

B1 — 28
(15 - 28)
Volume 2

ASSESSOR

A 2 APO

B15

Adun Ifo.
George Ngwenya:
Soweto.

8th Anniversary

Sen B 15



CHANGE ?

The turmoil in the Black secondary and tertiary institutions of education, over the past few months, is a clear indication of the regime's intransigence and arrogance to lead this country on a suicidal path of destruction - unless we do something.

That more than six-thousand (6000) STUDENTS HAVE BEEN FORCED INTO THE STREETS by the DET is murder. Murder in the sense that these students will now be forced to join the thousands of the unemployed -cheap labour, who suffer exploitation at the hands of the capitalists hyenas.

Talking of fiddling while Rome is burning, P.W. Botha is presently selling his constitutional proposals to the outside world. We do not for a single moment suspect that he is unaware of what is happening inside the country. All the countries that will be hosting him should realise that they are sanctioning the closure of the doors of learning to thousands of Black children.

As P.W. Botha shakes Margaret Thatcher's hand, a Black child is dying of starvation, a Black community is being forcibly removed and resettled and a Black man is being arrested for a pass...

Now, as Black people are preparing to commemorate those brave sons and daughters who died on the ~~16th June 1976~~, when the regime unleashed its fury on unarmed students, the system is continuing to use its jackboot-strong-arm tactics which are once more evidenced in the:

* RAIDS ON THE PEOPLE'S MOVEMENTS AND IT'S LEADERS.

~~* CLOSURE OF SCHOOLS AND VARSITIES.~~

* DEPORTATION OF LEADERS FROM THE PSEUDO-REPUBLICS.

* STIFFLING OF WORKERS' ASPIRATION.

We pledge our solidarity with the students (all) who have been affected with high hand of the system. We, more vehemently than ever before, support the students of Ongoye in their call for the dismissal of the "bespectacled" tribal chief Gatsha Buthelezi, as chancellor of UNIZUL.

FORWARD WITH AN EDUCATION THAT WILL RESPOND POSITIVELY TO THE NEEDS OF AZANIA!!!

DOWN WITH AN EDUCATION AIMED AT EQUIPPING THE WHITE STUDENTS WITH A GRANDIOSE SENSE OF SUPERIORITY!!!

8 YEARS LATER...

Ninetyfive (95) months later after the uprisings of 1976, the regime's unrelenting suppression continues to find expression. We focus briefly on the events in the high schools and colleges, which clearly show that the shadow of June 16 1976 still hangs over our country:

*ATTRIDGEVILLE.

Over six thousand (6000) school-children have been arrogantly forced into the streets by Barend du Plessis, because their demands could not be met. The students demanded:

- I. The introduction of democratically elected student representative councils (SRC's) in their schools.
2. The abolishment of corporal punishment.
3. They complained against the amorous advances the teachers were making towards female students.

The answer was: STUDENT LEADERS DETAINED, OTHERS CHARGED AND YET MANY MORE SUSPENDED.

*CRADOCK

In this area Black students have been boycotting classes for almost the entire period since the academic year 1984 began. A deaf ear was visited upon them by the DET and similar repressive measures employed. Seven students of between 12 and 14 years were detained by the SB's and are still in detention.

*UNITRA

The puppet republic of Transkei is no different from the racist S.A. regime. In fact this is a typical bunch of ~~remote-controlled-battery-charged~~ collaborationists. The demands of the Black students here could not be met. The 'varsity was arbitrarily closed and four lecturers deported from the pseudo-republic. Charges were brought against 137 students (COTRAVENTION OF THE STATE OF EMERGENCY) that had been declared! The charges were later withdrawn; the demands of the students still stand.

*UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE (UWC)

Indeed! The shadow of 1976 still hangs over our heads. The authorities at UWC are once more forcing Afrikaans as medium of instruction down the throats of the Black students there! At this campus too, boycotts have punctuated the progress of the academic programme.

*TÚRFLOOP

Prof. Mokgokong is creating a red herring for the inadequacies of his administration, in futility. He is once more trying to convince us that the "subversive elements" here are always at work or just before the exam time. One student leader there correctly pointed out that "students protest at such times, because it is at these times that the admin. kicks us in the teeth". By the use of the one and only weapon in the hands of students (boycott), the authorities re-adjusted the previously congested exam time-table as the students had demanded.

The students were also given an assurance that the question of the insensitive economics lecturer there would be attended to.

*MEDUNSA

Boycotts are not only effective when the academic progress of the students is threatened. Recently the Medunsa students "put their actions where their mouths are"; "BLACK STUDENT WORKER SOLIDARITY" was practised when the students, in solidarity with the FEDICS WORKERS (en masse) protested against the unfair dismissal of a worker there. The worker, Mr Michael Moeketsi, was subsequently re-instated.

*UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN (UCT)

For a Black student, insensitive treatment remains a reality wherever he is. Accommodation facilities not adequate (for Black students that is) As it ensues, 500 Black students summoned to appear before the disciplinary committee, then a total boycott of classes (by Black students that is) logically follows. Among other things the students' resolution to boycott noted: "Arbitrary and dictatorial" closure of schools in Pretoria, Unitra and the boycotts at UWC, Fort Hare and elsewhere in the country as a response to harsh bantustan controls, gutter education and the political oppression of our people."

*ONGOYE

No force, no matter how strong, can stand in the way of righteousness forever. In spite of the October '83 massacre, in spite of the repressive measures by the Kwa-Zulu government and in spite of the "allegiance" pledge, the students at Ongoye continue unafraid to call for the dismissal of that running-dog tribal chief Gatsha Buthelezi as the chancellor of UNIZUL.

*The catalogue is indeed inexhaustive!!!

Boycott all ethnic and multiracial graduation ceremonies

A ceremony is understood to be a final gratitude of a person's hard-earned achievement.

In capitalist societies this achievement remains an asset of an individual, and is used to boost the individual economically. The unsuspecting community congratulates a graduate, with the hope that such acquired skills are going to be used for the improvement of society in general. This dream is however not realized in capitalist societies, South Africa included. Instead such skills are used to promote individualistic benefits at the expense of the majority of the people, in S.A. the black working class. Because graduation ceremonies are but a gesture of final gratitude to a student's hard-earned degree, they are appropriate and well deserved occasions in a normal society.

Let us focus on the situation in South Africa. The ruling class in this country believes in false and destructive concepts of ethnicity and racism. Our schools are ethnically segregated, and this segregation extends to universities. In actual fact no institution of learning qualifies to be called a university in this country. This is so because the ruling class has through legislation maintained and controlled the racial and ethnic composition of the student population in these institutions. This is indicative of how SICK our society is. The truth of the matter is that in this country we have ethnic and multi-racial institutions, and none is better than the other. They teach and prepare white students to be boss and owners of monopoly industries, and black students to be subservient to the white bosses and aspire for white positions at the expense of the black working class.

Since there exist no normal institutions of learning in this country, we find ourselves without any alternative, but to attend these institutions. The most striking reasons amongst all, why we attend these institutions are the following:

1. Education is a necessity and forms an integral part of any developing society.
2. Through our ~~work, effort~~ and dedication to the struggle for liberation, we can use this very indoctrination-oriented education to ~~eradicate racism and capitalism~~ as it stands today.
3. It is impossibly expensive for our racially oppressed and economically exploited working class parents to send us outside this country to obtain education.
4. We believe that, ~~since we are aware of the objectives of this system of education, we can subvert its aims and use it for our liberatory purposes.~~
5. Our attending these institutions is under severe protest, and as such cannot be seen as an act of acceptance of the system of education.

Graduation ceremonies in S.A. cannot be viewed in isolation from the educational system as a whole, since the former is the culmination of the latter.

Whilst attending these institutions has some justification, one has to do this under severe protest, with the sole objective of transcending capitalist education which is an instrument of exploitation and using it for the benefit of society as a whole. It suffices to say that education in S.A. is geared towards instilling in us an unshakeable sense of individualism. It has also been used by the white ruling class to alienate the black student from the true aspirations of the black working class, whilst lulling the black student with a false sense of security and comfort. We have been seeing in this country, people who have been using their education to suppress the black working class's increasing hostility to the racism and capitalism being perpetuated by the white ruling class.

In S.A. justification for graduation ceremonies for black students does not exist at all; because it would be a desecrate contradiction of oneself to protest against a system in winter and glorify it in summer. Anyone who does this is a liar and betrayer of one's principles. For us black students, our stance is clear—our protest against attending these institutions includes our opposing graduation ceremonies. To this end, the Azanian Student Movement (AZASM) noting that :

1. These ethnic and multiracial institutions use these graduation ceremonies as their towering glory to authenticate the myth of separate development.
2. These ethnic and multiracial graduation ceremonies are hunting-grounds for capitalist agents who want to use black students as the lieutenants of oppression and exploitation of the black working class.

3. These ethnic and oppressive perpetuations must be exposed to the black community as they have inherent dangerous implications.

Therefore resolved that:

1. Black students must be encouraged to boycott these ethnic graduation ceremonies.
 - Black students must be encouraged to resist all attempts by the white ruling class to co-opt them, and use them as a buffer against the true aspirations of the working class.
3. The Black community as a whole must be encouraged to actively support this call by AZAEM

From the above, it is clear that whilst the S.A. white system persists, there will be no reason for us to attend graduation ceremonies kept for the glorification of racism and capitalism, from which tribally and ethnically oriented education transpires. Graduation ceremonies have a negative contribution to our struggle, and are geared towards the promotion of elitist and other counter-revolutionary tendencies. The boycott of these ceremonies is a little but significant contribution to our struggle for total emancipation.

No individual committed to the quest for a unitary Azania, with a single education system, geared towards the needs of the Azanian nation can afford to honour these ceremonies. Such people will be counted amongst those responsible for retarding our liberatory efforts.

There is no struggle without sacrifices.

Forward to a liberated Azania.

ONE AZANIA ONE NATION

By AZASM

PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

B16

Adm George Ngweny
~~S Mabaso~~
Louise

~~Mosala~~

Sen B/16.

MANIFESTO OF THE AZANIAN PEOPLE

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

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

It is the historic task of the Black working class and its organizations to mobilise the oppressed people in order to put an end to the system of oppression and exploitation by the white ruling class.

OUR PRINCIPLES

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

Anti-racism, anti-imperialism and anti-sexism.

~~Anti-collaboration with the ruling class and all its allies and political instruments.~~

Independent working class organization, free from bourgeois influences.

OUR RIGHTS

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

The right to work.

State provision of free and compulsory education for all. Education shall be geared towards liberating the Azanian people from all oppression, exploitation and ignorance.

State provision of adequate and decent housing for all.

State provision of free health, legal, recreational and other community services that will respond positively to the needs of the people.

OUR PLEDGES

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

The abolition of all laws, institutions and attitudes that discriminate against our people on the basis of colour, sex, religion, language or class. The re-integration of the bantustan human dumping grounds into a unitary Azania.

The formation of trade unions that will heighten revolutionary worker consciousness.

The development of one national culture informed by socialist values.

~~FINAL DRAFT : 22 APRIL 1984, EDENBURG, DURBAN~~

Adur
S. Mabaso
Serweto

- a) Minutes of 2nd Annual
General Congress of
AZAPO 6-7/3/82
- b) The vocabulary of Impenation
by Zithulele Cindi.

No 2 : 14/5/87 p 11. Comp. Exec
Report -
20/5/87
21/5/87 p 5
No 3 15.6.87 bc. 18

Azanian People's Organization

ben 619





MINUTES OF THE PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

2ND ANNUAL GENERAL CONGRESS

OF THE

AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION

VENUE: ST PETER'S SEMINARY

HAMMANSKRAAL

DATE: 6 - 7 MARCH 1982

WHY CAN'T I DO IT
I REVER IN WHAT IS POSSIBLE



THE AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION

MINUTES OF THE SECOND ANNUAL CONGRESS HELD ON 6 - 7 MARCH 1982

AT THE ST PETER'S CONFERENCE CNTR

PRESENT :

- | | | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------|---|---|
| <u>NATIONAL EXECUTIVE</u> | : | K MTHEMBU
S NYAKA

G WAUCHOPE | PRESIDENT
VICE PRESIDENT/ACTING
NATIONAL ORGANISER
PUBLICITY SECRETARY |
| <u>SECRETARIATES</u> | : | M MOFOKENG (MRS)
D MORE
K MAKHADO
I MKHABELA | YOUTH AND CULTURE
HEALTH
URBAN AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT
ACTING SECRETARY FOR LABOUR |
| <u>REGIONAL EXECUTIVE</u> | : | M RAPHESU | REGIONAL ORGANISER -
NORTHERN TRANSVAAL |
| <u>BRANCH REPRESENTATIVES</u> | : | | |
| MANKWENG | S RASETHABA | V MABUZA | A KOTELO |
| SOWETO | G MOSEKI | J MAKHANYA | P PULE |
| LENASIA | A RANDERA | Y RANDERA | |
| WITBANK | MOJELE | B NKAMBULE | E PHETLA (MISS) |
| MIDDELBURG | T TOLO | G MNGOMEZULU | D MASHABELA |
| WELKOM | D SOGA | M ITHOLENG | |
| SESHEGO | S MABOEA | T MONTJANE | M LEDWABA |
| DURBAN | A DHAI | I MOOSA | D SOLIAR |
| TEMBISA | F PALE | W MODUPO | L MOKOENA |
| SECUNDA | P MASHILO | | |
| OGIES | D MALUKA | O PHASHA | N MAGAELA |
| LENYENYE | M PHASHA | W MARABA | K PUDI |
| LEBOWAKGOMO | J MATHARATHE | L MARAPJANE | S MAGAELA |
| SEBAYENG | M MAKGATHO | I TJALE | |
| KWA THEMA | L MOEKETSI | K RAMBULANA | |
| DOBSONVILLE | M MAVI | M RAKWENA | S NTWASA |

ORGANISATIONS REPRESENTED :

- | | |
|--|-----------|
| MUSIC, DRAMA, ART AND LITERATURE | (MDALI) |
| AZANIAN NATIONAL YOUTH UNITY | (AZANYU) |
| S A BLACK MUNICIPALITY WORKERS UNION | (SABMAWU) |
| AD-HOC COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION | |
| SOWETO COMMITTEE OF TEN | |
| TEACHER'S ACTION COMMITTEE | (TAC) |
| AZANIAN STUDENT MOVEMENT | (AZASM) |
| COUNCIL OF UNIONS OF SOUTH AFRICA | (CUSA) |
| EMALAHLENI BLACK STUDENTS ASSOCIATION | (EBSA) |
| MEDIAL WORKERS ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH AFRICA | (MWASA) |

4

2. APOLOGIES

Commercial and Catering Allied Workers Union of South Africa (CCAWUSA)

3. TRIBUTE

The Publicity Secretary paid tribute to the late Comrade Sello Moeng who died on 28 February 1982. Mr Moeng was sentenced to five years for sabotage - which sentence he served on Robben Island. On his release in September 1981 he joined AZAPO up to the time of his death. He will be sadly missed by the organisation.

4. ~~After opening remarks by the Publicity Secretary (Annexure A) the Congress was officially opened by Mr Zithulele Cindi (Annexure B).~~

5. ~~The National President Mr Kehla Mthembu presented his presidential address. (Annexure C).~~

6. CONFIRMATION OF MINUTES

The minutes of the First Annual Congress held on 24 - 25 January 1981 were read and confirmed.

7. MATTERS ARISING

- a. Congress noted with concern the unexplained absence of the Secretary for Education and the Secretary for Sports and Legal Affairs.
- b. Agreed that members who worked in Mines like Westonaria should be followed up to their homes in the reserves when their labour contracts are not renewed. An example of this was the establishment of AZAPO's presence in Dinokana.
- c. Further AGREED that some other form of organisation structure other than AZAPO be looked into where the organisation is banned or is having problems from the authorities.
- d. Also AGREED that 7.3(a) of the previous minutes be amended such that the Commissions report and education not only be translated and stored in our archives, but it must also be widely distributed.

8. ADOPTED

~~The Composite Executive Report (Annexure D)~~

Further resolved that

- a. Branches to-be or fading branches be treated with urgency and the attention of the organisation should be drawn to the problems encountered.
- b. In view of the hostility towards the organisation all possible means must be made to maintain the monthly publication of the newsletter. However, the newsletter would be produced quarterly until the position improves financially.

(5)

NOTED that :

- c. The Vice-President be commended for merging his office with that of the National Organiser.
 - d. Secretariats should be articulate what is expected of branches and should draw a programme of action for branches whilst the branches should have their fingers on the pulse and attend to issues within their localities.
 - e. The executive committee was mandated to create a mechanism whereby the implementation of the secretariats objectives would be accelerated and guaranteed.
9. ~~ADOPTED a paper on Black Consciousness; the Past, Present and the Future by Mr S Moodley (Annexure E).~~
- a. NOTED that the National Executive Committee would convene a seminar to project on the future state.
10. ~~ADOPTED a paper on Black Theology : Struggle of the People by Rev T Moselane. (Annexure F).~~
11. ~~ADOPTED a paper on the Futura of Developments in Industrial Relations by Mr P Gamay (Annexure G).~~
12. ~~ADOPTED a paper on The Implications of the Rabie Commissions by Mr D Moseneke (Annexure H).~~
- a. ~~NOTED~~ that the National Executive Committee should closely liaise with the Black Lawyers Association and jointly draw up a programme whereby the latter would run legal clinics.
13. RESOLUTIONS
- Seven Resolutions were adopted (Annexure I).
14. The following amendments were made on the CONSTITUTION (see Constitution).
- a. Section 4
 - i. 'Branch chairman and an additional branch delegate'.
 - ii. '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. Section 7

Election of National Executive Committee

'Congress shall elect the National Executive Committee annually whilst the Executive Committee will meet at least once every two months.

The term of office for full time staff shall be extended for two years. Each year Congress shall ratify the position.

The National Executive Committee shall be empowered to appoint the secretariats in different fields'.

Election of Regional Organisers

- 1. 'A month after the sitting of Congress, the region shall assemble to elect among themselves their Regional Organiser'. Number 2 falls off and number becomes 2.

c. Section 21

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

- 15. The following people were elected into the National Executive Committee :

President	-	Mr Kehla Mthembu
Vice President	-	Mr Shabeer Randera
Secretary General	-	Mr George Wauchope
Publicity Secretary	-	Mr Ishmael Mkhabela
National Organiser	-	Mr Sefako Nyaka

- 16. The National Anthem was sung and Congress closed at 16h30 on 7 March 1982.

The Vocabulary Of Imperialism

By Zithulele Cindi.

Throughout recorded history we find that man has always been characterised by a constant struggle against elements and the forces that militate against his well-being and self determination. Depending on the nature of the contending forces involved one opposing side has had to momentarily yield to the pressures exerted by the other side. Of note is the undaunted determination with which the struggle against hostile elements has been resumed by successive generations in an effort to preserve and nurture life. It is from this undaunted courage of our forebears where we draw our inspiration to continue with the struggle as our existence today is no defferent from that briefly outlined above. We live through and are in the midst of harrassment, arrest, bannings, detentions, intinidations, and the list os endless. It is from these existential conditions - the crucible of fire - where the nature, form and content of our struggle is forged.

Having said this much may you be saluted in the name ~~of the people's revolution to liberate Azania~~ from all forms of racism, imperialism and neo-colonialism. Our presence here is a positive affirmation of the need to stand up and oppose all forces of evil that seek to turn us into foreigners in the land of our birth. We are gathered here at the second Annual Congress of Aazpo to re-affirm our rejection of all oppressive measures designed to reduce us to the level of sub-human beings by being denied what rightfully belongs to us. To thank people for their own liberation is a practice that is anathema to our aspirations for we all know that for as long as there is exploitation of man by man with its peculiar overtones in our instance-of racism in all its ramifications, the struggle goes on. As a result we find ourselves being heirs to an abnoxious legacy of neo-colonialism and imperialism wherein we are turned into mere labour serfs- in fact sophisticated slaves - because of the exploitative nature of the economic system we are compelled to live under, forces of imperialism are poised at every level of our lives with the view to subjugate us and the onus rests upon us to oppose imperialism with all the might we can master.

As already stated above, in our peculiar instance we find ourselves confronted by imperialism of a peculiar kind with its attendant racist overtone. Consequently primary and fundamental contradictions have had to assume secondary significance due to the machinations and designs of the racist misions in this country and their imperilist overlords. The grand design has been to food us into a position where we mistake the wood for the trees by resorting to copy-book analysis of our situation. This is not to advocate renewed analysis of our situation since the objective material conditions obtaining clearly show that either one is part of the solution. Besides, we can all afford to be bogged down by elementary analysis of the situation lest we find ourselves caught in the morass of paralysis by analysis and in trying to fit the situation into some neatly defined theoretical expostulation. Imperialist have been hard at it peddling their ware (imperialism) as a sugar - coated pill in the form of "foreign aid", foreign investment, cultural exchanges, and the like.

