons put out as leaders and who consider themselves so are from amongst the merchants, professionals and intelligentsia, who exploits issues affecting the community, not out of a burning desire to eradicate injustice, but to

promote their own collective sectarian interests.

Consider, e.g., the case of the Group Areas legislation which has affected the working class especially with respect to housing, transport and schooling. In housing, they have established housing action committees with the leadership in the hands of the propertied and entrepreneurial class. In transport, action committees comprise many who have never used public transport in their entire sheltered lives. With regard to schooling they publicly encourage boycotts while their own children attend private white schools and they themselves are members of the PTAs of such elitist institutions. Certainly it appears that their children are being groomed at these private white schools for future leadership in the black community.

Since the rise of the BCM there has been an overhaul of thinking among blacks. Gross inferiority and a lack of purposefulness have been transformed into noticeable pride and revolutionary consciousness and activity unknown in the entire history of the struggle for re-possession of Mother Azania. If BC has burnt itself out, served its purpose and become outdated then there is pretty little that can be said of the analysis and models put out in the 40s and 50s and over which many false claims are made today.

In this country it is black which is arrayed against the white ruling class not any utopian/idealist composed

essentially of the incubus of white domination. We are fighting against the stark reality of white racism, fuelled by capitalism and imperialism, not against airy-fairy notions which sound nice on paper and on the white tribal campuses and the black bourgeois areas but which dare not be sounded in the black ghettos. So much have some of us been dehumanised and robbed of our initiative (if we had it in the first place) that we run the sprint away from ourselves at every turn and are prepared to sell our birthright. So brainwashed are these misguided individuals that they live white and do everything white, unfortunately they cannot moult the black skins underneath their self-denying, grotesque white masks.

The stark reality of white racism can only be confronted and destroyed by the revolutionary working class and peasantry, not by whites themselves. We do not choose to perpetuate our slavery in the guise of a so-called progressive alliance with our slave-masters or with tribal groupings.

Post-'76 has indicated to the oppressed on the one hand the depth of anger never previously experienced in the history of liberation of Azania, the oppressed having experienced the power of mass-action — the potential for instant mass reaction will more and more frequently be demonstrated in future years.

On the other hand the ruling class is experiencing epi-

leptic spasms in an effort to find a solution in order to defuse the national discontent and at the same time counter the inevitable threat of having governments around the borders sympathetic to the black cause.

The militarists and the imperialists/liberals are at loggerheads. Botha, supported by his military chief, Malan, strongly supports a military solution to the border conflicts as well as the national militant resistance of the oppressed internally. The imperialist west has attempted to convince the militarists that a military solution is a recipe for disaster, and that the long-term interests of the ruling class can only be guaranteed by progressively removing the most obvious points of friction, i.e. racial discrimination.

This reasoning, which will enhance the upward mobility of the aspirant bourgeois elements of the black community, is aimed at absorbing most of the critical energies of this group, from which much of the black political leadership emanates. By enjoying a direct stake in the economic fruit cake, this group may become a buffer between the ruling class and black discontent.

The antagonistic ideas of the militarists and the liberal economists have in time been moderated, and they are increasingly finding common ground. The military have been fused with the ameliorative — the whipping-up of a siege mentality amongst whites now goes hand in hand with a national programme of conci-

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liation — sport is being de-racialised, places of entertainment declared open, sympathetic government attitudes to multiracial organisations:

The history of struggle in Azania has firmly entrenched non-collaboration as a principle of struggle from the time of tribal resistance to the era of political organisation; collaboration with the enemy has consistently been interpreted by the oppressed as selling out or deceit.

The proposed President's Council is hoped to be partly a political and partly a military solution. The political motive is the same as that which applied to the now dead and buried CRC and SAIC. Militarily it is hoped that should the majority of the Coloureds and Indians accept the PC, conscription could be made compulsory and ranks of the army could be swelled by willing non-white soldiers.

The BCM owes it to itself as well as to its adherents to spell out in clear terms the ideological base that guides it. We live in a country where the system of laws is aimed at not only inhibiting all active resistance but also at castrating creative thought.

While we do not hesitate to affirm the class nature of our struggle, we stand committed to the fact that the struggle will continue to be manifested in terms of colour, of black and white. Anyone proclaiming mechanistic rehashes of mid-nineteenth century thought without critical and dialectical application to our pre-

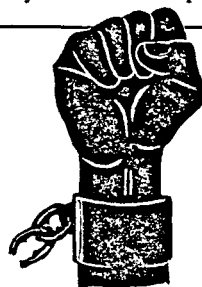
sent situation is not only guilty of impeding the progress of the struggle but of deliberately sabotaging it. The task of conscientisation will only cease at the rendezvous of victory! The soul-force of our struggle — its blackness — must be shouted from the rooftops all over the country. This objective reality also guides us as to whom we may or may not work with: organisations of the oppressed community led and supported by the oppressed. NUSAS, e.g., as a white student talk-shop can on this criterion alone, never be an organisation of the people. We have made a proper analysis of who we are and where we are going to: we are the mass movement of the oppressed black marching to a socialist Azania free of any form of racism or exploitation of any sort.

The year ahead is fraught with great perils for the oppressed. It is now, more than ever before in the history of resistance to settler domination, that we need to be well prepared for the total onslaught being waged against us by the Pretoria regime and its surrogates. We have to be on guard against the so-called new dispensations and the conspiracy between

certain supposedly leftist groups and the liberal capitalist camp to further the seeds of ethnicity and encourage tribal alliances and patriotic participation in systems machinations. Our minimum demand is for re-possession of what is rightfully ours. And importantly, we need to differentiate between those who represent the true struggle for liberation in Azania and those who masquerade as its democratic saviours.

Our only salvation lies in our standing up and being counted as a united black people without being diverted by the strenuous multiracial efforts to make us forget who our real enemy is.

The year ahead will require courage and commitment from us all. The oppressed majority can maintain its spirit of fortitude and dignity in these trying times, and will continue its vigorous rejection of white settlerdom and its progressive apologists. We must be prepared for a long, difficult struggle for freedom in our beloved country and realise that our liberation can only come through our own hands. Nothing can stop us achieving it. ●



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Security Legislation

Don Nkadimeng

Security legislation

One of the most eminent black lawyers and a leader in his own right, DIKGANG MOSENEKE, delivered a scholarly paper at this Congress a year ago, on the findings and recommendations of the Rabie Commission dealing with Security laws.

The Internal Security Act (Act No. 74 of 1982) embodies most of the Recommendations of that Commission. This Act, which came into operation on 2nd July 1982, repeals and consolidates a plethora of Security legislative enactments passed between 1950 and 1978. It is a massive piece of legislation, spanning eight chapters and covering no less than 47 fine-printed pages.

I shall not attempt to discuss the Act section by section, but I shall try to emphasise only those sections of the Act which make inroads into the fundamental individual rights of the freedom of speech, freedom of movement, of assembly, worship, the right to protection by the courts of law and the right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty.

Definitions

The only definition worthy of note in this Act is that of *Communism*.

The Minister of Law and Order has wide powers to declare organizations and publications unlawful. The Minister need only be satis-

fied that such organizations or publications are communist-inclined, or that will endanger the security of the State or the maintenance of law and order. Then the axe will fall.

The powers to restrict, house-arrest, or to ban individuals has not been minimised in the new Act. But where the Minister bans a person from belonging to an organization or restricts him to a particular place or prohibits him from attending certain gatherings, then he must give reasons for his action.

An allowance may be paid out of State Coeffers to a person restricted at a particular place.

Sections 28-31 (inclusive) provide for detention incommunicado as we know it. Section 28 roughly corresponds to the former section 10 of the Internal Security Act of 1950 (Preventive Detention). And Section 29 corresponds to the former Section 6 of the Terrorism Act of 1967. In terms of this Section, a person may be detained for purposes of interrogation for an indefinite period, except that six months from the date of his detention, the Commissioner of Police must advance reasons to the board of review why the detention should be continued. Thereafter the Commissioner

must give reasons at intervals of not more than 3 months.

Section 30 gives the Attorney-General the right to refuse bail to any detainee who has been charged.

Section 31 provides for the detention of State witnesses. After six months of detention, the detainee must be released unless charges have been brought against an accused against whom the detainee has "agreed" to give evidence. Detention is in-communicado, provided that the A-G may allow certain persons to visit the witness (these are usually parents or spouses).

The Act provides for the offences of Terrorism, subversion, sabotage, harbouring, comunism and related security offences. Terrorism is punished the same way as treason from as little as a R40.00 fine to the death penalty. For subversion the penalty is a maximum 20 years imprisonment, plus a futher 5 years if the subversion resulted in violence that could reasonably be foreseen. Sabotage carries a maximum of 20 years imprisonment and communism 10 years. Harbouring or abetting a "terrorist", "saboteur", "communist", etc exposes the harbourer or abettor to the same penalties as the harboured or the abetted.

There are elaborate pro-

cedures in the Act, which include the manner of challenging one's detention after certain periods of detention, which provide for review of restriction upon person, the provision of reasons for banning an organization or a publication.

The Board of Review, consisting of three members amongst whom may be a Judge of the Supreme Court, offers some token protection. But generally the security checks and balances contained in the Act are inadequate.

Two other Security measures passed at the same time as the Internal Security Act must be referred to.

These are:

- Demonstrations in or near Court Buildings Prohibition Act, No. 71 of 1982, and
- Intimidation Act, No 72 of 1982.

The two Acts do not represent all legislation dealing with Security. An endless list can be made of all laws directly or indirectly affecting the Security of the State or the Maintenance of the Law and Order. Examples are

Black Administration Act, the Black (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, the Black Labour Regulations Act, the Black Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Reference Books Act, the Orderly Removals and Resettlement of Black Persons Bill (soon to become an Act), the Prohibition of Political Interference Act, and so on.

These and many other laws of this Government create a situation of institutionalised violence.

We must live with the knowledge and belief, however, that no amount of security legislation can forever

suppress man's inborn desire for justice and liberation.

On 24 November 1982 the Minister of Law and Order, Louis le Grange, issued a Press Statement in connection with the rights of detainees under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. At the same time, he issued certain Directions regarding detainees, which shall be binding on all members of the South African Police. Non-compliance with the Directions is criminal and may lead to disciplinary steps being taken against the member(s) concerned.

As you shall realise from your reading of these regulations, the greatest flaw is that they are internal and are therefore not subject to independent scrutiny or enforcement. Except by the police themselves, no provision is made for the monitoring of their implementation. •

Some thoughts on the "Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill"

George Maluleke

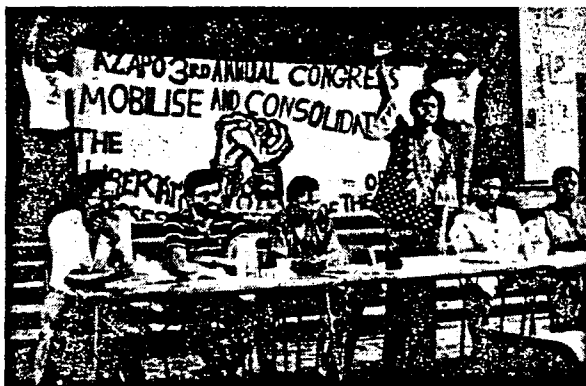
The present comprehensive statute under which the Government controls and regulates the lives of Blacks in the so-called white South Africa is known as the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act No. 25 of

1945.

The subtitle to this act reads:-

"To consolidate and amend the laws in force in the Republic which provide for improved conditions of residence for Blacks in

Urban Areas and prescribed areas; for the better administration of Black Affairs in such areas; for the regulation of the ingress of Blacks into and their residence in, such areas; for the procedure to deal with idle or un-



desirable Blacks in areas outside the scheduled native and released areas and with Blacks whose presence in prescribed areas is detrimental to the maintenance of peace and order; and for other incidental matters." This no doubt leaves you breathless.

The Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Person's Bill was intended to replace Act 25 of 1945.

For the scholar who has got the disposition and energy to do a thorough study of the influx control and pass laws affecting Black people in South Africa, there is more than sufficient material to keep him busy for years, particularly if one bears in mind that as early as 1923 Act No. 21 of 1923 known as the Blacks (or then Natives) (Urban Areas) Act was promulgated and this Act was repealed as a whole in 1945 by Act 25 of 1945.

Between the years 1945 and 1979 the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act No 25 of 1945 was amended

no less than 33 times, and the various proclamations which rained and indeed still continues to rain in this field of influx control and pass laws are countless.

A reading of the mass media seems to suggest that this bill will be shelved once more and there is a possibility that it may be assigned to the waste paper basket.

Accordingly I see it as the object of this address to highlight some of the more pernicious provisions of the Bill with the purpose of indicating just how much more inhuman man can be to man.

It has been suggested before that one of the reasons for influx control in South Africa consisted in the need to regulate the inflow of persons into the so-called urban areas in order to ensure, inter alia, that there is sufficient accommodation and job opportunities for those people that are already in such urban areas. It has even been suggested that one of the sad results of the industrial revolution in En-

gland was that many rural folk flowed in large numbers from the rural areas into the cities with the hope of finding employment opportunities and this led to the rising of slums and poverty.

Please do not say I advocate that there is a moral basis for influx control as practised in South Africa. The one immoral aspect of influx control, South Africa style, is that it is based and is intrinsically part of a racial policy. It will be remembered that after the depression in the 1930s a poor white problem emerged in South Africa. Even the few history books that are prescribed for our schools in South Africa mention how many rural Boers or farmers abandoned their farms and streamed into the towns, but no influx control or pass laws were promulgated in order to control this inflow of rural whites into the towns.

To the extent that influx control and pass laws in South Africa are intended for and are applicable exclusively to the Blacks, and even for that reason only, such measures must be seen to be unjust and are a violation of fundamental human rights to people who it is so self-evident, are the overwhelming majority in the land of their birth.

The present situation

I propose to refer to certain of the sections and provisions of this particular bill particularly in so far as such provisions bring out vividly the extent to which the South African Government is determined to press on re-

ardless with its apartheid policies. The Prime Minister is presently being hailed in certain quarters in the United States and some of the other Western Countries as being a champion of change. I have never been to the United States (thank God), but judging by the popularity of the present American President to the SABC one must conclude that our present Prime Minister must also be a very popular man with the Reagan Administration. Perhaps the reason for this collusion is to be found in the fact that South Africa may be earnestly trying to deal with the Black people in South Africa in the same manner that the early white settlers in America dealt with the Indians. One is struck by the similarities.

History has it that some of the American leaders gave as the moral justification for pushing Indians out of the rich prairie lands the argument that the Indians misused the land and did not have any knowledge of farming and agriculture and that the American white farmer was for that reason entitled to the land more than the Indians were.

When last did you hear that same argument given as the moral justification for giving the Blacks only 14% of the land in South Africa?

It is not too simplistic or naive to conclude that the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Person's Bill is intended to be a very strong and potent instrument to keep black people out of over 85% of South Africa. Some of the provisions which make this clear

are the following:

(a) Section three of the Bill prescribes inter alia that no black person may be in town at night between 10pm and 5am unless he is authorised by permit to be there and also has approved accommodation. For what it is worth, we may mention here that section 10 of the present Act 25 of 1945 does at least allow a Black person to enter a town for up to 72 hours without the need to obtain a permit. One does not require any magnifying glass to see how much worse the Orderly Movement Bill would make the position if it became law.

(b) It is also provided for in the Bill that Black people coming from the homelands and who wish to remain overnight in white South Africa must obtain a permit provided that such permit would be issued to applicants who have approved accommodation and that the permit will only be valid for a maximum of 14 days per annum.

I find it very difficult to accept that the people who drafted the Bill are qualified legal experts who have gone through the same educational training as I have and that a Government which has pretensions of being God-fearing and Christian

can put forward such a Bill.

There are also provisions relating to how the present Section 10 should be improved. For instance Section 6 makes provisions for a new creature known as the Permanent Urban Resident and details relating to the place and birth and the parentage and the household of which Blacks may become Permanent Urban Residents.

The Bill also makes provisions for those Blacks who may for one reason or other require hotel accommodation in town and also for those Blacks who may be doing night shifts and under what circumstances and conditions such black people will escape summary arrests and prosecution. There are also provisions relating to increased fines for people who transgress any of the provisions in the Bill. In order to discourage those employers who may take a chance and employ blacks who do not possess qualifications or permission to be in town, the maximum fine is R5000 or 12 months imprisonment, or both.

Of course the Bill would not have been complete without provisions making it difficult or impossible for aggrieved persons to obtain protection from the courts.

RECENT CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS

by Don Nkadameng

In 1909 the Union of South Africa Act was passed by the British Parliament. This Act established the Union of South Africa and came into operation in 1910.

Nothing in this Act is said about the Constitutional rights of the black majority of this country. It is from this period that the black resistance against white domination took an organised form.

Constitutional changes brought about since 1910 were and remain a response by whites to black resistance and struggle for their fundamental rights. The current proposals of the apartheid government must be seen in this light. The black resistance is no weaker than it was in 1652, and any so-called constitutional changes are nothing but obstacles placed in the way of the liberation struggle. In no way do the recent proposals address themselves to the genuine aspirations of the majority in this land.

It is my belief that AZAPO and other liberation movements shall not see these new constitutional proposals as posing any serious threat to the liberation struggle, but rather as a temporary diversionary measure against the inevitable

black majority rule. They pose no bigger threat to black unity and resistance than the bantustans, community councils, coloured representative councils, South African Indian Councils, and all other schemes and devices conceived ever since political organization of the black people commenced in earnest after 1910.

Since 1652 blacks fought desperately against land dispossession. Up to this time the black struggle was a military one. Blacks lost to the superior might of gun powder, and from 1900 the techniques of petition, negotiation and non-violent direct action characterised the resistance.

Black majority rule was the theme of all black organizations like Imbumba Yama-Afrika (1882), the South African Native National Congress (1912, later renamed African National Congress), the Pan African Congress of Azania, the Transvaal British Indian Association, and many more nameless movements.

For 330 years the principle of black majority rule remained non-negotiable; it is still non-negotiable in 1983. Any organization which will

be satisfied with anything less, or any person who accepts anything less, cannot claim to represent the true aspirations of the black man in this country.

The National Party Constitutional Proposals
During February 1982, the President's Council made known certain of its recommendations. Amongst these were the present National Party proposals. These proposals comprise the following:

(a) The Proposed New Parliament

It is proposed that a new central Parliament be formed which consists of three Chambers, one each for whites, "Coloureds" and "Indians". The present all-white House of Assembly shall serve as a Chamber for whites.

Separate Voters' Rolls shall be compiled for these groups and the members to the respective Chambers will be elected according to these separate Voters' Rolls. Each of the three chambers shall decide only on matters affecting its own racial group. Legislation on dealing with matters common to all shall become law only after all the

Chambers have approved it. A provision will be made for the creation of Permanent Committees, which shall strive to minimise the conflict between the chambers.

(b) The new Executive President
The present offices of the State President and the Prime Minister will be combined into one. The new President becomes both the head of State and of government.

The President shall be elected by an Electoral College consisting of 50 whites, 25 coloureds and 13 Indians. These members will be elected to the Electoral College from the ranks of and by the members of the various Chambers. The President himself shall not be a member of any of the Chambers.

The President shall be the chairman of the new Cabinet, and his term of office will be the same as that of the new Parliament.

An important function of the new President shall be to decide on the question of whether a matter is of an own or common interest.

(c) The new Cabinet
The proposed new Constitution shall provide for the formation of a Cabinet comprising as many Cabinet Ministers as the Constitution shall determine.

The Cabinet shall be appointed by the President, who shall have the liberty to appoint persons from or outside the members of the three Chambers. The Cabinet shall exercise executive power in respect of the mat-

ters of common interest. For matters of own interest special cabinet committees will be created for each Chamber.

(d) The President's Council

The President's Council will consist of 60 members — 20 whites, 10 coloureds and 5 Indians. The remaining 25 members are appointed by the President.

The functions of the President's Council shall be to advise Parliament on national issues, intended legislation and on whether a matter is of an own or common interest. In the event of a conflict between the Chambers, the President's Council shall give a final and binding decision.

The Implications of the Proposals

As Time-buying Device

It is an open secret that the Government has been under international pressure, even from her faithful bed-fellow, the two-year old Reagan Administration, to bring about certain adaptations in the application of the apartheid policy. Immediately after the proposals were made known, the Americans declared: "...the political change as an organic process is under way in South Africa".

White Domination

The proposals contain water-tight guarantees that apartheid and white domination shall remain with us for some time to come. The whites are in the majority in the Electoral College (50, 25 and 13), as well as in the Pre-

sident's Council (20, 10 and 5 plus a further 25 potentially white appointed members). The proposed new Cabinet is more than likely to have a white majority as well, not to speak of the important permanent committees to be established for minimising conflict between the Chambers.

In addition to these in-built guarantees for white domination, the National Party gave certain assurances to its Congress when it launched a campaign for the acceptance of the proposals: the corner stones of apartheid remain — the Group Areas Act, segregated education, the Immorality Act, the white-dominated economy. The congresses were even assured that as long as the National Party controlled Parliament, no black Cabinet Minister would be appointed to a white portfolio. Notwithstanding these provisions and promises, there are some black individuals who not only claim that black majority rule may be achieved in this situation, but who also arrogantly tell us that we must support their participation in this unholy alliance with oppression of the masses.

Black Unity

Do the proposals seriously threaten black unity? Your answer is NO, Mr President, and so is mine. The new black apartheid allies have never been part of the black resistance: they are the opportunists who move from one apartheid institution to the other, from a Coloured

advisory council to a coloured Representative Council to a coloured chamber.

If black unity is the catalyst for the transfer of power as we believe it to be, it is no surprise that those who want to retain that power do their best to break that unity: to us black unity is our trump card; to them it is anathema. Far from being a threat to black unity, the new propos-

als must be seen as nothing more than the extension of the status quo.

Reflections

As measured against the black aspirations, the National Party proposals are a non-issue. If our true aspirations are to rule ourselves in the country of our birth, then we cannot try to reform or revise constitutio-

nal concepts which are foreign to our being and circumstances, whether from within or from without. Nothing short of the complete overhaul of the present system will suffice, and it is only when this happens that we can claim to be legatees to the resistance started 330 years ago by our forefathers. ●





The National Situation

by Neville Alexander

WE meet at one of the most important moments in the history of this country. For reasons which I shall expound in more detail presently, the rulers of South Africa are faced with the most severe crisis that their system of racial capitalism has yet had to contend with. A complete realignment of political forces involving a major shift in the direction of national affairs is being undertaken in order to salvage the system that guarantees for white South Africa perpetual domination of the black working people. For the politicians of the ruling class, this new situation is unexplored territory. It is a situation fraught with disaster for them and we will do well to remember this since it implies mortal danger for those of us who are defined by them as being on the left, i.e. those whom they see as terrorist predators lurking in the African bush to pounce on the apparently intrepid but actually timid "explorers".