One historian, in analysing the spread of the British Empire - that great aunt of all imperialists - presents a picture that is pertinent to our situation. He notes: "In the final analysis imperialism - the process by which one people gained and maintained power over another, usually of different race - was more a cluster of attitudes than an economic or political policy. The recipient of the good and ill that imperilism brought, whether Bantu, Apache , Moori or Malay became one of the wretched of the earth, a man who knows that lifes fundamental decisions are being made for him somewhere else, by people who might or might not understand his needs, frustrations, and desires, by a government alien, self imposed and prodominatly white. Thus racism, itself a state of mind, became inextricably mixed with the imperial experience, untill British forgot that the epithet wog, which originally designated a Westernized Oriental Gentlemen, was a dirty word, one of the many in the vocabulary of imperialism.
2/.....That

8

That vocabulary was an expanding one, able to accomodate terms of racial opprobrium and of patrinizing endearment, able to encompass the outright appropriation of native lands to crown federal government or company while speaking of the protection of native rights"

Now coming back to our situation find that because of these racial overtones there has been a deliberate process of the polarisation of the people into the haves and nots groups and the results has been exisntetial experience of the people and the material conditions obtaing have determined that group attitudes be the dominant factor in any relationships that may be formed. Hence BC- as a viable ideology ^{how BC will} that springs from the ethos of the people - always addresses itself to group attitudes ^{Verob} and shows little regard for individual predictions or preferences. It is again the group attitude that has become the dermining factor in all relationships between the forces of production and the means of production. All this is geared at obscoring the primary and fundamental contradictions.

Returning to the vocabulary of imperialism we find ourselves pitted against a formidable enemy who has a canny habit of engaging in emphemisms and sophistry. The reign of this self-imposed foreign settlement regime over us has been characterised by a profound use of emphemism geared at dove-tailing into the grand design of presenting imperialism in a sugar coated pill form. In the eyes of the oppressor we have been suited fit inot all sorts of cranky labels from the time-worn native Bantu, boy, nanny, plural relations, etc. to the current joint responsibility. All this profuse- use rather the misuse of euphemism is hailed as signifying changes in attitude and changes general. For change, read, reform. We have heard of this much vauted changes as hailed by the supposedly libera1-minded English language press. That there are and there have been changes we can readily concede but with the provinso that we take the matter further and ponder. What Changes? Yes, there have been changes only in the manner and method of perperuating our oppression. The enemy has become sophisticated and has assumed different complexions. Like its overchanging names and labes as applied to designate black people, so the complexion of the powers that be change. This chameleon-like nature of the enemy's complexion raises the ever-present need to have an overt people's movement that will regulate and channelise their aspirations as an open resistance to oppression and exploitation.

Another euphemism that seems to be having a field day is the notorious practice of resettlement. If by forcible removal of people from a place they have occupied for the rest of their lives we are to understand that as change again we concede that as change again we concede that there have been 'changes' for if people have been declared squatters in the land of their birth and then thereafter 'unsettled' to some inhabitable part of the land, the face of formerly occupied area changes. For too long a time have we seen the dislocation and uptooting of family life through those forced removals of our people from habitable to desease-infested areas. The catalogue of perricious events suffered at the hands of the powers that be is endless and we believe that the point has been made about the need to resist these inroads into our lives. Drawing from the catalogue of obnoxious events and incidents and the ploys of enemy to further divide us the need for a vibrant revolutionary vanguard that will unequivocally express and make the peoples resistance felt to the enemy can never be over-emphasised. The enemy has devised all sorts of strategies and created dummy institutions like the SAIC, CRC, the Bantu-stanns, and the President's Council, to name only a few with the view to further subjugate us. This then makes it imperative to have an overt people's voice heard that will oppose the system's machinations at all levels. Obviously such an overt people's body must spring from the experiences (existatial) of the oppressed people and map their destiny according to the tenets of an ideology that relates to their aspirations which is BC in this instance. It is only when we have grasped the fundamertal and basic contradictions facing us that we can begin to carry the people's struggle forward.

ONE NATION ONE PEOPLE ONE AZANIA

3/.....The

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

FORWARD WITH THE PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE

REVOLUTIONARY GREETINGS TO ALL COMRADES!!!

The struggle for the total overhauling of the socio-politico-economical system in this country, AZANIA, has reached intensification processes with the illegal and bulldozing ruling class being supported by their allies all over the world. This poses a challenge to all committed revolutionaries and lovers of freedom to strive and work diligently towards our goal of a free and united AZANIA. In this struggle there is bound to be casualties like an empty chair there which was supposed to be occupied by our gallant National Organiser, Thabo Ndabeni. At this stage of my talk I would like to salute Thabo, a dear and brave comrade who refused to connive with the system in its perpetrating of its evil system and doubtful system of justice. Thabo and his comrades in AZANYU and MWASA have set a standard for all of us to appreciate and maintain. Their stand shall remain to us a gallant and brave show of committed and principled revolutionaries.

It is with great joy that I address this 2nd Annual Congress of AZAPO, a movement whose existence is threatened by both the system and deserters of the genuine black cause. I salute all these principled sons and daughters of the soil who amidst all attacks and attractions refuse to succumb and sacrifice the noble cause of the oppressed against the oppressor, the landless against the lords, ~~the exploited against the exploiter and the real workers against the capitalists.~~ It is a fact of history that if any struggle intensifies the oppressor develops sophisticated structures to perpetuate his system with the help of the less vigilant amongst the oppressed. In South Africa we have seen this truism manifesting itself in the form of Bantustans, South African Indian Council President's Council and many other pseudo-organs. Recently we heard of a 'gogga' called 'power-sharing' which brought some division in the Nats caucuses resulting in A P 'Apie' Treunicht being fired. This A P does not believe in sugar-coating the oppressive pill, who knows, perhaps that is the man we want. This sophisticated oppressors of many shades confusing the masses, some of them have the audacity to tell us how to define them. ~~I hereby still confirm that AZAPO does not believe in drawing its allies from the enemy camp. The exploiter have no common ground nor common existention experiances to warrant joint strategies.~~

The country is locked in a very serious conflict which is reflected by the daily escalation on costs of bare necessities like transport and food. I would like to play the role of the prefect or a priest and warn this notorious ruling clique that ~~the black people who are authentic owners at the land shall ultimately win the struggle.~~ It is a just struggle and it shall be won. History teaches us that the oppressed and down-throdden are always the last to laugh. Putting it in Afrikaans I "Die wat die laaste lag, lag die lekkerste". It is logical that any man who has many enemies must introspect himself and try to find out what causes people to be ready to shoot him down. South Africa is a pain in the flesh international fraternity, United Nation session are getting impatient in dealing with this child, the organisation of African unity flabbergasted at this delinquent and in corrigible deviant, and the whole progressive world is mod at South Africa. Dont you think it is high time Botha and clowns take a deep intrispection?

The response of black workers in identifying themselves as a solid class is encouraging. The black workers are on the warpath. They want their rights restored to them as they are responsible for producing of the country. ~~The black worker insuresurgence is not accidental or~~

2/.....orchestrated

~~orchestrated by communists and terrorists as we are supposed to believe.~~
It is a logical risogimento (renaissance) of a nation which has been reduced per se to workers and ruthlessly silenced even in the face of blatant actions of the oppressors. ~~The workers have discovered a secret: these wealth producing machines are operated by people, the workers.~~
~~The exploited are perturbed by this sudden realisation, small wonder they have ganged themselves into some structures and created their own worker organisations in order to water down the militancy and the determination of the worker.~~ To the Black workers of our country I say forward with ~~THE PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE~~. The workers have the potential of putting pressure towards total overhauling of this evil system. The workers struggle has some safeguards in any struggle to ensure that petty bourgeois tendencies are not tolerated. Workers again should be more vigilant in order to perservere their undiluted goal of a free AZANIA.

As it is always said that fear is the greatest destroyer of logical thinking, one cannot but doubt the state of mind of the present rulers. Commissions after commissions and yet circumlocutiously avoid the crux of the matter: ~~giving the majority of the people the right to decide over their own destiny.~~ All these commissions with their threatening recommendations are bringing chaos and instability in the country. Peace and order can ~~only bear stored when the majority of the people are involved in meaningful decision making structures and the wealth of the country equitable distributed to all.~~ The era of the have and the havenots must be a start of history before we can talk of common interest, common enemy, and common strategies between the apart classes.

In conclusion I still commit our organisation to a progressive and ~~dynamic liberation philisophy of BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS.~~ Black Consciousness needs to be dynamic in order to meet the demands of the day. It needs to be progressive in order to guide the masses in identifying the enemy, thus not sparring their energies in destroying their enemy and all its tentacles. AZAPO has adopted as its theme this Congress this year "FORWARD WITH THE PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE". I again encourage all Black Consciousness components and mobilise our people in all facets of our lives.
~~remember we nothing to loose our chains.~~

ONE PEOPLE!! ONE AZANIA!!!

11
No 2
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1. BRANCHES: Since last congress branches were formed at Dennilton, Grobelarsdal Middelburg, Ogies, Phalaborwa and the Vaal complex. An interim branch was formed at Sebayeng, Durban, Nkowankowa, Mankweng and Cape Town. Two regional organisers, one for the Northern Tv1 and one for the Free State were appointed. The publicity secretary was appointed director of projects on a full-time basis.
2. PRESS : We have had some serious problems with the press. We had to approach one senior deputy editor of a morning paper about the treatment his paper was giving us. The other problem was that some papers would pre-empt AZAPO's stand on commemoration days and ask hostile people for comments on the organisation's stand. There was a scathing attack by a journalist of an afternoon paper on the organisation and his colleague came to our defence, which defence was even more damaging than the original attack.
3. NEWSLETTER: A newsletter was published on a monthly basis, but due to high printing costs, it was decided to opt for a quarterly publication.
4. THE ISOLATION CAMPAIGN: This was given impetus by a resolution taken by the UN General Assembly where 142 countries voted for the cultural isolation of South Africa with 6 abstentions. Letters to foreign artists were written and some of them pulled out whilst others came. Locally there was a lull on the campaign and this will need a concerted effort by all branches this year. Close liaison is maintained with SACOS on the isolation campaign in sports.
5. LEGAL ACTION AGAINST AZAPO: The Soweto Teachers Choir has threatened the organisation with legal action following a statement issued by the publicity secretary after the choir had performed with the Jones ' of the Welsh choir. The STC demanded R10 000 and an apology failing which they would sue the organisation for defamation of character. The case is still pending.
6. HARRASMENT: As usual some members of the national executive and some branch members had their dose of detention during the past year. In June 1981 Thabo Ndabeni, the National Organiser was detained and the Vice President was appointed on his behalf. THABO was subsequently sentenced to 18 months imprisonment for refusing to testify in the SAYRICO trial.
7. ANTI CISKEI AND ANTI - SAIC CAMPAIGN: A seminar was held to highlight the two fraudulent means dividing the black masses along ethnic divisions, and to launch a campaign against both incidences.
8. LABOUR: The organisation was instrumental in the formation of a union in Kimberley and efforts are at an advanced stage to form at least two unions. Functional relations were forged with major trade union federations. There were problems in calling a labour summit to form an umbrella trade union because of inter alia:
 - (i) differences in ideology between the different unions.
 - (ii) differences arising out of registration and non-registration.However various trade unions were involved in common issues as well as attempting to

work towards the realisation of implementing a structural unity of black unions. Labour clinics were held in the Southern Transvaal and the Northern Transvaal.

9. URBAN AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT: The organisation was involved through its branches and community development sub-committees in the uprooting of people in Crossroads, Nyanga, Kliptown, Langa, Malemang, Krantzenstein, Masealama mission and Lulekani.

10: LEGAL AFFAIRS: Legal clinics were held throughout the country various branches.

11. EDUCATION: An ad hoc committee was formed to deal with the present crisis in Soweto and a symposium was held in Lebowakgoma on the same ticket. Branches should attend to this problem in their own areas. A literacy project is being run in Cape Town.

12. HEALTH Visits were undertaken to Kliptown and Mzimhlophe hostel.

13. YOUTH AND CULTURE: Contacts have been made with various actors, promoters, artists, cultural organisations, youth organisations and some ministers of religion. Some foreign artists were met and spoken to. while other were written to overseas.

Activities included an Afro-Night, Biko-Cultural week, Youth Symposium and Cultural symposiums by branches.

14. PROJECTION INTO THE FUTURE:

- i. Hanging ominously above our heads are the recommendations of the Rabie and Steyn commissions, the implications of which will be dealt with in this congress.
- ii. A big membership drive should be embarked upon to ensure the growth of the organisation, and regional organisers for the Southern Transvaal, Eastern Transvaal, Natal, Eastern Cape and the Western Cape should be appointed.
- iii. Due to some experiences some amount of caution be exercised in dealing with Unions. Trade unions be formed where they do not exist. Guidelines relating to membership of Trade Unions be formulated.
- iv. Projects on health should concentrate on cholera and the aged. An educational programme that will concentrate on preventative measures i.e cholera should be embarked upon.
- v. The role of the De Lange commission in education in the political economy of the country and the nature of the educational crisis have to be examined in order to understand the implications of the recommendations viz;
 - a. changes are completely compatible with state policy and are indeed already being implemented.
 - b. the significance of the report has as much in its effects on the educational system as on the nature and scope of the political struggle in education. AZAPO must therefore see to the immediate implementation of its educational policy in order to circumvent the above.
- vi. To establish legal clinics throughout the country and to make the people aware of the legal aid centres throughout the country and to establish a legal resource centre.

15. FULL TIME STAFF

Due to the financial difficulties that the organisation is experiencing it is recommended that only one fulltime member, viz. Secretary General be appointed and if necessary a secretary be appointed on part time basis. The NO shall work on weekends until the finance improves.

INTRODUCTION:

Much has been said, much continues to be said, and undoubtedly there will be much more said about the philosophy of Black Consciousness in the years to come. The rantings against the philosophy of the people have ranged from the one end of the political spectrum to the other. And we must not expect this rantings to diminish.

Perhaps it needs to be stated at this stage why we refer to BC as a People's philosophy. Then we may understand the rantings and the raving that goes on against it.

BC is the articulated response of a dispossessed people to the entire world. In a society where exploitation and oppression exist, the oppressed and exploited will be drawn together by their common experiences, their common aspirations, needs and desires. This coming together is a natural process in development in any society and in coming together there emerges a common statement of belief which, in itself, is a natural process. In its elemental form this statement of belief is best spoken by the tired worker in the locker room, by the harrassed and frustrated mothers packed into trains, buses and taxis, by millions of unemployed who walk the streets, by those millions locked behind steel and concrete of the prison system. Not only if we keep our ears and eyes open will we hear and see this elemental expression, this statement of belief, but if we ourselves go through this experiences then it becomes part of us, then we share a oneness that is unique to the oppressed society. So is it with BC. It is a philosophy that grew out of the fears and frustrations, the needs and desires, the aspirations, the loves and the hates of the Black community. Therefore BC does not belong to any organisation, group or clique. It belongs to the people. And the people's expression is always a radical one. Radical in the sense that the desire is to eliminate racism, to do away with those elements in a society that dehumanises it, to search for those qualities and values that will create a harmonious and equitable society; to see to it that all in the society are given those necessities which are basic to human existence, and to see to it that man does not perpetuate the exploitation of his fellowmen. The oppressed people have for far too long undergone the pain of racism to want to perpetuate it in a society that they foresee. Therefore, we may ask why all the rantings? Why the raving against BC?

The opposition to BC comes from the groups and cliques that are reluctant to create a new society; that are incapable of relinquishing their ingrained values and value systems that are afraid to accept the challenges that BC makes upon ones commitment for the desire for real change.

I have been invited by the AZAPO to address this congress on BC it's past, present and future. For the invitation I am deeply honoured.

THE PAST

BC is not timebound. To talk about its past is to record the first encounter between the oppressor and the oppressed in this alnd. In other words the history of BC must incorporate the history of the Blackman's struggle in this country. BC articulated and gave form to the entireto the encounter between oppressed and oppressor in thsithis country.

The conceptualisation of the struggle in terms of the everyday experiences, the material conditions, the historical process of this society for the first time gave the blackman a real definition of himself, his environment, and his history. This concretisation of the blackmans struggle marked a unique chapter in the history of the blackman. For the first time he saw himself as self-defeined.

Given the oppotunity the blackman learned the concept of self-reliance. The possibilities of raising above his psychological oppression were broadened and he began to put his own house in order.

He shed his reliance upon others. He began to eliminate the suspicions, mistrust and fear that plagued the black community and endeavoured to understand his fellow blackman. He no longer looked around for handouts but set abouit doing things for himself. He picekd himself up by his bootstraps and demonstrated to himself his capabilities, to organise himself, to speak for himself, to share a sense of community, to detect political trickery that sought to deceive him, He gave expression to his fears, loves , hates , needs and joys in creatively political and artistic terms. He remembered the dead and showed concern for the unborn. The balckman truly was coming into his own.

Community development took a new meaning as the definition was now radically defeined Through creative programmes and projects the balckman began to see the real meaning of self- reliance.

In this process the blackman, indeed the black community, removed the cobwebs that had deceived us for so long, and saw the urgent need to re-examine the values that perdist in society.

at every level

values that persist in the society. At every level-religion, politics, economics, culture, education-Black people-began to talk about creative alternatives..... creative alternatives which would bring into being a loving society that paid attention to the humane requirements which make up the ideal and for which all of mankind strives.

And above all the Black people discovered that there is no saviour coming from the heavens to break these chains. Black people also discovered that liberation was the responsibility of every individual working in tandem with the community.

THE PRESENT.

Quite honestly, I must confess that I am not entirely a fait with the present pappennins with regard to BC. What I postulate will be an evaluation over of two months.

One thing I have learnt of is the numerous attacks that have been made against BC, both by the rulers and even others who claim to be engaged in the search for liberation. It is ironic that BC is the subject of intense attack from two allegedly diametrically opposed quarters. It is also significant. But our purpose here is not to ponder upon the attacks that would be a waste of energy.

As I have said, my isolation for the last seven years may render me incompetent to deal with analysis of the present. But, however superficial my comments may be I trust that it will be accepted in the light that it is offered-a desire to make a valid contribution to this congress.

From what we have said of the past it should be quite clear that the efforts of our Black community have been concentrated on conceptualising our needs and in the process overcoming our psychological oppression. In this respect AZAPO's efforts to translate that conception into a practical manifestation is a valid one. However, one detects a concentration upon a semantic which is hardly necessary. I have learnt that there is, or was, a race/class debate and that this continues to rage in certain quarters.

It is axiomatic that, in the South African context, race is a class determinant. The entire relationship between capital and labour in this country has proceeded upon the lines of race definitions. A critical examination of the history of that process will reveal the corrections of this statement.

"Not only did the 'Poor Whites' constitute the country's number-one sociological problem for a half-country but the problem and the votes of their overwhelming numbers have conceived and controlled the course of the White polity through the history of the South African Republic (which was the nineteenth century Transval) until it re-emerged, revolutionized/its economy but hardly changed in its institutional character, sixty years later in the Republic of South Africa. (Horwitz, R. : The Political Economy of South Africa. p.31)

At the conceptual level we can reach no other conclusion but that this kind of contraction exist in the South African society. To argue against it is to argue against reality.

"In respect of the 'Poor Whites', the acceptance of a category of work or a wage-level identified with 'Kaffir's Work was so deeply wounding to racial prides to be one of the major influences in the special character of the country's political economy"
6/..... (Horwitz,

(Horwitz,R : The Political Economy of South Africa. p. 34)

What remains to be evaluated then is the kind of work that an organisation like AZAPO should be doing. It is not enough to wait for a 'crisis' issue to arise in order that the organisation speak with the community. Rather the philosophy of BC calls upon the organisation to concentrated upon the priority of the community.

Certainly the primary demand of BC is that needs must be catered for in the community. Therefore, it is essential that those needs be evaluated by the organisation and attempts - real attempts- must be made to provide for those needs. In this sense the organisations speaks with the community rather than down to the community.

To cater for the needs of the community means that we must work hard;we must fold up our sleeves and show by example what we can do for and with the community.

Being a part of the oppressed community makes it easier for us to be sensitive to those needs.

What then are the areas where we should be working? If we decide the factory floor it is not enough to just say that. We must go to the floor and make available the skills and techniques at our disposal and pass them on to the workers There is a dire need for literacy campaigns; for adult education;-articulate social and cultural amenities.

In the community we still require to provide for working parents by creating meaningful creches; we still need to look into the provision of health schemes, bulk buying schemes all projects designed to create an awareness in the community so that they appreciate the need to make their own decisions, and in doing so will develop a set of principles that they will project.

THE FUTURE

It is very difficult to talk about the future. I am not prophet or a fortune-teller. But it is what we make of our present that will determine our future. The responsibility of our future is the responsibility of every Blackman.

The extent to which we shall be liberated will depend upon the efforts the entire Black community will make. All that can be said about the future is that we envisage as the kind of society we wish to make.

Certainly we are appalled by the unfeeling society that we are a part of; certainly we are ashamed that such a society has persisted for so long; certainly we dream of the ideal society where every human being is accorded the right to make decisions about the destiny of humanity. This aspiration applies not just to our country but to the entire world.