The crisis of the system of white supremacy is the historic opportunity for the oppressed and exploited people of our country. How to take the tide at the flood has become the vital question in the politics of national liberation for all those who would consciously intervene in the great movement of history which is now engulfing Southern Africa.

For we also are in many ways venturing out into uncharted seas where any false tack can lead to instant and irrecoverable disaster. It ought not to surprise us, therefore, that the present controversies within the liberation movement, properly so called, concern the compass of principle, programme and policy which will help to steer us into the safe and exciting harbour of a socialist Azania.

The crisis of the rulers

Let us consider some relevant aspects of the rulers' position. The rapid development of capitalism during the last two-and-a-half decades has given rise to contradictions which cannot be resolved within the system even though this fact does NOT mean that the system will break down or collapse of its own accord. The decisive importance of manufacturing industry, the increasing prominence of transnational corporations, the importance of foreign trade for the South African economy: these and many other developments have rendered the economy vulnerable to the ebb and flow of world capitalism. Gone forever are the days when the predominance of gold mining and the fixed price of gold insulated the country to a certain extent from the hot and cold winds of international trade. Gone are the

days when shortages of skilled labour could be corrected relatively easily by importing white immigrants mainly from Western Europe, North America and from down under.

Today, profits and employment are generated crucially in the manufacturing sector even though the gold-mining industry remains pivotal to the economy. That is to say, any downward movement in the business cycle, any inflationary infection from outside the RSA, has catastrophic potential for the system as a whole. I want to draw your attention to only two important consequences of the qualitative change that has taken place in the economic life of the country.

Firstly, adequate numbers of skilled people can no longer be imported from abroad. This means that more and more black people (those classified Black, Coloured and Indian) have to be trained to occupy skilled positions. Usually, this can only be done by kicking upstairs the white worker occupants of the job category concerned. They are graced with the title of supervisor or junior manager and remunerated accordingly in return for shutting up and forgetting about their holy cow of job reservation. Usually, also, the former job category is diluted or subdivided so that two or more so-called

semi-skilled black workers producing much more and much more efficiently than the pampered and sheltered skilled white worker of yesterday, earn, relatively speaking, only a fraction of his or her wages.

This process coupled with the overall expansion of the economy has led to a fundamental alteration in the relative strategic importance of white and black workers within the system of South African economy. Previously, white workers had the power to cripple the economy because of their virtual monopolisation of productive skills. Today, increasingly it is the black workers who are acquiring this strategic leverage. The white workers, on the other hand, are becoming more and more dispensable as a class. We shall see presently what the political implications of this development are.

A second consequence of the qualitative change in the economic life of South Africa is the fact that it is becoming increasingly difficult to lessen the effects of unemployment and underemployment by turning off and on the tap of migrant labour as in the past. The proletarianisation and urbanisation of the black people cannot be halted or even braked. They have to be treated as a modern labour force as in any other comparable industrialised country. Imagine for a moment what chaos would ensue if the road haulage drivers and the drivers of delivery vans and trucks in Johannesburg alone were to refuse to drive



their vehicles for a few days! The dilemma for the rulers in this connection is how to reconcile the iron laws of capitalist development with the Bantustan/apartheid strategy designed for an earlier phase of that development. Koornhof's bills have in this context a historic character similar to the notorious segregatory Hertzog Bills of 50 years ago.

From within the system, pressures are building up such that it can no longer be run in the same way as before. The acquisition of productive skills, and strategic leverage as well as the dramatic increase in their purchasing power have imparted to the black workers and their children a self confidence and a historic optimism that makes them demand ever more insistently their human rights to equality and liberty. Daily, in factories, in mines and even on many white-owned farms they prove that they

are not the simple moronic labour units of Verwoerdian mythology but normal flesh-and-blood human beings who are becoming ever more conscious of their historic mission to liberate the entire population of South Africa. A white-only government cannot represent this surging mass of humanity nor can it hope to repress them forever. Hence the political and social crisis of the ruling class.

From the outside the system, taking for our present purposes South Africa only, new and inexorable forces have come into being and press in remorselessly on those at the helm of South African affairs. Ever since the defeat of Hitlerism, the days of white racism have been numbered in the world. Decolonisation was one of the processes that expressed this global demise of the master race. The notorious White South of Africa has during the past 10 years wit-

nessed in the most concrete possible manner the irreversible defeat of the forces of racism and colonialism. The peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe in quick domino-like succession won their independence from European colonial powers. Namibia, "the last colony", will no doubt achieve formal political independence in the short term. In all these countries, despite problems, setbacks and zig-zags, great events are taking place, events which cannot but influence decisively what is to happen in Namibia and in South Africa itself.

(Permit me to issue a warning in brackets at this point. Against the background of rapid historical change that I have sketched, it is well to remember that yesterday's revolutionary position becomes today's conservative bastion. After all, even the oppressors themselves today indulge in the discourse of "decolonisation" and "non-racialism". The very language of politics and of social theory has become suspect and though it is still very important to listen to the words people use, we have to turn them over and over again as we would do with suspected counterfeit money. It is more than ever before crucial to practise the gospel according to Dr Faustus who preached that "in the beginning was the deed".)

For the rulers of South Africa, the collapse of Portugal's African empire and the liberation of Zimbabwe meant quite simply the

breaching of the outer walls that had for so long protected the sub-imperialist citadel against the forces of "Marxist communism" and "terrorism", i.e. against the African liberation movement. It meant also the possibility — even the probability — that the struggle of the African could be internationalised to the point where the South African Defence Force would be only one of a number of comparable military forces in the region. None other than the General Secretary of the UNO, Dr Perez de Cuellar, warned that unless the "Namibia question" were settled expeditiously, Southern Africa could become another Middle East. There are many lessons to be learnt from this Middle Eastern analogy and it is of great importance that we study that situation in detail.

The strategies of the rulers
For the beneficiaries of the system of racial capitalism, the choice that presents itself on the political-strategic level is straightforward: either continue in the old way without conceding anything to the rising force of the black workers' movement, or try to overhaul the system in such a way that some of the pressure is taken off it. These two positions have been described very misleadingly as *verkramp* and *verlig*. Misleadingly, because both are conservative positions in fact.

Let us look briefly at the *verkramp* option, bearing in mind that our analysis simplifies a complex net-

work of tendencies. Treurnicht and those to the right of him believe that it is possible to conduct the business of the capitalist class by more and more repression: regimentation of labour, influx control, pass laws, groups areas, impoverished Bantustans and by all the other coercive measures on the statute book of apartheid South Africa. In other words, follow the rule of Verwoerd of not yielding an inch, batter down any black opposition as soon as it rears its head, sit tight and wait for the world to come to its senses. They proceed from the premise that nothing has changed and that precious little will change. From the point of view of statecraft, they believe that the class alliance on which the South African state was based since 1924 continues to be adequate for the functioning and survival of the system of "private enterprise". In 1924, as you know, the historic compromise between the white workers and the white capitalist and middle classes resolved the bitter struggles of the previous two decades between them. The white working class became a junior partner in the class alliance that governed South Africa for the profit of the local and foreign owners of the mines, the farms, the factories, the shops and the banks. The white workers formally entrenched their vested interest in perpetuating the system of racial capitalism. More than for any other class of people on earth the belief in white superiority and white supremacy became for the white

South African workers a vital principle. Millions of white men, women and children were systematically reduced to incredible monsters of racism because, in the final analysis, their economic and social privileges were reinforced by this ideology of racism.

Today, as I have indicated, the economic basis of this belief and of the relevant social practices is fast disappearing. Objectively, therefore, a Treurnicht government, were it to come to power, would be compelled in the medium term to do the same kinds of things as those which PW Botha and Company are trying to do today. i.e. try to overhaul their system with a view to avoiding its total destruction.

Enlightened despotism

For historical reasons, the capitalist system in the Republic of South Africa is administered today by the National Party moulded in the image of the likes of the Bothas, the De Klerks, Malans and Heunises. These people, representatives in the main of the Afrikaans-speaking bourgeoisie, have chosen the so-called verligte option, one which has been called a twentieth-century system of enlightened despotism. What exactly are they trying to do in Southern Africa?

Domestically, they claim they want "to move away from discrimination based on colour". They claim they are carrying out the historical mission of the Afrikaner Volk which is, in their view, to afford each of the so-called peoples of South

Africa its god-given right of self-determination. The grand design in which their projected reforms, ie, adaptations, of the apartheid system, will eventuate is a "confederation of sovereign independent Southern African states". "Nations" rather than the "races" of yesteryear are the social entities which have to be manipulated and accommodated in their ethnic Utopia.

Decoded, this means simply that the Bantustans, whether allegedly "independent" or not are to be brought together with the Republic of South Africa at the top through their respective elites (consisting of bourgeois and aspiring bourgeois politicians) while the labouring people at the bottom, the vast majority of the people, are to be trapped in a divisive and debilitating ethnic consciousness. In this way, the South African state is to be remoulded. Sixty years after the compromise of 1924, which led to the co-optation of the white working class, a new alliance is being forged to broaden the base of the South African state and thus to strengthen it. Just as the Rand Revolt of 1922 signalled to the ruling classes the urgency of the times, so the Soweto Uprising of 1976 signalled to the National Party the lateness of the hour.

Consequently, the alliance with the white workers is to be downgraded in importance. Instead, the junior partners in the new alliance are to be the black middle class and their political representatives whether or not they are at present collabor-

ating in the political institutions created by the South African state. A class of black people is to be nurtured in and through a slightly modified apartheid system so that they will have a vested interest in the perpetuation of that system. From this group of people the so-called leaders of the oppressed will have to go forth and be co-opted by the system. They will be advertised and put up as the models for the black workers and unless the workers produce and maintain an independent leadership, they, the vast majority of our people, will in effect be rendered leaderless and defenceless. Let us have no illusions: the vulgarity of the Bantustan leadership should not make us forget that there are other more subtle ways in which a middle class can be tied hand and foot to an oppressive system. The virtual neutralisation of our teachers as political animals through salary increases, fringe benefits and the threat of dismissals should be a salutary reminder to all of us that middle-class people can be trapped systemically unless there is an overwhelming countervailing force towards which they can gravitate.

In 1924, it was the Creswells and the Boydells of the white Labour party that tied the white workers to the capitalist bandwagon. We must not allow the Currys and the Rajbansis of the Coloured Labour Party and the SAIC to tie oppressed people to an oppressive and exploitative system for another 60 years!

The political problem for

the National Party is that of persuading the white workers to accept their historical demotion without allowing the black working class to fill the resultant power vacuum. They know that certain laws have to be altered in order to meet the needs of economic development; they know that some black faces have to appear to have a semblance of real power along lines similar to the Bantustans, ie, the right to tax "their own people", to imprison them, to promote individuals and groups through the control of patronage, and so forth. These are, as it were, derived right which, though they are not bogus, are nonetheless evocable by instances other than those that elected the incumbents to their positions of "power".

Now the majority of whites, especially the white workers, are intransigently and paternalistically opposed to any such "concession", however illusory it might be. Their racism and their fears of losing their privileged position have made them into an historical road-block, an obstruction to even the modicum of reform which the theorists of the ruling class acknowledge to be necessary for salvaging the system. Parliament represents these people. Consequently, the white Parliament has become a brake on progress as defined by Botha, Heunis and Co. Parliament, therefore, has to be stripped of this power of blocking "reform" and, if necessary, it should be eliminated altogether. How is this to be done? By means of a multi-faceted

strategy which is now being carefully orchestrated in the guise of the National Party's amended version of the President's Council's proposals. An elaborate, but completely transparent charade is taking place before our eyes. All the actors in it, let me stress, are fully aware of the fact that it is no more than a charade.

Through the Executive Presidency proposed by the President's Council, a systematic disempowerment of Parliament is being undertaken. Until they are certain that they have the measure of their ultra-right critics the Botha regime will not wish or dare to transform the so-called White Chamber of the proposed tricameral parliament into the dummy parliament which is its destiny. The significant point is, however, that dummy representation is now becoming the norm for the whites also.

Parliament, one of the historic gains of the bourgeois revolutions of 19th century Europe, even this crippled parliament that has never meant anything to black South Africans, is thus being thrown on to the dust heap of South African history by the latter-day representatives of the bourgeoisie themselves. Let us not fall into the media-induced and liberal-inspired cliché of lamenting "the decay of Parliament". All the laws under which we suffer, every single one of them, have merged from the unholy bowels of that talkshop.

Of course, the disguised or open military rule which the elimination of parliament implies, will also mean

that the left will be whipped with scorpions.

"Reform from above", as with the enlightened despots of the 18th century in Europe. Decimation of the radical or revolutionary groups as the reward to those who are being asked to accept the need to make some concessions. These are the plans of the rulers. The dummy chambers for the puppet Coloured and Indian MP's are instituted not so much to gain the allegiance of those people who are classified "Coloured" and "Indian". The government of this country, unless it is grossly misinformed, knows better than the Labour Party that since 1976 it has lost any hope of gaining the allegiance of any section of the black youth except for the few thousand who are driven by unemployment or forced by juvenile criminality to join the white armed forces.

It is as well to understand that the tricameral parliament and all the other fancy "concessions" made in the PC proposals are meant in the short term to accustom the white electorate to the idea of what is called the "sharing of power", i.e. elite-level co-operation for the continued domination and exploitation of the overwhelming majority of the black population. Even if the oppressed people were to reject the scheme 100%, Botha and Company would still have succeeded in their main intention, viz., to get the white voters to accept the idea of "consociation".

PC proposals and Koornhof bills

This raises a fundamental question. Most people view the so-called new dispensation in the ethnic terms in which the government and its agencies have promoted and marketed it. They speak as though this is a matter affecting the "Whites", the "Coloureds" and the "Indians". But, in reality, we are faced with a completely different picture once we analyse the process as a whole.

The Koornhof Bills, in particular the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill, and the proposals of the President's Council are part and parcel of a single strategy. The Koornhof Bills are designed to formalise and entrench the division between so-called permanent urban Blacks and so-called rural or homelands Blacks. Millions of people are to be locked out in arid and desperate so-called homelands to become commuters and contract workers in the white paradise of the RSA as and when required. Riekert's influx control, ie, pass-law regulations will make sure that few if any escape the net. "Permanent urban Blacks" will eventually get freehold rights in their locations, bogus undercapitalised local authorities (so-called municipalities) and finally a fourth chamber in the super-dummy parliament through which they will again be linked up in the confederation with their so-called rural kith and kin. Botha cannot sell this line to his voters at present but this is the logic of his position. In other

words, what is happening to "Coloureds" and "Indians" today will be happening to "Permanent urban Blacks" tomorrow.

The PC Proposals seem to exclude African people from the so-called central parliament. In a superficial and formal sense, this is true. For us this is not a point of discussion. Once one rejects the ethnic basis of those proposals, it dare not be an objection to them that they exclude this or that group as an "ethnic group". It is time that we put a stop to this nonsensical discussion, which is premised on the correctness of the idea that only the National Party (with its ethnic preconceptions) can bring about change in South Africa. This is the point of departure of the Progressive Federal Party and of other liberal organisations. We who believe that the black working people are the source of all fundamental change in our society, reject that kind of reasoning as a liberal trap into which, unfortunately, many have already fallen. To put it clearly: we reject the so-called new dispensation not because statutory "Blacks" are excluded from the so-called Parliament but because it is a bogus concession of ethnic or racial representation in a Kitchen Parliament which in no sense can satisfy the demand of these people for nothing less than full democratic rights.

It is time that we stop giving the impression that the PFP, Buthelezi and other such groupings are a part of the national liberation mo-

vement by using their system-bound arguments to articulate our rejection of and protest against apartheid measures. To talk about "the Coloured people" having sold the African people down the river because a few venal political pygmies have now formally "gone inside" into their master's kitchen, without insisting that "Blacks" be included, is to fall into the trap of playing ethnic politics as defined by the rulers and as advertised in every ruling-class newspaper in the country. Moreover, it does the Labour Party the incomprehensible honour of suggesting that it represents the "Coloured People".

Collaboration and Ethnicity
Hitherto, I have by and large painted a picture as though the rulers are having and will have everything their way. In the short term, we must expect that their strong-man image will dominate the scene. However, theirs *is* a regime of crisis, their position is riven with contradictions such as differences between Botha and Treurnich, Botha and Slabbert, Botha and the Bantustan leadership, Botha and big business, Parliament and the Army, and so forth. Fundamentally, therefore, this is a weak regime that has in fact lost the historic initiative in Southern Africa to the national liberation movement. The impending actions of the mass of black people will alter drastically the parameters within which the rulers will be able to manoeuvre even in the short term but more particularly

within the medium to long term.

For this reason, the question of collaboration with the regime is vital. Collaboration can expand, non-collaboration reduce those parameters. Ever since certain circles among the black middle class in town and country agreed to work within the apartheid/Bantustan system, i.e., ever since the mid-fifties, the problem of political collaboration has been almost mechanically solved. We have, correctly, considered all those who worked in government-created political institutions to be collaborators. This remains the position today. When the Labour Party's own Eshove resolution can state that the National Party's proposals do not answer "the constitutional demands of our party or of our time and it entrenches ethnicity", then we need not doubt that they are fully conscious of the implications of their actions. For this, history will present them with an account one day.

I shall not waste this conference's precious time with answering the infantile arguments of people like David Curry and others that teachers at segregated schools and lecturers at bush colleges are all "collaborators" because they are also part of the system. This kind of claptrap is no longer heard even among first-year university students. Instead I want to say a few words about ethnicity and its significance in our struggle for a non-racial democratic Azania.

Ethnicity is the substitute

in modern social theory for the concept of "race" which, since the Nazis and since the discoveries of genetic science has fallen into disfavour. When we speak of non-racial we mean that our position is determined by the scientific fact that "race" is a non-entity. We do not merely mean that "race" is irrelevant, because such a position still admits of the reality of "race". This latter usage, now so popular in liberal circles, is based on exactly the same premises as the concept "multi-racial", i.e., on the supposition that many "races" exist. For example, in a recent issue of SASPU National, I saw a photograph of a public meeting of the United Women's Organisation with an astounding caption to the effect that it showed a part of the "large non-racial audience". Now, I should like someone to explain to me how an "audience" becomes non-racial if one does not believe in the existence of "race". Do the black-skinned people for example, become "white", or vice-versa? Or do they all suddenly assume the same colour? It is sad but salutary to realise how deeply ingrained ideas of "race" are amongst us. In case it should be necessary, let me repeat one of my favourite paradoxes, viz., that though "races" do not exist, racial prejudice, racialism and racism are as real as the food that you and I eat!

Indeed, this is the salient point. Ethnicity is almost as dangerous a myth as "race" for the reason that its proponents can draw on prejudi-

ces which are rooted deeply in the history of a people. I cannot undertake here a sociological/historical review of the scholarly work on ethnicity but I should like to remind you that when an idea becomes the property of the masses of the people it becomes a material force. The fashionable economic determinism of our day should not mislead us to believe that we can blithely preach "Colouredism", "Indianism", "Zuluism" or any other ethnicism because somehow the fact that all of us are involved in a single economic system will lessen or perhaps even eliminate ethnic differences. *Those who sow the wind, as the prophet says, will reap the whirlwind!* Those who preach Indianism or Zuluism or Xhosaism today will be faced with separatist and disruptive communalist political/military movements tomorrow.

My indictment of the collaborationist parties is precisely that on this score, if we do not stop them, they are sowing the dragon's teeth of the civil wars of tomorrow. To accept a kitchen vote of the President's Council in return for spilling your children's blood on behalf of this brutal system is treachery indeed.

The Southern African cockpit
In Southern Africa, we have entered a period during which the mettle of the liberation movement will be tested to the utmost. The Republic of South African has embarked on a course of destabilising the states of Southern Africa in order to

prevent them from building up independent, non-racial states that will serve as inspiration for and guarantors of a non-racial democratic socialist Azania. In the short term, the even more urgent reason for this disastrous strategy is to prevent them from giving refuge to Azanian guerrilla fighters. They dread the spectre of an Azanian PLO encircling the northern borders of the country and entering it at will in order to sabotage targets, assassinate enemy individuals and mobilise the disaffected millions who are more than ready to support them. This is the reason why especially Angola, Zimbabwe and Mozambique must be turned into South African Lebanons that will be compelled, for the sake of their own survival as sovereign states, to expel Azanian guerillas and refugees to countries situated further north. The South African government believes that with United States support it could, like Israel, keep the guerilla movements at bay and essentially stalemate for decades no matter how high the cost in human life.

By creating such a buffer zone around itself, the government of the RSA hopes to gain enough time to bring about that measure of reform that will make it respectable in the eyes of the capitalist world. If it can dupe some important African states such as Zambia and Tanzania to believe that its "confederation" of a four-chamber South African parliament and a string of so-called independent and self-governing Bantus-

tans is a "non-racial constitution", it hopes that those states will fulfil the promise of the Lusaka manifesto of 1969 according to which the 14 African signatory states undertook that

"If peaceful progress to emancipation were possible, or if changed circumstances were to make it possible in the future, we would urge our brothers in the resistance movements to use peaceful methods of struggle, even at the cost of some compromise on the timing of change."

Against this background, we can see more clearly why our demand for a non-racial, i.e. *non-ethnic* and *undivided* Azania is for us a matter of life and death. These are not

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Against this background, we can see more clearly why our demand for a non-racial, i.e. *non-ethnic* and *undivided* Azania is for us a matter of

life and death. These are not just nice-sounding words from some liberal political glossary. These slogans embrace for the oppressed and exploited people of South Africa their only guarantee of escaping from the bondage of neo-apartheid and of the capitalist system of which it is the socio-political expression. We can see also that history has placed on the overburdened shoulders of the black masses of South Africa the task of liberating themselves from this system so that other nations of Southern Africa can begin to build the kind of societies they wish to live in. Southern African liberation is one. Our contribution is crucial, and we should begin by issuing a call for the immediate withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia and from other states in the region.

To conclude, these are some of the steps which we have to take immediately.

(1) We have to oppose the Koornhof — President's Council "new dispensation" with all the force and ingenuity at our command. The scheme must be made to fail. We must show that it has no significant support among any section of the oppressed people.

(2) As against their "new dispensation", we have to insist on our primary demand for the convention of a constituent assembly elected on the basis of one person one vote, at which democratically elected representatives of the nation will decide on a new constitution for Azania. The con-

stituent assembly will not be a gathering of representatives of so-called ethnic groups. It is also not going to be convened by the present government. It is a goal for which we shall have to struggle in the years ahead with even greater dedication than before.

(3) We have to build up a national united front of all people's organisations in order to fight for full democratic rights for all and an end to the system of racial capitalism. Such a front must not be an alliance of ethnically defined organisations but an alliance of workers', community, students' youth, sports and other organisations of the people. Ambivalent and opportunist elements such as white and black organisations of liberals who are not committed to the total liberation of the people of Azania, those who are merely concerned with the elimination of superficial aspects of apartheid, must be excluded from such an alliance of organisations.

(4) A national conference should be convened for the purpose of formulating a national agreement on immediate political demands

(5) A national campaign against the so-called new dispensation or new deal should be launched immediately under the banner slogan:

ONE AZANIA
ONE NATION!