We believe we have a role to play in making this a more humane world. We believe we have a contribution to make to that end. No one shall deny us that right!

We have stood the test of a million fires as a Black people in trying to contribute to the creation of an egalitarian society. Of that we are justly proud. No one can take that away from us.

Our future shall not have pain, bitterness, hatred, ugliness or violence. We foresee a society that is loving; that is people-oriented; that is warm, that has laughter but does not forget the tears; that takes care of its children and its aged; that has no regard for colour or class, for colour or class, for creed or religion.

7/.....I do not



I do not want to say democracy because that is such an abuse word today. But it is a society that will eliminate greed and personal aggrandisement and accumulation. The people in that society will have regard for the welfare of all the other peoples not just in this country but in those oppressed countries of the world.

CONCLUSION

The time for rhetoric has passed, as has the time for mud-slinging, suspicious, fears and intellectual debates that lead us nowhere. A sense of urgency should guide the delegates at this congress. The issues you discuss over the next two days will determine whether you have indeed determined the priorities which ought to be dealt with. Thus seriousness and commitment should guide your planning. At the same time constructive analysis should shape your programme for the coming year.

Nothing could be further from the truth than that BC has served its purpose. The only time that will happen is when we have achieved our liberation.

One Azania.

One Nation.

Tebogo Mofelane

Life is not complete if it is based on the sociological and political dimensions of a black man. Life has three dimensions; the political, social and religious aspects. For a Black man to be complete as co-worker with God, he has to experience and interpret the Gospel existentially and the core of this interpretation is the role of Black Theology which grapples with the existential problems of the Black man and it does not claim to be a theology of absolutes.

The realization of Black Theology is meant to emphasise that Black people will never ultimately be satisfied and be truly free until they have a genuine redemptive experience with God who has made himself known in History to his people as a God of liberation, a God who saves his people from derogative and racist labels, sin and guilt.

Black Consciousness is a positive force operating amongst Black people in that it resensitise to their humanity and responsibility and allows them to objectively evaluate and deal with forces operating in their everyday world. Yet Black Consciousness does not meet the specific "spiritual" need for a right standing before a righteous God. Black Theology meet such a need. ~~I believe that the true God who can meet the total objective and subjective needs of all people is the God manifested in Black Theology in the person of Jesus and His word. He himself, Jesus is the exponent of liberation, and as He is God, is a God who is on the side of the oppressed as manifested and interpreted in Black Theology.~~

In the Bible God was not uninvolved in the affairs of men. He is seen and known by his action in the historical affairs of men. God was moving in the direction of man's salvation, which is the goal of divine activity.

Salvation in the Old Testament means to be saved by God from the enemy. When Israel conquered her enemy, then God has brought salvation. God has saved then. God was involved in the struggle of the people. JHN 1:14.

The whole of the Bible reads with God in the struggle of man. God is the saviour par EXCELLENCE. God was in the struggle of man as is today in Black Theology which provides the tools of protest against apartheid and it is a theology of liberation.

Black Theology dissends the dehumanising power of apartheid and brings judgement upon structures which embody this power. It challenges white domination in church, which is a point that I would like to appeal from Black people to take an active

19
not in the administration of the church, in the forward struggle Black Theology first word is protest against injustices and racism. Much as this is dominant at present, then we will be for the positive message of liberation and renewal.

Our struggle forward will find its culmination and fulfilment in the gospel of the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead. It is God's purpose to set His people free from bondage, and to make "all things new" This purpose cannot be attained in any sense in this life and present history but it is not unrelated to the here and now.

The Gospel of Jesus intends life to be lived to the full. This cannot be attained anywhere except in Black Theology. Black Theology as a gospel for the future yet lived in the present is not part of the Gospel or consistent with the gospel, it is the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Because Black Theology affirms true Christianity and sets people free to be Children of God, who will be co-workers, redeemers in an unjust racist society that dehumanises them.

Black Theology is a theology of hope. Hope is one of the basic dimensions in life that challenges values for being existential in the cosmos and ones relationship with God.

The Black man has been so marred and wracked by the interpretation and exposition of the Gospel in our country that he loses hope in life by being turned into things in his socio-political life. Black Theology is designed to fill man with hope in order that he may realise that life is worth living and that he has a role to play in improving and bringing liberation to his fellow men.

Hope is a realization of "now" and at the same time is the realization "yet". We must have faith to be free as liberation is the ability to define oneself with one's possibilities held back not by the power of other people over one, but by one, but by one's relationship to God and to natural surroundings.

CONCLUSION:

Black Theology as based in biblical interpretation does not support subjugation of a race by another. Black Theology teaches full humanity and the worth of man as created in the image of God.

The acceptance of Jesus Christ for the Black man should be paramount because we accept a God who entered into human nature as said in the Bible JOHN 1:14 and connects himself with the affairs of man. God shared in the people's struggle, since in Jesus He suffered temptations, weakness, hunger and thirst and all the joys and sorrows of common humanity.

Black Theology presents us with a Christ who challenges our human inadequacies,

failures and guilt. Jesus is acceptable to us because he has entered the struggle of the Black man here and now and for the future in South Africa.

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THE IMPLICATION OF THE RABIE COMMISSION REPORT

INTRODUCTION:

I have been asked to prepare a paper on the implications of the Rabie and the Steyn Commission Report enjoyed my full attention to the detriment of the Steyn Commission Report. The former, as far as I am aware, being only available in the language which in part led to the 1976 students riots, and a language in which, like many of my countrymen, I am not wholly proficient in, it turned out to be a gruelling task going through this report. Consequently the remarks, if any, which I will not be from study of the report.

I am of the view that if one is to comprehend the fuller implications of the Rabie Commission Report, the background material thereto as well as a summary of its major findings should be set out and understood for what they are worth. Only at a later stage will I attempt to set out what I consider to be the implications of the report in relation to the black liberation struggle.

Perhaps at this very point, I must emphasise that my observations have been that the attitude of the black community to the myriad of Commission Reports which in this country have been produced by the dozens in recent times have been looked at with contempt and disregard by the black community. The reason for this type of attitude in the black community is not far to find. One need not be a super class political analyst to note that ~~commissions are instruments of the system - they are intended to re-enforce the status quo.~~

At the very best commission reports in South Africa are intended to "rationalize" various facets of our, the black people's oppression in such a way as to ensure an effective "total strategy". ~~The pattern of effective oppression by pretentious enquiry can be traced from the Tomlinson Commission to the Snyman Commission, Sehlabuch Commission and many other commissions I may not care to mention, up to the Rabie Commission,~~

Most sensible blacks have taken the attitude that the struggle for black liberation aims at a total and fundamental change of the economic exploitation and political oppression of the oppressed black masses. It thus follows that black participation in such commissions would imply ~~an acceptance of piecemeal improvement of our oppressed position according to whims of those who forcibly retain and exercise power over us.~~ However, our refusal to place any premium on the authenticity of such commissioned inquiries should not preclude us from making a study of these measures which are intended for effective control over us. I am prepared to go further and say that we owe it to ourselves to study these measures in order to relate them to our economic and political situation within the country and in so doing to be able to relate them to our legitimate quest for freedom and struggle for liberation.

1. APPOINTMENT AND TERMS OF REFERENCE OF THE COMMISSION.

1.1 The commission of enquiry into security legislation was appointed by the State President on the 29th of August, 1981 and the members thereof were:

Justice P.J. Rabie (Chairman)
Professor Lucas Daniel Barnard,
Advocate J. P. J. Coetzer S . C.
Advocate S. W. MacCreath
Professor Piet Ooshuizen and
Mr S.W. van der Merwe.

1.2 It may be interesting to point out that Professor L.D. Barnard resigned from the Commission during November, 1979, when he was appointed the Secretary of the Department of National Security. In September, 1980, Advocate S.W. MacCreath was made judge of the Transvaal Provincial
2/.....Division

Division.

- 1.3 The Commissions' terms of reference were to enquire into and report and make recommendations on the necessity, comprehensiveness, reasonableness and effectiveness of the legislation relating to the internal security of the Republic of South Africa.

2. MEMORANDA ORAL REPRESENTATION AND EVIDENCE.

A fleeting look at part 1 and part 11 of Annexure "B" to the Commissions Report, which is a list of persons or organisations which have submitted memoranda or given oral evidence or made oral representations before the commission, makes somewhat interesting reading. In the midst of the names of the highly placed law professors, advocates, generals of the South African Police, Regional Court Magistrates, Director Generals of various government departments and many other well positioned South African citizens, one finds only six names which, going purely by the arrangement of the alphabets, seem to be of black people. There appears a Mr. Chuene of Pretoria with no further description like the rest. A Mr. L.L. Khakhaza, Vice-Chairman, Cape Town Community Council, Gugulethu, a Mr. D.R. Ngo, member of the Cape Town Community Council, Nyanga, Mr. D. Thebehali, Chairman of Soweto Community Council and the Reverend B.N. Mgujulwa, Presbyterian Church, South Africa, Gugulethu. Brothers and sisters this is the "impressive" delegation which represented you before the Rabie Commission.

3. INTERNAL SECURITY.

- 3.1 The Rabie Commission adopts the attitude that in order for it to be able to give a realistic judgement of the necessity, comprehensiveness, reasonableness and effectiveness of the existing security legislation and or whether there should be any changes in the existing security legislation, full regard should be had to what the commission calls the reality of the present situation and the one in the foreseeable future. The commission immediately identifies the present situation as one which is characterized by an amount of unrest though cannot be said that the country finds itself in an emergency situation. The commission states that it is aware of the viewpoint that the root-cause of the situation of unrest which the security legislation aims at curbing shall persist as long as the root-cause has not been eliminated and that many members of "nie blanke bevolkingsgroepe" (as we are called in this report) have already abandoned hope of a peaceful resolution of the problem of their political aspirations and believe that confrontation with the white ruling class and violence as the only alternative left open to achieve justice freedom.

The Commission thereafter make the following observation:-

"The commission expresses as its conviction that security legislation alone, on the long term cannot be a guarantee for the maintenance of law and order in the country. But whatever the merits of such approach may be, it is no justification for the suggestion that the commission must adopt the attitude that any attempt on its part to change or improve the existing security legislation would be of no value until the alleged root causes of unrest are removed" - (3.18)

- 4.1 In a chapter which the Commission entitles "Factual Background" - numerous contentious observations are made about various liberation movements and in particular the ANC, PAC, BCM in general and AZAPO in particular. The African National Congress is branded as having strong ties with the South African

Communist Party and as committed to the seizure of power by violence, perpetrated through Umkonto we Sizwe. The Pan Africanist Congress is also said to have adopted a revolutionary war of the people in contrast to evolution.

About the Black Conscious Movement the Commission states:-

"The BCM's ultimate goal is to overthrow the present system on believes that an armed struggle is ultimately the only manner to achieved this goal" - 6.137.

About Azanian Peoples's Organization, the Commission finds that:

"According to the evidence before us Azapo's activities show that it is committed to the creation of a united front of black people, that it attempts to cultivate a spirit of militancy amongs black people and that it encourages an attitude of defiance against the government and government institutions - 6-452

The commission also makes the finding that in the past few years black youth have become much more "black conscious" and that "anti white" feelings in them have sharpened. The commission also refers to an additional report in Duerbraak (April 1980) where in it is stated at a opinion poll made in Soweto shortly after the Silverton siege indicated that three out of every four black people had "strong or qualified sympathy" for the three guerillas.

The commission then concludes that the "terror" and "sabotage" committed" in country in the last few years and which in all probability will continue in the foreseeable future and other reasons security legislation is necessary. It further pronounces the existing measures as mainly sasisfatory (voldoende) and effective and finally finds that some measures are not reasonable but apparently necessary.

5. FINDING AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

Hereunder follows a brief tabulation of the most important findings and/or recommendation of the commission.

5.1 The existing security law crimes namely participatong in terroristic activities and sabotage should be replaced with the proposed crimes terrorism, subversion and sabotage.

5.2 The crime of furthering the aim of communism should be retain, with a "more" pure definition of communism than the one contained in the Internal Security Act of 1950.

5.3 The minimum sentence provision prescribed for the crimes of terrorism and sabotage and some crimes created by the Internal Security Act of 1950 be done away with and imposition of sentence be left to the discretion of the Courts.

5.4 Detention of persons for purposes of interrogation should be retained. The commission further finds that:

" the information which is obtained from people in detention is most important and quite often the only weapon to anticrpate and prevent terroriestic and other undermining activities and that the information which is aquited in this manner in appropriate instances, may be used as evidence at the trial of persons charged of crimes discussed here"

14.5

4/.....Some

certain

Some review procedure of detention orders is introduced including an initial thirty (30) day period of detention which may not exceed 6 months in certain circumstances. Sec. 22 of the General Law Amendment Act, 1963 also commonly known as the "14 day detention" is to be repealed.

- 5.5 Preventive Detention, prohibition of certain meetings, restriction or banning orders, declarations of certain organisations unlawful and the prohibition of certain publications are all still retained subject to some review procedure by a review board which is subjected to further review by the Chief Justice or a Judge of appeal appointed by the former.
- 5.6 It is further recommended that a crime known as intimidation should be provided for:
- 5.7 Short term detention of 48 hours is recommended subject thereto that at the expiry of 48 hours a magistrate may issue a warrant of detention for a further detention, which should not exceed 14 days from the time of detention.
- 5.9 Finally for those of you who are enthusiastic regulars at "terror trial" and inquest, it is recommended that it be punishable for any person to demonstrate within the radius of 500 metres from the Court house.

6. IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

- 6.1 Incommunicado detention for purpose of interrogation is here to stay. Thus at least is the clear and loud message of the Rabie Commission Report- The commission has sanctioned such detention as drastic but indispensable for the maintenance of the system, of the status quo, of the political repression and vicious economic exploitation for our people. Albert Marcus put it somewhat poignantly:

"By endorsing the continuation of detention without trial, the Rabie Commission averted its eyes from one of the inevitable consequences of such detention, viz. the torture and maltreatment of detainees. The prevention of torture and maltreatment of detainees is extremely problematic and does not permit of easy solutions. Short of maintaining a twenty-four hour guard over detainees by an independent third party, there is very little that can be done to prevent assaults by policemen. In short, if a policeman has the mind to do so, he will have many an opportunity to assault a detainee. This is a problem which is by no means peculiar to South Africa. However, there are several features of our legislation which not only facilitate such abuse, but may even encourage it".

- 6.2 Not even the 40 odd deaths in detention could bring home to this commission the desperate need to investigate the interrogation methods employed by the police. One should be extremely naive to accept that these detainees have in fact taken away their own lives what drives them to this point? What makes them end in psychiatric wards?
- 6.3 It has already been pointed out that despite the almost limitless terms of reference, the commission has conveniently failed to investigate and report on deaths in detention, allegations of physical torture which emerge with monotonous regularity in all political trials; whether solitary confinement does not per se constitute torture.
5/.....It

- 6.4 It is well and good to make it compulsory that inspectors and magistrates should visit detainees at specified intervals but those of us who have been in detention before should know and remember what little protection these system orientated gentlemen have guaranteed. Then one cannot escape the feeling that one is a victim of a vicious conspiracy of state appointed, paid and directed officials. One big farce! How would one otherwise explain the promotion to Deputy Commissioner of Police of the man who headed the security police in Port Elizabeth at the time when Steve Biko died in detention.
- 6.5 Detention for interrogation, banning orders, restriction of organisations, prohibition of publications and the entire ramification of the oppression of the legitimate aspirations of the people, endorsed by the Rabie Commission are by now away of life in the black community and moved recently in certain sections of the white community. It is not merely a fertile ground for nice and the repression is part of us. Its evils are without measure and no justification, however brilliant could exonerate the perpetrators thereof. As Sidney Kentrige puts it.

"That is why their recommendations have been avidly seized upon by the South African Government and that is why, to everyone else, their report is a scholarly and elaborate irrelevance".

CONCLUSION:

~~We owe it to ourselves to liberate ourselves and no amount of theorizing about it will bring us any nearer to this urgent and imperative goal.~~ Forward to a free and just society of one Azania - one National

DIKGANG MOSENEKE/EM

6-3-1982

~~The future of his country is the future of developments in industrial relations.~~ ✓

It is inevitable that since the process of industrialization and urbanisation began here, the issue of race has been the paramount determinant of industrial relations practice. Through this period the attempts at unionization of the black worker has inevitably been resisted, not insignificantly through State interference and harassment. ~~Since 1973 however a change process has been set in motion which in the final analysis will bring it dramatic and irreversible changes in the social and political spheres as well.~~ ✓

The Wiehahn Commission was appointed because the Committee system established in terms of Black Labour Relations Regulations Act was a dismal failure. The attraction and loyalty to trade unions amongst Black workers did not diminish but in fact increased, during the period of existence of this Act.

Severe economic necessity also significantly altered the contribution of the Black worker to the economy, whereas previously they were employed mainly in the primary sector of industry more Black workers were now being employed in the secondary tertiary sectors, resulting in the necessity for 'advancement' programmes for Black workers.

The expansion of industry and the investment of foreign capital were contributing factors which brought about increased international attention. This attention led to the growing international pressure against the apartheid regime. Condemnation at the ILO had forced the withdrawal from the body. Through the institution of the various codes of conduct, attention was focussed on labour and social practices in the work place, as well.

These factors had a synergistic effect on the Black* trade union movement leading to growth and development and assisting the movement to bring about fundamental changes without being co-opted in to the apartheid system.

Some examples of these changes are worth nothing:

* By Black CUSA means people of African, Indian and so-called Coloured origin.

Trade Union rights

The eventual changes in the legislation in 1979, removing the race barrier in the definition of employee was major victory for the labour movement. In its wisdom the State had initially decided to grant trade union rights to only urban workers excluding commuter and migrant workers. After tremendous pressure with the threat that the unions would not register under such conditions, the state relented and the Minister gazzetted an exemption which was incorporated into the legislation in 1981. ✓

Discriminatory practices

Discriminatory practices on the basis of race of sex have been removed respectively due mainly to the tremendous resistance the various job reservation determinations encountered, and the increasing number of Black females who have entered the labour market. ✓

Lack of Industrial Peace

Despite the program to "liberalise" industrial legislation, very little industrial peace has resulted. In fact industrial unrest has increased. Strike statistics for 1981 are the highest since 1973. Various causes have been listed, amongst which the following are most prominent:

a) Unfair worker dismissals

b) /.....Union

- b) Union recognition
- c) Pension legislation
- d) Wages and working conditions
- c) Striking to bring about change in the workplace.

On the issue of the pension legislation it is important to note why workers rejected the proposals:

1. They had no faith that the scheme would work to their benefit
2. Their mistrust of the role of the state
3. Their past experience with the administration of pension funds was a negative one
4. Their rejection of the state and lack of credibility in the White rulers
5. Their rejection of the scheme on the basis that they were not consulted.

Detention of Trade Unionist

Since the beginning of 1980 various trade leaders and members have been detained. There is a naive belief in some quarters that if the "agitators" and "the militants" are locked up, they will "cool off". But this attitude ignores the fact that trade union leaders act as a buffer between their membership and management.

The bannings and detentions of unionists whether the South African authorities or by the so-called "leaders of homelands" only serves to strengthen the resolve of workers.

In a number of recent detentions management have left in the peculiar situation of not being able to negotiate with anybody as the leaders were all detained.

Black trade union unity

The Cape Town Conference resolve to unite on issues of common concern and recommended to those present to review their position on Industrial Councils. Further meetings are planned and regional Solidarity Committees have been established.

The debate concerning Plant versus Industrial Council bargaining

The Black trade union movement does not have power in the majority of the cases at the industrial council level. It is therefore self-evident that they will continue to bargain at the plant level. Regional or National bargaining will occur only when black unions are able to negotiate effectively at that level.

Management or State coercion to bargain at the Industrial Council level is therefore not going to succeed.

Worker Awareness

Increasing awareness exists among workers to protect their jobs and to improve their conditions of employment. Major groupings have experienced a phenomenal growth in membership, as a result.

DEATH IN DETENTION OF NEIL AGGETT

Tremendous anxiety and concern was expressed by the Black trade union movement
3/.....throughout

throughout the country to the death in detention of Neil Aggett. The subsequent half hour stoppage which occurred in protest at this death was a major victory because:

- the regional Solidarity Committees were able to unite to work together
- the nature of the stoppage was peaceful one
- the employer response was a neutral one and was not provocative.

The important factor to note in these instances is that the Black trade union movement has been able to fight for change without compromising itself with the apartheid ideology. It has stood firmly on sound industrial relation principles and practices and has been able to influence events without prejudicing its credibility with its membership.

It is evident therefore that fundamental change to the rules of apartheid will come through the changes and developments in industrial relations

- The process of registration of trade unions will change
- The attitude to plant and industry level bargaining will have to change amongst employers
- The dithering and unfacilitative legislation programme in industrial relations will need to be stepped up.
- The increasing need to train workers will be the death knell of separate training institutions in this country.
- The influx Control system will also come under the scrutiny of black unions and demands for its eradication will mount.
- The continued use of security legislation against unionist will continue to strengthen the resolve of the rank and file membership to fight this inhuman and unjust legislation.

Significant economic growth and development will only occur, when social and political freedom exists for all in South Africa. Without these freedoms this country will continue to move headlong onto the path of destruction.

RESOLUTIONS

1. This Congress noting

1. That there still exists a degree of uncertainty as to the exact definitions of concepts as relating to the class/race debate e.g. capitalism, class race, egalitarianism etc.

2. That such confusion leads to difficulty in formalising our strategies
Therefore resolve:

1. That the National Executive Council draw up or assign committee to draw up a guideline with which branches can effectively discuss such concepts

2. That reports of these discussions be submitted to NEC and

3. That NEC thereafter convene a symposium in order to formalise and popularise these concepts as applicable to our ideology.

Mover: S. Randera
Seconder: L. Mosala.

2. The Congress has deliberated a lot on the importance of a vehicle to be used in striving for our future envisaged society. Education was seen as inter-alia a paramount tool to equip us in the realisation of this goal.

We therefore resolve that the Organisation should look into the possibility of organising week-end classes for the benefit of the students thrown out of school because of the new age-limit that has come about. Also if possible emphasis should be laid on science subjects, which at the present the department of Education and Training is seriously discouraging pupils to study.

Mover; Motsumi Mokhine
Thabo Matlapeng

3. That this Congress noting that the Steyn and Rabie Commission are the instrument of the system intended to maintain the status quo and are appointed to prepare the electorate for drastic action against AZAPO and MWASA and are there to salve the conscience of the oppressors,

hereby resolve:

To reject the Steyn and Rabie Commission and to continue with our programme of action without fear and intimidation.

Mover G. Wauchope
Seconder: D. More.

4. That this Congress noting

1. The recent promotion of General Goosen to the post of deputy Commissioner of Police - a policeman who was involved in the interrogation of the late Steve Biko.

2. That this forms part of recurring pattern whereby police officers involved in "terror" trails or related cases gain promotion to higher rank after their conviction of the accused and can be construed as part of a deliberate campaign by the powers that be to provide incentive to those who suppress any form of resistance by the people against injustices perpetrated upon them.

3. The decision by the fascist and reactionary Reagan administration

2/.....to

to lift the ban on arms sales to S.A. against the resolutions of the U.N., O.A.U. and Black people of Azania. Hereby resolve to condemn the Reagan Admin. for its overtimes that contribute to the enslavement of the Black people by supplying arms to the S. A. police.

Mover: Sammy Tloubatla
Seconder: Zithulele Cindi

5. That this Congress noting

1. The racist regime's atrocious and inhuman manner of constantly uprooting Black masses from their established settlements
2. The apathy and cruelty with the racist regime break basic needs of man to facilitate it's policy of devide and rule

Therefore resolves:

1. To condemn in it the strongest terms possible the forced removals and re-allocation of people in their land birth
2. To urge the Organisation to assist and inculcate a spirit of resistance against all manouvers that dehumanises the Black man.

Mover : Jefferson Lengane
Seconder: Khangale Makhado

6. That this Congress noting

1. That the present English touring team has acted contrary to the Glen Eagles agreement
2. That there presently an international boycott of all sporting contacts with racist S.A.
3. That by participating in cricket matches against South African teams, the touring side is furthering, perpertuating and giv'ng credibility to the racist ideology of apartheid

Hereby resolve:

1. That we, the majority of the people in this country, reject this farcical cricket tour
2. Express our solidarity with SACOS who share this sentiments
3. To call upon all concerned people to boycott all the scheduled cricket matches
4. To call upon all relevant community and sporting bodies, especially SACOS, to launch a National Campaign calling for the boycott of all matches
5. Balling upon the United Nations to pal place all these players on the sporting blacklist
6. Calling upon the English Test and County Cricket Board to expell the touring English team to South Africa from all future participation in its events
7. To communicate this resolution U.N. and SACOS.

Mover: Sefako Nyaka
Seconder: Y. Variava

3/.....Noting

-
7. Noting that the state is deliberately attempting to co-opt the Church into its "total strategy" and thus alienating it from the society

And further noting that these efforts of the State shall make the Church compromise its ministry and calling

Therefore resolve:

1. To urge the Church to be faithful to its calling
- ~~2. To develop an interpretation of religion that shall be relevant to the oppressed and exploited~~
3. That the church as an institution avail itself in the service of the people

Mover; Ishmael Mkhabela
Seconder: Sello Rasethaba

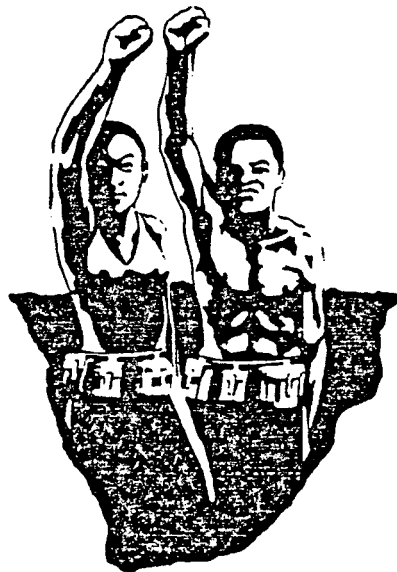
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George Ngwenya
Lwetsi.

No 2 : 20/5787
L Mabaso presidential address pt

Azania People's Organization

THE PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT



ON THE MARCH
facing the challenges

4th CONGRESS 1984

ON THE MARCH CONGRESS 84

8 -9 JAN facing the challenges

No 2 20/5/87

REACHING THE PEOPLE'

P C JONES

A. INTRODUCTION

Since its inception the Black Consciousness movement had been at the receiving end of scepticism and criticism from within some quarters of the liberation movement. Labels such as 'racists', 'racist reactions', reactionary tendency, etc, were freely and and enthusiastically attached to the movement. Some of these negative reactions were the result of some very sterile and passive ideological positions of intellectuals, some of whom still today occupy an ineffective national political position, and there were also reactions from those who suffered from 'professional jealousies'. But the most emotional response to Black Consciousness came from those who, because of their explicit exclusions, were directly affected i.e. white liberals and the white left.

The various tags attached to Black Consciousness are certainly not of major concern to us, because looking at the extent to which our philosophies and policies have been misrepresented over the years, the only conclusion we can come to is that the motives of these various onlookers are both dishonest and mischievous,.

This Congress is historic in one sense that it is being observed by many, for political guidance. During this time of intense political debate and at times political actions and also whilst we observe once again, the epileptic rearing of the ugly head of white liberalism and white participation in popular struggles, the political options open to organisations of the oppressed people are limited to a choice between support for a workers united front and a popular front. I will in due course attempt to distinguish these two fronts. I suppose, in popular language, one could also refer to this as a choice between exclusivism| and multi-racialism.

Because of what I have just said above, I think we may have to, on compassionate grounds, once again reiterate and explain, maybe for the last time, that the specific exclusions of whites is based on political strategy, not on colour, 'racial' grounds or any other factor.

Some people view and analyse Black Consciousness as if it just fell from the sky, a system of ideas that have just emerged from nowhere into the heads of Black students in the late 1960's and early 1970's, and that there were no material conditions which gave birth to this consciousness and that therefore it can now be simply shelved without regard to whether the historical-material conditions that spawned it still exist. This view is reactionary, because having identified a prevalent consciousness as a mere set of phrases or ideas it now places another set of phrases or ideas in opposition to it.

It is our view, to put it mildly, that Black Consciousness is the product of objective accurate historical conditions in SA. Its form and content, ideologically and organisationally are, as it should be, determined by the historical social reality of oppression and exploitation in SA.

Black Consciousness definitely does not identify ~~capitalism (class exploitation)~~ as a separate dimension of our struggle distinct from Black oppression. ~~Apartheid (racist oppression)~~ and the many names and forms it had acquired over the years, had always been, from the time of conquest till today, and will always be, ~~until liberation, an inseparable element of capitalist exploitation in SA.~~ **Racism is the soul force of capitalism.** ~~The one cannot survive without the other.~~ The economic structures of SA cannot survive without the elaborate political administrative structures, to keep blacks in a subject position .

The struggle against capitalism and imperialism must simultaneously be a struggle against racism and discrimination of every other form. Black Consciousness is the only movement that has successfully fused the national and the social question.

The position of the movement on the dialectic between race and class is contained in the AZAPO Conference Papers of April 1981. In its hunt for superprofits imperialism dispossessed the aborigines as a people. The consequence, all over the third world, was to put black against white. Dispossession led to super-exploitation of black people, they became the underdogs, and for the colonial world 'race' determined class. ~~In Azania British imperialism roped in the defeated White Afrikaner into the ruling class family and this partnership was sealed by the 1910 Act.~~

Settler-colonialism further extended the political consolidation to include Indians and what was hitherto a struggle between imperialism and the aborigines was formally extended to a struggle between settler-colonialism and black people. We therefore find that the settler-colonialists objectively behave as a bourgeoisie in relation to blacks who objectively behave as a revolutionary working class.

It is as a result hereof that it is difficult, if not just a futile intellectual debate, to attempt to classify blacks clinically into distinct economically defined groups or classes. The black students, women and petty-bourgeoisie in the town and rural areas, are inseparably connected with, and have the experiences of the black working class. The black student discovers, that because he emanates from a working class family and shares the experiences of working class conditions, he is 'black, before he is a student.'

This determines his social perspectives and values. Similarly even the richest and poised black cannot escape a system that regards him first as black before having regard to his privileged position.

B. LIBERALISM AND WHITE PARTICIPATION

When we refer to white participations, we are certainly not, because of its impossibility, referring to whites as group. We are referring to a handful of liberal and leftist elements. Seen politically, these are irreconcilable differences in the ideological positions of these elements and black consciousness.

Black Consciousness states unequivocally that the primary issue in Azania is the reconquest of the land and its restoration to its rightful owners, the Nguni,* I have already shown how the Indian nationality had been placed in the same political category as those other groups. Thus, the driving force of the Azanian revolution is black nationalism, born of land dispossession. White liberals and others have never accepted, in fact they have rejected that the issue is self-determinative. The white liberal wishes for a multi-racial partnership whilst the white 'left' wishes for a colour-blind, class conscious black working class.

Over and above this, whites, with their natural European racist chauvionism observed by Lenin, cannot, even if they want to escape the racist structures of this society. They have to attend elitist schools that groom them for positions of dominance, who have at their disposal all the material resources, benefits and wealth that their privileged position in society bestows upon them.

An elementary understanding of the history of NUSAS, for example, shows that its political functions had always and consistently been, to provide a recruiting ground for capitalist business, social and political leaders, and its members work and oil the Apartheid War Machine (it is also very popular for training top-class security-policemen).

It has only vacillated to the extent of its tactics viz. the growth of the liberation movement. It now attempts to merge the interests of ruling class students, with those of the oppressed and exploited. Its current flirting with black student organisations and others of the oppressed represents schizophrenia in political practice by facing both ways at the same time.

At this stage I think it is important for me to state that although AZAPO has clarified its own position on whites, and that it takes full responsibility for this position, for the purpose of co-operation with other organisations, it will co-operate with any organisation of the oppressed who have not as yet taken a clear policy stand on this question.

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22/5/87

C. WORKERS UNITED FRONT/POPULAR FRONT

AZAPO states very clearly that ~~black solidarity~~ is an imperative element in its strategy and it is therefore committed to develop an even greater unity of the oppressed and exploited people than that which is represented by the National Forum in its present form.

No 2
22/5/87

During this time of offensive by the state and imperialism we must try to involve all the organisations claiming to be part of the workers movement, including the most moderate, and those with the most opportunistic and revisionist leadership. This unity must be effected at national, regional and local leadership level. The only condition is that we reject any alliances between the liberal bourgeoisie and the workers movement i.e. only organisations of the oppressed and exploited can be included.

The fundamental distinctions of this united front is that, through its class against class logic, 'it unleashes a dynamic which develops and sharpens the struggle of the workers against the bourgeoisie'. This united front against the capitalist offensive contains no pre-conditions about the defence of bourgeois order and capitalistic property (no matter how much the reformist leaders are attached to this defence).

AZAPO will therefore be obliged to spell out a clear policy/guidelines on the questions of unity/alliances in order to guide our units and affiliates and also in order to enable other organisations to be clarified.

On the other hand, the Popular Front, through its collaborationist logic, 'it unleashes a dynamic which holds back the workers struggles and even represses the most radicalised layers of the workers'. It is explicitly based on the respect of bourgeois order and property and its whole logic tends to deflect, contain or break mass struggles.

On principled grounds therefore we must fight any political pact with bourgeois groups, even 'left wing' ones, which would challenge the political class-independence of black workers.

D. COLLABORATION

If we look at the history of liberation and resistance of countries all over the world, we will see that the development of the resistance movements is rooted in the history of oppression and exploitation characteristic of a particular region or country. Lybon Mabasa at the First National Forum said '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 should originate and find its inspiration from concrete contradictions within our country'.

An example in point is the question of land. Black workers do ^{not} only see themselves as an exploited class, as non-owners of capital (means of production). They also, quite rightly, see themselves as a people, as temporary dispossessed owners of land. In reality the the question of land is a burning issue in the hearts and souls of Africans,

Great songs and poetry are sung in praise of those who defended the land against settler conquest, and envisioning a future where the land will once again be reconquered. This means that any liberation organisation that does not clearly address itself to the question of land and that the primary issue in Azania is the reconquest of land, is guaranteed a place in political limbo.

Similarly the principle of non-collaboration cannot just be regarded, in a sterile manner, as a healthy political strategy. Fanon says that ~~'the masses resist and fight in a thousand ways' which reflects the 'anonymous and innumerable ways in which the people seek to harass and liquidate the oppressor and refuse to collaborate with him'~~. ~~From the earliest times of resistance in Azania, non-collaboration had been an ingrained instinct in black people.~~ The chief who co-operated too much with the settlers was immediately regarded with hostility. In everyday life, if you are seen to be too friendly with the white foreman at the factory, people call you names. Or if the nice white priest visit your house too regularly, you are regarded in the same manner. ~~On a political level we find that black people are instinctively hostile to any solution emanating from the rulers, and those who collaborate with the rulers, at any level, yet seen to be sell-outs, traitors, etc.~~ It is because of this historical reality that people in Transkei, with the introduction of Native Education, and without a clear direction from the organisations then, decided to burn down community schools other than submit to the evil intent of the oppressor.

~~It is our function as progressives to further develop the policy of non-collaboration and in practical ways guide our people and ensure that our liberation movement remains independent.~~

I have also said in another part of this paper that it is intellectual futility to apply prue economic criteria to identify particular groups in the black community.

Who is the black middle class, where does one see them, what is meant when we use the term? Are we referring to a class of persons who has hostile potential or are we merely referring to a group of people who occupy a more privileged position. If we are seeking to identify hostile elements within the ranks of the oppressed, we have to move away from using terms which we have not examined thoroughly.

I believe that we should rather identify co-optable elements within black society and examine ways and means of neutralising these.

One of these co-optables is the collaborationist, whom we have already catered for. Another is the liberal in the black community who because of his economic position and political confusion, could become a potential co-optable. I do not wish at this stage to make any suggestions beyond saying that my concern emanates from an appreciation that our struggle has become internationalised and will become more so in future. In such a situation superpowers are looking for allies and looking only at the role of imperialism in Africa, their sympathy originates from a desire to serve their own national interests. We must at all costs ensure that our liberation movement is and remains independent and indigenous.

E. DEMOCRATIZATION

This section I regard as one of the most important in this paper. One of the main aspects of mobilization of our people is the raising of their level of consciousness through the growth of their confidence in themselves. The question of strategy and tactics can only be liberatory if it liberates people - this may sound strange, but this simple truth is profound. We cannot have something against the wishes of the people, we can only have it if the people want it and bring it about. One writer states that 'Democratic assemblies and every similar mechanism in other forms of mass action, play a vital role in developing the self-organisation of the mass. In learning to conduct their own struggles, they learn to run the state and economy of tomorrow. This places the emphasis of struggle on people inside the country.

(9)

We are not spectators, cheering on the team.

Our whole situation is undemocratic. The system encourages undemocratic behaviour all the time, this is the poison of our society - transfer that poison to our organisation and we stimulate undemocratic traditions.

We must not underestimate our people. No small group can bring about liberation on its own. Experiences must be shared and taken to the people. By encouraging democratisation we will prohibit opportunistic manipulation of our people. Through this affirmation of workers democracy, the democratic forms of organisations of workers struggles also proclaim a characteristic of tomorrow's state - the extension and not the reconstruction of democratic freedoms.

No 2
22/5/87

A M A N D L A N G A W E T H U

O N E P E O P L E - O N E A Z A N I A

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A M A N D L A N G A W E T H U

O N E P E O P L E - O N E A Z A N I A

ON THE MARCH CONGRESS 84

8 -9 JAN facing the challenges

THE LAW AND THE STRUGGLE:NAKEDI MATHEWS PHOSA

I am gratified to take this opportunity to address you on the topic you have assigned me. I am conscious of the fact that you are true comrades whose principles and practices apro the struggle for the total liberation of the Black masses in this country have always been and are still unadulterated, uprostituted and uncontaminated by the romantic sentiments of the liberals in this country. Notwithstanding any other misguided noises from other quarters I humbly believe that and I have easily reconciled myself with the notion that AZAPO shall succeed in making a significant contribution towards delivering the goods of liberation to all the Black oppressed masses in this country. It is with this belief that I find myself addressing you today.

If I should sound harsh; it is because I am in the process of revolting against the system of the oppression of one man by another maintaining in this country, if I sound reckless, it is because I believe the oppressors must be fought pound for pound, if I happen to sound too optimistic; it is because I believe victory over the system of apartheid is within reach for the Black masses in this our country. I come to you in the simple belief that the struggle belongs to the oppressed and discriminated people in this country, I descend on you with the full conviction that this country belongs to us and that we therefore qualify to fight for it without having to invite mercenaries in our midst.

The laws of a country inevitably reflect and manifest the values, norms, customs, practices and policies of the Government of the day at a social, political, economic and industrial levels. The government of the day tend not to hesitate to make laws and make use of those laws to its advantage. The ruling party irrespect of whether or not it represents a minority

inevitable/....

inevitably ensures that its position of power is neither threatened nor eroded by the laws it makes. On the contrary the ruling party turns to the law to protect the power in its hand and to promote and foster the status quo as it will like to have it. Oliver Wandell Holmes puts it as follows:-

"The life of the law has not been logic: it has been experience. The felt necessities of the time, the prevalent moral and political theories, intuitions of the public policy avowed or unconscious, even the prejudices which judges share with their fellow-men, have had a good deal more to do than syllogism in determining the rules by which men should be governed".

In a situation such as exist in South Africa the law is therefore proving to be a very dangerous tool in the hands of the oppressive minority regime in Pretoria. Pretoria has made sure year in year out that the laws of this country are apartheid-orientated. Parliament is being used as a forum to express and legislate the most vicious pieces of legislation always seething with the rotten aura of apartheid. Racial prejudice, hatred for the Black man is smuggled into legislation every now and then. Laws are being used to suppress even the most basic human rights of the Black man. The law is being used to oppress us and to frustrate our political aspirations.

Comrades, permit me to set forth and point out the various legal cornerstones which will explain the points I intend to make.

1. THE LAND QUESTION

We have been told that the first oppressor only set foot on our land during 1652. We have also been told that some of those first few whites to set foot on our land were suffering from scavy-an indication of the fact that those guys did not have fresh food and water for sometimes. None of the settlers brought land, trees or cattle with them. They found us here in our land and our folks allowed them to settle here. Having realised how beautiful our land

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was, they started a process of dispossession and colonization. The next thing that happened is that they have passed a law allocating to themselves, few as they are, almost 87% of our land. Think about it - 24 million people are now being squeezed into 13% of the land while only 4 million people are having and doing as they wish with our land. We have been dispossessed of our land and the struggle to remove our people from the so-called "Blackspots" is continueing unabated. Bulldozers are on the rampage - all in the name of the law. It has become lawful to move people from any point affected whether such people like the idea or not. There is little comfort which the people who are to be moved can get from the Courts of law. The only alternative is to resist to the finish and let hell be hell. The land belongs to us and we have every reason to encourage our people under threats of removal to resist and refuse to be treated like chattels. Our dedication for the fight for the return of our land is an honourable one and we must never engage reverse-gear, for the demand for the return of our land is non-negotiable.

2. SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT

Common sense and the basic dictates of Black unity demand that the policy of separate development be rejected and frustrated at every turn . This policy of separate development has been legislated as evidenced by the so-called Homeland Constitution Act and other allied statutes. It is law at its best in the process of dividing the nation along ethnic or tribal lines. Separate development thrives and survives on Black ethnicism, tribalism and engenders Black disunity. If we reject separate development we make a success in rejecting the Homeland Constitution Act and a success in the struggle to unite the nation and facilitate the prosecution of our struggle for liberation.