The new mask for white domination in Azania

Ishmael Mkhabela

The myths of change and reform

The present strategies of the Nationalist Government are nothing else but a scheme to reinforce white domination and perpetuate black dispossession in the country. The President's Council and its proposals are aimed at hoodwinking the oppressed and the world into believing in the myth of change and reform in the country.

The last thing Pretoria will ever do is to grant the oppressed freedom on a platter. Freedom must be won. Tokens and trappings of power will always be offered to opportunist quislings among the usurped and plundered. Real power will remain a tantalising mirage to those who willingly and knowingly choose to sell the people's aspirations for a few concessions of adorning themselves with symbols of power.

Change and reform remain a mockery where a minority continue to control a greater part of the most developed and productive parts of the Azanian soil. Where white minority conti-

nue to divide and fragment the land and its people to suit racial policies and practices.

Should reforms and the proposed so-called changes fail to sustain the present order, naked brutality, repression and harassment will be resorted to through the police and the army. This therefore explodes the myths of ever winning any fundamental gains for the people through collaboration and accepting the racist government's programme and pace for change.

Reforms serve as a smoke-screen to the real intentions of racist Pretoria. Pretoria, its agents and its industrial and commercial allies understand the true significance of their reform measures. They understand that they mean opportunities to the few privileged and advantaged among the people. They foster an illusion of an evolutionary transformation of society.

Reform entrenches the status quo

Nothing can facilitate the process of fundamental change but the abolition and eradication of the economic, political and social structure which facilitate racial oppression and exploitation in the country. To believe otherwise is to consign oneself in a futile exercise of resolving symptomatic contradictions and conflicts of a system which negates the rights and aspirations of the majority. It is in this light that the present manoeuvring among the Afrikaner circles are doomed to failure with dire consequences for their architects and followers.

Participation and non-participation

Continued participation by government stooges and chiefs in the government-instituted bodies has not made them acceptable in the broad struggle for liberation. The personal gains and self-aggrandisement are their only trophies in their

rat race to excel each other and prove that apartheid is working. Those who have been granted pseudo-independence status only have casinos to show off. They are all in the tight grip of Pretoria, financially, economically and otherwise.

The appeal by English media for participation in the present scheme is in line with their long-held tradition of staying in the apartheid parliament. The architects of apartheid are greatly indebted to the ineffective rhetoric of the English opposition parties with their liberal traditions. The NP has learned to use the PFP vocabulary which is the language of the industrialists and commercial leaders. To work with weak and undemocratic parties within parliament is the trademark of the NP.

Congress understands why Azapo defined the Labour Party's decision to collaborate and co-operate with Pretoria as an act of crossing the political rubicon. With the rich experience derived from Muzorewa's circus in Zimbabwe and the crumbling DTA structure in Namibia, those who would like to be linked to the system should learn that collaboration renders a group thoroughly irrelevant and obsolete in the struggle.

Participation is a treacherous act of conspiracy and should be interpreted as:

- (1) An endorsement to white supremacist policies.
- (2) A vote for dismemberment of and fragmentation of SA.

(3) A cold-blooded and vicious onslaught on the legitimate and democratic aspirations of the oppressed.

(4) A condemnation of blacks to the barren, unproductive and overpopulated reserves and group areas.

(5) An acceptance of SA's aggressive and destabilising policies.

The revival of the TIC and the UDF

It is our belief that the struggle is larger than any person, party, organisation or association. We further believe that it is therefore imperative for all sections of the oppressed to master all their efforts in solidarity against the enemy and his schemes. In this struggle all organs of



the oppressed must view the struggle in totality in order to avoid launching the struggle for the narrow and separate interest of the eleven bantustans in the country, or the separate struggles of the so-called Indians or Coloureds. It is also in our belief of the indivisibility of the struggle that we reject the divisions imposed on blacks to alienate blacks in the urban areas from those in the rural areas.

The struggle of the oppressed should also be the struggle to bridge all these divisions which manifested themselves through ethnic, social, geographic and other lines. Short cuts to achieving unity and the ideal conditions for struggle might be the longest political path to disciplined unity based on progressive, nationalist, and democratic principles of the oppressed.

Instant solutions to complex problems have caused much havoc to the liberation movement. Opportunist elements, both inside and outside the movement blinded by short-term gains and benefits have become easy victims for adventurism and drama. Anybody — editor of a commercial liberal paper, an academician divorced from the people's struggle, a militant university student etc. delegates himself the role of the revolutionary theorist and the vanguard of the black struggle.

It is therefore important that each ad-hoc measure or campaign we engage in should be viewed in relation to the broad and long-term objectives of our struggle.

Failure to do so will reduce us to improvisors not organisers and activists in the liberation struggle of the popular masses.

Practical opportunities

The present crisis in the country calls for all committed and serious sons and daughters of the oppressed to seize every opportunity of the time. The enemy and his agents must be set on the defensive and the true nature of oppression and exploitation must be exposed so as to leave no man or woman under an illusion of what is at stake. Contradictions within the society must also be stripped of all their shells in our struggle in order to usher in a popular dispensation. More than ever before in the struggle, our basic demands, such as our call for one-man-one-vote in a unitary and free society, must become our slogan.

All agents of our oppression, exploitation and dispossession, be they individuals or institutions should increasingly be challenged by the democratic pressures of the black people.

From some of the utterances made in this address it is therefore the task of all revolutionaries to frustrate all moves, be they from within or outside our ranks, which facilitate Mr P.W. Botha's policies designed to reinforce or accentuate divisions among the oppressed.

Inter-executive consultations with the progressive organs of the oppressed are recommended in order to facilitate moves geared at consolidating and galvanising

black solidarity. We have to explode the myth of the impossibility of black solidarity.

Congress must strive at seeking ways and means to promote unity among the oppressed. This remains the fundamental reason of the formation and sustenance of AZAPO as the only overt national black political liberation organisation after the clampdowns of October 1977.

The call for all progressive sections of the black community to throw their lot behind AZAPO is long overdue. AZAPO's doors remain open to all who are serious and earnest about the black liberation struggle.

The above must not imply the freezing of all liberatory efforts based on the principles of the black liberation movement. We must mobilize the oppressed in the factories, mines, schools, universities, towns, villages, farms and others.

The programme of mobilising inside the country should also have an out-looking element. We must increasingly carry our struggle in relation to the broad struggle of Southern Africa, Africa and the world. What transpires in such institutions as the OAU, UN and other freedom loving groups should also be of our particular concern and interest.

Above all, we must never allow either friend or foe to seduce or coerce us to abandon our guiding philosophy and principles. No force can conquer us. WE have power to vanquish the enemy and to delay our struggle.

Cybor
Makano
20/6/88

Lastly, Congress must be reminded of the previous decision on the question of the national convention which is viewed by us to hold more promise. Our Organisation is still uncompromising on its precondition for such a convention. These are:

- (1) It (National Convention) should be about means of transferring complete power and the land to the indigenous owners.
- (2) All political prisoners should be freed, the banned

unbanned, the banished unbanned, and amnesty granted to the exiles, which act would be a *de facto* recognition of the authentic leaders of Azania.

- (3) Structural violence in the form of influx control, migratory labour, enforced resettlement, detentions without trial, banning orders, eviction, rent hikes, police harrassment etc. should come to an end.
- (4) The historical political organisations such as ANC,

PAC and BPC (currently BCMA) should be party to the talks.

- (5) The attack on our brothers on the borders should come to an end for we believe that the people who have resorted to the armed struggle have done so because of frustration that their protests and complaints have fallen on deaf ears.
- (6) There can be no negotiation between non-equals. ●



Resolutions passed by Congress

Resolution 1

This congress noting:

The increasing tendency by the state to call up people as state witnesses even though accused comrades may not contest charges:

Noting further that this repressive measure is deliberately intended to:

(a) Sow distrust and confusion in the ranks of revolutionaries and

(b) Incarcerate both the accused and the witnesses in one swoop and to thin the ranks of the revolutionaries.

Therefore resolves to:

(1) Further publicise this horrendous ploy among the masses and the international community of freedom loving peoples, the UN, OAU, etc.

(2) Express our support of the dauntless courage of comrades, Philip Dlamini, Thami Mazwai, Thabo Ndameni, Solomzi Selani, Seleke and all others who have chosen imprisonment rather than testify against their comrades.

(3) Draw a list of families of all people who have been victims of this act, and to distribute such lists to all branches in order to foster a continued link between the families and the people's national movement.

Resolution 2

This Congress taking cognisance of the gallant resistance of the Namibian people to racist foreign domination in their country:

Resolves:

(1) To express solidarity with the Namibian people in their struggle for the repossession of their land and the establishment of a socialist order in their motherland,

(2) To communicate this resolution to SWAPO and other relevant organisations.

Resolution 3

That this congress noting:

(1) The healthy working relationship that AZAPO has with relevant community organisations,

(2) The substantial support evinced by these black organisations in the programmes and various calls made by AZAPO.

(3) The fraternal salutations received and solidarity manifested at this 3rd Congress of the people's national liberation movement.

Hereby resolves:

To mandate the National Executive to further consolidate such contact with organisations sympathetic to the struggle as defined by AZAPO.

Resolution 4

The Congress noting:

(1) The campaign that is being organised by both the Government and the Business sector to break up efforts by labour unions to unify and mobilise black workers,

(2) That this offensive act has already influenced many labour organisations,

(3) That the situation continues to be worse with more and more harassment of Trade Union leaders,

Therefore resolves:

(1) To instruct the National Executive Committee to conduct a campaign to mobilise all efforts towards promoting true trade unionism,

(2) That the NEC work in conjunction with other black labour organisations.

(3) That this campaign put emphasis on:

(a) Encouraging all branches to organise workers at their place of work,

(b) To form trade unions where they do not exist,

(c) Branches to educate community organisations in trade unionism in order to promote solidarity in times of industrial action to build a united opposition to the policy of destabilising workers.

And further resolves that:
 (1) Full support to be given to members of NEC in making this effort successful.

(2) The NEC demonstrate its support for workers during industrial action at all times.

(3) The NEC train workers and the community at large about labour matters.

Resolution 5

Whereas we, realising that South Africa is the pariah of the world, and further noting that the racist capitalist state is prepared to spend millions of rands in order to make herself acceptable into the international community whilst thousands of her inhabitants are dying because of hunger, disease, uprootings, evictions and all the myriad oppressive measures taken against them because of the colour of their skin,

Hereby resolves:

(1) To intensify the isolation campaign.

(2) To conscientise and politicise the masses on the political, social and economic implication of this invasion into our country.

(3) To expose nationally and internationally the public relations exercise this incursion into our country entails.

(4) To enlist progressive forces both locally and internationally to join in this campaign.

Resolution 6

Whereas we, noting the forthcoming conference of the non-aligned movement, hereby resolve:

(1) To send our fraternal greetings and to pledge solidarity with the movement.

(2) To request the movement to listen to the voice of the oppressed as to who their leaders are.

(3) To request the movement not to subject itself to the whims of the super-powers.

(4) To convey this resolution to the non-aligned movement, UN, OAU and the commonwealth countries.

Resolution 7

This Congress noting that:

(1) Azania is our motherland and we have the right to stay wherever we deem desirable.

(2) The vicious manner in which the racist regime is uprooting, evicting and demolishing the shelters of our dispossessed and destabilised have established in order to house themselves,

Hereby resolves to:

(1) Condemn the system for its ruthlessness and the inhumane way in which the system is treating our fellow oppressed. (11) Pledge our solidarity both morally and in practical terms.

(111) Devise means of stopping this happening wherever possible.

Resolution 8

This Congress noting with horror the destabilisation of our neighbouring countries by the minority white regime, the intention being to:

(a) Extend its system to these states,

(b) Strip the said states of their political sovereignty in terms of dictating who the states can grant the right of residence to and trade with,

(c) Erode those states of their ability to organise, administer and govern themselves and

(d) finally, to rule those states by proxy.

Therefore resolves:

(a) To condemn the white settler Pretoria government and demand the immediate withdrawal of all racist forces from Namibia and other Southern African states, wishing the world to know that the black people of Azania are unalterably opposed to the invasion of the territories and rights of any African country by the white armies of RSA.

(2) To express support, sympathy and solidarity with the affected states namely, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Angola, Lesotho, and Botswana, over the repeated raids by the marauding hordes of white soldiers.

(3) And further resolves that the resolution be published nationally, internationally, and delivered to the mentioned state, JNO, OAU, and the Commonwealth countries.

Resolution 9

That this Congress realising the systematic strategy of the white racist minority regime to perpetuate and sustain the programme of national oppression and exploitation.

Also noting that the President's Council and Koorn-

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Vo 2
20/7/87

ONE AZANIA, ONE NATION! ONE NATION, ONE PEOPLE!

hof bills are pieces of legislation designed to serve these ends;

Further noting that these laws intrinsically aim to incorporate sections of the oppressed and exploited to reinforce the obsolete strategy of divide and rule with dividing urban blacks against rural blacks, and various other manifestations of sectional, ethnic and tribal interests; that individuals and organisations that participate in these machinations so as to aid and abet this regime are knowingly selling their birthright and have to be exposed as traitors to the black cause;

And, noting that the PC is intended to foster an illusion and a myth of change, peace, and prosperity within the structures of an oppressive and exploitative systems;

Therefore resolves:

- (1) To reject both the PC, its proposals, and the Koornhof pieces of legislation.
- (2) To state our categorical rejection of any attempts by sections of the oppressed to co-operate or participate in the present ploy.
- (3) To engage in a campaign together with fraternal organisations to popularise and resist the present so-called dispensations and developments.
- (4) To express our concern on the national situation at

national and international forums.

(5) To engage in such activities that shall promote the above.

Resolution 10

This Congress noting:

- (1) The long-drawn struggle for the repossession of Palestine from the Zionist invaders,
- (2) The atrocious invasion of Lebanon by the Zionists,
- (3) The complicity of the United States and white South Africa in propping up the illegal Israel regime,

Therefore resolves:

- (1) To pledge solidarity with the Palestinian peoples, and
- (2) To convey this resolution to the Palestinian and the UNO, OAU, and other relevant organisations.

Organisations Represented

1. BAMCWU
2. TRACOS
3. DWASA
4. Thornhill Residents' Association
5. Muslim Student's Association
6. The Federation of Cape Civic Associations.
7. PE Youth League
8. SABMAWU
9. Black Women Unite
- 10 African Writers' Association
11. MWASA
12. SASA

13. CUSA
 14. BLA
 15. Committee of Ten/Soweto Civic Association
- Fraternal solutions**
1. Transvaal Council of Sport
 2. Thornhill Residents' Association
 3. MWASA
 4. The Federation of Cape Civic Associations
 5. SACOS
 6. South African Students' Association
 7. Soweto Teachers' Action Committee
 8. Black Lawyers Association
 9. Council of Unions of South Africa

List of former Robben Island Prisoners

(All given an ovation and a hero's welcome)

1. N Motsau
2. Kadre Hassim
3. Sibusiso Mabaso
4. F Qithi
5. Steve Mohame
6. P J Nefholovhodwe
7. K Sidibe
8. Saths Cooper
9. Zithulele Cindi
10. Strini Moodley
11. Muntu Myeza
12. N Alexander
13. Mbuzeli Dukumbane
14. Mbuyiseni Mahlathi
15. Nceba Mfuniso
16. Thamsanqa Klaas
17. Eric Mahlathi
18. P Ditheko
19. S Radebe
20. O D Phekonyana

1/6 16 ?
No 2
21/5/87

No 2
21/5/87

Is no reply due
No 2

No 2
21/5/87

B3

Admission
Found with
Sibusiso Mabaso
Loueto

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

MOBILISE AND CONSOLIDATE THE LIBERATORY EFFORTS
OF THE OPPRESSED MASSES

Revolutionary greetings to all Comrades.

It is with mixed feelings that I address this 3rd Annual Congress of AZAPO, the people's liberation movement. With sadness and joy I draw the attention of this Congress to the absence of Comrade Thabo Ndabeni, our gallant former National Organiser languishing in jail for refusing to connive with the system. This is the second congress that Thabo is not able to attend. It is with joy that our Comrades from our Robben Island unit have been allowed to join this bigger cell to which we all belong. Black Consciousness proponents and other lovers of freedom over the world are looking at this Congress to further guide the liberation struggle to greater heights. We meet today in the midst of all confusion perpetuated by both the system and other reactionary forces so let us emerge from this Congress as one unitary and determined force in opposing all forces of evil and bring destruction to this draconian system of rule.

The liberation struggles of the world are characterised by the oppressor, oppressed, the exploiter and the exploited. ~~In our country the oppressor-exploiter is gradually accepting the fact that his days are numbered but unfortunately he is bent on buying time with gimmicks like the President's Council, the granting of pseudo independence to his lackeys, the homeland leaders, the upgrading of collaborationist local management bodies, the importation of international mercenary sport crews and many other retrogressive and myopic strategies.~~

The white minority regime, fully abated by the white electorate and fully supported by its western allies chiefly America is bent on destroying its neighbours and destabilising them. This destabilisation is done under the cloak of "destroying terrorists wherever they are". The arrogance this regime has shown in invading a foreign country to massacre helpless refugees and local people of that country is completely incompatible with the assurances their leaders preach.

South Africa has not convinced us yet about her innocence in supporting the reactionary MNR of Mozambique. The display of dead South African soldiers in Zimbabwe was a confirmation that the SADF respects boundaries.

We are told that those soldiers were playing truant and wardered in Mugabe's territory. Surely it was too high a price to pay for delinquent boys. The earlier refutation of the SADF about their identity further casts a doubt of the official explanation of their seniors. In Lesotho the local leaders assert that the violent insurgence taking place there is fully supported by South Africa. They further assert that the people responsible for this violence operate from some place inside South Africa, in short that South Africa is being used as a spring-board against a neighbouring country. In Angola UNITA is said to be supported by South Africa. The readiness of the South African media to display Dr Savimbi and his group has a tendency of supporting this thinking. The recent SADCC conference in Lesotho went into pain condemning South Africa for this destabilisation. History shall tell us the truth.

At home here the minority regime is throwing all efforts in dividing the oppressed to make them sing and dance to their music. The President's Council is a ploy to divide the masses. The Black Consciousness movement is the one most threatened because other forces are used to operate as separate ethnic entities that only come together when their ethnic interests are threatened to form sentimental alliances that make armophous manifestos. The challenges that face us with the Presidential Council's "goggar" is that the system has its goslings who are ready to serve in these structures and sell the masses. AZAPO as a mass political organisation is best poised to tackle the bull by its horns. The criticism that we always have to contend with is that as a movement we are elitists only appealing to the "educated" who have no meaningful role to play in the resistance movement. As a mass organisation our support lies with the masses and the popular support we get from the people. Our people have never failed us yet when we approached them and exposed the realities of the challenges. I hereby urge this Congress to sit down and brainstorm our ways and strategies of destroying P.W. Botha's dream of ashes.

As a theme of this Congress and the whole year we have decided on "Mobilise and Consolidate the Liberatory efforts of the Oppressed Masses". It is historical that we have to meet under this cloud of fear and anxiety. The Labour Party dust has not settled down, the Transvaal Anti SAIC Committee Congress resolutions are still debatable and open issues. This Congress must take decisions that shall be backed by practical actions of all concerned. Alliances with other genuine progressive Black organisations must be sought. AZAPO is duty bound to lead the campaign to oppose the President's Council as it is the only overt national liberation movement.

The challenges posed by this President's Council fiasco offer to us the opportunity to mobilise the oppressed taking advantage of the community. Some moves have been made to form some front, but as long as people still recognise ethnicity in the liberation struggle the goal of a free and united AZANIA shall remain a pipe dream. Sections of the so-called progressive movement are questioning themselves on wisdom of the President's Council boycott. This is not surprising because the majority of them have a bad history of collaborating with the system. It is the task of AZAPO as a movement to protect the masses from leadership whose interests oscillate between the oppressor and the oppressed. ~~Some of these people were~~ ~~vested interests in the present capitalist system and so are~~ ~~reactionary and counter-revolutionary.~~ Because the white capitalist press see them as better alternatives to the so-called hot-headed radicals they build them as the leaders of the people. Time has come in the liberation struggle of the people for us to stop unholy marriages with such characters and expose them for what they are. ~~The people's liberation can not be stopped by collaborators~~ ~~and deliberate obstructionists who have already been bought over by~~ ~~many pieces of silver. Let the people fuel the wagon of~~ ~~liberation.~~ Let us go out to all our areas and mobilise the people. I am convinced that much spade work has been done on conscientizing our people and now the cry is "Mobilise and Consolidate". The people are ready, they are just looking upon us for motivation and direction.

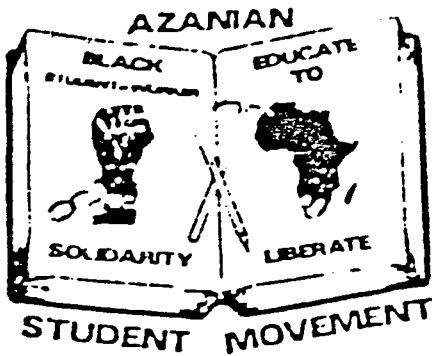
On the isolation campaign we seem to be winning friends and allies all over the world. Some gains have been made in this field and with joy we can announce that some local groups and influential people have put their weight behind our call to isolate this racist regime. A word of caution is that there is still a lot to be done in this field and no efforts should be spared in this concerted campaign.

In conclusion I want to urge all freedom loving patriots to adopt the liberatory philosophy of Black Consciousness as a guide in their pursuit for a true and meaningful achievement. Black Consciousness is not an academic gymnastic exercise but an acceptance of the status quo as it obtains in the country.

B4

Adm UDF

Bew '84



AZASM

303-305 Lekton House
5 Wanderers Street
Johannesburg

*Admission:
Found in UDF H/O Jnb.*

Mr. Sec. Gen.
..U.D.F.....
.....

Sir/Ms

The Azanian Student Movement (AZASM) has convened, following a decision taken at a students meeting on Friday 5th October, 1984 at St Hilda's, a meeting of Black parents and students to resolve the present impasse in the townships.

The urgency of this meeting is beyond words. Your presence (and that of your organisation, i.e. if applicable) is crucial. Receive enclosed herein a pamphlet setting out in brief the issues at stake.

Now more than ever before, your country calls on you to come out and be party to a decision that will affect you directly or otherwise. This is democracy in action!

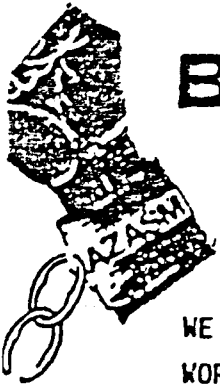
Yours in the liberation struggle.