3. INFLUX CONTROL

In a naked attempt to immobilise the Black worker and in an attempt to instill in the Blackworker a feeling of temporariness within the

so-called/.....

so-called urban areas and further in an attempt to armtwist the Blackworker to accept that his home is in one of the so-called homelands, the Influx Control laws and regulations were legislated. The pervasive spirit of these labour laws is the total strategy to force the Black worker to accept the false notion that the cities and towns belong to "umlungu". A necessary implication of those laws is to promote the policy of separate development and counter the great struggle for the return of our land and for our total liberation.

What has been said about the Influx Control laws and regulations can also be said about the notorious Koornhof Bills. Much has been said and written about the said Koornhof Bills. Suffice it to make a call to the workers to unite behind the call for the opposition against all the Koornhof Bills. Those Bills should be seen as a strategy by the government to further entrench its policy of apartheid in labour laws. Koornhof's Bills should be consigned to oblivion for they only serve to add salt to the already injured Black worker. Let there be no mistake, no misunderstanding or miscalculation; anybody who does not oppose the Koornhof Bills supports the promotion of apartheid and is therefore reactionary and a puppet of the proponents of our oppressors. The Koornhof Bills are immoral pieces of legislation militated by a warped power of suggestion.

EDUCATION

Education is being used from the lowest to the highest level as an instrument of intellectual depravation and oppression. It is being utilised to suppress and cripple our intellects and in that process the Black child's potential is being systematically stifled. It was not suprising that the year 1976 witnessed us in the frontlines of the battlefields when we took to the streets to demonstrate our historic dissatisfaction and rejection of the existing educational system. There is no doubt that the educational pill remains as bitter as ever. It is not so much the name-tag put on the education for the

Blacks 5/...

Blacks which is objectionable but it is chiefly and fundamentally the contents and quality of that educational system . A country which legislates one system of education for the whites and a different one for the Blacks must surely have serious poisonous motives for separating in that fashion. There is no sign that the powers that be have learnt the lessons of 1976 and if things go on as they do, ~~the events of 1976 might look like a kindergarten-prayer-meeting in the not too distant future.~~

The struggle to win the hearts and minds of the Black students shall not be won by those who enter university campuses armed with rifles, kirries and pangas to murder our brothers and sisters. On the contrary history shall judge very rudely those who embark on the dangerous strategy of trying to play cheap strongman at schools and universities. ~~The murderers who relished to commit murder at the universities during the year 1983 shall one day have to face the People's Court where they shall stand accused of crimes against the people.~~ ?
Let us resolve never to forget those who paid the ultimate prize in the hands of murderers arraigned against the innocent comrades who were in the process of having a bath or picking up the crumbs of education from the master's tables of education. ~~No amount of political posturing or self-justification will ever exculpate those responsible for the atrocities at schools and universities during 1983 and before.~~ ?
Students should never pander to those criminals but should resist any attempt intended to intimidate them into unacceptable submissions and political disorientations. Let us not lose sight of the fact that police are said to have folded their arms suppressing their glee when our comrades were being murdered at the university of Ngoye - where was the law? Where was order? The Law paved way to disorder and indeed the law applauded disorder characterised by gruesome assaults and murder. I repeat, where was the law? And I add, who has thus far been prosecuted?.

THE SO-CALLED NEW DISPENSATION

Our eardrums have during the past year and half or so been subjected to a continueing noise about what has been called " a new dispensation" for South Africa. There has been more than too much talk about change.

6/....

During the previous AZAPO Congress, Comrade Don Nkadimeng quite rightly arrived at the conclusion that the so-called new constitution was irrelevant to us as the oppressed Black people, I concur with my said comrade's submission and conclusions, but today I wish to tackle this new dispensation even further for there are compelling national reasons for doing so.

The so-called new dispensation is two-pronged. On the one hand the white minority in our country set forth to draw a constitution for the entire nation in this country. Representatives of only 4 million white people decided to draw a constitution for close to 25 million people in this country without the latter 25 million people being party to that constitution to which they are expected to pay and maintain allegiance. On the other hand the very same white minority contrived what has become known as the Black Local Authorities Act to try and resuscitate the ill-fated and still-born community councils in the so-called Black urban areas.

A constitution is supposed to represent and clearly reflect the Will of the majority of the people. A constitution if it hopes to qualify as such should manifest the aspirations of the majority of a people in a given set up. The so-called new constitution is both mischievous fraudulent and dangerous for the following reasons:-

- (i) it was drafted by representatives of less than a quarter of the citizens of the country.
- (ii) it represents the Will and aspirations of less than a quarter of the citizens of this country .
- (iii) it represents the second step towards dividing the Black people by endeavouring to create the false impression that the so-called coloureds and the so-called Indians are willing to join the white laager and gang with the whites against the remaining part of the Black people.

(iv) /....

- (iv) it entrenches raw apartheid even further under the transparent-dress of change.
- (v) it entrenches white people's domination of power under the false pretence of sharing power.
- (vi) it creates a solid white laager to protect the white man's position of privilege there and thereby denying change of apartheid at all levels be they social, economic or political.
- (vii) it represents a ghastly instrument of oppression and a fountain of apartheid at its best.

There is therefore no reason whatsoever why the new constitution can just be ignored. The whites have under the new constitution started recruiting their gullible cohorts in the likes of the Hendrikse and Rajbansis to prosecute their struggle toward the division of the Black nation in this country. Those puppets have agreed to tango along with the apartheid-orientated new constitution. The purpose of this tactic of co-opting participants in the constitutional circus is to deal a blow to Black unity and to weaken the forces fighting for the total liberation of the nation from the policy and system of apartheid. Let us be mindful of the fact that the masters and theoreticians both political and military see apartheid as being in a besieged house. That is why they now talk of the "total strategy against a total onslaught". The new constitution should be seen and understood within the context of that "total strategy against a total onslaught". The total strategy is a strategy against our achievement of our political aspirations and the total onslaught is aimed at Black unity and therefore the new constitution is a dangerous weapon against us as the Black people. It is the second leg at dividing the Black nation and trying to confuse us. The first step came up with the Homeland Constitution and its allied statutes, the second step as I have indicated is the very so-called new constitution, the third step is the Black Local Authorities Act, which I will deal with just now hereunder.

8/...

A stage has therefore been set under the new constitution for the Hendrikse and the Rajbansis to implement the Group Areas Act, the Pass Laws, Influx Control laws and to ensure that the policy of forced removals of our people is implemented. A stage is set for those puppets to further sink and drown in the apartheid swimming-pools under the false pretence of change. We wish them well with a clear warning that they shall not too long reap what they have sown; for the Black people shall never ever accept let alone tolerate divisionists, opportunists and collaborators in our great march towards the bringing of partheid to its knees. I do not for one moment wish to suggest that the Hendrikse have any grassroot support for their sellout postures but I urge you to be vigilant and to ensure that these people do not snatch an undeserved opportunity to mislead and confuse the Black masses on this so-called new dispensation. It is our task to make every effort to reach out to the Black masses and tell them the truth and campaign for the highest degree of isolating all the collaborators and political fifth columnists hobnobbing with the so-called new dispensation.

My dear comrades, I wish to be taken seriously when I say that the Black Local Authorities Act is wholly the same as the Community Councils Act which fizzled with time. The same reasons for rejecting the Community Councils exist for us now to reject the Black Local Authorities Act. The latter Act envisages the creation of what it calls the town councils, village councils and local committees. The powers of the town-councils and the village councils are basically the same as those of the disgraced and now-defunct Community Councils. The local committee is an advisory body and cannot co-exist with the village council. A carrot that is being dangled to the politically naive Tshabalalas is the clause that states that a town council can be graduated into a city council. Think about it -e.g. Johannesburg with two racially orientated city councils - one in Soweto the other in the city of gold. This is what makes Thebehali morose that he lost out and that is what makes Tshabalala excited that he went in. Further, these local authorities and committees, are directly "subject to the control and directions" of what is called the Director of Local Government who in his turn is responsible to the Director General of the Department of Koornhof. I therefore have no difficulties in telling you that the Black Local Authorities Act creates sufficient toy administrations for Koornhof to play around with.

The Black Local Authorities Act have the spirit and soul of the institutions created under the Homeland Act and the latter's allied statutes. The local authorities and committees are therefore irrelevant and constitute a far cry from what the Black struggle is all about. It is strange that Koornhof dares to think that these creatures of his Act are geared to satisfy our political aspirations. There could be no further insult to the Black man than what Koornhof wishes about his invention. The system of apartheid is alive and well in the Black Local Authorities Act. It is therefore right and correct for us to reject these toy administrations for their irrelevancy. Every effort should be made to discredit the already discredited Tshabalalas and their allies in betrayal and sellout gimmicks.

What should console us maybe is the fact that all the people participating in the so-called new dispensation in all its forms are the very people whose hallmark and history has been that of indulging in the petty politics of betrayal. Those people are not new on the galleries of playing to "his master's voice" and tune.

Let us resolve not to be detracted from what we are fighting for. The pattern of our struggle is weaved and knitted along different a direction than that suggested by the so-called new dispensation.

Areas ~~where~~ a ~~little~~ ~~factor~~ of ~~the~~ ~~new~~ ~~dispensation~~ ~~is~~ ~~being~~ ~~used~~ ~~as~~ ~~a~~ ~~strategy~~ of non-violence ~~is~~ ~~being~~ ~~used~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~struggle~~ ~~for~~ ~~liberation~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~Black~~ ~~people~~. Black people, as the oppressed and the discriminated against by law, our patience have actually run out and the white minority in this country should all pause to ~~take notice of those fuses which are burning shorter and shorter by the day.~~ If that is not done the whites should not in the future turn around and say that they have not been forewarned. There is absolutely no way in which the Black masses are just going to fold their arms and just let go. Never-never. A definite point of extremely serious conflict is fast approaching and if the white minority ~~pursue their present oppressive system, then I am afraid a violent conflagration shall be inevitable.~~ I want you to recognise the painful reality that the laws made by our oppressors can never serve our struggle for liberation, on the contrary those laws serve to frustrate and avert our final and total victory over the policy of apartheid.

Finally I wish to point out that there is no need for us as the oppressed people to indulge in the time-wasting liberal cry for our country, we should rather fight for our country, for, it is only if we fight for our country that victory shall be certain.

Victory is imminent. The enemy is committing one error after another. Victory is certain. Let us prosecute the struggle to finality.

Amandla!

ON THE MARCH CONGRESS 84
8 -9 JAN facing the challenges

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Comrades, Brothers and Sisters, I want to take this opportunity, on the occasion of the Fourth National Annual Congress of the People's Movement-The Azanian People's Organisation to extend Revolutionary Greetings to you. Since the last time we met in this manner there have been great efforts at all levels and fronts of our lives at mobilising and consolidating all efforts of the oppressed. Towards the goal of achieving complete and total liberation we have spared no effort and wasted no hour. Thus we are not ashamed to say that each passing day and hour heralds the nearness of our liberation and we, the leaders and cadres of this Movement, want to stand as participants and witnesses to this day.

The past year has been fraught with obstacles and challenges for our people. The President's Council and the results of the white referendum have strengthened our belief that white people in this country whether they belong to the ruling party or the so-called opposition will, when the chips are down, stop at nothing in tightening the rope of oppression around Black people's necks. We must always bear in mind that we are fighting the system, its functionaries and all its supporters. The white community has so far placed themselves in an inenviable position of protecting their position of privilege by obstructing and misdirecting our political struggle. Black people can no longer tolerate the so-called radical elements in that community who are the main participants in the processes of the containment of the revolutionary struggle in this country. If our victory has to be assured then we must start marshalling our lines. We must begin identifying who are the colonisers and who are the colonised; who are the oppressors and who are the oppressed. **We must identify those who**

support and bolster the system. It is OUR REVOLUTIONARY TASK.

~~We must know our enemy, his strength and his weaknesses and only then can we say that half the battle is won.~~

Over past few years the white unrepresentative minority regime, with the unqualified support of America and other Western countries, has been most at its most vicious. There has been an increase in the form of institutionalised violence at home and abroad. Their uncalled for aggressive military exploits have left a trail of tears and woes throughout Southern Africa. Thousands of people have died and many more have been left

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mained and homeless. The racist regime through its functionaries and agents has orchestrated coups throughout Africa and the latest known being the abortive Seychelles coup. They have not denied their attempts at destabilising the whole of Southern Africa. To justify their continued illegal occupation of Namibia the regime is making unrealistic demands on the people's government of Angola. They do not hide the fact that they support reactionary, revisionist and capitalist forces fighting against popularly elected peoples' governments in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

On the home front this minority regime has continued disregarding the voice of the majority. They have acted with vengeance against the demands of the majority - Black people. The list and number of political trials is increasing. Detention without trial has not stopped. Many people are still banned. Forced removals and resettlement is but the order of the day. The regime through its surrogates - the so-called homelands, independent and 'not yet independent' states - continues butchering hundreds of our people. The sufferings of our people in the Ciskei, Venda, Kwa-Zulu - to mention but a few - is untold. We in AZAPO believe in one Unitary State of Azania. Black people in this country have made their intentions known - they intend ridding themselves of the yoke of oppression. As a people we have shown our rejection of the system by refusing to participate in all dummy bodies and machinations of the system. We refuse to be made part of our own oppression.

The progressive forces of the people in this country are poised for certain victory. Workers are standing up to challenge exploitation and degradation. They have already dealt the entire capitalist system very severe blows. They are beginning to relate to situations far beyond the factory floor level. Workers in the Ciskei have demonstrated their rejection of the system that seeks to economically exploit them, politically oppress them and socially degrade them. Their opposition is not only to Sebe's forces but to the entire system. The National Union of Mineworkers, the Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers Union, the Insurance Assurance Workers Union of South Africa, CCAWUSA to mention but a few, have all exposed the viciousness of the racist capitalist system that thrives by sucking the blood of over twenty-four million Black workers.

As much as this country is regarded as being one of the most developed in the world, we still find very primitive conditions existing side by side with economic glut and sophisticated technological advancements and development. Situations of abject poverty are a common sight. The health situation for Black people in this country is worsening. Our country has been ravaged by natural disasters such as the drought on the one hand and man made disasters such as cholera,
malnutrition/...3

malnutrition and kwashiokor on the other. All these are a result of overcrowding, lack of hygienic facilities and also of the nefarious system of forced removals and resettlement to barren and desolate areas. The white unrepresentative minority regime continues to ignore the cries of the majority. They continue to persecute the people and proscribe their movements. Relief is often given to the privileged white farmers while thousands of Black people die of malnutrition and kwashiokor. Blame for all this untold human suffering can be placed squarely on the shoulders of the system of racist capitalism which holds profit and luxury far above human life. We in AZAPO believe that there will be no end to our suffering until that day when ~~we will usher in the new order of a Socialist Worker Republic of Azania.~~

At the formation of our organisation - The Azanian People's Organisation, the only authentic overt national political organisation operating in the country - in less than six months after the clampdown on the people's organisations of the day, there was a hue and cry from certain white liberal-controlled quarters that the time for overt political action was over; that there was no need for yet another overt political vehicle. What was being asked of the Black masses in this country was to willingly commit political suicide. The so-called white radicals were simply angry that they were not consulted and that their revered tutelage was being rejected by the Black masses.

While all over the world people hailed the new organisation of the people, these prophets of doom and destruction clamoured around singing dirges of our demise -and not only saying but willing that the organisation would not survive six weeks and that Black Consciousness was dead. Today, if they are among us they are much wiser. AZAPO is well and growing by the day and Black Consciousness is still inspiring millions of the oppressed and exploited people to stand and fight for what is rightfully theirs - the LAND.

The harassment following the events of JUNE 16, 1976 and after resulted in the death of Comrade Steve Biko and many other comrades; the banning of the organisations and the detention and the detention of some of our leaders left so many comrades, who were once on our side, immobilised with fear. Triggered by this fear and opportunism they (erstwhile comrades) too joined the popular song that the time for overt political action was over. Some even went further to suggest that people should work and co-operate with organisations working within government-created platforms - a thing which is both treasonable and taboo to the Azanian People's Organisation. In this Organisation we remained effective and consistent. Through the philosophy of Black Consciousness we have led the way. Black Consciousness to this day remains vibrant/...4

vibrant, scientific in approach, radical and relevant. We believe that consistency is a hallmark of true revolutionaries. It becomes very sad when revolutionaries vacillate between half-truths and lies.

As people committed to meaningful change in this country, the change that will benefit the workers, we should guard against reactive, revisionist and opportunistic politics. We should recognise the pace and the scope of change in our material conditions so that we do not become part of those who are struggling to prevent the future from coming into being, keeping alive deluded visions like sleep-walkers pacing the corridors of yesterday's dreams.

*L.M. Mabasa
24/6/88*

The philosophy of Black Consciousness has strengthened our belief in the saying ~~that "Revolutions can neither be exported nor imported."~~ It is an imperative duty of every nation or country to work its own way and fight its own liberation, relying on its own people. In our country, Black people are faced with the task of having to defeat an enemy armed to the teeth with destructive weapons of modern technology. We know that the outcome of our battle will not be decided by technology but by the will of our people. The final outcome will not be decided by the massive accumulation of weapons, however genocidal, but by the local and historical consciousness of the masses, the peoples involved and determined to resist the violence with whatever means available: to defend themselves in an implacable contest. In such a struggle, therefore, a politically conscious, educated people, led by a dedicated revolutionary movement will, by winning at the end, prove the old saying that "ideas and men are stronger than weapons."

Comrades, it is needless for me to remind you that all genuine and true efforts by the oppressed to rid themselves of oppression and exploitation should be commended, critically analysed and then consolidated into one efficient and effective assault on the enemy front. ~~We should keep our oppressors and exploiters busy at all times. We should be able to develop our programmes independent of them so that we do not become responsive to them. They should respond to us not us to them.~~

Since the rise of imperialism and conservatism in Europe and America America with Reagan and Thatcher taking the lead in endorsing the oppression of peoples living in the so-called underdeveloped countries, we have witnessed a lot of political gymnastics from the unrepresentative minority regime in its efforts 'o justify and satisfy this terrible duet. Like magicians they have come up with one proposal after the other. Within a period of a year there has been the President's Council, Koornhof Bills, The Black Local Authorities Act, the Internal Security Act -to mention but a few. Our response has been consistent that we refuse to swallow the sugar-coated pill of exploitation and oppression. ~~Our minimum demand is the repossession of our land taken from our fathers by force and until such time that this demand is met there will be no grievances redressed.~~ We should at all times struggle to consolidate the efforts of the oppressed and exploited and guard against infiltration by the ruling class and its ideology. We as the exploited and oppressed should know that any marriage of convenience between us and the ruling class will of necessity benefit them and their ideology. No people, no regime no matter how strong can work towards its own destruction. In the past year the challenges poised by racism and capitalism, have resulted in the formation of both The National Forum Committee (NFC) and the United Democratic Front (UDF). As I said before, such efforts are commendable but we need just to do an introspection before consolidation.

For a long time the oppressed and exploited people in this country have seen their efforts coming to naught. We have seen our efforts falling victim of campaigns orchestrated by the regime, its allies and the all knowing, all perceiving white liberals. They have initiated and sustained programmes aimed at undermining and dividing Black Initiative and Solidarity. In this respect the National Forum became a positive political activity initiated by the oppressed operating outside government created platforms and institutions irrespective of their political persuasions. The Forum provided the much needed platform whereby the questions of meaningful and principled unity of the oppressed can be discussed. There was a sincere attempt at identifying areas of conflict and differences within organisations of the exploited and oppressed and finally the ~~Apartheid Peoples Manifesto - the end result of the two day conference provided the basis upon which meaningful and principled unity could be attained.~~

Though the Manifesto at this stage may not be perfect but it remains a worthy document to work upon in preparation for the next Forum. Since unity cannot be achieved in a day the Forum has not constituted itself into an organisation but has provided the premise where organisations of the oppressed and exploited can work together and share joint responsibility in victory or even in defeat. It provides for Unity in Action.

The United Democratic Front (UDF) unlike the National Forum has first constituted itself into an organisation structure with symbolic leadership and has co-erced support from across the political spectrum. They have not had a firm commitment as to who is included and excluded. Radical and liberal groups, Church and Secular groups work side by side as political partners. Even Organisations such as the Black Sash, who have a close and cordial relationship with ruling class parties exist within the UDF. Organisations which have a chameleon-type of attitude to the issue of participation in government created platforms also function within the UDF. At the end, the UDF says 'whosoever will - may come'. Their recent congress in Port Elizabeth shows the problems this organisation is experiencing. Our only fear is ultimately that the ruling class ideology will prevail and besides reactive organisations always find themselves bogged down by many issues which come at the same time. The UDF is an Ad-hoc organisation consisting of many ad-hoc committees and organisations reacting to one thing or another. Ad-hoc committees are by their very nature transient. As things change ad-hoc committees dissolve and structures crumble and so the UDF will be faced with the problem of leaders without followership. Unity is good but not at all cost.

On the international scene the so-called super-powers in their desire to plunge the world in a fascist Third World War have gone ahead with production and deployment of nuclear weapons despite protest from progressive countries, organisations and individuals. While the world starves millions of rands are spent on the weapons of destruction. Nuclear experiments have caused evacuations on many islands and the horrors of radiation is untold. The spectre of the Nuclear Catastrophe has been brought nearer home when this country and Israel were drawn into the nuclear power circles.