J. Marishane
J.M. Marishane

NATIONAL SECRETARY

Lala Mponzo *L. Mponzo*
Regional Secretary

Azanian Student Movement
(AZASM)
- 6 OCT 1984
Signed... *J. Marishane*



BLACK STUDENT-WORKER SOLIDARITY

WE CALL UPON ALL BLACK PEOPLE TO ATTEND A MEETING OF THE STUDENTS/PARENTS/
WORKERS WHO HAVE BEEN AFFECTED DIRECTLY AND INDIRECTLY BY INCIDENTS IN
BLACK TOWNSHIPS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

WE, AS BLACK STUDENTS, HAVE THE FOLLOWING DEMANDS:

1. THE CREATION OF A CLIMATE CONDUCIVE TO PRODUCTIVE LEARNING BY:
 - (i) THE IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF POLICE FROM SCHOOL PREMISES AND THE TOWNSHIPS AS THEIR PRESENCE HAS SHOWN TO BE AGGREGATING THE SITUATION;
 - (ii) DROPPING THE AGE-LIMIT REGULATION AND RESTRICTIONS ON PRE-SCHOOL ADMITTANCE;
 - (iii) THE RELEASE OF ALL STUDENTS DETAINED DURING THE HEIGHT OF UPHEAVALS;
 - (iv) THE UNCONDITIONAL RE-OPENING OF ALL SCHOOLS CLOSED IN THE FACE OF UNRELENTING DEMANDS FROM STUDENTS AND INTRANSIGENCE ON THE PART OF THE AUTHORITIES;
 - (v) THE EXTENSION OF THE ACADEMIC YEAR THROUGH POSTPONEMENT OF DATES OF THE WRITING OF EXAMINATIONS;
 - (vi) THE REDRESS OF STUDENT GRIEVANCES AT VARIOUS INSTITUTIONS OF LEARNING.
2. THE ACCEPTANCE OF (FREE) DEMOCRATICALLY-ELECTED INDEPENDENT S R C's.

DATE : 10 OCTOBER 1984

VENUE : REGINA MUNDI,

TIME : 2.00 P.M.

STUDENTS PARENTS WORKERS WE HAVE REACHED A TURNING POINT IN HISTORY

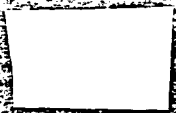
ISSUED BY AZASM :



B5

Adm: Found UDA 14/0/1965

Jan '85



AZAPO Azanian People's Organization

Telephone: (011) 34 3410

Ref: N.D. / 1889

115 Fleetway House
208 Bree Street
Johannesburg 2001
02-03-1984

115 FLEETWAY HOUSE
208 BREE STREET
JOHANNESBURG 2001

Dear Sir

We are holding a commemoration service on the 21 March 1984, between 1 and 2 p.m., at the M.G. KOTSO HOUSE, in memory of the Sharpville shootings. It would therefore greatly please us if you could send a speaker from your organisation.

Thank you.

[Handwritten signature]

MABO NDABENI (NAT. ORGANISER)

[Large handwritten signature]

B6

Adm

Found in post or under
control of
Roy Halim Lenasia

Subscribed as C 10

(16) 3/9/87

IN SEARCH OF NATIONAL UNITY

LYBON MABASA

Adm

Ben B6

A QUEST FOR TRUE SELF DETERMINATION

"AND THE PICKS IN OUR HANDS TURN INTO MALLETS OF JUSTICE

THEY MUST WIELD NEW POWER TO GUIDE THE TRUTH

AND LEAD THE WAY THROUGH TO LIGHT AND FREEDOM"

Comrades and friends I greet you all in the name of our revolutionary struggle and our beloved mother Azania. It is my belief comrades that the spirit of our gathering here reflects our sincerest desire to seek and foster National Unity of the oppressed. History has taught us that the most potent weapon the oppressed can use against their oppressors and exploiters is Unity. It therefore, becomes incumbent on us to seek and find the basis upon which this unity can be built.

Our struggle has been long and protracted. Along the way we have learned some lessons and it will be very disastrous and foolish of us to repeat the mistakes of yesterday. There are several factors that have adversely affected our struggle amongst which the following rank very high:-

1. Lack of sound priorities tailored to an objective revolutionary situation

We have failed to put our struggle into context. In our desire to internationalise our struggle we have failed to respond to issues of race and class obtaining in our own existential situation. Most of the time we have tried to explain away the horrors of racial oppression and capitalist exploitation existing in our society.

2. Structural and organisational forms that lagged far behind the context of the Azanian Revolution.

In each and every stage of our revolution there is a demand for certain "particular" structures and organisational forms and these, no matter how successful they are in a particular time, have to change to conform with developing society. When changes occur in society so should our methods. Organisational fixations will only delay our revolution. Fragmentation of our people leads to sectional and sectarian politics.

3. The prevalent ideological shortcomings and retrogressive methods and styles of work and organising.

There is no need to spend all our energies on trying to reconstruct yesterday when issues, at hand are of today and tomorrow. With pain in our hearts we have noticed the developments where the black community, through conditioning by the system, makes its well-considered resistance to fit with the system both in terms of the means and of the goals. We are witnessing the re-emergence of ethnicity on one hand and bantustans on the other, endorsing the system of apartheid. There is also an urgent need, in our search for unity to look into ideologies operating within our organisations and societies because in the final

analysis these will determine the road which we will ultimately have to follow . An ideology has aptly been defined as a system of ideas and beliefs on which social organisation and action are based. It is, therefore; a guide to political action. Broadly speaking, an ideology becomes a means to an end and not an end in itself; through an ideology we can determine who gets what, when and how. ~~It is in the same vein that the thoughts and ideas of Karl Marx, V.I. Lenin, Mao-Tse-Tung, Franz Fanon etc are used as guides to social action.~~ Guides can at times be partial or even irrelevant to a given situation, hence, for instance Lenin had to supplement Marx in the Russian context, Mao had to supplement both Lenin and Marx in the Chinese context. This confirms the statement that ~~"ideology developps in the process of struggle!~~ Regis Debres had this to say; ~~"A Revolution cannot be exported or imported."~~

Another writer further described ideology^{ca} for revolutionary imperialism as "the tendency in revolutionary circles for those that have led successful revolutions first to want to prescribe their 'guide' for revolutionary contexts elsewhere."

We have to take into cognisance that each and every society has its own major/primary contradictions and it is the synthesis of these which gives birth to an ideology. The pre-occupation with economic factors by some doctrinaire neo-Marxists in explaining the cause of white - black tensions in Azania and elsewhere, while quite appreciable and helpful at most serve to justify the ideological leadership of countries that are otherwise far removed from our African experience.

We believe that any ideology which will be acceptable to the masses has to be an ideology which "emerges from the people as a result of their aggregate experience in concrete economic, political, cultural, and socio-psychological terms". It is for this reason that we insist that the interests of the oppressed and exploited are best kept by the oppressed and exploited themselves and within the confines of Azania itself and never from outside. It should originate and find its inspiration from concrete contradictions within our country. We should be protectors of our interests. We are our own Liberators. "We have to guard against imperialism. It uses seductive and altruistic concepts such as, CIVILISE! LIBERATE! Both mean COLONISE!" Our organisations involved in the Azanian Liberation struggle should guard against following religiously ideologies which have no material base in our own existential situation. (16) 3/9/81

4. The Scourge of Reformist Platforms: Experience has taught us that increased verbalisation of black militant demands, miseries and complaints has much appeal in the oppressive and exploitative world, and hence this world is susceptible to making its leaders those who are the most vocal. This was the criteria used to choose "bantustan leaders" let us not fall into the trap of staging a performance for the media. Some black lions of the 60's are the puppet leaders of today.

5. Disunity within organisations and lack of a sound strategy based on an empirical and scientific analysis of the objective situation. Our own subject forces and the balance of forces between the opposing sides:-

Historically most of our organisations have gone through various splits and this gives rise to the need to understand correctly the nature of our struggle. We are faced with issues of power, class and race and the way we relate to these is of utmost importance. Racial oppression exists side by side with capitalist exploitation with all its imperialistic implications, and the two are directly responsible for the dispossession of the indigenous people of their land which was the source of their livelihood, and ultimately reducing them to the black working class ^{which} today is the vanguard of the Azanian revolutionary struggle. (16) 3/9/87

Racial capitalism is maintained and sustained by the white middle class - petty bourgeoisie who are themselves aspirant capitalists and the "white working class" which is satisfied with the status quo and feel they have nothing in common with their counterparts ie. the black working class. The latter remains the only politically viable class who can wage a committed and successful struggle. The "white working class" on the other hand remains a supportive class to the capitalists and because of the privileges they enjoy in having the franchise and job reservation has become even more conservative than the capitalists themselves.

(16) 3/9/87 All these things point to one thing: that is the unity of the oppressed. Unity should therefore be regarded as a prerequisite for all organisations and people involved in the Liberation movement. We should develop a healthy and positive respect amongst organisations. After all, there are more things of common interest, things which should bring us together than those which tear us apart. Our organisations should realise that it is the authentic grievances of the authentic people which brings about authentic organisations to work towards redressing them. Our attitudes towards our organisations cannot be determined by the outside world or just external factors, even the AOU has had to learn a bitter lesson in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and recently in Zimbabwe to mention but a few. The imperialistic press or even the international world cannot dictate to us about the significance of our organisations. Any such attempt should be regarded and dismissed as impractical and militating against the struggle as a whole.

Different organisations may exist in society but that does not mean that organisations in society cannot work together, jointly and severally, and especially on things which they agree. In our organisations magnanimity and cautious vigilance must always be the mark of leadership, because in political struggle there is the tendency by power aspirants to deliberately confuse issues of tactics and principles or just simply prostituting principles in tactics.

(16) 3/9/87 In a complex struggle such as ours it is necessary to identify "who the enemy is" and to understand his workings in our midst or ranks so that we may not find ourselves forced to

fight him on his own terms and within structures created by him.

16
3/19/1977
Disagree with the Rev. 1907.

We are at a time where the white minority regime want to broaden its base by recruiting from within the ranks of the oppressed and thus cause divisions and confusion within the ranks of the oppressed. The urgent nature of this crisis has tempted the oppressed in certain quarters to form danger^{-ous} and opportunist political alliances of the workers, petty bourgeoisie, liberals and sheltered elements from the oppressor camp - in the hope of consolidating against the oppressors and exploiters. Such alliances seldom have a sound political content and at best they tend to blunt the anger and the militancy of the workers and they are counter-revolutionary. Our alliances should not be dictated to us by the system. It should come from the people, the toiling masses, themselves - not from the air conditioned offices in the cities or the posh mansions in the exclusive suburbs. Even though Unity is a sine qua non to our struggle we correctly reserve the right to scrutinise the conditions on which our unity is based. We should find out who the enemies of our struggles are. We mean the obvious and the less obvious ones - who should be the first to be flushed from our midst. It is a proven fact that it is the ~~"less obvious enemies of the revolution who compromise and destroy the revolution"~~. They are more dangerous than the secret police.

16
3/19

Unless we can consciously and conscientiously identify the enemy in our ranks, we are not going to ably perceive imperialism and effectively destroy it and its tentacles from our ranks. The first task of a true revolutionary is to identify the enemy closest to him, and this includes himself and his colleagues. In the name of unity, self-criticism and scrutiny both necessary and essential. Self interests must take a back seat.

~~The system of capitalism is conflict-prone and in our country the conflicts inherent within this economic system are worsened by legislature. We have been thrown into a real jungle where survival of the fittest is the order of the day. Judging from the manner in which various institutions of society articulate with one another we find conflict inherent in all of them. Competition is the rule. I should at this moment state that I do not however, suggest that conflict in itself is not in the order of life. It plays a very important and constructive role in the drama of man's life.~~

16
Disagree

So often have tribal and racial barriers been imposed on our country that sometimes even our organisations find themselves tempted to use the same lines. One needs only to take a glance at so-called Coloured, Zulu, Swati's, Venda, Tswana and Indian "Political Organisations". The Liberation movement should examine again any move applauded by the oppressors even if the move is made by organisations which consider themselves progressive.

One can dare say even the church did not bring unity in our midst because of the artificial divisions that have come along with the church - the converted and the unconverted.

This therefore, implies that our churches, sporting fraternities, activists, teachers, workers and organisations must pay the price for closing the gaps that separate the nation.

(16) 3/9/87
It would be naive for ~~the~~ delegate, participants, observers and the nation as a whole to entertain the view, that this National Forum can at one shake achieve unity for the oppressed and exploited Azanians. At best this forum should rise with renewed determination and dedication to foster black solidarity, group cohesion and unity within the liberation movement. This is the message which we must carry back to our constituencies allies, and the world at large. Unbridled and unprincipled alliances are not synonymous with unity

The quality of leadership in our organisations must have bearing on our unity. As much as we are aware that politics pre-supposes some form of power struggle but that in itself does not mean position-mongering. It is expected of leadership to bring about the unity of focus of all oppressed people of Azania - so that we can address with courage the issues that face us.

In conclusion I would like to impress upon this forum the words of the most respected African leaders and thinkers 'Amilcar Cabral in "Unity and Struggle".

"...For the struggle against the colonialist enemy, let all forces we can bring together come. But not blindly; We must know what is the position of each one in relation to the colonialists".

In unity we must strive forward towards

ONE PEOPLE ONE NATION

ONE PEOPLE ONE NATION

FORWARD TO A SOCIALIST, DEMOCRATIC ANTI-RACIAL AZANIA

(This paper was a joint effort of Lybon Mabasa, ~~Tom Munchalla~~ and Lebamang Sibidi)

(16)

B7

*Adm: Found with
S Mabaso Soweto*

RESOLUTION 1

That this house express its condolences to the next-of-kin of the **three freedom fighters murdered on Thursday by the racist Botha regime.**

Bew 'B

RESOLUTION 2

That this National Forum noting:

- 1) The struggle waged by the toiling masses is nationalist in character and socialist in content;
- 2) The black working class is the vanguard of this just struggle towards the total liberation from racist capitalism;
- 3) The future Azanian state will be an anti-racist, democratic one;
- 4) The international imperialism and racist capitalism systems promote the bantustans as counter-revolutionary elements to the revolutionary force;

And further noting that

- 5) The usage of the land shall not be to the benefit of Azanians only but for the benefit of all Africa, the Third World, and the international community as a whole;

Therefore resolves that:

- 1) The land and all that belongs to it will be wholly owned and controlled by the Azanian people;
- 2) Each individual will be expected to contribute labour according to ability;
- 3) All the proceeds accruing from collective labour shall be distributed according to the needs of each and every individual in Azania;
- 4) The usage of the land and all that accrues from it shall be aimed at ending all forms of exploitation of man by man.

RESOLUTION 3

Seeing that relevant and reliable communication between the oppressed/masses is minimal and does not fully express their aspirations, because we have to contend with the white liberal press, state-controlled radio and television and literature expressing a ruling class perspective and also serving to propagate the apartheid ideology;

And seeing that the present means of communication only reaches literate people;

We resolve that:

Cultural organisations be fully supported and utilised to enhance communication amongst the people by forming units that would take relevant art and literature, especially drama as it uses the spoken word.

RESOLUTION 4)

That this house declares its non-recognition and rejection of any portion of the Azanian soil being alienated,

We also declare that the AZANIAN PEOPLES REPUBLIC will demand back such portion of land with all the power at its command,

And this house further supports the legitimate right of the Namibian people to the area called Walvis Bay as being their property and not belonging to the racist South African regime.

RESOLUTION 5

That this house assures the colonially oppressed people of Namibia that the Azanian people are unalterably opposed to the colonial war being waged by the South African Aggressive Forces against the people of Namibia;

We call on the racist forces to be withdrawn forthwith from Namibia and from any neighbouring African state;

We call on the illegal regime to allow to the people of Namibia their right to self-determination;

And further, we condemn all military and political interference by the South African Aggressive Forces in the affairs of any African

state and in particular the racist armed raids into Mocambique, Lesotho and Zimbabwe.

RESOLUTION 6

This National Forum noting the positive contribution from the four commissions,
And Realising the need for a manifesto which is a rallying point for the Azanian people,
Therefore resolves that the commission heads and reporters meet to consolidate their reports.

RESOLUTION 7

This house calls on all organisations of the people to commemorate in any appropriate manner our national day on 16 June 1983.

This historic conference of organisations of the oppressed and exploited people of Azania held at Hammanskraal on 11-12 June 1983 and convened by the National Forum Committee, having deliberated on vital questions affecting our nation and in particular having considered the implications of the Botha Government's "new deal" strategy (the President's Council, constitutional proposals and Goornhof Bills) resolves:

1. To condemn the murder of freedom fighters by the racist minority regime.
2. To issue the following manifesto for consideration by all the organisations of the people to be reviewed at the second National Forum to be convened during the Easter Weekend of 1984.

MANIFESTO OF THE AZANIAN PEOPLE.

Our 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. The struggle against apartheid is no more than the point of departure for our liberation efforts.

~~Apartheid will be eradicated with the system of racial capitalism.~~

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. It is the historic task of the black working class and its organisations to mobilise the urban and the rural poor together with the radical sections of the middle classes in order to put an end to the system of oppression and exploitation by the white ruling class.

The successful conduct of 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 treacherous and opportunistic "leaders." Of these principles, the most important:

- * Anti-racism and anti-imperialism.
- * Non-collaboration with the oppressor and its political instruments.
- * Independent working-class organisation.
- * Opposition to all alliances with ruling-class parties.

In accordance with these principles, the oppressed and exploited people of Azania demand immediately:

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 positively to the needs of the people.
7. Development of one national progressive culture in the process of struggle.
8. The land and all that belongs 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.

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

1. The abolition of all laws that discriminate against our people on the basis of colour, sex, religion or language.
2. The abolition of all influx control measures and pass laws.
3. The abolition of all resettlement and group areas removals.
4. Reintegration of the "bantustan" human dumping grounds into a unitary Azania.

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JUNE 16 COMMEMORATION 1983

THE ROLE OF STUDENTS IN THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE

BY SIBUSISO MABASO

COMRADES we are gathered here not only to pay homage to the SONS and DAUGHTERS who were Brutally murdered on JUNE 16 uprising, but to draw inspiration from their death. Their death should once more serve to show us the determination of the white settlers racist, and capitalist Pretoria Regime.

~~We the Revolutionary Youth of AZANIA who are still suffering from what you had died for: We are raging red with the Fire of anger, we therefore express Solidarity with the Martyrs, Heroes of the National uprising sparked off by the brutal murder of the Heroic Students of Azania and the subsequent reign of terror unleashed upon the entire Nation by the ~~hated~~ ~~hated~~ of the fascist regime in racist South Africa.~~

When death has become a common daily occurrence: when precious blood flows copiously from open and continually opening, and festering wounds who can continue to fear it? When Blacks have divested themselves of the fear of inevitable death. What more can they be afraid of? our people entirely now understand that a Nation ill-prepared has no right to live. It has only the right to be plundered and tortured and murdered. I believe that the dagger of the assassin grows more deadly when sharpened on the Tombstone of the Martyrs'. Our aim is to Liberate our Black People from the perpetual bondage of slavery like those who had died in Angola, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe. ~~Our mind must be prepared for anything, for anything, because there will be blood and death.~~

We shall have to die for the Azanian Land rather than to live for the oppressive South Africa. It is better to die for an idea that will live rather than to live for an idea that will die. Under no circumstances should death be feared by the Black People, because your blood and the Martyrs blood and my blood must nourish the tree of our Liberation that will grow stronger when watered and bear. The fruit of our Liberation.

Some well meaning people may not quite understand the mood of our people today. They may well think that our people are leaving the Country for fear of torture and murder. That may very well be out no one should make the grievous mistake of interprinting that exit as an escape from the consequences of torture and murder. Our people are no longer afraid to die. They want to die fighting, not committing suicied as the racist regime claims.

This is not an expression of sentiment. It is a new dedication and new determination born out of decades of peaceful struggle at the hands of friends and foes alike. An enraged ram does not run away. It keeps its eyes on the enemy as it moves backwards together up strength and momentum. Nothing dares to stand in its way let us however dedicate this to those inside the Country who are shedding dry tears in their National Agony.

Today we find ourselves more than ever before challenged by numerous myths both inside and outside the enemy camp. By the fact that Black Students are denied of their meaningful Educational System that should give direction to Education and motivate it as well History has proved right from what had happened in the past years. Where we have seen the role of the Students as a Revolutionary Youth take to the streets Demonstrating peacefully against the Education of which Afrikaans was used as the medium of instruction in Bantu Education. Since the Students uprising of 76 where all Black Students rejected the value of Education as an infirior Education to be taught in Black intelligent school. The Students wanted to use their energies and resources in order to realise the aim which are values of Society as Education in our Society. Require to be supplanted rather than amended or perpetuated.

Now that we know our project as Students was not only based on Afrikaans as the medium of instruction. It was as it is the administration of education in racial South Africa has as a particular objective one which express the interest of the dominant class and the aims are chosen by the minority or the few for majority.

In respond, the South African racist government in attempting to prove the Students demands wrong unvaluable and useless for the Students to protest against the infirior

type of Education. High rate failure was the answer created deliberately that one should have an idea as they use to say and preach how are Blacks will manage the super superior type of Education while they do not understand and fail the easy inferior type of Bantu Education. Also this was preached to us by the reactionaries, counterevolutionaries teachers who claimed half a loaf is better than nothing while dogmatically incalculated with inferiority complex by the so-called white supremacy knowing as teachers that there was never a Black School where learning material was sufficient, and adequate class facilities.

From 76 uprising one should make good analysis of what was exually was. You can also draw your own conclusions and determine the role of Students in the struggle for a total change. As uprising started it was Afrikaans as the medium of instruction then it developed to such an extend where Student demanded a anti-racial democratic Educational system for the matter of fact it was of course a Students issue but after the demand for a democratic anti-racial Socialist AZANIA was also accompanying democratic Education.

One can call these as spontanious action and claim that there was no direction what soever, but if we bear in mind that World as it is must not be comprehended as a complex of ready-made, but must be comprehended as a complex of process like from Afrikaans to a democratic Education to a democratic Anti-racial Socialist AZANIA. From democratic Education protest we have strived to provide support to the struggle of the Black exploited working class. Because of the racial undemocratic Capitalist South Africa by failing to provide rather meet our demands as Students, they have exposed themselves to be Anti - democratic Educational system that can never be achieved if ever need to be in a racial Capitalist South Africa.

I also note that for the Students to get a anti-racial democratic Education. They have to keep the fire burning work hand in hand with the Black oppressed exploited and legislated against working class, as a vanguard of our liberation in order to bring change into a new anti-racial Socialist AZANIA. Where both workers and oppressed Students interest shall be secured.

And we as Students must be intergrated together with our Education into the overall struggle for liberation AZANIA and intricately linked with the class and racial struggle in the Land of ours, for aiming at changing the struggle for a new society what affects the workers also affects the Students present because Students wont remain Students for ever but workers will remain workers for ever.

For a National Educational system that will meet the requirements of the society, and that would be generally creating a self-reliant Nation and emphasizes a sense of collective responsibility that aim at changing a man struggle to find reality and truth, seek to affirm the being of people spell freedom from ignorance and finally cater for all in aim, content and satisfy the need and aspiration of the majority can only be achieve in Anti-racial democratic socialist AZANIAN'S Republic.