Workers energies and resources are being harnessed by the super power in order to produce more arms in their pursuit of world domination. As long as this arms race continues there can be no meaningful gains for the workers. The combat of hunger disease and ignorance will lose their position in the list of priorities. The situation has been made worse by imperialist and fascist wars of plunder and administration. Our struggle against white domination & colonialism should be interpreted and executed in the background of the escalating imperialist inspired conflicts in Central America, the Middle East, Latin America and the African Continent in general. Our victory can never be a victory in isolation.

Having said all that the AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION will have to prepare and gird itself for the most difficult times ahead. The Organization will also have to contend with its great growth and development. The present structures have been stretched to the limit. They can no longer effeciently run the organization. We have to decentralise as much as we can and only then can we hope to efficiently harness activities in this great organization of the people. We also have to prepare ourselves against the sophisticated manoeuvres of the system in buying off the oppressed and exploited from their national liberation struggle for total emancipation. ~~Linked with all this AZAPO should reiterate its stand that those who work and participate within government created political structures have and will continue making themselves enemies of the Black cause and struggle.~~ AZAPO CAN NEVER REVIEW ITS STAND AND COMMITMENT TO BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS BECAUSE OF YET ANOTHER PREDICTABLE DIRECTION CHOSEN BY DUMMY AND PUPPET BODIES SUCH AS THE LABOUR PARTY AND ITS ILK. WE STAND ON SOLID GROUND AND COMMITTED TO OUR POLICIES TO THE LETTER.

~~In this new year and the years ahead, the campaigns of the people should be intensified and at all times guided by the primary task of liberation. We urge all members of our organization to spare no effort to make our message heard.~~ Our Secretariates must investigate ways and means of relating our struggle to day to day activities of our people. All spheres of life should be covered. Such day to day activities should not be seen as an end in themselves. Liberation is our goal. There is also a need for political education, the need to prepare our people around such issues so that they may be in a position to carry out their revolutionary task. Conscientising should also be intensified.

AZAPO is in essence an Organization of the workers and I need not over emphasize what is contained in the Manifesto of the Azanian People that 'The Black working class inspired by revolutionary consciousness is the driving force of our struggle.' Gains made in the labour field should be consolidated. The worker struggle cannot be launched in isolation. That is why we commend the talk of worker student solidarity.

The challenges of Black Education today are such that specific strategies to advance our struggles in this context are long overdue. Education is presently used by the regime as a political weapon to undermine and subjugate our people. AZAPO should lead the way. We should also work towards an alternative media to counter the retrogressive reactionary, commercial, conservative and multi-racial liberal press which thinks it can direct the course of the political struggle in this country.

~~In a nutshell Black People's role is to organise and consolidate themselves in all sectors of the Black experience. We have a task to harness all our available human and material resources. Complacency and apathy is a luxury we cannot afford in the face of grim political threat posed by the system and its agents. Until such time that imperialism has been forced into retreat we cannot talk of complete victory.~~

In conclusion I want to say that AZAPO is open for consultation with ~~all the organizations of the oppressed and exploited~~ irrespective of ideological persuasions. We will not rest until such time that we have ushered a new order of a Socialist Worker Republic of Azania with

ONE PEOPLE IN ONE AZANIA

IN

ONE AZANIA ONE NATION

LYBON TIYANI MABASA

ON THE MARCH CONGRESS 84

8 -9 JAN facing the challenges

BLACK THEOLOGY REVISITED, : JERRY MOSALA

SOME REMARKS ON RELIGION:

Scientists of religion in general and sociologists of religion in particular are in agreement that all religions reflect social-cultural concerns of people at different levels of historical development. To use common sociological language, religion is as much dependant as an independant social variable.

Apart from anything else this way of looking at religion is important for re-introducing a historical perspective in the study and understanding of religion. It is thus no longer scientifically admissible to speak of any religious tradition as the supreme means through which the supreme uncontested God revealed itself. We are, therefore, at last able to speak of the only non-ideological relativity in respect of both God and religion, namely historical relativity.

Armed with this thorough-going historical perspective on the nature of and origins of all religions, one is able to de-ideologise and expose the true character of the clash between colonial and indigenous religion in South Africa for in this clash is embodied not only the conflict between two religious outlooks, but, more fundamentally, the collision between two historically different social systems: pre-capitalist African social formations and Western Capitalist social formations. Any attempt, therefore, to understand the dissonance between African religions and Christianity must start as an analysis of these two social systems.

By the time of a conquest from the 17th century onwards, African societies had developed from communal to tributary social formations. As communal formations they had been characterised by the communal ownership of the fundamental means of production: land and cattle. Ideologically these organisations were reinforced by a highly pervasive ancestor cult reflecting the relatively low level of the forces of production. In other words, the African forefathers and foremothers were the key to unravelling the mysteries and resolving the conflicts of the natural world which sometimes acted hostile to African producers of the communal society. Science was ideological and to a large extent religious. The purpose was, however, the same as in all societies, namely the harnessing of natural forces in order to meet all round human needs.

The relative success of communal producers in taming nature, coupled with differences in physical capabilities and geographical placements, as well as historical struggles between groups resulted in the production and control of surplus products which in turn made possible the development.

of internal differentiations within this society. It is difficult to say with precision when this transition occurred. Nevertheless, the outcome were tributary social systems with chiefs and the royal nobility as the ruling classes of the new society. The fundamental characteristic of this stage of development was the extraction of tribute in the form of brisket of slaughtered and hunted animals, labour rent on the royal fields, as well as the sole control of the allocation of land by the chief and of stray cattle (*matimela*) and therefore of his advantaged ability to practise the system of *mafisa* (loan cattle)

It is important, however, to remember that the communal system existed for a long time in articulation with the tributary system. That is to say, notwithstanding the economic and social divisions created by the tributary organisation, the values and norms of the communal system prevailed alongside the new arrangements. It would be deceptive, though, to imagine that they persisted unchanged by the new conditions, even if it was only in form and function. Hence in this society, the father of the household surrendered his priestly and herbalist roles to the chief or royal appointees. The household ancestors also became subordinate to the royal ancestors.

The above brief details; are being spelled out in order first, to avoid romanticism about the nature of society that colonial capitalism conquered, and second, in order to explain the social-historical reasons for the conflict between indigenous people and colonial foreigners. One more point needs to be made about tributary African societies, therefore before the conflict with colonial society can be addressed; while the chief's position of power derived from his appropriation of tribute, the system, by virtue of its articulation with the communal one, was counterbalanced by a complicated network of redistribution of the surplus. In times of famine and poor harvest, for instance, the chief's granary would be the source of food for those affected, and his cattle would be used to implement the *mafisa* system. Hence the saying: *Kgosi ke kgosi ka batho* (Chief is a chief only because of the people). The point being made, therefore, is that on the one hand the danger to romanticise by viewing African pre-capitalist societies as internally undifferentiated should be avoided, and on the other hand the fact should not be lost sight of that notwithstanding these divisions African producers prior to colonialism had access to the fundamental means of production: land and cattle. African religion, therefore, was shaped by the material conditions and relations of this society, and functioned as a cultural-ideological tool in the process of producing and reproducing African societies. In this regard it is not in principle different from any other religion in the world. The difference is in the fact that it is connected with the African social-historical reality.

It is not necessary to go into the same kind of details with regard to Western Christianity. Suffice is to point out that the latter is historically traceable in its Catholic version to its co-optation by the state during the reign of Emperor Constantine in 4th century, and in its Protestant variation to the rise of bourgeois capitalist society in the 16th century. In both versions it has functioned as a cultural-ideological tool for the production and reproduction of European Feudal and capitalist social relations.

Thus the attempt to implant Christianity among the indigenous Black people from the 17th century onwards, was more than an attempt to win religious converts; it was an effort to transform, by dismantling, African societies. Both the missionaries and the indigenous people knew this. It was for this reason that the conflict took the form of a military-political struggle. That struggle has been a protracted one. It never ceased. Black theology is an attempt to theorise that struggle from a position of commitment to the Black side of the conflict that has its roots in the 17th century.

2. WESTERN THEOLOGY

White Western theology as practiced both in the West and in the colonies has more than validated the assertion that in every epoch the ruling ideas are the ideas of the ruling classes. Protestant theology in particular has served, consciously or unconsciously, as the ideological justification of capitalist relations of production and distribution. This point has been made and demonstrated before and does not need to be laboured here. Suffice it to indicate that its emphasis on the fundamental corruptibility of humans and its location of heaven outside history have worked well to mystify exploitative social relations of production and to postpone the demand for justice to an unknown future. Even when an attempt was made to make the gospel relevant to the needs of people in the present, capitalist society could not be transcended, either in thought or in practice. This becomes crystal clear when one looks at the limitations of "secularisation" theologians of the 1960's, who identified theological relevance with resignation to capitalist technology and industrialisation. From these attempts emerged Theologies of Development which were commensurate with neo-colonial developmentalist policies championed by imperialist countries in the 1960's.

3. LIBERATION THEOLOGY

As a response, first, to the inherent failure of the Development programmes, and second, the accompanying hollowness of the theologies of development Latin Americans opted for a theology of liberation. Their argument was simple and poignantly clear: the underdevelopment of the underdeveloped countries is causally related to the development of developed countries. The logical outcome of this analysis was that liberation and not development was the solution to the problems of the exploited masses of Latin America. This analysis of the Latin American reality led to the exposure of the inherent inapplicability of white western theology in any of its forms, whether conservative or progressive. What was needed was a theology that emerges from the experience of the struggle of the poor peasants and working class masses of Latin America. The theology of liberation, therefore, had to make a complete break with white theology. Nothing short of this would qualify their theology as a tool of the struggle in the liberation process which was already underway.

4. BLACK THEOLOGY

In South Africa, where a qualitatively different set of material and social conditions existed, ~~Black theologians in response to these determinate historical conditions, evolved a Black Theology of Liberation.~~ This theology, like Latin American theology of liberation, is based on an analysis of the reality of black experiences and struggles in South Africa. It is not the outcome of philosophical speculation by a privileged minority. It is ~~not~~ rather the result of objective historical circumstances. Black Theology as a theological expression and theorisation of the black struggle for liberation cannot be understood outside the context of the Black Consciousness philosophy. This latter phenomenon is itself the product of an accurate analysis of the black experience within the wider social-material reality of South Africa.

Black theology seeks to reflect theologically on the nature of black oppression and exploitation in order to arm the new black subjects, that Black Consciousness creates with an awareness of the theological validity of the struggle for liberation. There is again no need to belabour the point here. Black Theology apologises to no one for its existence. It owes its allegiance to oppressed and exploited people only-- no one else.

It is important, however, to respond even if only briefly, to some of the challenges that the ideological climate in the country today has created.

Recently it has been implied, and in some quarters asserted that the use of class tools to analyse society necessitates the irrelevance of Black Theology.

Apart from the racist arrogance of this claim Black Theology's response ^{is that the} ~~is~~ the onus is with those who assert this ^{to} demonstrate its irrelevance. More importantly, though Black Theology argues that being a committed theorisation of reality: the black experience, its lifespan is inextricably/bound up with this reality.

Black theology insists also that racism as a socio-political structure must be distinguished from racialism which refers only to attitudes of people about other people. It thus refuses to separate oppression from exploitation, arguing that the former is indispensable for the successful execution of the latter. It is idealist to imagine that exploitation can be sustained without oppression. Thus in the South African context, racism as an oppressive structure is the soul of capitalist exploitation. To assert the contrary is to be ahistorical. The historical self-manifestation of capitalism in this country has been from the beginning racist. For this reason, Black Theology's anti-racist struggle is inseparable from its anti-capitalist struggle is unthinkable without its anti-racist struggle. Abstract class struggles against abstract capitalism is not part of Black Theology's brief. For Black Theology class is race and race is class in this context. This reality remains despite mystifications from the racist left and the racist about the creation of a black middle class.

Dependencies of all kinds are rejected by Black Theology, whether they be political, social, economic, or even theoretical-intellectual ones. It is clear that dependencies constitute the basis of oppression and exploitation. It is, therefore, important to point out that class analysis as a theoretic tool does not create the experience of class oppression and exploitation. The Black oppressed and exploited classes know their experience and they know that it is articulated through a racist, political structure. There is, therefore, back from the anti-racist, anti-capitalist struggle of Black Theology, despite challenges from the right, and, the left. One may end appropriately by stating in a characteristic biblical fashion that "Not everyone who says liberation, liberation, wants to bring about a just society". Black people will have to rely on themselves only to bring this about. The struggle that Black Theology is waging is an anti-racist, anti-capitalist struggle. Black Theology will not be co-opted or made to be defunct as long as the material reality that gave birth to it persists.

THE PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT



B19

Adm 1/0

*S Mabaso
Soweto*

THE NATIONAL SITUATION

See "B19"

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 trans-national 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 fifty 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 whites-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 outside the system, taking for our present purposes Southern Africa only, new and inexorable forces have come into being and press 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 witnessed in the most concrete possible manner the irreversible defeat of the force 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 zigzags, 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 people in Southern Africa 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 General Secretary of the UNO, Dr Perez de Cuellar, warned some two weeks ago 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 in the idiom of the Afrikaans press 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 network 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 P W 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 Heunis. 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 ?

Let us look at the domestic situation first. They claim that they want "to move away from discrimination based on colour". They claim that 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, i.e., 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 collaborating 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. Already the ~~Bantustan misleaders~~ of whom the Sebe brothers are only the most vulgar and brutal specimens, are showing that a small section of black people in South Africa are prepared to imprison and perhaps even to kill other black people for the maintenance of the apartheid status quo. 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, i.e., 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 rights which, though they are not bogus, are nonetheless revocable 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 roadblock, 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. Curry, Hendrickse and their likes are not only ~~pulling out as they have been doing since 1960, they know that they are doing just that.~~

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. Do not be surprised if in the next elections large numbers of whites boycott the elections for this very reason.

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 dustheap 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 emerged 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. We on the left, as defined by them, must gird our loins for Latin-American treatment. It is good to know in advance what awaits us so that we can make the necessary preparations. Those who are timid will vanish in the course of the next year or two!

"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. Even these young people must represent a vulnerable spot in the vaunted armoury of the South African Defence Force, if not today then certainly tomorrow!

It is as well to understand that the tricameral parliament and all the other fancy "concessions" made in the P C 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".

P C 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, i.e., 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 civilised coloured policy of today is the pilot scheme for the civilised Black policy of tomorrow. The rulers obviously hope that by eliminating the left, they will provide time and space for a collaborationist and accommodationist middle-class leadership to emerge in all these sectors of the oppressed, people who will be able to keep the system going in its amended form.

The P C 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 the oppressed people for nothing less than full democratic rights. It is high time that we stop giving the impression that the PFP, Buthelezi and other such groupings are a part of the national liberation movement 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". Anyone who knows the situation on the ground, knows also that the Labour Party has no grassroots support in any metropolitan area and only sporadic support in certain dorps on the platteland. Even there, indeed, the people who support them do so in the mistaken belief that the Labour Party is an anti-apartheid party which, clearly, it is not.

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 Treurnicht, 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. Bantustan leaders, community councillors, management- and local area committee members, S A Indian Councillors, President's Councillors and prospective members of the Kitchen Parliament, all these are collaborators who, by now, knowingly work the very instruments that oppress us. When the Labour Party's own Eshowe 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. In this regard, I should like to say incidentally that 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 prejudices 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. Africa knows many instances where petty-bourgeois politicians supported by great-power weapons have nurtured and exploited ethnic consciousness to turn a country upside down in pursuit of a "share in power". Biafra was the most costly lesson to the people of Africa.

~~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. For the present, they are accepting a racial franchise in return for promising our boys and girls as cannon fodder to the army of the racists, an army that is fighting against our brothers and sisters in Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Lesotho and in South Africa itself. To accept the 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 ~~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 Southern African Lebanons that will be compelled, for the sake of their own survival as sovereign states, to expel Azanian guerrillas and refugees to countries situated further north. The South African government believes that with United States support it could, like Israel, keep the guerrilla movements at bay and essentially stalemated 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 Bantustans 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 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 constituent 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~~

B20

Adm 1/0

*George Ngwenya
Someto*

lew 620

**DON'T VOTE
FOR YOUR OWN OPPRESSION!!!
DON'T VOTE
FOR BORDER DUTY!!!**

WHAT A VOTE FOR THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL DISPENSATION MEANS

- Giving credibility to apartheid in its merely modified form
- Accepting RACISM in separate 'RACIAL' chambers
- Entrenching Nat Power even more strongly, since the whole constitutional structure by maintaining a built in majority. No law of any consequence, to eliminate the injustices of the present system suffered by the Black oppressed ie. so-called Indians, so-called Coloureds and so-called Africans, can be passed by the puppet "COLOURED" and "INDIAN" Houses, even if they wished to do so.
- The exercise is a fraud - don't just Boycott the Elections, persuade your friend and family not to VOTE. Join the volunteer corps of the Anti Constitutional Co-Ordinating Committee NOW!
- Choose the alternative and start working now for:-
A free Anti-Racist and Anti-Capitalist AZANIA, where every citizen shall have EQUAL RIGHTS and no special privilege will be given to anyone on the basis of COLOUR, CREED, SEX or RELIGION

TO JOIN THE VOLUNTEER CORPS CONTACT:

* S. Randera - 852-7262 * Z. Cindi - 836-7046 * H. Patel - 852-2939

BOYCOTT RACIST ELECTIONS - SHOW YOUR SUPPORT

**ATTEND MASS RALLY
SAT 11TH AUGUST '84 - 3-00 p.m.
3-00 p.m.**

PATIDAR HALL - LENASIA

VIVA AZAPO THE PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT

B21

*Adun ipo
George Ngwenya
Soweto*

Bew "B21"

AZAPO



ON THE MARCH
facing the challenges

Aims and objectives

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.

Membership

Membership is open to ~~all~~ Blacks.

WHAT WE MEAN BY BLACKS.

By Black we mean all those who by law or tradition are economically, socially, and politically discriminated against as a group in the S.A. society and identify themselves as a unit in the struggle towards the realization of Azania.

Bulletin compiled by: AZAPO 115 Fleetway House Bree Street JOHANNESBURG
Telephone: (011) 834-3410

VIVA AZAPO

1. WHAT IS AZAPO ?

AZAPO is a movement representing all the oppressed and exploited people in their struggle for national, social, and economic liberation. Azapo believes that only through the unity of the oppressed and exploited as one people (so-called "Africans, Coloureds, and Indians") will we achieve our goal of total liberation from all forms of oppression and exploitation.

2. Who are the Black people

Blacks are all those people who in this country are politically oppressed, socially degraded, and economically exploited as a group ("Africans", "Coloureds" and "Indians") and who identify together as one oppressed people in a common struggle against national oppression, economic exploitation, and social degradation.

3. What of "Non-Whites"?

The term "non-white" is racist, derogatory and offensive like "Kaffir" "Coolie", "Bushy" etc. It implies that all that is normal, beautiful, virtuous and supreme is white. - "Non-white" means that Black people must accept or adopt the white way of life in order to be acceptable as human. ~~"Non-whites" are those people who believe in the superiority of whites. The "non-white" in our ranks are government stooges, informers, and reactionary middle class elements, who identify with and sell their souls to the white, racist, capitalist class.~~

4. Is Azapo racist?

AZAPO totally rejects racism. Our definition of Black is not based on skin colour, texture of hair, colour of eyes, etc. Blacks are all oppressed and exploited people who are prepared to stand up and fight the racist capitalist ruling class. On the basis of our definition of Black, puppets and sell-outs like Rajbansi, Matanzima, Sebe, Hendrikse, informers etc. are classified "non-white" and are automatically excluded from membership of AZAPO.

AZAPO is anti-racist. In a liberated Azania there shall be no reference to people either as "Africans", "Coloureds", "Whites" "Indians" or "four national groups" All citizens will be free from all forms of prejudice, racism, exploitation and oppression.

5. What of Ethnic organizations?

Ethnic organizations must be rejected as disruptive, sectional and divisive. In order to misdirect and weaken opposition to white racism and capitalism, the rulers have divided the oppressed and exploited into various ethnic "national groups" by giving some groups more crumbs than others.

6. What of Government-Created platforms: S.A.I.C., C.R.C. Bantustans, "Black Local Authorities"?

AZAPO rejects working within such apartheid and enemy bodies. ~~AZAPO policy is total non-collaboration with the government and all its political instruments at any level.~~ To work with the white government not only endorses their right to exploit, degrade, or oppress on behalf of the capitalist class but also makes one an ally and rubber stamp of approval for one's own oppression, degradation, and exploitation. Sell-outs and puppets work with the government for personal gain. ~~AZAPO maintains that one cannot change the government by working within its platforms of machinery for its downfall or destruction.~~

7. What is AZAPO'S Sport Policy?

For AZAPO and fraternal organizations there can be "no normal sport in an abnormal society". Normal sport can never exist in a society where racism is so entrenched that it affects every facet of life. Anti-racist sport or normal sport can only be played in a future Azania free from racism and exploitation.