Here at home the racist regime is sparing no effort in dividing the oppressed to make them sing and dance to their music. The road ahead for South Africa is fraught with increasing challenges on the part of the exploited and oppressed Black people of the Country.

Vigilance and self-less dedication amongst the liberation organs of the people is a pre-requisite in the bold advance of the forces of National emancipation repossession of the Land and self - determination , correctly defined. We must bear in mind the anguish, traump and terror that our people are suffering at the heel of white oppression, instil courage, fortitude and inspiration to those who have lost their wives, husband, and their children. We must be a source of comfort and hope during the long hours of misery and coneliness. Best of all, we must open up new horizons to a better life, offer a definate and feasible prospects of a good life in freedom.

This is our duty as a people the duty that faces each and every committed person at this time until AZANIA prevails. Even after we shall have to safe-guard the majority interest when ever they are threatened by hostile Capitalist remnants, because the Land and all that belongs to it, National water, air and space above it is owned and controlled by the AZANIAN people .

For our future anti-racial socialist AZANIA lies on our shoulders of how-much pressure do we put in enforcing new socialist order where our state shall have to ensure the total liquidation of all forms of oppression and all forms of exploitation of man by man. and our land shall not be alienated by any individual or group of individuals and that shall be held in trust by the AZANIAN peoples state.

FREEDOM IS NOT FREE

The fruits of freedom can only be tasted and enjoyed when we saw the seeds of sacrifices, struggle, personal discomfort, storm and stresses. In the past the Sons of the Soil of Azania offered their lives, blood sweat, tears and toil not only for themselves but for all oppressed throughout the World.

Therefore our struggle against oppressors is the struggle against all oppressors where they be and who ever they are, the World over:-

WE DO NOT FEAR THE ARMED RACIST

WE DO NOT FEAR THE BULLET

THE RACIST FEAR US THE UNARMED

AND FEAR US WITHOUT THE BALLOT.

The blood of the martyrs of Azania flows in us till we overcome the tyrants and destroy their tyranny. The blood of our martyrs circulates in our bodies and directs our minds to the supreme price of sacrifice of our lives our lives is the price for our freedom. Is not unlike the white man offering his life on the borders as the price for racial oppression in Capitalist South Africa?

Today, heroes of June 16. We re-affirm our commitment, dedication, selflessness, involvement and resolution to oppose and destroyed the system of tranny and oppression with might and main to our last breath and last drop of blood.

It is against the logical of sanity to strive for reform when our families and friends and childrens are destroyed by guns, bull dozers and military might.

Blacks in South Africa were always United the magnetism and dynamism was well exemplified in the popular people's uprisings of SHARPVILLE 1960 and SOWETO 76 The heroic efforts of the masses against the system of brutal racial legislation and de humanization, with life and death the oppressed shall MARCH forwards towards ~~an~~^{the} AZANIAN ANTI-RACIAL SOCIALIST REPUBLIC.

ONE AZANIA
ONE NATION.

B9

Adm. Found
with S. Makasa
Soweto.

MOBILISE AND CONSOLIDATE THE LIBERATION EFFORTS

OF THE OPPRESSED MASSES

Beu 'B 9"

MUNTU MYEZA

There are millions of Black people who would have loved to be at this the Third Congress of the Azanian People's Organization. Many of those people cannot be here because some are trying to eke out a living for themselves and their families through these trying times. Some cannot attend because they have been forced to find shelter in distant lands by the oppressive white racist settler regime of South Africa. Others are unable to come to this Congress because they are restricted by the white laws to tiny portions of our land. A great number still is incarcerated and made to languish in the dungeons of oppression created through the length and breath of this our beloved country. These are the people we must think of today and through the duration of the Congress. A great responsibility is placed on our shoulders to interpret and articulate their time values and ideals. As the Congress progresses we must bear in mind the anguish, trauma and terror that our people are suffering at the heel of white oppression. We must assume the role of the father to the fatherless, the mother to the motherless. We must instill courage, fortitude and inspiration to those who have lost their husbands, wives, sons, daughters or beloved ones during the course of our lives under oppression. We must be a source of comfort and hope during the long hours of misery and loneliness. Best of all we must open up new horizons to a better life, We must offer a definite and feasible prospect of good life in freedom.

This is our duty as a People's Liberation Movement. We must bear this duty selflessly and unflinchingly. We must remain for ever vigilant against attempts to frustrate and throw focus of our perspective out of dejection. Our commitment to the liberation of our land and people must be tempered with iron tenacity and unwavering resolve. Through honest constant and ~~constant~~ consistent evaluation and assessment of our methods of progress we shall be able to give expression to the true aspirations of our People. This is the duty that faces each and every committed person at this time, during the Congress and afterwards until Azania prevails. Even when Azania is established, it shall remain our duty to guard jealously the interest and values of the new order. because the forces of destruction are always relentlessly at work with their devilish manoeuvres.

AZANIA

The AZANIA which we have given to our land does not connote merely a geographical and historical meaning. It is also our expression and embodiment for the values and ideals of the society we envisage and are struggling for. The name AZANIA marks a decisive sentence of ties with the callous disrespect of humane values and ideals practices by whites in our country since their arrival. Since the advent of the white man on our shores the history of our land is littered with innumerable incidents of viciousness perpetrated against our people in the name of white supremacy. We refuse to be associated with acts of marked terrorism such as slavery, the massacre of Shriveville and the slaughter of our people during 1976 and afterwards. We reject utterly the legacy of the exploitation and racism that whites have visited on our people ever since their arrival.

Our people have been, and still are, unwilling and bitter victims of this bloody and messy history. At best we would dearly have to see the racist inhuman statute laws and the accompanying sordid acts of cruelty not into oblivion in musty archives. At worst we are ready, able and willing to work towards the obliteration of this sad phase in the history of Azania. This latter task we are willing to undertake as the people of Zimbabwe are doing presently. The humane society we are fighting for cannot afford to have, ~~it~~ let alone practice, a satanic ideology of racism which has no place anywhere in the world. The choice rests on the preponents and practitioners of racism whether we shall allow it to die a peaceful, albeit dishonourable death, or we shall have to actively work towards its obliteration from the face of the earth.

The title AZANIA also defines the character and ownership of our land. The Europeans dispossessed us land, but its ownership has never been in doubt despite the puctile attempts by these naive and dishonest propagandists and historians. Our land is one monolithic whole and we shall continue to regard it as such. We do not and shall continue not to recognize the various areas which the white rulers have given to a coterie of yes-men as saates. We regard this dismemberment as a desperate attempt at driving our people with the view to maintaining themselves in a position untrammelled supremacy. The current so-called constitutional developments are a confirmation of this conclusion.

We reject equally strongly the ~~attempts~~ attempts to assign us to various portions of the country and the labels that go with such compartmentalization. Black people are neither rural blacks, urban blacks, Indians, Coloureds nor are we citizens of any country but AZANIA. All the people who belong to this country by ~~birth~~ birth or adoption have an equal right to live, work and stay in any part of the country that they choose. This, in a nutshell, defines the character of AZANIA and all the sane and peace-loving peoples of the world embrace this principle.

THE PEOPLE

~~The Azanian People's Organization restricts its membership to Black People only.~~ Needless to say Black People in this contexts includes the so-called Indians, Coloureds and Xhosas, Pedis, Zulus, etc. This is the class of people capable of bringing about fundamental change in our country. This is the class that is oppressed by the white class - the ruling class. The white ruling class is composed of Europeans of various extractions like Italians, ~~Dutch~~ Dutch, Portuguese, English, etc. Analysed in the sociological terms the South African society destines itself into two classes with conflicting values and ideals, namely, the Blacks on the one hand and whites on the other. Various groupings are to be found on either side of the dividing line but race determined the class as a class in our economic and socio-political situation. The various groups or classes on either side of the divide, like intellectuals, students, workers, artists, do not, in themselves form a class. Only when they perceive themselves as forming a unit and become conscious of themselves as a class for itself with the ~~requisite attitude towards the oppressive class do they~~ become a class. In our context Black people do perceive themselves ~~xxx~~ as a class for itself. Examples of this fact are manifold, the events of ~~June 16th 1976~~ and the aftermath being only one example, testify to this fact.

It is a fact that some individuals from the oppressive class have ~~x~~ rebelled and reneged against their class. The same is true of the oppressed class. This does not, however, in any way gainsay the fact that the oppressive class is incapable of a radical point of view from within its confines. The whites in this country are incapable of a radical change of view point because they are satisfied by their situation within the capitalist system. If they are not satisfied for a time, there are reasonable prospects of getting satisfaction in time within the same system.

Consequently the possibilities of a radical change of view point are short-circuited and they remain satisfied or likely to be satisfied by and within their system and therefore seek to perpetuate the system. The same does not hold for the Black man. The Black man is conscious that he is alienated and treated like a commodity that can be used or discarded as the situation demands. He is estranged from the goods he produces, the work he performs and other men. The intrinsic human value that a man has is lost and he is no better from the commodities he produces or helps in producing. His value as a human being is relegated to a callous exchange value. This psychological phenomenon is crucial in understanding the reactions to change by either of the two classes. One writer puts it succinctly when he says :

"the objective reality of social existence (being) is 'the same' in its immediacy for both proletariat and bourgeoisie. But this does not prevent the specific categories of agency - whereby both classes lift this immediacy into consciousness, and through which the merely immediate reality becomes for both actual objective reality - from being radically different as a result of the different situation of the two classes in the same economic process""

☞ In other words the perception of one thing by both members of the two classes produces two distinct reactions governed by their class positions. A person charged under the Terrorism Act is viewed as a terrorist by whites and as a freedom fighter by Blacks. A policeman who kills or maims a child during an uprising is seen as a fascist murderer by the oppressed and as an agent of law and order by the oppressors. There are numerous real examples to confirm this assertion.

It is the duty and responsibility of the popular people's movement, AZAPO, to analyse, assess and articulate the peoples aspirations truthfully and realistically. We must determine clearly :

1. what our goals are;
2. the method through which we want to achieve those goals;;and
3. whether there is a reasonable probability of our methods succeeding.

These three aspects are important in the mobilization of the people for liberation.

In the Azanian context, particularly, the Black Consciousness outlook, taken as a philosophy or ideology has neither better nor equal in its ability to analyse, interpret and articulate the aspirations of our people. A more viable, more dynamic, more vibrant, more forthright ideology as firmly embedded in the circumstances that nurtured it has still ~~to~~ to emerge in our ~~own~~ country. Black Consciousness has served and shall continue to serve the people well in the quest for true humanity. There is no need for us here to enumerate the many successes that Black Consciousness has had. Not is there a need to count new fields that we have broken and the heights we are yet to reach. That we leave to our historical monitors and political commentators.

The aspect which is important in the methods we embrace towards the attainment of our ~~own~~ goals in the process of bargaining. The most important principle to observe in a bargaining process is strength to bargain from a position of strength. It is an exercise in futility to bargain from any position but that of strength. Ours is a strong and vicious enemy and any thoughts to the contrary are a mere delusion. Any consideration which involves revolutionary change in South Africa must take into cognizance the absolute disregard for human feeling and morality by the racist regime. Hence, even when considering the bargaining process with the whites their ~~own~~ siege-mentality must be taken into account. Bargaining in this context does not mean the cap-in-hand, tail-between-the-legs variety. On the other hand bargaining can mean the absolute utter and complete failure by those in power to meet the proposals they are presented with as was the case in Cuba, Iran, Mozambique and Angola.

It can also take the form of failure to meet most of the proposals as was Compol buildings and other such dens of human suffering. If this question of peaceful means has to be answered at all then one can rely on the answer given by one of the well known revolutionaries who, when answering a similar question said,

"where the forces of oppression come to maintain themselves in a given situation place is considered already broken"

When we consider the method and direction towards the attainment of our liberation, focus must be brought to bear on those areas which add to our strength and those which diminish our efforts. We must realize that we are not dealing with a static situation. The oppressors are constantly trying to absorb, divert and thwart our efforts. It spares no effort, money or time even in embarking on clandestine, cloak and dagger actions which cannot bear even a cursory moral scrutiny. Consequently the revolutionary of today must learn to "fly without perching" because the enemy has learnt to shoot without missing

In this regard we must adopt the principle of principled selective acceptance or ~~rejection~~ rejection. This means that the liberating phenomena should, after careful scrutiny be adopted and conversely, those that are inimical to our liberatory efforts should be rejected. The persistent efforts to divert the struggle from its true course must be rejected as vehemently as possible. The present form is that of trying to deceive our people and the international community that there is some real change occurring in this country. This is presently done through the so-called Constitutional reforms. It is not our function in this discussion to analyse these so-called reforms as such. What we must be wary of is the danger that those people who are drawn from our midst as Black people present to us. These people are deserter and political spies. Their conduct is not anything new in the struggles of oppressed peoples. Ours is not an exception. They must be viewed for what they are and treated ~~as~~ accordingly. They help the system to build a shaky credibility for itself in return for juicy crumbs from the masters' table. This, of course, includes all the veteran sell-outs and arch-collaborators who have grown ~~rich~~ rich at the expense of our people.

The world in general and South African situation in particular has progressed so much that tribal cliques and ethnicism as a socio-political determinant has become obsolete. In this day when man is literally reaching for the stars it is disgusting to see grown up men trying to perpetuate an ~~impossible~~ impossible social structure. When mankind should be coming together in even greater conglomerations it is only the insane racists that seek to turn the wheel of history backwards. We all need each other as men in the world to do battle against new phenomenon to open new frontiers of knowledge, to combat the famine and poverty that is rampant in the world. Only sick errandists fail to see the advantages and absolute necessity for the unity of Black people for liberation in our country in particular and mankind in general.

It is true that at some stage in our history Black People did regard themselves as separate and distinct ethnical units. This might have been justified because of the circumstances existing then. Nevertheless society is not static. The change in circumstances necessitates a corresponding change of consciousness. It is not ~~surprising~~ surprising that the white rulers encourage and actively promote the ossification of our peoples' conception of themselves. This practice is in pursuance of their notorious and nefarious policies of divide-and-rule.

It is also not a secret that some of our own people have at various stages in our history, regarded themselves as distinct 'national groups'. To this and some of the old organizations of the people thought it proper to galvanize and organize the people on the basis of tribalism and ethnicity. They even felt it correct to encourage and advise certain individuals to participate in the fraudulent government institutions. Today these individuals, after testing the necessity of collaboration are using that ill-devised and short-sighted piece of non-advice as a lever with which to jam the wheel of change.

The reasons for such massive blinders and political monkey-jivers lie in the absence of an analytic perception which ~~comes~~ comes with thorough-going, uncompromising ideology. This lack of ideology is engendered by a consuming love of sensationalism and a heavy reliance on the dubious virtues of the white media. The strongest thing is that some people and organizations fail to recognize the obsolescence of their ~~ideas~~ ideas.

Black Consciousness has proved itself as the ideology which interpretes the situation of our people most accurately. It is here that the Black Consciousness Movement has its greatest strength, i.e. its ability to analyse accurately, galvanize and mobilize the people for the final decisive victory we all aspire to. However, the Azanian People's Organization, as the only popular political organization in the country must work tirelessly to shoulder the tasks of carrying the hopes, prayers and desires of our people to fruition/AZAPO does not need to prove its credential to anyone but she does need to come forth more forcefully as the only liberation movement capable and willing to achieve the liberation that has so far eluded the Black People. Consequently AZAPO must organize, mobilize and consolidate the whole Black population in its various formations and locations under her banner. Our organization must not only be heard but must be seen and felt by the people wherever they may be. Our presence must be experienced in the places of work, in schools, at universities, in sport, in religion, in the buses, in the streets in the farms and all other places where Black People are to be found. We are fighting for complete and total liberation hence our efforts must be complete, total and unsparring. We must delineate clearly between what our priorities are and the matter of lesser importance. It is the responsibility of AZAPO to take the lead in charting the course towards liberation. At the end of this Congress the people must be in no doubt as to what our priorities and programmes are.

LEADERSHIP

Unlike some organizations the Black Consciousness Movement embraces the principle of our extended and collective leadership. Each Black person who is true to the aspirations, values and ideals of the Black People must feel represented and having a recognized say in our movement. Our concept ~~of~~ of leadership is not the type of leadership that comes from the top downwards only. Our idea of leadership is one that travels both vertically and horizontally. AZAPO must assume its rightful position as the central co-ordinator of all decisions and policies of our huge movement.

It is only through selfless commitment that we shall be able to consolidate the forces we mobilize. ~~Our~~ Persistent and consistent hardwork is the staff which true revolutionary movements are made of. We must not fall short of this task. The blood and tears of the Azanians who have suffered, the anguish of the living and the dead Black men and women must be a source of inspiration to spur us to further heights. We must bear in mind constantly that men and women have died and multitudes are suffering and carry the scars of sad encounters with the vicious white racist regime. The pain and misery we see about us, which we ourselves experience must be enough to put fire in our blood and in our minds; to give us courage and fortitude to carry our struggle forward. Our struggle is a true and just one. We have suffered endless trials and tribulations and yet liberation has always eluded us. It is our task to make the freedom of our people from white bondage a living reality. Not only do we of the Black Consciousness Movement desire and hope for liberation but we are also willing and able to work for its achievement. We know we can overcome oppression and we shall vanquish the enemy. AZANIA shall be free because the time and truth are on our side.

Let us work ceaselessly for

O N A ZANIA ONE NATIONA

ONE MOVEMENT ONE PEOPLE

AMADLA!

Consequently the possibilities of a radical change of view point are short-circuited and they remain satisfied or likely to be satisfied by and within their system and therefore seek to perpetuate the system. The same does not hold for the Black man. The Black man is conscious that he is alienated and treated like a commodity that can be used or discarded as the situation demands. He is estranged from the goods he produces, the work he performs and other men. The intrinsic human value that a man has is lost and he is no better from the commodities he produces or helps in producing. His value as a human being is relegated to a callous exchange value. This psychological phenomenon is crucial in understanding the reactions to change by either of the two classes. One writer puts it succinctly when he says :

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¶ In other words the perception of one thing by both members of the two classes produces two distinct reactions governed by their class positions. A person charged under the Terrorism Act is viewed as a terrorist by whites and as a freedom fighter by Blacks. A policeman who kills or maims a child during an uprising is seen as a fascist murderer by the oppressed and as an agent of law and order by the oppressors. There are numerous real examples to confirm this assertion.

It is the duty and responsibility of the popular people's movement, AZAPO, to analyse, assess and articulate the peoples aspirations truthfully and realistically. We must determine clearly :

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These three aspects are important in the mobilization of the people for liberation.

In the Azanian context, particularly, the Black Consciousness outlook, taken as a philosophy or ideology is neither better nor equal in its ability to analyse, interpret and articulate the aspirations of our people. A more viable, more dynamic, more vibrant, more forthright ideology as firmly embedded in the circumstances that nurtured it has still ~~to~~ to emerge in our ~~own~~ country. Black Consciousness has served and shall continue to serve the people well in the quest for true humanity. There is no need for us here to enumerate the many successes that Black Consciousness has had. Not is there a need to count new fields that we have broken and the heights we are yet to reach. That we leave to our historical monitors and political commentators.

The aspect which is important in the methods we embrace towards the attainment of our ~~own~~ goals in the process of bargaining. The most important principle to observe in a bargaining process is strength to bargain from a position of strength. It is an exercise in futility to bargain from any position but that of strength. Ours is a strong and vicious enemy and any thoughts to the contrary are a mere delusion. Any consideration which involves revolutionary change in South Africa must take into cognizance the absolute disregard for human feeling and morality by the racist regime. Hence, even when considering the bargaining process with the whites their ~~own~~ siege-mentality must be taken into account. Bargaining in this context does not mean the cap-in-hand, tail-between-the-legs variety. On the other hand bargaining can mean the absolute utter and complete failure by those in power to meet the proposals they are presented with as was the case in Cuba, Iran, Mozambique and Angola.

B10

Admission

*Found up. for use of
George Ngwenya: Soweto.*

Comrades, I greet you all in the name of ~~our revolutionary struggle for the repossession of mother Azania from the clutches of the illegal, minority, white-settler regime of Botha and his henchmen.~~

I am going to speak about the Black Student - Worker Solidarity. This subject is simple and complex at the same time. It is simple in the sense that all of us here know what the words: student, worker and solidarity mean. The complexity of the subject comes when one examines in depth, the dynamics of the Black Student - Worker Solidarity as propagated by the Azanian Student Movement (ASAM), the only National Black Student organisation that is relevant in our country today. What should be noted in this subject, is how the Black Consciousness Movement has successfully welded the Nationalist character and the socialist content of our struggle together, to form a liberatory and revolutionary ideology.

A pre-requisite for any revolutionary struggle against colonialism, racism and capitalism is a revolutionary ideology. For an ideology to be revolutionary it has to again satisfy certain conditions, a few of which are:

1. It must be born out of the experiences of the majority of the people it seeks to liberate.
2. It must be capable of growing and developing to face up to the demands, not only of the pace of the struggle, but also of the reforms and other sophistications of the racist capitalistic system.
3. It must be geared towards the total liberation of the most oppressed and exploited class in the particular society.
4. It must seek to destroy all forms of exploitation of man by man.
5. It must seek to restore the value systems and the humanity that has been stripped away from the oppressed and exploited people, because of many years of social denigration and colonization. And above all it must recognise the most oppressed and exploited class in the particular society, which inevitably constitutes the majority, as the vanguard of the revolutionary struggle.

In our country today the only ideology that satisfies the above conditions, is the Black Consciousness ideology. Racism which is morally evil and in practice destructive of healthy human relations has been used by the white man in this country to subjugate the Black people. Black Consciousness interprets capitalism and white nationalism as joining forces to withhold social, economic and political power from the Black people.

Black Consciousness presents itself as counter-ideology to capitalism and white nationalism, and is always on the alert to expose exploitation and oppression of the Black working class. According to Marxist-Leninist strategy, racial tensions in a capitalist society should not be relaxed but intensified, for it helps to create the situation in which class consciousness can be cultivated, fulfilling the conditions for the inevitable success of the class struggle. It is for this reason that Black Consciousness will remain a living reality amongst all oppressed and exploited Black people in this country. All of us as we are gathered here today are a testimony to that fact. I say this because all of us are here to reiterate and forge means towards the realization of the Black Student - Worker Solidarity.

It is at this stage necessary for us to clearly explain what we mean, and what we seek to achieve in the Black Student - Worker Solidarity, that is being promoted and espoused by the Azanian Student Movement. The solidarity that we are talking about is a solidarity between the black students and/ the black working class. This concept of Black Student-Worker Solidarity embraces the Nationalist character and the socialist content of our revolutionary struggle. It firstly promotes Black solidarity which is a basic tenet of the nationalist character of our struggle, and secondly, it espouses the need for a revolutionary black worker consciousness which is a basic tenet of the socialist content. The solidarity we are talking about is not just a casual acquaintance between the black students and the black working class, but goes far deeper than that. I

class, but goes far deeper than that. It comes from the realization of the inseparability of the black students' struggle and the black workers' struggle. This solidarity comes from the realization which is mutual, that the black students by themselves can achieve very little if anything at all, without the involvement of the Black workers, and vice versa.