8. What of Cultural and Sporting Boycotts?

AZAPO is in the forefront in the campaign to isolate this country internationally in sport, culture, etc. Foreign artists investors and sports persons give this country some semblance of recognition and credibility irrespective of its practice of racism. Visiting teams and groups come for blood money since they are prepared to share the evils and vices of the oppressive and exploitative system which dispossesses Blacks. Performing in sport and culture with this country only serves its propaganda purposes.

9. What is AZAPO's Education Policy?

AZAPO holds that the present racist system of education is only serving the wishes of the rulers and capitalists. No equitable and just system of education can thrive and function in an oppressive and exploitative society. AZAPO, therefore, works towards the establishment of a system that will respond creatively to the needs of Azanians.

10. AZAPO policy on 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 problems of management and labour. We envisage ~~persistent~~ **militant system of Trade Unions** which will challenge the discriminatory labour laws of the white minority government and thereby bring about change.

11. AZAPO and the future.

AZAPO is striving for an anti-racist, anti-sectional, socialist Azania where the land with all its resources like mines, factories, farms, etc. ~~shall be collectively owned and managed by the Azanian people~~

LONG LIVE AZAPO!!!

AZAPO

303-305 Lekton House
5 Wanderers Street
Johannesburg
2001

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AZAPO POLICY ON LOCAL, NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

PREAMBLE

The Azanian People's Organization, a black national political organization 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 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 institutions
- (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.

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

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

ON POLICY

1. PREAMBLE

The philosophy and policies of the Organization will be on the broad provision of Black Consciousness. We shall adapt ideas and experiences of humanity to our unique circumstances on their acceptance in this part of Africa, in our self-acceptance and our self-affirmation we shall take into account our historical and national peculiarities and disseminate ideas which will liberate people from bondage and give them rightful liberty and freedom.

2. BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

We recognise the philosophy of Black Consciousness as a living reality amongst the majority of the Black people of Azania. We acknowledge the philosophy of Black Consciousness as the fruition (culmination) of the liberatory efforts on the part of different Black Organizations 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 democratic government.
- d. A philosophy that relatively translates 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 as a de facto race of workers are 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 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 the white race enables it to promote a rigid class structure. The Black people on the other hand constitute a people racially discriminated against and economically exploited. This gives rise to the ever increasing conflict between the white and the black races. The white race accumulates capital by exploiting Black labour and by virtue of their possession of political power they maintain themselves in a position of privilege.

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CHUENESPOORT |

B22

Adun 170
George Ngwenya
Soweto

BLOODY

MURDER



PICTURE
COURTESY
'SUNDAY TIMES'

For sometime now Inkatha tried, by use of brutal force and intimidation to extend its tribal influence to the campus of the University of Zululand and other Universities in Natal.

THE STUDENTS OF NGOYE HAVE ALWAYS REFUSED TO BOW TO THOSE WHO SEEK TO CREATE TRIBAL DIVISIONS.

The history of Inkatha(zu) is the tragic history of intimidation, rude suppression and repression. So tragic is this history that to maintain and protect the 'honour' of a collaborationist running dog of the system, young lives are brutally snuffed out.

We lack words to condemn this senseless and brutal killing of unarmed students. Political violence of this nature poses a threat of serious dire consequences among the exploited and oppressed masses.

Inkatha seem to be following a cruel and dangerous example of the fascist white minority regime in this country - resorting to violence in order to win semblance of legitimacy.

History is littered with skeletons of tyrants and dictators who tried to suppress any legitimate opposition. This type of wanton murder constitutes a national scandal and an affront to the consciences of humanity.

No political manoeuvring SHALL REMOVE THE STAINS OF BLOOD FROM THE HANDS OF THE MURDERERS. No amount of brutality, suppression or repression can make ETHNICITY, TRIBALISM OR RACISM ACCEPTABLE..

VARIETY OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

Atrocities

During the 1980/81 school boycotts the Inkatha tribal impi beat up boycotting students at Umlazi and Kwa Mashu, thus breaking the student solidarity.

During the graduation ceremony, protesting students at NGOYE were savagely beaten up by the tribal impi.

Students at the University of Natal were attacked by the same horde when the former protested against the presence of a reactionary impi on their campus.

Residents of Lamontville were recently attacked by Inkatha members.

A chief who refused to join Inkatha was assaulted in the presence of Gatsha.

The list atrocities committed by these brutes is too long. NOW THE INCIDENTS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND.

AMONG THE HORRID DETAILS OF THE BLOODY RAID ARE:

Two students jumped from the sixth floor windows in a desperate attempt to escape the marauding impi.

Police stood and watched the attacks on students, and did not intervene until the attack was over.

EVENTS LEADING TO THE BRUTAL KILLING OF OUR BROTHERS:

Inkatha had planned a rally to be held on campus on the 29th October.

Students had approached the University authorities calling on' them to cancel the rally.

Students approached the Inkatha Youth Brigade to see if they could ensure there was no trouble.

Students also approached the vice Principal of the University of Natal who promised to speak to the Ngoye rector.

Several community leaders and lecturers were also approached.

On the eve of the rally students demonstrated their abhorrence to the presence of a puppet leader on their campus. More than 20 students were arrested ,but still the rally was not called off.

On the morning of the rally, more than 30 busloads of battlesong-chanting warriors, remotely controlled by that tribal chief, invaded the campus attacking students. Doors were broken down, windows smashed , books thrown out of the window, rooms looted and ransacked. Wherever students were found they were beaten until they collapsed.

Any visitor to Ngoye will tell you there are security guards at the gate The question is: WHY WERE SUCH DANGEROUS AND LETHAL WEAPONS ALLOWED ON CAMPUS ?.

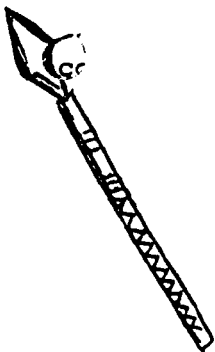
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- Destroying the solidarity and unity of the Black people
- Fostering the apartheid policy of divide and rule.
- Facilitating a continued economic exploitation of the Black people and perpetuating white domination.

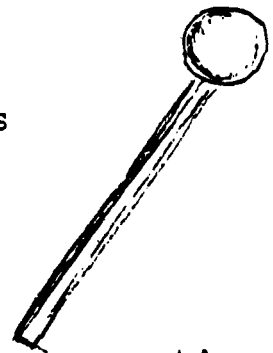
Anyone who ~~butress~~ the system of apartheid cannot be regarded as a revolutionary. There is little difference between 'independent' homelands and 'those bantustans that refuse' to opt for independence. They are all under the thumb of Pretoria's militarist regime of Botha - Malan.

Events at Ngoye are not divorced from those in Sebeland. The atrocities in the Ciskei are aimed at all those who reject the putrid bantustan policy, all those who are striving for a free, democratic anti-racist Azania free from exploitation of man by man. One shudders to think what next the Ngoye students and all those who are opposed to apartheid will be subjected to. It has been our belief that the system will look for those less vigilant amongst us to perpetrate its dirty work. The system didn't have to look far for such lackeys. They had them tailor-made in those bantustan 'misleaders'. The racist government has caused too much agony and pain. Now its puppets are trying to prove to their masters that they are more brutal than the system itself. But as it becomes more cruel and more repressive, it is hastening the day it will come to an end. The government and its lackeys has yet to learn that violence and force in destroying those who are opposed to you is not the answer.

It is the lesson we draw from history. No government anywhere in the world has carried on ruling and murdering forever - whether it be through force and coercion. The oppressed will always resist. And in the ultimate the oppressed will emerge victorious.



WHEN GATSHA IS FACED WITH WHITE OPPONENTS
AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN DEFENCE FORCE, HE COWERS
AND PREACHES NON-VIOLENCE, BUT WHEN HE IS
FACED WITH UNARMED BLACK UNIVERSITY STUDENTS
WHO CONDEMN HIS COLLABORATION, HE SENDS
IN HIS INKATHA IMPI TO MURDER.



CRUSH

TRIBALISM!!

We call upon

- All those organisations and individuals that have publicly and privately embraced Gatsha to CONDEMN AND DENOUNCE HIM.
- All those organisations and individuals who have shaken that blood-dripping hard to wash their hands

AZAPO holds

- (i) the white racist minority regime and its policy of apartheid,
- (ii) the university authorities and the police,
- (iii) the international governments that prop up the racist South African regime,
- (iv) All those who support and buttress apartheid (running dogs of the system)

RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MASSACRE AT ZULULAND UNIVERSITY.

We call upon the immediate dismissal of the lecturer who led the attack on the students.

- The banning of all Inkatha activity on campus
- the immediate removal of the distracting and annoying presence of Inkatha impi from campus.
- safeguard the lives and property of the students of Ngoye.

CALL UPON THE BLACK PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY TO UNITE IN THE FACE OF SUCH BRAZEN AFFRONTERY.

We are greatly distressed and we grieve with the families of the deceased and those who sustained injuries in this barbaric attack.

**ONE PEOPLE FORWARD TO
ONE AZANIA
A FREE DEMOCRATIC
ANTI-RACIST WORKER
REPUBLIC OF AZANIA**



issued by: AZAPO

B23

Adm 1/20
S Mabaso
Soweto

To write about Black Unity in the South African situation, is like looking for a needle in a hay stack.

We, the oppressed Blacks, share common suffering in a common Fatherland. We live together in the slums and ghettos, we toil together in factories, railways tracks, building industry, the mines, etc. We suffer under the same exploitative system. We receive the same inferior type of education which has caused so much suffering and pain amongst the Black Youth. It is our defenceless children who face guns when they protest against this inferior type of education.

One will think that the bitter experience we share as a nation will unite US in our collective endeavour to fight for freedom and justice. However, it appears as if our bitter experience and our common suffering are the very same causes of disunity.

The complexity of the conflict in the South African situation has divided the subjugated Black Majority into various opposing camps. On the one hand, there are those Blacks who have decided to collaborate with the oppressor in his determination to perpetuate oppression, i.e. those operating within the government created institutions like the Bantustans, the Management Council, etc; on the other hand, we have the integrationists who see nothing wrong with white participation in the BLACK struggle for justice and humanity in a country that has denied Blacks freedom, justice and humanity because of the colour of their skin. On the other hand, we have

the proponents of Black Consciousness who reject white participation in

the Black struggle and argue that white participation must be confined to the white community to conscientise them about the evils they inflict on the oppressed Black Majority.

Perhaps before we analyse the complexity of this subject we should analyse the nature of the conflict in the South African situation! What is the conflict about and who are the participants in this conflict?



BLACK UNITY

A POSSIBILITY NOW ?

Last year, Mr Letsatsi Mosala, AZAPO then National Organiser, looked at the question of unity. Today it is as pertinent as it was last year. We have pleasure in reproducing his paper.

The conflict is about the ownership of the Land and Political power. In other words, the Black Majority who have been dispossessed of their land and their political power want repossession of their land and the restoration of their political power. Therefore, the conflict is between the Black majority on the one hand and the white oppressor on the other hand.

Where does the difference arise then in the ranks of the oppressed Blacks? The method of effecting change is the cause of the problem. Let us examine the three Black groups with I have already outlined above:

- a) The collaborationists
- b) The integrationists
- c) Adherents of Black Consciousness

All the three groups agree that Blacks are oppressed and that something must be done to break the chains of oppression. As far as the collaborationists are concerned, change can be effected within the government created platform which provides immunity from detention and general harassment by the system. These government created institutions balkanize our country into different "states" of which the Black "MII STATES" are nothing but corridors of cheap labour camps for the so called "White South Africa". Since the so-called Bantustans are not economically viable, they depend on Pretoria for survival in every aspect. Recently, Pretoria has gone a step further in introducing Black Army Units and Security Police Units in these

Bantustans to deal with protesting Black Students and those who oppose this system within these Bantustans. It is therefore, quite clear that reconciliation is impossible with people who are operating within these structures.

The two remaining groups have both rejected participation within the government created institutions. They both reject Capitalism as an economic policy which gives rise to class division that leads to class antagonism which can only result in conflict within the same society. Both these groups agree that the Black Workers are the most exploited group in the South African situation as the labour strikes indicate, e.g. the Ford strike in Port Elizabeth, the Textile Factory strike in Durban, the redmeat strike in Cape, labour unrest in the mines, the Fattis and Monis strike, etc. Where is the area of difference then between these groups White participation and opening of membership to whites in our organisations?

open society

While we in Black Consciousness agree that we envisage an open egalitarian society where colour, creed or class will not play any part, we also acknowledge that there is a ~~PRE-liberation era and a POST-liberation era and that the tactics to achieve liberation will not be the same as those required to reconstruct the new society. The PRE-liberation era is full of hazards, pitfalls, pains and sufferings. The present turmoil in the country where there are school boycotts as a result of rejection of inferior type of education by the Black students, the anguish felt by the parents who have lost children during school boycotts - the suffering experienced by the parents of Hector Peterson and all the Black nation in 1976 up to the present moment, the suffering and pain experienced by Black Workers in the present labour unrest illustrates vividly who must travel the pre-liberation path.~~

UNITY

Those who travel that road have no choice, no alternative, but are forced by circumstances that declare them sub-human beings in the country of their birth. They are forced by the conditions under which they work, conditions under which they are born, to travel that road. The choice is between freedom and continued slavery and servitude.

Today, some of our comrades are in detention. We acknowledge intergration but we also believe that it belongs to the post-liberation era. We believe that Blacks as a nation have identified the conflict and the cause of their suffering, it is therefore, imperative for them to unite and face the cause of their suffering.

Unity is undoubtedly a very important vehicle towards change and Black Consciousness with its stress on Black Solidarity is the manifestation of that philosophy of unity.

Through their united action, the people of Zimbabwe achieved victory for their Fatherland. There are many organisations ranging from Trade Unions to Cultural organisations. But all these must relate to the larger mass movement for political direction. Unity is hollow if it does not take into consideration principles, policies and discipline. It is therefore, incumbent on us to consolidate Black people around those principles which have through the years of stress, strife and strain been identified and established as the basic fundamental principles that

will guarantee a free society an example of which obviously would be a united, undivided Azania. This is what Azapo is working towards, the unification of the liberatory forces. The relationship should be built in shape with all owing allegiance to the political movement in the country, for once we are divided, the impact is reduced. It is in UNITY that we will one day stand up as a free nation in:

ONE AZANIA — ONE NATION!!!



AROPAFI

SESHEGO — COMMUTERS WORRIED

RESIDENTS IN SESHEGO ARE WORRIED ABOUT THE SALE OF BUSES BY BLACK BUS OWNER.

Mr Ben Harris, recently sold his buses to Lebowa Transport, and residents feel that their six months old boycott against the latter bus company has been betrayed.

On August 27, last year, Seshego residents staged a succesful bus boycott against what they referred to as exhorbitant fare hikes.

On the other hand, commuters also demanded that Mr Harris should be allowed to operate in the township. This call led to an application by Mr Harris to operate in the same township. However his application was subsequently turned down by the National Transportation Board.

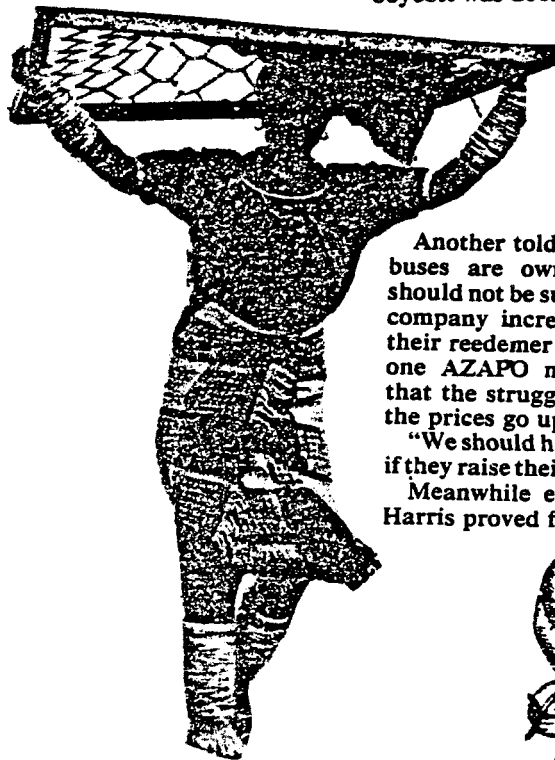
In an unexpected move, on June 8 this year, Mr Harris' buses were operating in Zone 1 Seshego. A day prior to the former, the Seshego villagers organised a party to celebrate their victory against the Lebowa Transport.

Mr Harris was charging 20 cents per single trip to Pietersburg compared to 25 cents demanded by the rival Lebowa Transport.

Three months hardly elapsed when news reached the commuters that Mr Harris had sold the buses to Lebowa Transport. Residents interviewed were bitter about the selling of the buses. They pointed out that they went to endless troubles in their quest to have Mr Harris allowed to operate his buses in Seshego.

fares
might
increase

One resident complained that it was indeed a sell out business that Mr Harris did to the people as many AZAPO members were detained for over four months trying to fight for justice. "People should really feel let down by this move, and as far as I am concerned, the whole period of boycott was doomed to fail", he said.



buses

Another told us that now that the buses are owned by BIC, people should not be suprised should the bus company increase its fares because their reedemer is no more. However, one AZAPO members pointed out that the struggle shall go on should the prices go up.

"We should have to walk once more if they raise their fares", said another.

Meanwhile efforts to contact Mr Harris proved fruitless.



B24

Adm 1/20

*R Halim
Lerasia*

UMBUTHO WESIZWE



AZAPO

5th NATIONAL CONGRESS

RETREAT CIVIC HALL

OFF RETREAT ROAD
opp. Mary Atlee Centre

Monday 17 - Tuesday 18

December 1984
Commencing 10.00 a.m.

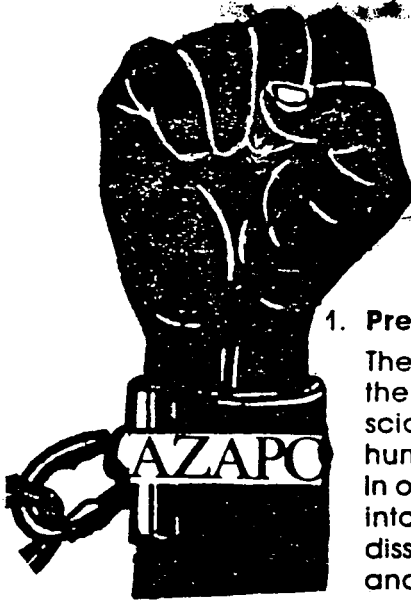
ALL BLACK PEOPLE WELCOME
RESIST - DEFEND

ADVANCE



ONE PEOPLE — ONE AZANIA

Issued by AZAPO 46 Halt Road Elsie's River. Printed By Olmic 6384610



POLICY ON BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

*In best regard
R. H. A. M.
Lund*

1. Preamble

The philosophy and policies of the Organization will be on the broad provisions of the philosophy of Black Consciousness. We shall adapt ideas and experiences of humanity to our unique circumstances in this part of Africa. In our self-acceptance and our self-affirmation we shall take into account our historical and national peculiarities and disseminate ideas which will liberate people from bondage and give them rightful liberty and freedom.

2. Black Consciousness

We recognise the philosophy of Black Consciousness as a living reality amongst the majority of the Black people of Azania. We acknowledge the philosophy of Black Consciousness as the fruition (culmination) of the liberatory efforts on the part of different Black organizations 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 a democratic government.
- d. A philosophy that relatively translates itself into an active opposition to government policies bent on estranging the Black people from themselves; an active resistance to every form of injustice meted out to the Black people.
- e. A philosophy that gives direction to the Black people in an attempt to 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.



B25

Aden i/so
George Ngwenya
Soweto

SHAPING OUR DESTINY

I feel greatly honoured, today to have been given the privilege of addressing you on your theme on this great occasion of your Congress. Comrades and friends Revolutionary greetings to you from the people's movement "The Azanian People's Organization". I suppose the purpose of this Congress is not to come and pride ourselves on what we have done and achieved but we are here to place ourselves into perspective as part of the greater oppressed and exploited community.

Our struggle has been a long one and the sufferings of our people have not stopped. Each and every passing day demands of progressive people in this country to strengthen their fight against racism, capitalism exploitation and imperialism. We believe that the political conscious student forms part of that fighting front. The student has for a long time separated and isolated himself or herself from the community that produced and even shaped hers or his character and attitude towards the society as a whole. As a result the student movement has been a force fighting in isolation, having lost touch with the reality of oppression and exploitation and therefore ineffective.

We must at this time stress that the student movement must be part of of the working-class and not an organ of the working-class movement separated from the masses it wishes and intend to direct. The student movement must identify itself with both the masses and their avant-garde. In isolation it is a movement which is conceited, barren and ineffective. ~~We must bear in mind that the student is a product of our bourgeoisie institutions which do not produce rebels but prototypes. At these institutions the student is subjected to subtle methods of breaking down, stereo-types of the system are forced into his subconsciousness and he emerges from these institutions playing and singing his master's voice.~~ By far, what emerges from these institutions are people who have become insensitive and intolerant to the plight of the working class. Education in our case is used as a tool of control and not of liberation.