In order to achieve this solidarity we are talking about we as black students must be frank and honest with one another and recognize the following factors prevalent within the black student community, as those militating against the Black Student-Worker Solidarity.

- a. The elitist attitudes that we as black students harbour against the black workers. I have here as an example the high flown language, University dialects, intellectual arguments with black workers and mode of dress and behaviour that we take from our institutions of learning and unfairly use in our communities to intrench a feeling of superiority in ourselves and a feeling of inferiority in the black working class.
- b. The paternalistic attitude that black students always have in their interactions with the black working class. Here I am referring to instances where black students are more than willing to "teach", to "show", but not to consult and discuss with the black workers the means that can be used to rid the black workers and black people in general of oppression and exploitation. We must be very careful as black students not to fall into the liberal trap.
- c. The tendency by black students to alienate all the black workers who have been lured into the so-called non-racial, but reactionary movements, through deliberate lies and distortions by the reformist and intergrationist leadership of such organisations.
- d. The refusal to recognise that black students are educated on "blood money" that was acquired by the capitalist ruling class, through the exploitation of the black working class.
- e. The tendency by some students to think that they can educate themselves out of oppression.

Once we have properly identified the factors mentioned above as those militating against black student-worker solidarity, we must seek ways of eliminating such divisive attitudes in our society. As black students we must recognise that the black working class which is the vanguard of our struggle has a historical mandate, that is, to carry our revolutionary socialist struggle to its logical conclusion.

Much as the afore-mentioned statement is true, what is most important is that the black working class is not revolutionary per se, and can be the most reactionary and counter-revolutionary class in our society if no revolutionary direction is infused into it. The reactionary tendencies within the black working class are best exemplified by its willingness to join collaborationist trade unions which are only concerned with the better working conditions and wage increases, but as soon as the question of our land and our liberation is mentioned, they scuttle off to shebeens and soccer stadiums. These reactionary tendencies cannot be viewed in isolation however, as they are a result of 332 years of oppression, social degradation and colonization. It is at this stage that we as black students must intervene and infuse the revolutionary consciousness into the black working class. This can only be done through conscientization, consolidation and mobilization of the black working class.

Some of the measures that can be used to achieve this are:

1. Black students must have more contact with the black working class. This can be

Facilitated by black students joining the relevant Black Consciousness trade unions and actively participating in their activities.

2. Black students must forsake all their elitist tendencies and conduct themselves in a manner that will enhance the Black Student-Worker Solidarity. This means that from now on we will see lesser fun activities by ~~AZASM~~ members and more active participation in community based projects, as fun can never be reconciled with revolutionary principles.
3. As black students we must popularize and actively participate in the Black workers' struggle in this country for an example, I have the struggle that is being waged by I.A.W.U.S.A. (Insurance Assurance Workers Union of South Africa) against racist liberty Life in mind. This struggle has not gained much momentum, because the Black students especially AZASM, have only shown a casual interest in it

In our relationship as black students with the black working class, we must be careful not to inculcate reformist and bourgeois aspirations into the black working class. The black-student worker solidarity that is propagated by AZASM should not be regarded as an end in itself, but as a means to an end. In other words it must be geared towards bringing to the awareness of the Black worker that he must assume the leadership role of our struggle, and carry out his historical mandate, that of ushering a socialist Azania.

In conclusion, much as I have elaborated on the black working class as being the vanguard of our struggle, this paper is not meant to put the black working class on a high pedestal. We know that our struggle is not just a classical black worker's struggle, but is also a nationalist struggle that is, a struggle by the black oppressed people against colonization and racism. This in short means that the role of the black students as part of the oppressed people can never be just supportive. The role of black students is not to watch cheerfully from the sidelines and coach the black working class where necessary, whilst the black working class is waging the struggle against racism and capitalism for the restoration of the humanity of all black people.

One other thing that we must all be careful of in our movement is the use of divisive terms when referring to one another. Such terms as "black petty bourgeois", "black capitalist, revolutionary intelligentsia, worker etc." These terms are divisive in that as soon as we have successfully grouped ourselves into such categories, certain group attitudes will be developed by one group against the other, and when this happens we can forget about black solidarity. What we should inculcate in our movement is a spirit of comradeship. This means that everybody is a comrade in our liberation movement, be he/she a student, worker, artist, lawyer, doctor etc. It is our realization and recognition of black solidarity as an imperative element of our revolutionary struggle that we will be able to usher in an anti-racist socialist Azania.

ONE AZANIA

ONE NATION!

B11

*Admission:
In poss. & under control
of George Ngwenya
Soweto.*

Bw "BII"

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS
FIRST NATIONAL STUDENTS CONGRESS - AZASM
HELD AT LAY ECUMENICAL CENTRE - PIETERMARITZBURG

COMRADES, I extend my revolutionary greetings to you all, at these times of Political confusion and economic upheaval. Still, harder and more challenges lie ahead. I cannot say in stronger words, that we are gathered here on the occasion of the first National Students Congress of AZASM, at the time when the forces of destruction, nichodi seeking to destroy our very life core, are unleashed against us. We gathered at a time where the blows that we suffer in the hands of the white minority ruling class, are as severe as the ones that are visited us by the detractors of BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS, who masquerade as progressives together with their fellow-travellers. What has, however, sustained us up to this day and shall continue to until AZANIA prevails, has been the great responsibility, tempered with iron tenacity and unwavering resolve, that we have taken on our shoulders - to liberate the masses.

~~The liberation struggle has entered into one of the most confusing and hard times indeed. Amophorism is on the increase and multi-racialists (parading as non-racialists) are not idle. It is a matter of great concern, how many of us present here today, are 'Squattering' in the movement only waiting for another golden chance to rise against B.C. Many have started and many more are still to join in the claim that they have outgrown the revolution that one never really participated in and whose goals have not been attained is a question still to be answered. On the other hand, the capitalist press play its role and the forces of imperialism, more than ever before, are at work obstructing our progress.~~

In student circles, anger is taking shape and finding expression. The boycotts of classes that characterized the beginning of this academic year and indeed the rest of the year is threatened with these boycotts and other forms of protest by the student community. ~~The seeds of discontent as constantly being sown by the intransigence that the racist S.A. government, through its agency - the DET - are likely to mushroom all over the country and another 1976 is imminent.~~

However, the Black student has come to grips with reality and realized that gone are the days when students were regarded as spectators and passengers in the liberation movement - living in a world detached from realities and discussing issues affecting humanity in a cold clinical manner. He has now realized he should and must belong to the broader community and he should, perforce, ~~be affected by the issues of the day.~~

In fact, a simbiotic relationship that should exist between students and the Black workers, who are the vanguard of the liberation struggle, can never be over-emphasised. Workers and students are inseparable in their common and aggregate experiences. They are both victims of racial oppression and exploitation under the system of racism and capitalism.

Later during this Congress, when the amended version of the Constitution shall be tabled for your ratification, you will ~~realize that 'BLACK STUDENT-WORKER ALLIANCE' has been substituted for 'BLACK STUDENT-WORKER SOLIDARITY'~~ just to re-emphasize that, as Black students we are not just an entity living in cloud nine, but part of a whole.

This means that as students, ^{we} have an historical mandate to interact with the working people in their quest for freedom. ~~Reactionary task of~~ students, therefore, is to give cohesion to ideas and aspirations of the workers. However, in doing this it must be ensured that no reactionary tendencies are brought in and students (the radical sections of the middle class and the revolutionary intelligentsia) ^{never} realize that this is done to help remove the obstacles in the way of the workers that impede a speedy assumption of the rightful leadership of the struggle by the workers, thereby guaranteeing the success of the revolution.

For us as Black students, the access to power, prestige and prosperity is illusory. ~~True academic and career success is not on the agenda, even after the demise of Apartheid, if such comes of its own without any fundamental changes brought about by ourselves.~~

As I have already stated, Imperialism, which is Capitalism at the stage where it operates internationally, is cohesive. Therefore, we need to ^{and} our own cohesion to counter and eradicate it. The process, whereby this could be achieved is that of struggle. To forge ahead, though, we will find that there are no individual solutions.

As Black students, we emerge from a community where people are bound up by extended family ties. One is expected to take responsibility and ^{from} expect support from one's simblings, uncles, aunts, cousins and often friends and neighbours. On the other hand Capitalism orients one to assimilate into its dog-eats-dog ethic. Acceptance of these norms is even more alienating for the Black student. Perhaps this explains the atmosphere of hostilities between the recipients of services at places such as hospitals and personnel offices and the staff who often exhibit arrogant and abusive attitudes towards other Black people. All this results from the fact that

the atmosphere in which we as students learn, is a one dominated by these values. As revolutionaries, however, we should be able to exercise our ability to take decisions both about our lives and the environment that we find ourselves in as Black students in Capitalist education and bring revolutionary transformation to both.

Another basis for cleansing ourselves of the midn of pollution from the system of racism and Capitalism would be retaining the perspective that no matter our academic standing, we come from a struggling community both in the sense of being economically deprived and in the sense of being involved in the struggle to assert our right to live decently in our own land, and to control its resources.

The raw materials from which this country's wealth evolves, comes out of our land. The labour which converts them into finished products is the sweat and blood of our mothers and fathers. The capital which the multi-nationals use to exploit the resources of our motherland is the undistributed wages of our parents and forebears. Furthermore, it is a result of the plunder and enslavement of the Black people throughout the world. Once we realize this we must ^{ev} see that the people we owe everything to, for our education and acces to better living are the Black toiling masses of AZANIA. It is imperative for Black students cast off any acquired or cultivated superiority complexes in relation to Black workers.

At the same time, students have to bear in mind the following factors that could miiatate against the aspirations of the Black working class:

1. The ideas that students acquire and assimilate at the institutions of learning are those of the ruling class, whose purpose is to promote the system of racism and capitalism;
2. The educational system does not relate to the experiences of the broad oppressed and exploited masses of our country;
3. The education given to the Black youth is geared at assimilating in an already established order, which has specific norms and values contrary to those of the struggling masses, and
4. The education does not prepare the Black student to play any meaningful role in the creation of a new and just order.

Therefore, the skills and education we acquire need to be re-contextualized in order for it to be relevant to student-worker activity.

As students in secondary and tertiary levels of education, we also have to counter the effects of isolation in institutions where all learning is from books and where opportunities for collective effort are limited. We must find means to interact with the Black working class, to tap their vast experience. This will break the grip idea that the guidance emanates from the few so-called intellectuals or academics, who have been successfully groomed by the capitalists. Nothing could be further from the truth.

The insights of the Black people into the ravages of the system on their lives and the multitude of struggles that they have waged and continue to wage, makes them a rich repository of knowledge. By working closely with the masses in community and labour projects and in the struggle for liberation, we could learn from them and benefit mutually from such interaction with that level of co-operation more grounds for elitism, which we as students are aspiring to, will go out of the window. In other words, we as Black students must commit class suicide and work along with the Black working class, before our AZASM's much espoused 'Black student-worker solidarity' can be realized.

For this Congress and the year, we have decided on "SHAPING OUR OWN DESTINY" as our theme. A call is, therefore, being made once more, to the masses that they are their OWN liberators. That the pace of the liberation struggle shall be set, not by the oppressors, but by the oppressed themselves. This call sounds even louder today, in spite of the attacks and labellings on us by the apologists of the ruling class that Black Consciousness is racism in reverse. In spite of and not because of these frustrated accusations, I urge you to ~~recommit yourselves~~ to the liberation struggle and hope you will come out of this Congress more convicted than ever before to the philosophy of the Black people viz. BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS. Let us have no illusion and let us make no mistake that there can ever be any rest for Black students and workers until such time that we are the holders and directors of our own destiny.

Finally, it would be well to state that it may be essential, however, in the process of advancing our aspirations at liberating and demystifying education to ~~closely examine alternative educational systems, that is not~~ only for a content that is more relevant to the practical means of the working class, but also for the methods that encourage assertiveness, collective responsibility and co-operation.

Admission
Found in pass of
George Ngwenya
Soweto.

Bew "B12"

CONSTITUTION
OF THE
AZANIAN STUDENT MOVEMENT
(AZASM)

PREAMBLE

Whereas we, the Black students of Azania, realizing the need for a national student movement based on the living and vibrant ideology of the Azanian people, viz. BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS (BC).
And asserting that BC is the only ideology which can lead the Azanian people to repossess the land that is rightfully theirs, and maintaining that there can be no solution in Azania until repossession of the land,
AND FURTHER believing that the Black workers are the most oppressed and exploited class in our country,

AND ALWAYS conscious that students must organise themselves as a part of the Black nation,

AND having as our goal the solidifying of Black worker-student alliance,

THEREFORE RESOLVE

1. To found a national student organization which will express and manifest the aspirations of the Black Students of Azania,
2. To ensure that this national organisation sees itself as part of the Black nation and the Black liberation struggle.

SECTION 1

NAME:

The name of the organization shall be the AZANIAN STUDENT MOVEMENT herein-after referred to as AZASM.

SECTION 2

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES:

1. To create a forum for students to articulate and to express their aspirations as part of the Black nation.
2. To mobilise and unite students around the liberatory philosophy of BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS.
3. To encourage the involvement of students in problems facing the student community as well as those that are facing the Black community in general.
4. To work towards a national educational system which will instil a sense of creativity, identity and self-reliance amongst the students of Azania.
5. To work towards the total eradication of the racist exploitative and oppressive system of this country, and the ushering in of an egalitarian, anti-racist society.
6. To expose the inferior status of women in the white capitalist society and to actively campaign against the specific and multiple oppression and exploitation of Black women in South Africa.

SECTION 3

MEMBERSHIP:

1. Membership shall be open to every Black student at both secondary and tertiary institutions, wherever they may find themselves.
2. Every member shall subscribe to the principles, aims, policy, goals and philosophy of the organization.
3. No membership shall be given to those students or organizations, or any group or individuals whose interests are in conflict with those of the organization.
4. Membership shall be: a) by individual application
b) by group affiliation.
5. a) Every member of AZASM shall pay membership fee and a monthly subscription fee which shall be determined from time to time.
b) Membership shall be renewable annually.
6. Any member, or group, or organisation whose interests have been subsequently proven to be in conflict with those of AZASM shall forthwith be expelled from the organization.

SECTION 4

STRUCTURE:

The structure of AZASM shall be as follows:-

The NATIONAL STUDENT CONGRESS
or NSC
the NATIONAL EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEE or NEC
the STUDENT EXECUTIVE COUNCIL
or SEC.

SECTION 5

THE NATIONAL STUDENT CONGRESS:

- The supreme and highest governing and policy-making body of the organization shall be the NSC and it shall meet annually at a place and time determined by the SEC providing that:
- a) The SEC may convene a special session of the NSC wherever the Council sees it necessary and desirable to do so.
 - b) The NSC shall comprise of two (2) delegates from each branch, members of the regional executive committees and the NEC.
 - c) The NSC shall have the power and authority to take decision by a majority vote of those present at voting in all aspects in the policy, principles, the organization's finance and discipline, and all such decisions shall be binding on the organization and all its formation providing that the NSC shall have the power and authority to abrogate amend, rescind and/or alter its own resolutions and/or decisions on constitution, policy, principles, aims, objectives and goals by a two-thirds majority of members attending the session.
 - d) Voting shall be restricted to the members specified in (b) above.

SECTION 6

COMPOSITION OF THE STUDENT EXECUTIVE COUNCIL:

1. Members of the NEC
2. Branch chairpersons and secretaries from each branch
3. Regional co-ordinators.

SECTION 7

DUTIES OF THE SEC:

1. To receive and consider reports of the NEC
2. To evaluate progress of AZASM
3. a) To regularly scrutinize the financial situation of AZASM
b) To review the financial records of the Treasurer
4. To convene the NSC
5. The SEC shall be empowered to appoint task committees to deal with various aspects affecting Black students and the wider Black community.
6. The SEC shall be empowered to take any disciplinary action against any member who is guilty of misconduct.
7. SEC shall appoint an acting chairperson in an event where the current chairperson is unable to execute his duties.

SECTION 8

MEETINGS OF THE SEC:

1. The chairperson of the hosting region shall chair the SEC.
2. The Council shall meet twice a year at a venue determined by the NEC.
3. Failure by a member of the Council to attend two (2) consecutive meetings without adequate reason shall lead to automatic suspension from the council.

SECTION 9

COMPOSITION OF THE NEC:

1. President
2. Vice-President: Tertiary Institutions
3. Vice President: Secondary Institutions
4. Secretary
5. Treasurer
6. Publications Director
7. National Organiser.

SECTION 10

DUTIES OF THE PRESIDENT:

1. The President shall be the chief executive officer of AZASM.
2. He shall represent AZASM nationally and internationally.
3. He shall be responsible for issuing Press Statements on behalf of AZASM in conjunction with at least one member of the NEC.
4. He shall be responsible for the guidance and principles of AZASM.
5. He shall report and be responsible to the NEC, SEC and NSC.

THE VICE PRESIDENTS:

1. They shall perform the duties and functions which are otherwise performed by the President, if the President is unable to do so.
2. They shall assist the President in the execution of his duties, functions and responsibilities.
3. Each of the Vice Presidents shall be directly responsible for the co-ordination of student affairs in Secondary or Tertiary institutions.

Appointing of Acting President or Vice President

In the event of the President or one of the Vice Presidents being unable either temporarily or permanently to perform their duties, the NEC shall appoint a member of the SEC to act as President or Vice-President who shall hold office until the President or one of the Vice Presidents is able to assume his duties or until a new President has been elected.

SECRETARY:

1. The Secretary shall act as the chief administrative officer of AZASM.
2. He shall be the custodian and see to the safe-keeping of all the properties of the organization unless the NEC decides otherwise.
3. He shall be in charge of the secretarial work of the organization.
4. He shall be responsible for the keeping of records of the organization.

TREASURER:

1. He shall be responsible for the keeping of the books of accounts. income and expenditure of AZASM.
2. He shall cause an annual balance sheet to be prepared and certified by the Auditors approved by NEC.
3. He shall present an audited financial report to the NSC.
4. He shall prepare and submit a financial report to the SEC.

PUBLICATIONS DIRECTOR:

1. He shall be responsible for all the organization's and other material pertaining to his office.
2. He shall be responsible for the organisation of a Resource Centre for AZASM.

NATIONAL ORGANISER:

1. He shall be co-ordinator of the Regional co-ordinators.
2. He shall be responsible, in conjunction with the Regional co-ordinators, for the establishment of the branches.
3. He shall be co-ordinating officer of the branches in all regions.
4. He shall be responsible for the ~~formation~~ formulation of various methods of approaching students.
5. He shall visit the branches in all regions together with the responsible Regional co-ordinators.
6. He shall a) at least once every two months hold a meeting with regional co-ordinators to inquire into the progress ~~of~~ of the organization;
b) record these proceedings and report to the NEC.

SECTION 11

ELECTION OF THE NEC:

1. The NSC shall elect the NEC annually which will meet at least once in every three (3) months.
2. The term of office by the full time staff shall be extended for two years. Each year congress shall have the right to ratify this position.
3. The NEC shall be empowered to appoint the task committess in different fields.
4. All Regional co-ordinators elected to their positions on the NSC shall ipso facto cease to represent their regions. The affected region shall thereafter elect a new Regional co-ordinator whose election shall be ratified by the NEC acting on mandate of the congress.

ELECTION OF REGIONAL CO-ORDINATORS:

Amonth after the sitting of congress, the regions shall assemble to elect their Regional co-ordinators.

SECTION 12

POWERS AND DUTIES OF REGIONAL CO-ORDINATORS:

The Regional co-ordinator(s) shall be:

1. responsible for organising the students in his region.
2. liase between the National Organiser and his region.
3. responsible for visiting all branches in his region and be available for assistance and advice.
4. responsible for convening and presiding over regional activities.
5. responsible for submitting progress reports on the branches to the National Organiser.

SECTION 13

BRANCHES:

1. The National Organiser shall, Subject to the approval of the NEC, establish branches in consultation with the Regional co-ordinator.
2. A branch shall ~~be~~ consist of at least twenty (20) members or any such number that the NEC may decide upon.
3. Delimitation of branches shall be determined by the National Organiser in consultation with the Regional co-ordinator.
4. Election of the Branch Executive Committee shall be held annually.
5. Each branch shall supervise all aspects and activities of AZASM within the area of its jurisdiction.
6. Each branch may submit to the NEC of National Congress for consideration, recommendations concerning the principles, aims, objectives and goals of AZASM.
7. Each branch shall elect delegates to the National Congress.
8. Each branch shall have an Executive Committee comprising of:
 - a) Chairperson
 - b) Vice-Chairperson
 - c) Secretary
 - d) Treasurer
 - e) Organiser
 - f) Projects Co-ordinator.

SECTION 14

POWERS AND DUTIES OF BRANCH EXECUTIVES:

The Chairperson shall:-

1. Be the head of the branch.
2. Be the chief executive member to whom the Branch executive committee members shall be responsible.
3. Wherever possible and necessary, represent the branch.
4. Carry out the aims and objectives of AZASM.
5. Preside at all meetings of the branch.
6. Within the policy of the organization, in consultation with the President and at least one member of his executive, issue press statements pertaining to branch only.

The Vice Chairperson shall:-

1. Assist the branch Chairperson in the execution of his duties and deputise for him should he for some reason be unable to carry out his duties.
2. Be responsible together with other members for the maintenance of the branch.

The Secretary shall:-

1. Be responsible for the safekeeping of books, records and properties of the branch.
2. Be responsible for the secretarial work of the branch.

The Treasurer shall:-

1. Be responsible for the funds of the branch and shall keep a register of all the assets and liabilities of the branch.
2. Deposit funds of the branch in a bank to be decided by the branch executive.

The Organiser shall:-

1. Be responsible for recruitment of membership to the branch.
2. Be responsible for the conscientization of the members.
3. Liaise with the Regional co-ordinators and the National Organiser.

The Projects Co-ordinator shall:-

1. Initiate and maintain all projects that may be embarked on.
2. Be responsible for the involvement of the membership in projects and related activities.

SECTION 15

QUORUM:

- SEC : A third of branch delegates will form a quorum.
NEC : A simple majority present will form a quorum.
NSC : A third of the members of the congress will form a quorum.
Branch Executive Committee : A simple majority will form a quorum.
Branch General Meetings : A third of the members will form a quorum.

SECTION 16

SPECIAL MEETINGS:

The President shall instruct the Secretary to convene a special meeting in respect of any urgent matter pertaining to AZASM.

SECTION 17

VOTING:

1. Voting at all meetings and/or sessions of AZASM shall be by show of hands unless the Chairperson/Presiding Officer decides otherwise.
2. Voting at National Congress shall be constituted as follows:
 - a) For the first hundred members, or part thereof, each branch shall have three votes.
 - b) For each additional three-hundred; or part thereof, UP to one-thousand, there shall be one additional vote.
 - c) For each additional five-hundred or part thereof up to two-thousand there shall be two additional votes.
 - d) No branch shall have more than ten votes.
 - e) Each member of the executive shall be entitled to one vote, providing that the Presiding Officer is entitled to a casting vote.
 - f) Voting by proxy shall not be allowed.

SECTION 18

NOTIFICATION OF MEETINGS:

A member of SEC and National Congress shall be notified of meetings not less than fourteen days before such a meeting takes place.

SECTION 19

FINANCES:

1. Funds shall be deposited with a bank to be determined by the NEC.
2. The NEC shall frame and prescribe regulation and procedures to be adopted and followed by all formations of AZASM with regard to finances.
3. The Treasurer shall be in charge of finance and fund-raising.
4. All financial transaction carried out in the name of AZASM shall bear the signature of the Treasurer and one other member of the NEC.
5. AZASM shall appoint a recognised firm of auditors who shall be allowed to inspect the financial records.
6. Books and/or records of AZASM shall be audited annually before NSC.
7. All payments shall be made by cheque, except in the case of petty-cash.
8. AZASM shall be a body corporate, capable of managing its own assets and liabilities.

SECTION 20

PROPERTY:

AZASM shall be empowered and entitled to sell, purchase, hire, lease, mortgage, pledge, and in any way alienate or deal with both movable and immovable property acquired by its formation. The properties of AZASM shall be registered in its own name or in the name of Trustees appointed for the purpose by the executive in the event of the law requiring this, on behalf of AZASM.

SECTION 21

LEGAL PROCEDURES:

AZAS^M may sue or be sued in its own name, and appoint its own legal advisors. The President shall be authorised by NEC to institute and defend all legal proceedings.

SECTION 22

DISCIPLINE:

1. A member may be suspended or expelled for misconduct by SEC or any branch executive committee.
2. The Branch Executive Committee shall, after suspension of a member immediately inform the NEC or SEC, which ever will meet first.
3. The NEC or SEC shall ratify or dismiss such suspension or expulsion.
4. Upon expulsion all monies due and properties belonging to AZAS^M by such members become recoverable. If payment is not made within (28) days, SEC may take such steps it deems necessary to secure such a settlement.
5. Such a member shall cease to be entitled to any of the benefits of membership, including the right to vote, and shall be deemed to out of good standing.
6. The SEC may suspend any office bearer from office on the recommendation and request of the NEC until a decision is taken by the Congress which which decision shall be taken by vote.

RESIGNATION:

A member may resign by giving one month's notice in writing to the Branch Executive Committee provided that no resignation shall take effect until monies due and properties belonging to AZAS^M by the member concerned have been recovered.

SECTION 23

DISSOLUTION:

1. The SEC shall should the need arise, convene an emergency NSC which shall vote on the matter.
2. In the event of any assets left the dissolution the NEC shall be empowered to distribute such assets to any Black organization ~~it~~ it deems fit.
3. Three months notice should be given to all branches before such a meeting can take place.

SECTION 24

AMENDMENTS:

All the provisions may be repealed, amended or added to in any manner by a two-thirds majority of the delegates present and voting at NSC.

SECTION 25

INTERPRETATION OF TEXT:

Unless inconsistent with the context:

1. BLACK shall be interpreted as those who by law or tradition are economically, socially, and politically discriminated against as a group in the South African society, and ~~they~~ identify themselves as a unit in the struggle towards the realization of their aspirations.
2. Words importing masculine gender shall also denote feminine gender.
3. Executive shall mean the National Executive Committee of AZAS^M.
4. SEC shall mean the Student Executive Council of AZAS^M.
5. PRESIDENT shall be the National President of AZAS^M.
6. REGION shall mean at least four branches in the same Geographic contiguity.
7. STUDENT is any Black person who is registered at any Secondary or Tertiary institution.
8. In the event of any dispute or disagreement from the meaning or interpretation of any section, word or words of this constitution, the final arbitrator shall be the congress.

POLICY DOCUMENT OF AZASM
(AZANIAN STUDENT MOVEMENT)

PREAMBLE

Whereas we, the Azanian Student Movement, adopting the vibrant revolutionary ideology of Black Consciousness (B.C.),

and recognizing that ideology is a dynamic force and that we are ever conscious that revolutionary ideology must relate to the national conditions in a given society,

Therefore resolve:

that AZASM will take into account the HISTORICAL and NATIONAL peculiarities of the oppressed and exploited of Azania.

1. BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

AZASM acknowledges that the ideology of B.C. has developed from the experiences of the oppressed Black people of Azania. We assert that this ideology is a living reality amongst the majority of the people of AZANIA.

We understand the ideology of Black Consciousness as :

- a) A framework whose internal dynamics give form to the entire nature of Black aspirations.
- b) An irreversible 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 racist government.
- c) A firm expression of the will of the Black working class to assume full control of the power structures of a democratic, anti-racist, non-exploitative government.
- d) A philosophy that relatively translates itself into active opposition to government policies bent on estranging the Black people from themselves; an active resistance to every form of injustice meted out to Black people.
- e) A philosophy that gives direction to the Black people in an attempt to re-orientate their entire value system.
- f) A philosophy that grasps Black solidarity as an imperative element that militates against any form of sectionalism, and one that ensures a united effort towards changing the status-quo.
- g) A philosophy that understands that Black workers, who constitute the most oppressed and exploited class in this society, are the vanguard of the liberation struggle.
- h) A philosophy that seeks to create a just society where the value of persons shall be held supreme.

2. SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT

We believe that the entire country of AZANIA is an indivisible unit which is the sole property of the Black people. Hence, we categorically reject the policy of separate development which arises from the myth that the Black nation is composed of separate units.

The Azanian people will demand back, with all the power at its command, any alienated portion of the Azanian soil; and, Bantustan human-dumping-grounds will be reintegrated into a unitary state of Azania.

3. CLASS AND RACE

We recognise the fact that in South Africa race is a class determinant. We recognise further that the Black working class constitutes a people racially discriminated against and economically exploited.

We believe that the Black working class, inspired by Black Consciousness, constitutes the vanguard of the liberation movement.

4. RELATIONS WITH ORGANISATIONS

AZASM recognizes the role played by the historical movements, and further maintains that the Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO) is the authentic overt liberation movement for the Black people and shall act as the mother-body of all Black Consciousness organizations.

AZASM will further forge working relations with Organizations of the oppressed and the exploited which are working toward a democratic, anti-racist and socialist AZANIA.

In its relationship with other organizations AZASM shall retain and maintain its independence and direction in terms of policies, principles, programmes, ideologies.

5. EDUCATION

We regard the education policy of the white-settler regime as ethnic, de-humanizing and bent on relegating Black people to perpetual serfdom, while at the same time trying to create an elitest class within the Black Nation.

We recognise that education should be geared towards total liberation and we pledge to tirelessly strive towards this end.

6. SPORT AND CULTURE

We regard the sporting and cultural isolation of white South Africa as a progressive strategy. In this regard, AZASM pledges to actively encourage the formation of Black sporting and cultural bodies which are anti-collaborationist.

The dominant culture prevalent in our society today is that of the capitalist ruling class, whose values and attitudes are imposed on us. Therefore, we pledge to work towards a progressive national culture which is socialist in content and geared towards the needs of the Black working class.

7. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

We recognise that the majority of the Black people, having been saturated with oppression and exploitation, have had their confidence, self-awareness, and self-reliance sapped.

We recognise that community projects are a viable and effective method of promoting self-awareness and self-reliance.

We are aware of the dangers of these community projects becoming reformist, and pledge to vigilantly maintain the proper revolutionary direction.

8. TRADE UNIONS

We acknowledge Trade Unions as instruments that can bring about the re-distribution of power, provided that they go beyond the problems of management and labour.

So, to this end, AZASM pledges to help in the formation of Black Con. (BC) orientated Trade Unions and to support those which are already existing.

Adm.
Found i'p.o.
George Ngwenya
Forester.

THERE CAN BE NO JUST EDUCATION
IN AN UNJUST SOCIETY

Bew "B 13"
By THE LIBURNIER SIBUSISO MADISA

Revolutionary greetings to the forces of change!

Today we gathered here at the first congress of the AZANIAN STUDENT MOVEMENT, AZASM. We meet in a situation that is potentially explosive. And we have stood the test of a million fires as Black students in trying to shape our destiny and to contribute to the creation of anti-racist and scientific socialist AZANIA. As students that are proud of being Black Conscious, we believe we have an important role to play in making this more of a humane world. No one shall deny us that right, of that we are justly proud.

The attacks that have been made against us in this philosophy of B.C. both by the system and the potential black people (those that are colour blind orthodox Marxists) who claim to be engaged in the search for liberation are numerous. It is ironic that we are the subject of intense attack from two allegedly diametrically opposed quarters.

Comrades, I must admit that at times the gears of my so-called slow thinking brain do grind to a complete halt and at such times and moments I am left completely in the dark, about quite a number of things.

But history will prove either themselves or myself innocent and genuine to the total liberation of this country. A case in point is the white liberals from Lower Houton and Wits who are shouting slogans at the top of their voices "Amandla" "We shall be free" speaking of liberation. If I remember correctly the term "Liberate" means to set free especially from oppression. But assuming that the Whites are free, whom do they intend freeing, and from what? In South Africa we have the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) which is striving to free the Black people of Azania from White racism and capitalism. That is Azapo's aim, and I must confess I do not know and have never heard of any Black Parliamentarians in South Africa from whom the White South Africans want to remove the territory for Whites.

If the Black people of South Africa want to be liberated from White Racial and Capitalist domination, and also the Whites of this country want to be liberated, someone should be having our facts mixed up here, or else my mind is once more up to mischief. Assuming that I am correct as I am and it is the BLACKS who have a point about their STRUGGLE in South Africa. It is then obvious that the Whites do not know what the "liberation" they want is all about. Today I warn all those who play around with words and confusing those that are colour blind.

Comrades, our purpose here is not to ponder upon the attacks that will be a waste of energy. Today, Comrades, allow me to address myself to the role that students can play in this country to bring about revolutionary change in our society. By speaking about the role which students could play for a revolutionary change, I do not mean that the students are the vanguard of the struggle as the prophets of doom allege. I simply mean the role or the part that is very important for the students to play in the quest for liberation.

I believe that before I am anything else in this country, I am Black; which does not really define me according to my pigmentation and how my skull is shaped. But it comes from the political definition of all those who are by law, traditionally, politically, socially and economically 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. By being legislated against, does not mean that you can be categorised under this political definition; it does not end there. It continues to say you must also identify yourself as a unit in the realisation of the people's aspirations which means you can't be an OBSERVER IN THE STRUGGLE FOR

THE LIBERATION OF THE PEOPLE. there are many ways of identifying yourself with the oppressed when; if and only if; you are part of them.

As Black students we are from the Black exploited workers which are the vanguard of the struggle in South Africa. It is again the logic of sanity to strive for change when our fathers and mothers are subjected to slavery. Some of us know for a fact that we have some shortcomings in the system of education in South Africa. We are aware that the White settlers have always considered themselves as the barriers of civilisation and consequently considered Blacks as backwards. The type of the educational system that we are given serves as an ideology to justify inequalities, rivalry and racist consciousness which has been entrenched in the educational system in the country. The most fundamental point about our education is that, it is used to widen and reinforce class divisions between the exploiters and the exploited; and it indoctrinates and domesticates, hence one finds many "I don't care Students, as long as I've got my degree". They should not be blamed or be found guilty of their ignorance of not knowing what is right and what is wrong. White oppressors are to be blamed for the evil of selfishness and the class division they perpetrate among the Black people.

PRESENT METHODS

As students must be integrated together with our education into the overall struggle for liberation. And intricately linked with the class racial struggle in this land of ours. We must strive for persuading the struggle for a new society as students. Our education has the effect of creating a Black Middle group that is far removed from the true aspirations of the people.

EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Our objective is to work towards the establishment of an educational system that will meet the requirement of the country and shall respond creatively towards the needs of AZANIA and be generally creating a self-reliant nation. I note that the unjust, oppressive and exploitative practices in the economic, political, social and cultural spheres are also primarily represented in the existence of an educational system which caters for different peoples in this country. I also contend that no equitable and just system of education can thrive and function in an unjust and exploitative society.

The means of communication and education are controlled and owned by the dominant White ruling class ideology in order to promote and perpetuate their own interests.

Now, allow me again, to put emphasis on culture and education. The White dominant group maintains its position of power by fostering and encouraging ethnocentrism in the country. It is quite clear that lack of freedom on the part of the people signifies a deprivation of their own authentic culture. Their position can be understood when we view this ethnocentrism as it is tied up to culture and education; and realise that nowhere, in this state of affairs, can capitalism (as it operates and manifests itself in our nation) offer any hope for genuine progress and social justice that can be accessible to all.

In our analysis of education, we should also realise that we are also analysing culture. (And cultural groups of sections). When cultures come into contact, acculturation and so-called assimilation take place. The ruling White minority group has always stood to benefit in such contacts, at the expense of the indigenous and the majority of the people. The Black people have always been the objects of assimilation, under direct rule or control of the latter apartheid eurocentrism.

DOMINATED PEOPLE

The dominated people are the culturally subjected. This is clear in all institutions including the education/one, where White schools are considered made to be of a higher standard - attended by the privileged and by those who can afford to pay exorbitant fees. They are also attended by the children of those Blacks who have a stake in the present ordering and structuring of society. These are the Blacks who have been culturally alienated from the popular culture of the oppressed people. The status quo aims at making the subjected people despise their culture and lose confidence in their capability at contributing creatively in the progress of mankind. In our search for cultural Liberation, we should never lose sight of the fact that political and economic Liberation are a prerequisite.

Culture and education have no meaning apart from the social organisation of life on which they are built. All institutions in society must not be considered in isolation and therefore, our position in our pursuit to retain our culture and create from it relevant values for living, must be a dialectical approach.

CAPITALISM AND CULTURE

Capitalism will always produce an anti-human culture; and this will manifest itself in this manner:

- (i) Within this system, and its educational subsystem, men are educated with an emphasis to rule, to dominate, and suppress the interests and aspirations of the majority people.
- (ii) It encourages and deepens sectionalism and conflicting interests.
- (iii) Individuals and social groups will be alienated from themselves and their environments.
- (iv) The means of production are removed from the control and ownership of the masses.

The racist capitalist culture nurtures subservience, self-hatred and mutual suspicion in our society. The educational system, then, will reflect inequalities which arise from a racial pyramid which has become typical in our society. Those at the base of this pyramid must be made to despise their self-image and to consider White culture as the model for progressive life. A culture which is the preserve of the few, cannot be ruthlessly enforced. Such a culture can only serve to rationalise the exploitation and oppression of the masses in the name of culture.

CONCLUSION

The time for debates has passed. Today, we are here to reaffirm our commitment, dedicate selflessness, involvement and a resolution to oppose and destroy the system of tyranny and oppression - with might and main - to our last breath, and our last drop of blood. Our AZASM is blacker than it was yesterday; and more committed to the dynamic philosophy of BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS. We wish to direct the oppressed people's attention to the fact that a new generation has emerged as a more fearless and dedicated leadership. It is also appropriate to mention that it is the apartheid regime which has consistently and treacherously attacked us as: the schoolchildren (1976-1984); the defenceless detainees; and now the exiles; amongst others. Let us not forget the terror campaign conducted against the so-called squatters. Albeit all the efforts of the oppressors and exploiters to deter our progress, we as students must work even harder in highlighting the inconsistencies prevalent in the oppressors' educational system; and make it known that while we cannot immediately create an alternative one, we shall remain in theirs ~~ONLY~~ under continual PROTEST and make this fact acceptable to all ~~those~~ Blacks who share our interests and aspirations.

FORWARD WITH THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION! ~~WITH LIFE AND DEATH THE OPPRESSED SHALL MARCH!!!!~~ ONE AZANIA ONE NATION!!! by Sibusiso Mabaso

B14

Adm. Found. 1/10
Roy Halim Lenanta

Bew B14

EDUCATION POLICY

This policy was prepared by the Education Secretariate of the AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION ie AZAPO in December 1980 and adopted by the First Congress of AZAPO at Houtbospoort on 25 January 1981. Some of the ideas propounded in this Education Policy are only now coming into vogue: ideas such as the Constituent Assembly of the Azanian people, the need for effective pupil government and the use of English as an Azanian lingua franca. The Central Committee of AZAPO approved of the following revised version on 19 October 1984 and is offering it to all formations for comment, criticism, correction and questions.

PREAMBLE

One of the aims and objectives of the AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION (AZAPO) is "To work towards the establishment of an educational system that will respond creatively to the needs of Azanians." (AZAPO Constitution, Section 2, Sub-section 2). In this pursuit AZAPO notes that the unjust, oppressive and exploitative practices and beliefs which riddle South Africa's political, cultural, social and economic life are displayed primarily in the existence of manifold educational systems catering for so-called "different races and ethnic groups."

AZAPO contends that no just and equitable system of education can thrive and function in an unjust and exploitative society. We are conscious of the fact that the means of communication and education are owned and controlled by the ruling class in order to promote, perpetuate, sustain and maintain its self-interest. And we assert that education is not a privilege but is an inalienable right.

Education plays a fundamental role in the maintenance, sustenance, renewal and restructuring of the totality of relations in society. The self-delegated monopoly of the professionals and the intelligentsia in the structuring and orientation of education must be replaced by a form of education which involves the entire community.

EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA: A CRITIQUE

Some Points of Departure

A. The present philosophy of education has dogmatic religious shortcomings.

- * ~~It enforces the mind to religious dogmas and hence hampers freedom of inquiry in the broadest sense.~~ It enforces the mind to religious dogmas and hence hampers freedom of inquiry in the broadest sense.
- * It perpetuates hierarchical views of society which foster the superior-inferior, master-servant, ruler-ruled relationships and thus reinforce class divisions.

B. The apartheid system of divide-and-rule is embedded in the educational philosophy and the system of education.

- * It creates an impression and an illusion that white values, culture, norms, etc are superior
- * Racism and ethnicity are promoted as the norm even in the differentiated facilities and opportunities available to the so-called "different races and ethnic groups".
- * It perpetuates and sustains the exploitative and dehumanizing

economic relationships of production.

- * Whites are orientated to think in national terms while Blacks are orientated to view life in parochial and ethnic terms.

C. The present philosophy of education fosters the process of alienation.

- * The school itself has been dissociated from life and society.
- * The philosophy of education does not fulfill the ideal of democracy.
- * It alienates the parents from the students and vice-versa.
- * It entrenches racism and ethnicity.

D. The ultimate aim of education in capitalist society serves the interests of capital and the minority at the expense of the working class majority.

- * It inculcates a sense of ruthless competition and rivalry.
- * It fosters individualism.
- * It engenders bourgeois values and aspirations.

E. Colonialism and neo-colonialism are inherent in the present philosophy of education.

- * South Africa is projected as closely linked politically, culturally, socially and economically to the West rather than to Africa and the developing countries of the world.
- * Closely linked with this view is the conception that progress, development or change within South Africa should follow a Western model rather than emanate from the oppressed and the exploited.

Some Relevant Opinions:

The white settlers have always considered themselves to be the bearers of civilization and have consequently considered Blacks to be backward. The educational system tends to be inclined to favour a traditional elitist form of education and in no way provides education for the masses. It follows then that education presently serves to justify inequalities. Imperialism has always been served by using the schools as instruments to this end.

- * Education is book-orientated without emphasis on practical experience.
- * Education destroys the personalities and cultural traditions of the people- making them despise their past and their way of life.
- * Teaching methods directly reflect relations of oppression and exploitation.
- * Education is essentially for the minority of exploiters and not education for the toiling masses.
- * An ever-increasing emphasis is placed on mother-tongue instruction and later the burden of two further languages serving as mediums of instruction is added.
- * The present educational system both indoctrinates and domesticates.
- * Education encourages the desire to ape the oppressors.
- * Education helps people to adapt to a world designed and created by

others.

- * Education is conducted in a way that authority is accepted without question. We strive to satisfy the authority.
- * Education is there to entrench the exploitative system and white culture models.
- * No government or ruling class can dominate or control the educational process absolutely. This is especially evident during periods of political and economic upheaval.
- * Involvement in mere schooling for certification (education for employment) amounts to voluntary collaboration with the system.
- * Students must learn how to learn, how to solve problems.

Curriculum and Syllabus

The dominant ideas of any society are those of its ruling class. It arrogates to itself all areas of government and means of enforcement thereof and thus is able to organize society so as to entrench itself and keep in subjugation the other classes. Education is a key weapon in a vast array at its disposal which it uses to preserve the status quo. It is clear therefore that no fundamental change is possible without a change of the ruling class and the eradication of the norms and values it represents.

The South African ruling class has its origins in the Western power elite- the colonizers of Africa, the plunderers of its resources, the enslavers and merciless exploiters of its people. They are the local caretakers and junior partners of the Western power elite and thus develop grandiose ideas of their own status and of their powers over a subjugated and oppressed people. Society in all its facets is regimented to maintain and bolster this insecure ruling class and undermine the progressive forces of the oppressed.

Education, in its curricula and syllabi, is just one facet of the oppressive regime's amouing to maintain its position in society. It is clear that the ruling class cannot effect any meaningful change in the interests of or to the benefit of the oppressed and the exploited. This change can only be brought about by the oppressed and exploited in the process of national liberation. The contradictions of the oppressive regime must inevitably lead to its collapse under the pressures of the dispossessed.

1. Criticism of Existing Curricula

Within the framework of the above criticism of the oppressive regime we can enumerate some of the ways in which curricula maintain the status quo .

- I. No attempt is made to meet the needs of society as a whole. On the contrary, the schooling provided for the oppressed is intended to enable them to acquire the minimal standards to create the wealth of the ruling class and to perpetuate

- their own kind to sustain this process.
- II. Curricula develop the individual to fit into the existing establishment and hence entrench social divisions and the dominance of the ruling class. The existing curricula are presented as the ideas of an enlightened and highly educated class. Those who dare to challenge them in any fundamental way are branded as radicals, non-conformists, non-scholars and extremists who are totally unacceptable to "society".
 - III. Those who are close to the establishment and who conform to the prevailing social norms of the ruling class and uphold its "ideals" as enshrined in curricula, are rewarded as the enlightened and highly educated class. A defence mechanism is thus built in.
 - IV. The history, traditions, values and norms of the conquered are given such minimal attention so as to entrench the idea that these are the history, traditions, values and norms of an inferior and backward people. The psychological and spiritual demolishing of the oppressed has the temporary effect of making the ruling class less vulnerable to being overthrown.
 - V. The history, traditions, values and norms of the ruling class are given such prominence as to invoke the belief that these represent the height of human civilization throughout the ages. It encourages each and every member of the caretaker and junior partner establishment to fraudulently claim the accumulated knowledge of all mankind as the creation and property of its own "white group."
 - VI. Curricula bolster the value system in which theoretical academic pursuit is regarded as the height of intellectual development and the natural objective of the leisured and monied classes, while artisan and technical training is for the lesser intellects and naturally the pursuit of the working classes. Even in this category the oppressed is denied access to certain avenues as this may undermine the privileged position of the white labour aristocrat, which he enjoys by virtue of the super-exploitation of the Black worker.

2. Criticism of Existing Syllabi

The norms and objectives of the curricula are pursued in the individual syllabi. Here, too, no fundamentally meaningful changes can be made without changing the curricula and totally re-organizing society. We may cite the following general areas of criticism of the syllabi:-

- I. The study of language, and of the English language in particular, is the study of the literature and culture of the Western power elite or of the local establishment. The emphasis this receives leads inevitably to the inference that this literature and culture represents the values to which society and every learned person should aspire. The study of African languages is justified, when at all, on purely utilitarian grounds. The very minor position given to this inevitably leads to the idea that it represents an inferior culture: what is superficially treated "must be superficial and not worthy of serious pursuit."
- II. The study of history is the study of the success of the conqueror over the conquered, the suffering of a courageous people at the hands of uncivilized hordes, the taming by hardworking, dedicated people of a hostile environment, the torchbearers of an "enlightened

- civilization" uplifting the "natives". The exploitation and enslavement become heroic deeds of teaching the dignity of labour and curbing the wandering, marauding and plundering ways of the natives.
- III. The study of geography is by and large the study of the resources of the country as discovered by the colonizer; the development, exploitation and distribution is the study of the accumulation of capital in the hands of the ruling class. It does not study the unequal distribution and exploitation of resources to meet the needs of the vast majority of the population. It does not study the distribution of disease in relation to the provision of resources and amenities. It does not study the unequal development of manpower resources and the creation of labour reservoirs or the dumping of "excess" labour in inhospitable regions without the facilities for keeping body and soul together.
- IV. The study of the sciences is geared to the needs of large-scale industry and agriculture. The medical sciences devote fantastic resources, human and physical, to meet the "needs" of a small elite and the academic and monetary aspirations of the individual medical practitioner. The needs of the vast majority of the population are only superficially met if at all. Thus we can have kwashiokor, cholera, tuberculosis and other social diseases widespread amongst the oppressed while highly specialized medical centres serve a minute fraction of the population with the wealth to pay for this special attention. Highly developed veterinary services are provided for the pets of the wealthy but mediocre and minimal veterinary services are provided for the peasants in the rural areas.
- V. The study of the mathematical sciences is geared to the needs of the physical sciences. Hardly any attention is given to the role it can play in the social sciences to meet social problems. It is presented as an academic pursuit suitable for the academically orientated person and as if it has no bearing on the lives of workers other than in a few rudimentary arithmetical calculations.

3. Curriculum and Levels of Education

A curriculum is understood, in its usual sense, to be a group of courses offered by an educational institution or by a department of such an institution, which must be mastered by a student in order to obtain a credit or a certificate, a degree or a diploma. Frequently "curriculum" and "course" are used interchangeably as in "the course of study" or "a programme of studies". More generally, curriculum refers to all the experiences a student has under the direction and guidance of school authorities.

Curricula are designed to meet the various stages of the development of the individual answering to different age groups, hence the setting up of separate levels of schooling. These levels of education or schooling are divided into the following major categories:

- * Primary or Elementary level;
- * Secondary level and
- * Post-Secondary or Tertiary level.

These levels are further sub-divided into the following:

- * Pre-school (24 months- 72 months) including Kintergarden;

- * Infant or lower primary school (6 years to 9 years);
- * Senior primary (10 and 11 years);
- * Junior Secondary (12-14 years);
- * Senior Secondary (15 + years).

The division between Junior and Senior Secondary is unwarranted as it hampers the smooth running of education.

The secondary school curriculum is extremely rigid presently; it is entangled in tradition and geared towards producing robots.

The Administration of Education

Education always has a particular objective, one which expresses the interests of the dominant class. The question of the administration of education is linked with the broader controversy which characterizes the ordering and structuring of society. The educational system expresses the innermost beliefs, ideals and aspirations of a people. We may also accept the position that a nation's educational system is but the reflex of her history, her social forces and of the political and economic situations that make up her existence.

In our experience schools have been used to further the policies of the government of the day. The government in power has always engaged itself in giving the interpretations and detailed specifications to legislatures in order to assert and justify its position. In South Africa organs with general authority for the administration of education are government-instituted. These organs exercise co-ordinating control over organized education on the whole or part of the country.

Culture and Education

The white dominant group maintains its position of power by fostering and encouraging ethnocentrism in the country. Linked with this it is quite clear that lack of freedom on the part of the Black people signifies a deprivation of their own authentic culture. The position of the settlers can be understood when we realise that politics, economics and culture are inextricably tied up, and that nowhere on that spectrum can capitalism, as it operates and manifests itself in South Africa, offer any hope for genuine progress and social justice that can be accessible to all.

A dominated people are a culturally subject people. This is clear in all institutions including the educational system where white schools are considered high standard schools attended by the privileged and those who can afford exorbitant fees. They are also attended by the children of those amongst the oppressed who have a stake in the present ordering and structuring of society. These non-white parents have been culturally alienated from the popular culture. The status quo aims at making the subject people despise their culture and lose confidence in their capability at contributing creatively to the progress of mankind.

Capitalism produces an anti-human culture which expresses and manifests itself in the following manner:

- * It encourages and deepens sectional and conflicting interests.
- * The means of production are removed from control and ownership by the workers.
- * A stratified society with a stratified culture or sub-cultures emerges with adverse consequences for society.

- * Individuals and social groups become alienated from themselves and their environment.
- * People are educated with an emphasis to rule, to dominate and to suppress the interests and aspirations of others.

Racism looms large in South Africa and we consider it as pervading all the fundamental institutions in the country. It gives South Africa the character of a closed society and caste elements. The racist culture nurtures subservience, self-hatred and mutual suspicion in society. The educational system reflects inequalities which arise from a racial pyramid which is typical of our society. Those at the base of the racial pyramid are made to despise their self-image and to consider white culture as the model for "a good life". A culture which is the preserve of a few cannot be a national culture since it is imposed and has to be ruthlessly enforced. Such culture can only serve to rationalise the exploitation and oppression of the masses in the name of civilization. Such a culture is typical of capitalist ways of life and behaviour.

In our analysis of education we should realise that we are also analysing an aspect of culture. Where cultures come into contact acculturation and "assimilation" take place. The ruling class always stood to benefit in such contacts at the expense of the indigenous people. Black people have always been the objects of assimilation or indirect rule or direct control. Apartheid emerged from direct control. The most important elements of the culture of the Black people were to be directly or indirectly done away with. A permanent and sustained repression of the cultural expression of the people was maintained. Hence the neutralizing or paralyzing of a people's culture. The consequence was that people were stripped of their history and values and also denied their historical and cultural development.

The significance of culture lies in making an individual understand and be integrated into his environment; making it possible for individuals and groups to identify with the fundamental issues and aspirations of the people and providing the energy and motivation to accept the possibility of change and progress in a society as well as in different societies. The exploitation of the people is perpetrated and perpetuated by repressing the cultural life of the people and also provoking and developing the cultural alienation of a part of the population through "assimilation" or the promotion of social gaps between elites and the masses. Divisions are encouraged and deepened by the dominant race and class.

The cultural alienation of the elite amongst the oppressed who are the victims of what is referred to as false consciousness, by virtue of their colonial mentality, superiority complex and their relatively favoured economic position, necessitates that they be re-converted to Black culture. They must rid themselves of cultural values based on racist and capitalist motives. They must embrace the cultural values of the indigenous people.

The European conquest of Africa meant the disruption of all cultural and institutional elements of African existence. This situation dictates to the Black people to affirm their personalities and their pasts in their quest for self-determination culturally, politically, economically, socially and educationally.

EDUCATION FOR LIBERATION:

Education is a process towards liberation. Liberation is ultimately the humanization of man. To be human is to engage in relationships with others and with the world. Man is a being of relationships. He is not only in the world but with the world. Man relates to his world in a critical way. He looks critically at the past, understands the present and moves towards the future, as if permanently asking "Where do I come from, where am I and where am I going?" The role of man is not a passive one. He participates in the creative dimension as well as intervenes in reality in order to change it. Thus the liberated being, the humanized man is able to perceive reality, the contradictions that lie therein and thereby respond to solve these contradictions on the basis of his perception.

In a state of oppression man is a dehumanized being, an adapted being, He has lost his ability to make choices, he is subject to the choices of others, his decisions are no longer his own, they result from external prescription. The adapted man represents the weakest form of self-defence. If man is incapable of changing reality he adjusts himself instead. Adaptation is symptomatic of man's dehumanization. The adapted being accepts his submission and servility through the historical experience of the oppression of man by man. The oppressor introjects his values, his external authority into the being of the oppressed whereby the oppressed internalize this and thus develop a consciousness which "houses" oppression, which creates what we so often call "slave mentality" or colonial mentality. The adapted person is referred to as person as object.

Education that is liberatory is that which integrates man with reality. Integration is a distinctively human activity which results from the capacity to adapt oneself to reality plus the critical capacity to make choices and to transform that reality. The integrated person is a person as subject as opposed to an adapted person as object. The subject person is a participant in change, a liberated being who is an architect of his destiny. This, then, is what we call a conscientized person.

Education should be a process of extrojecting ie destroying myths and values which have been introjected into the oppressed by the oppressor to maintain and perpetuate his position of privilege.

In this respect we must avoid being sectarian. Liberatory education and sectarianism are incompatible. Sectarianism is predominantly emotional and uncritical. It is arrogant, anti-dialogical and thus anti-communicative. The sectarian disrespects the choice of others, he tries to impose his own choice on others. Herein lies the inclination of the sectarian to activism: action without the vigilance of reflection; the sectarian sloganizes, which remains at the level of myths and half-truths and attributes absolute values to that which is relative. The liberatory educationist rejects mere activism and submits his action to reflection.

The sectarian whether rightist or leftist sets himself up as the proprietor of history, as its sole creator and the only one entitled to set its pace. Rightist and leftist sectarians are similar in imposing their own convictions on others, whom they thereby reduce to mere masses and objects. For the sectarian the people matter only as supports for his own goals. They are not supposed to think. Someone else will think for them. Their relationship with people is either that of blatant contempt (rightist) or

patronage (leftist). They still think in terms of "us" (leaders, students, etc) and "them" (workers and peasants). Sectarians can never create a truly liberating revolution because they themselves are unfree.

The liberatory educator on the other hand is truly a radical. He is subject to the degree that he perceives historical contradictions in an increasingly critical fashion. However, he does not consider himself to be the proprietor of history and while he recognizes that it is impossible to stop or to anticipate history, he is no mere spectator in the historical process. On the contrary he knows that as a subject he can and ought, in tandem with other subjects, to participate creatively in that process.

Education for liberation is not restricted to institutionalized education at the school or university. It is a process which takes place in every aspect of life, whether in the factory, the farm, the home or the street. It aims at transforming men from being mere objects submerged in reality to that of being subjects and active participants in history and change.

It recognizes the school and other such institutions created by the system as mirrors which reflect the oppressive society we live in. Liberatory educationists believe that instead of educators or teachers we ought to have co-ordinators; instead of alienating syllabi, we need to have relevant learning experiences to reflect upon; instead of lectures, where pupils or educators are regarded as receptacles for useless facts, we must have true dialogue. Hence, the move is to do away with a leadership clique which is prevalent in most societies. The aim of education is not to create a leadership divorced from the people, but rather a leadership which co-ordinate the action of the people. Leadership should be like a froth on a wave, dependent on the wave, which represents the people, forever moving, forever renascent.

EDUCATION IN AZANIA: BROAD IDEAS

Some Points of Departure

The aims of education should give direction to it and motivate it as well. The learner and the community should use their energies and resources in order to realize these aims. What is clear is that the current educational system needs to be supplanted rather than amended or perpetuated. All those concerned with education should attempt to identify the defects of society and devise means to rectify these: the aims of education will find their expression from this attempt. It follows that educational aims will emerge from concrete situations which confront people in their lives. In establishing aims for education we must strive to give the educational practice a semblance of daily living. Education should portray a popular way of life and a preparation for the future. Aims should not exclusively stress the social dimension at the expense of the individual. Aims of education should not be chosen by the few for the majority.

- * Education must be integrated into the overall struggle for liberation.
- * Education is fundamentally linked to the general aims of revolution and the building of a new society, so that it can make the maximum contribution to the national and cultural needs of the people.
- * The emphasis is on the education of the human personality as a whole.
- * Education should primarily be a social process.

- * Education must aim at change as man struggles to find reality and truth. It should equip students for change.
- * Education must embrace an increasing proportion of the individual's life span.
- * Education must seek to affirm the being of people, it must spell freedom from ignorance, fear, dehumanisation and oppression.
- * Education must be a judicious mixture of participation in present life and a preparation for subsequent events.
- * Education should cater for all in aim, content and organisation and satisfy the needs and aspirations of the majority of people in the society.
- * Educational aims should be defined in terms of needs, goals and aspirations of a people.
- * Education should aim to achieve a high degree of integration of school and community.
- * An educational system that is worked out, discussed, analysed, experimented with and rectified, should be devised.
- * We should recognize that the masses are teachers of the traditional culture and of history. The masses are at once students and teachers.
- * Education should promote and create programmes to combat prejudice.
- * Educational institutions should be re-organized with a new emphasis on social issues.
- * Education is for the liberation of man not his domestication...it should not alienate man.

Some Relevant Opinions

- * Education and culture to serve the Azanian people should be developed.
- * A new educational system which emphasizes a sense of collective responsibility must be developed.
- * Education should be an act of liberation intended to "conscientize" people- to make them initially aware of this situation and to realize that they can and must change it.
- * People must re-learn, re-discover and re-evaluate their own culture and history.
- * Associate the school with life, with the community.
- * Emphasis in the schools should be on co-operation and collectivity in both work and in day-to-day relationships.
- * Education must strengthen the process of social change and also help people to understand the need for that change thus enabling them to become active participants in the process of change.
- * The horizons of our inventiveness must transcend huge institutions which provide costly services: a new system of education must not simply create more elaborate schools and teachers who are trained for longer periods.
- * All racial, ethnic, class and sex discrimination in education must be abolished.
- * Study and work go hand in glove raising the level

- of education and economic progress.
- * Students must be prepared while at school to assume power and responsibility on the principles of co-operation, equality and collectivity.

The New Curricula and Syllabi

The new curricula and syllabi will be dictated by the forces brought into being in the process of the existing oppressive social order being swept away by the national liberatory movement. The oppressive society must inevitably collapse under the weight of the liberatory movement and in its place must arise a new social order in which the oppressed become the dominant group in society. The dominant ideas of the new society will be those of the liberated oppressed: more specifically, those of the Black working class. These ideas will not arise phoenix-like from the ruins of the oppressive society but will grow, as they grow even now, as the liberatory struggle gains momentum.

No detailed educational programme can be worked out at this stage. Thus for example we cannot now speculate on the programmes of the re-education centres which must come into being. We can, however, say that the new curricula and syllabi must set new values and norms, such as:

- * Service to the community as a whole.
- * Developing the potential of all the people in the service of the community.
- * Examining the needs, resources and social, political and economic development of the country as a whole and its relationship to Africa and the world.
- * Developing the human personality in full in relation to the above.

Bearing in mind the limitations mentioned above the new educational institutions should provide for the following transitional training:

- * Providing training to produce highly qualified and motivated manpower which could effectively grapple with the problems of the country in its social, political and economic facets.
- * Providing the technically qualified and socially motivated manpower to implement development ideas.
- * Providing training at an essentially in-service level to raise the level of manpower and give the social motivation in order to create a social base to make the above possible.

The aims and objectives of the new educational institutions shall of course be determined by the Constituent Assembly of the new society which must arise as the present minority white oppressive regime falls apart and collapses in ruin. A new nation with new ideas is already being born and when it fully sees the light of day it shall write the detailed educational programme..

Curriculum and Levels of Education

Plato's idea that the nature and scope of the curriculum is a matter of concern to those who view education as vitally important to the welfare

of the state will be broadened progressively to ensure the presentation and advancement of the social order within which schools and other educational institutions operate. This naturally presupposes that the existing social order would have ceased to function.

Adapted to modern demands, the curriculum must comply with three basic principles viz.:

- * The curriculum should consist of a selected amount of traditional ideas to be transmitted to the emergent generations as a means of maintaining the continuity of national life.
- * It should centre in the study of current social problems to the end that the student may thereby be prepared to grapple with the realities of modern life and to participate intelligently in the reconstruction of society.
- * It must be evolved in accordance with the psychology of learning, noting of course that the education process and learning process are complementary.

In thinking of a curriculum for different levels, it is imperative to consider the development requirements of the various age groups. Adaptations from previous experiences will initially be necessary; thereafter, the curriculum will be adapted to changing circumstances. This requires careful re-adjustment and re-orientation as we are looking forward to a changed social and political order.

The curriculum must make provision for re-education.

1. Elementary Curriculum

Basically this curriculum must anchor on literacy and numeracy, to be supplemented with writing, language, social studies, natural sciences (including health education), music and the arts. How this is developed is a matter for detail. Civics should be less of a text-book curriculum, but must focus attention to qualities of citizenship and participation in pupil government.

Natural science will embrace the introduction into science study and health education, safety and physical environment and at this stage movement should be from local, regional and national and possibly scanning the international horizon.

Whether the curriculum will be extensively or intensively accented will be a matter for debate; both have their merits.

2. Secondary Stage Curriculum

This is the main battleground. Here it should be decided whether the emphasis will be traditional or revolutionary: initially, the latter will be favourable. This curriculum has to produce the adult and it is often geared to meet accreditation requirements for various fields of endeavour viz college preparedness, commercial field, economics, agriculture, the arts, engineering, etc.:

It must try to place acute accent upon goals of utility and security. It should prepare young people for early occupational competency and ensure them with a personal concern for the preservation and advancement of the social order. It must be of a dynamic nature and be more shifting than is the case presently. It must assure young people freedom to grow according to their capabilities and to make them increasingly eager to engage in self-improvement.

It should cultivate interests and ideals which will direct and safeguard the individual through his years as a free citizen.

3. Tertiary Curriculum

Except for teacher training courses, tertiary institutions generate their own curricula since they have departments and faculties. In the case of the university, research and undertakings constitute the main vortex of the curriculum. Even at these levels the development of an individual to consider freedom as a pre-requisite is essential.

All education from 30 months to 11 years must be free and compulsory.

Administration of Education

If education is to be considered without bias in favour of sectional, racial or class interests, the government in power must be democratically elected and must institute a single and democratic educational policy, defined and guided by the views of the exploited masses. Education becomes the concern of all citizens and passes into the hands of democratic bodies of local administration.

Culture and Education

In our search for cultural liberation we should never lose sight of the fact that political and economic liberation are a sine qua non. Culture and education have no meaning apart from the social organization of life on which they are built. All institutions of society must not be considered in isolation and therefore, our position, in our pursuit to retain our culture and create from it relevant values for living, must be a dialectical approach.

It must be emphasised that Africanization or Blackening of the personnel in the economic and other social institutions will not give expression to the Black personality. Our concern is not centrally with multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, multi-racial or non-racial education but with anti-racist education (which by its very nature would include the study of various cultures).

We must take note of the following salient points in our discussion:

- * Culture has inherent elements of strengths and weaknesses, of virtues and failings, positive and negative aspects, progressive and retrogressive factors. We must therefore be critical in our acceptance or rejection of any culture.
- ** Positive cultural values of every social group should be considered an asset in our endeavour to harmonize and develop these values within the national context. Good qualities should contribute towards the work for a national ideal.
- * Culture, like history, must be considered an expanding, flexible and developing phenomenon.
- * Culture does not warrant indiscriminate compliments eq a "Back to Africa" or "Back to

Nature" approach.

- * Cultural virtues must be exalted and cultural faults must be condemned.
- * Culture reflects at every moment the material and spiritual reality of society.
- * No cultural values should be blindly accepted without critically examining them and eliminating regressive or potentially regressive elements.

The following pronouncements must be understood in the light of the foregoing:

- * Black people must affirm their cultural personality as a means of destroying the exploitative and oppressive culture.
- * Traditional culture in the form of songs, dances and theatre should form an integral element of education.
- * The people must retain their culture and create from it a set of living values.
- * The development of a meaningful self-image is dependent on the complete re-structuring of society.
- * We must orientate ourselves towards placing our situation in the centre of all cultural and educational efforts. Everything else is to be placed on the basis of its relevance to a given situation.
- * Educational institutions are very important to our self-image and hence a radical re-structuring is required in every aspect of learning.
- * Schools and universities should be involved in the creative struggle of the people.
- * The development of African languages should not be inimical to national unity and consciousness. Our cultural renaissance should act as a bulwark against being alienated from the language of the masses.
- * We must develop a culture to transcend tribal traditions or national boundaries, a culture that looks outward to Africa and the world at large.
- * In our quest for cultural affirmation and determination all energy and resources at our disposal should be utilized. The role of the media and educational institutions can never be over-emphasized.
- * The correction of historical faults such as Black-white relationships, racist cultural norms and values and formal education within the status quo should be a priority of the Azanian people in the cultural, political and economic struggle. Institutions for learning should devote attention to portraying the Black experience in the history of man and identifying the Black experience as seen by the Black people themselves.

- * Rare books, manuscripts and reference material on all aspects of the human experience must be collected.

TOWARDS A STRATEGY FOR THE PRESENT

Even in the most rigidly controlled system of educational provision, the very nature of the educational process gives rise to space or gaps in the structure of control, openings that can be exploited consciously or filled intuitively by those forces that are critical of or opposed to the powers-that-be. Intervention in the educational arena is predicated upon an estimate of the probable impact of such intervention. We need to work on programs designed for the long-term reorientation and transformation of the schools and other educational institutions. Preference should be given to those projects that are intended to equip people for life in an anti-racist, socialist Azania. Of course, one has to bear in mind that any educational project irrespective of its provenance inevitably contains a large status quo element.

As we work towards the complete overhauling and restructuring of the present educational system, we must:

- * Encourage the formation of study groups with the sole purpose of breaking away from the limitations pertaining to official classroom education.
- * Encourage students and teachers to initiate and/or participate in community-based, co-operative projects with the aim of enhancing their respect and commitment in working within the community.
- * Increase the critical awareness of parents on questions which affect the education of the child.
- * Examine and critically assess methodologies, ideas and learning approaches that suggest alternatives to the present ones.
- * Encourage direct participation of Black educationists in the process of research and of establishing creative responses.
- * Implement a national project to teach the English language to all Black people. This will ensure that Azania will not be isolated from the rest of the world and will play an integral part in nation-building. English as a lingua franca allows for communication across so-called tribal, racial and ethnic barriers.
- * Infuse science projects with a political-cultural dimension and thus prevent science education from producing morons.
- * Initiate rural education projects which will thwart the state's intention to make the majority of Black people a pool of cheap labour.
- * Introduce labour education programmes which help workers to understand the economy and