What the institutions of the day succeed in imparting to us is the negative and scornful attitude the student has towards the working class. The student movement tend to abrogate unto itself the position

of leadership of the working class while at the same time refusing to be sensitised and to learn from the very same class. Our struggle for total and complete liberation cannot be won on a desk in the classroom, but will have to be fought and won in the real world of political oppression, economic exploitation and social degradation. Advancing a political theory and ideology far removed from the real and concrete experiences of the working class is like having the sail without a compass. I must here re-emphasise that it is only the Black working class alone in South Africa that has the moral virtues necessary to rejuvenate society and this becomes possible once they realise their revolutionary role that they are not in fact condemned to live off the scraps which the white ruling class abandons to them.

The role of the students then is to mature and support this revolutionary awareness and also to encourage the working class to have a faith in itself and its purposes.

The Black student in particular should always bear in mind that he cannot possibly extricate himself from his society. He is actually a worker in transit and therefore he should strive to share the common experiences of his people. ~~He has to unlearn all the poison he has imbibed in the institutions of learning.~~ Our society becomes his real institution of learning. ~~In the society he has to learn to relate to himself, his people and his environment.~~ He has to learn to understand that there can never be individual possibility and freedom when that does not exist for the majority. The Black student therefore becomes increasingly aware that his education has actually tried to make him blind to the issues that affect him and his people on a day to day level. Students should not be aloof, as one great political thinker and leader of our time said "As a student, having acquired the habits of of a student, I used to feel it indignified to do any manual labour - at that time it seemed to me that the intellectualls alone were clean while the peasants and workers were rather dirty. The revolution brought me into the ranks of the workers, peasants, and soldiers, gradually I became familiar with them and they with me. It was then that a fundamental change occured in me". I think this sums up the mental attitude of most of our leaders in the student movement who find

3/.....

it rather cumbersome to mix freely with the working class.

In order to make the AZASM logo of "Student -Worker Alliance" a reality we have to be able to disintergrate into the masses. All our programmes should be based in our community and all the time developing and sharing our experiences. There should be no distinct difference between us and the masses. I am more deeply convinced that the alliances of highly politically aware Black people, and fighting a just, war of derence defence against oppression and aggression cannot be defeated and will triumph in the end even if centuries are necessary for the process, even if the aggressor today is formidably armed. We urge all sectors of our people to "Trust the masses, rely on the masses". ~~They must be~~ encouraged ~~to~~ move ~~to~~ take over ~~the~~ "complete assistance that whatever the apparent ~~cause~~, the destruction ~~produced~~ by the ~~oppressed~~ and / ~~exploited in tearing down the old order, is good and healthy and~~ necessary in the ushering and construction of a new social order." The laws of the rulers have emasculated the potential of the working class and its our duty to encourage it. We must always bear in mind that what is good and healthy for our oppressors and exploiters cannot be in the same breath be good and healthy for us. ~~The interests of the working class and the white capitalist ruling class can never be the same and there is no converging point for them.~~ The resolution of the situation can only occur ~~with the total and absolute defeat of the ruling class.~~ The Black student therefore should fight for the defeat of the ruling class rather than become a carrier and surrogate of the ruling class and its ideologies . Since in our country today it is impossible to talk of any meaningful alliance between Black working class and the white working class it also follows then that students trusting and relying on the masses cannot form similar alliances. Blacks should be their own liberators without trying to solicit help from the oppressors camp.

For the Black students to play an effective role in the liberation struggle, they have to be in constant contact with the masses, familiarising themselves with the Black working class' struggle. Understanding their fears, their weaknesses and what they perceive as their strength. The position of the Black students cannot be

dogmatic and unchanging since it is dictated upon by what is happening in the work place. Black students cannot form alliances which will legitimise the exploitation of the Black workers. White workers in this country stand on the other side. Their interest can never be the same as ours. They are both counter-revolutionary and reactionary. They cannot be won over. They have to be completely disregarded.

Finally, for us to be in a position to determine our own destiny we have to guard against the proliferation of ideologies of the ruling class in our midst. We have to work towards the development of an ideology based upon the aggregate and concrete experiences of our people tested and retested in our revolutionary struggle. ~~We are involved in a war we cannot afford to lose.~~ Our eyes are fixed on a time somewhere in the future where antagonistic classes will no longer exist and exploitation of man by man will become a thing of the past. We are looking at a future worker Republic of Azania. The victory of the Azanians mass is certain and we together shall strive for:-

ONE PEOPLE ONE AZANIA

ONE AZANIA ONE NATION

~~THEM LUBON MABASA~~

B26

Adm. 4/30

Account No 2.

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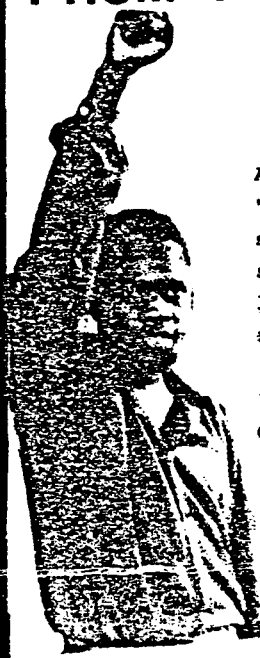
Lyben Madass. 22/6/88

1

NEW YEAR MESSAGE

Bw' E 26"

FROM THE PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT 1984



As the year 1983 draws to an end and the message of "goodwill to all mankind" is preached throughout the so-called "civilised world" ~~we, the people of Asania say, there will be no goodwill in our country so long as we remain dispossessed in the land of our forefathers.~~

hunger

1983 has been yet another year of hunger and disease. Our people have been without jobs and the resultant lack of security. We were victims of mass removals resettlement and all forms of State repression. We are surprised at the hypocrisy of the West especially that of "Big Brother" America who continues to treat this miserable, repressive and unhappy regime as a "WAYWARD BUT BELOVED CHILD".

land repossession

We want the world to know that there will be ~~no grievances redressed until such time that our land has been regained.~~ In the coming year and the years ahead the struggle will demand of Black workers, students, women, churches and all sectors of the struggling Black community to strengthen their organisations while on the other hand fighting all manifestations of ruling class ideologies which are wreaking havoc among the ranks of the exploited and oppressed. We ~~will stop at nothing in our fight for the repossession of our land and the transference of power to the rightful owners, Black people.~~

*No 2
2075/87
L M
24/6/88*

AZAPO ON THE MARCH



APARTHEID CHAMBERS

Their three chambers are no more than dummy platforms for political scoundrels. The Curry's, Hendricse's and Rajbansis are collaborators, stooges and traitors.

In 1983 we watched with dismay and horror the devastating exploits and plunder of the so-called Third World countries by the so-called super-powers. On the receiving end were Granada, Central American countries such as Nicaragua and El Salvador. Also included in the list were Namibia, Angola Lesotho, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and several others. The Middle East is still in turmoil and the escalation of the nuclear war threat sponsored by the super-powers and their surrogates is a brutal threat of our times. Our struggle therefore, must be seen in the context of other struggles of the oppressed and exploited throughout the world. Our emancipation will be ensured when the imperialist interests and aggression are forced into retreat. As they prepare for more repression, so must we prepare to resist.

reforms

The tide and time of history can no longer be turned back by efforts of Capitalist reform and Containment. The President's Council with its far-reaching implications; compulsory conscription and co-option from within the ranks of the oppressed, is an open admission by the powers-that-be of their failure to crush the imagined "onslaught from beyond the borders". This failure can be attributed to the mistaken belief that the resistance by the oppressed people is orchestrated from beyond the borders when in actual fact the impetus to this resistance is to be found within the borders of this country namely, oppression, racial discrimination and exploitation. This is a classical case of mistaking the wood for the trees! As a testimony to the above the powers-that-be are failing to quench the thirst for freedom from the millions of the oppressed in this country. We therefore stand at the threshold of a new era.

political nostalgia

While all forms of State violence escalate on one hand and the genuine and progressive efforts of the people increase on the other, forces of reaction and political opportunism are rearing their heads forcing our political struggle to go several decades backwards. We again find ourselves going back to the era of petitions and deputations from organisations which are supposed to be "progressive". That can be described as nothing else but "political nostalgia". There is no need to negate all lessons we have learned in the past.

No2
20/5/88
LM
20/6/88

Capitalist systems the world over are by their nature repressive and have not yet developed the mechanisms whereby they can abdicate positions of power through petitions, deputations and even negotiation. It is truly sad when "leaders" in this country have to use stereotypes of this regime to define and plan programmes against the regime. It is not surprising to find the so-called "radical" white students from Nusas pleading with the university administration to "ban spying". All these reveal the lack of political perspective and is a conscious attempt at sabotaging our political struggle.



Heninglip ... hundreds of tin huts — no work, no fresh water. P.C. courtesy The Star

institutionalised violence

The repressive 'arm of the law' in this country has unleashed such institutionalised violence that we cannot help but believe that an open warfare has been declared on the oppressed and exploited people in this country - who happen to be the majority. Police interventions at schools, universities, workplaces and even at community meetings have now become a familiar sight. Hundreds of offices throughout the country have been raided and documents removed; and thousands of people have been charged for breaking a myriad of the so-called security legislation. There is no question as to who is on the receiving end when the white community prospers and makes gains and profit at the expense of the millions of Black people.

4



will to fight

No. 2
20/5/87

In spite of all repressions and oppression Black people are more determined than ever to deliver the fatal blow to this racist and fascist regime. AZAPO, the only overt national political organisation will spare no effort at mobilising and consolidating the liberatory efforts of the oppressed masses. We believe all genuine attempts by the oppressed to rid themselves of the yoke of oppression are worthwhile efforts which should be commended. For us to assure our own victory we should be willing to fight the enemy at all fronts wherever it is. Our destiny is in our hands. We are our own liberators and we dare not shun our responsibilities in the process of ushering in an anti-racist, socialist workers' Republic in Azania.



Issued by the AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION: 115 Fleetway House, 208bree Street

B27

*Adm. of.
Account No 2.*

ON THE MARCH CONGRESS 84
8 -9 JAN facing the challenges

Bew "B.27"

THE LAW AND THE STRUGGLE: NAKEDI MATHEWS PHOSA

I am gratified to take this opportunity to address you on the topic you have assigned me. I am conscious of the fact that you are true comrades whose principles and practices appo the struggle for the total liberation of the Black masses in this country have always been and are still unadulterated, uprostituted, and uncontaminated by the romantic sentiments of the liberals in this country. Notwithstanding any other misguided noises from other quarters I humbly believe that and I have easily reconciled myself with the notion that AZAPO shall succeed in making a significant contribution towards delivering the goods of liberation to all the Black oppressed masses in this country. It is with this belief that I find myself addressing you today.

If I should sound harsh; it is because I am in the process of revolting against the system of the oppression of one man by another maintaining in this country, if I sound reckless, it is because I believe the oppressors must be fought pound for pound, if I happen to sound too optimistic; it is because I believe victory over the system of apartheid is within reach for the Black masses in this our country. I come to you in the simple belief that the struggle belongs to the oppressed and discriminated people in this country, I descend on you with the full conviction that this country belongs to us and that we therefore qualify to fight for it without having to invite mercenaries in our midst.

The laws of a country inevitably reflect and manifest the values, norms, customs, practices and policies of the Government of the day at a social, political, economic and industrial levels. The government of the day tend not to hesitate to make laws and make use of those laws to its advantage. The ruling party irrespect of whether or not it represents a minority

inevitable/....

inevitably ensures that its position of power is neither threatened nor eroded by the laws it makes. On the contrary the ruling party turns to the law to protect the power in its hand and to promote and foster the status quo as it will like to have it. Oliver Wandell Holmes puts it as follows:-

"The life of the law has not been logic: it has been experience. The felt necessities of the time, the prevalent moral and political theories, intuitions of the public policy avowed or unconscious, even the prejudices which judges share with their fellow-men, have had a good deal more to do than syllogism in determining the rules by which men should be governed".

In a situation such as exist in South Africa the law is therefore ~~proving to be a very dangerous tool in the hands of the oppressor~~ minority regime in Pretoria. Pretoria has made sure year in year out that the laws of this country are apartheid-orientated. Parliament is being used as a forum to express and legislate the most vicious pieces of legislation always seething with the rotten aura of apartheid. Racial prejudice, hatred for the Black man is smuggled into legislation every now and then. Laws are being used to suppress even the most basic human rights of the Black man. The law is being used to oppress us and to frustrate our political aspirations.

Comradés, permit me to set forth and point out the various legal cornerstones which will explain the points I intend to make.

1. THE LAND QUESTION

We have been told that the first oppressor only set foot on our land during 1652. We have also been told that some of those first few whites to set foot on our land were suffering from scavy-an indication of the fact that those guys did not have fresh food and water for sometimes. None of the settlers brought land, trees or cattle with them. They found us here in our land and our folks allowed them to settle here. Having realised how beautiful our land

3/....

was, they started a process of dispossession and colonization. The next thing that happened is that they have passed a law allocating to themselves, few as they are, almost 87% of our land. Think about it - 24 million people are now being squeezed into 13% of the land while only 4 million people are having and doing as they wish with our land. We have been dispossessed of our land and the struggle to remove our people from the so-called "Blackspots" is continueing unabated. Bulldozers are on the rampage - all in the name of the law. It has become lawful to move people from any point affected whether such people like the idea or not. There is little comfort which the people who are to be moved can get from the Courts of law. The only alternative is ~~to resist to the finish and~~ ~~the~~. The land belongs to us and we have every reason to encourage our people under threats of removal to resist and refuse to be treated like chattels. Our dedication for the fight for the return of our land is an honorable one and we must never engage reverse-gear, for the demand for the return of our land is non-negotiable.

2. SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT

Common sense and the basic dictates of Black unity demand that the policy of separate development be rejected and frustrated at every turn . This policy of separate development has been legislated as evidenced by the so-called Homeland Constitution Act and other allied statutes. It is law at its best in the process of dividing the nation along ethnic or tribal lines. Separate development thrives and survives on Black ethnicism, tribalism and engenders Black disunity. If we reject separate development we make a success in rejecting the Homeland Constitution Act and a success in the struggle to unite the nation and facilitate the prosecution of our struggle for liberation.

3. INFLUX CONTROL

In a naked attempt to immobilise the Black worker and in an attempt to instill in the Blackworker a feeling of temporariness within the

so-called/.....

so-called urban areas and further in an attempt to armtwist the Blackworker to accept that his home is in one of the so-called homelands, the Influx Control laws and regulations were legislated. The pervasive spirit of these labour laws is the total strategy to force the Black worker to accept the false notion that the cities and towns belong to "umlungu". A necessary implication of those laws is to promote the policy of separate development and counter the great struggle for the return of our land and for our total liberation.

What has been said about the Influx Control laws and regulations can also be said about the notorious Koornhof Bills. Much has been said and written about the said Koornhof Bills. Suffice it to make a call to the workers to unite behind the call for the opposition against all the Koornhof Bills. Those Bills should be seen as a strategy by the government to further entrench its policy of apartheid in labour laws. Koornhof's Bills should be consigned to oblivion for they only serve to add salt to the already injured Black worker. Let there be no mistake, no misunderstanding or miscalculation; anybody who does not oppose the Koornhof Bills supports the promotion of apartheid and is therefore reactionary and a puppet of the proponents of our oppressors. The Koornhof Bills are immoral pieces of legislation militated by a warped power of suggestion.

EDUCATION

Education is being used from the lowest to the highest level as an instrument of intellectual depravation and oppression. It is being utilised to suppress and cripple our intellects and in that process the Black child's potential is being systematically stifled. It was not suprising that the year 1976 witnessed us in the frontlines of the battlefields when we took to the streets to demonstrate our historic dissatisfaction and rejection of the existing educational system. There is no doubt that the educational pill remains as bitter as ever. It is not so much the name-tag put on the education for the

Blacks

5/...

Blacks which is objectionable but it is chiefly and fundamentally the contents and quality of that educational system . A country which legislates one system of education for the whites and a different one for the Blacks must surely have serious poisonous motives for separating in that fashion. ~~There is no sign that the powers that be have learnt the lessons of 1976 and if things go on as they do, the events of 1976 might look like a kindergarten-prayer-meeting in the not too distant future.~~

The struggle to win the hearts and minds of the Black students shall not be won by those who enter university campuses armed with rifles, kirries and pangas to murder our brothers and sisters. On the contrary history shall judge very rudely those who embark on the dangerous strategy of trying to play cheap strongman at schools and universities. ~~The murderers who relished to commit murder at the universities during the year 1983 shall one day have to face the People's Court where they shall stand accused of crimes against the people.~~ *Le Kalshin* Let us resolve never to forget those who paid the ultimate prize in the hands of murderers arraigned against the innocent comrades who were in the process of having a bath or picking up the crumbs of education from the master's tables of education. No amount of political posturing or self-justification will ever exculpate those responsible for the atrocities at schools and universities during 1983 and before. Students should never pander to those criminals but should resist any attempt intended to intimidate them into unacceptable submissions and political disorientations. Let us not lose sight of the fact that police are said to have folded their arms suppressing their glee when our comrades were being murdered at the university of Ngoye - where was the law? Where was order? The Law paved way to disorder and indeed the law applauded disorder characterised by gruesome assaults and murder. I repeat, where was the law? And I add, who has thus far been prosecuted?.

THE SO-CALLED NEW DISPENSATION

Our eardrums have during the past year and half or so been subjected to a continueing noise about what has been called " a new dispensation" for South Africa. There has been more than too much talk about change.

6/....

During the previous AZAPO Congress, Comrade Don Nkadimeng quite rightly arrived at the conclusion that the so-called new constitution was irrelevant to us as the oppressed Black people, I concur with my said comrade's submission and conclusions, but today I wish to tackle this new dispensation even further for there are compelling national reasons for doing so.

The so-called new dispensation is two-pronged. On the one hand the white minority in our country set forth to draw a constitution for the entire nation in this country. Representatives of only 4 million white people decided to draw a constitution for close to 25 million people in this country without the latter 25 million people being party to that constitution to which they are expected to pay and maintain allegiancy. On the other hand the very same white minority contrived what ~~has become known as the Black Local Authorities Act to try and rescuscitate the ill-fated and still-born community councils in the so-called Black Urban areas.~~

A constitution is supposed to represent and clearly reflect the Will of the majority of the people. A constitution if it hopes to qualify as such should manifest the aspirations of the majority of a people in a given set up. The so-called new constitution is both mischievous fraudulent and dangerous for the following reasons:-

- (i) it was drafted by representatives of less than a quarter of the citizens of the country.
- (ii) it represents the Will and aspirations of less than a quarter of the citizens of this country .
- (iii) it represents the second step towards dividing the Black people by endeavouring to create the false impression that the so-called coloureds and the so-called Indians are willing to join the white laager and gang with the whites against the remaining part of the Black people.

(iv) /....

- (iv) it entrenches raw apartheid even further under the transparent-dress of change.
- (v) it entrenches white people's domination of power under the false pretence of sharing power.
- (vi) it creates a solid white laager to protect the white man's position of privilege there and thereby denying change of apartheid at all levels be they social, economic or political.
- (vii) it represents a ghastly instrument of oppression and a fountain of apartheid at its best.

There is therefore no reason whatsoever why the new constitution can just be ignored. The whites have under the new constitution started recruiting their gullible cohorts in the likes of the Hendrikse and Rajbansis to prosecute their struggle toward the division of the Black nation in this country. Those puppets have agreed to tango along with the apartheid-orientated new constitution. The purpose of this tactic of co-opting participants in the constitutional circus is to deal a blow to Black unity and to weaken the forces fighting for the total liberation of the nation from the policy and system of apartheid. Let us be mindful of the fact that the masters and theoreticians both political and military see apartheid as being in a besieged house. That is why they now talk of the "total strategy against a total onslaught". The new constitution should be seen and understood within the context of that "total strategy against a total onslaught". The total strategy is a strategy against our achievement of our political aspirations and the total onslaught is aimed at Black unity and therefore the new constitution is a dangerous weapon against us as the Black people. It is the second leg at dividing the Black nation and trying to confuse us. The first step came up with the Homeland Constitution and its allied statutes, the second step as I have indicated is the very so-called new constitution, the third step is the Black Local Authorities Act, which I will deal with just now hereunder.

8/...

A stage has therefore been set under the new constitution for the Hendrikse and the Rajbansis to implement the Group Areas Act, the Pass Laws, Influx Control laws and to ensure that the policy of forced removals of our people is implemented. A stage is set for those puppets to further sink and drown in the apartheid swimming-pools under the false pretence of change. We wish them well with a clear warning that they shall not too long reap what they have sown; for the ~~Black people shall never ever accept let alone tolerate divisionists, opportunists and collaborators in our great march towards the bringing of apartheid to its knees.~~ I do not for one moment wish to suggest that the Hendrikse have any grassroots support for their sellout postures but I urge you to be vigilant and to ensure that these people do not snatch an undeserved opportunity to mislead and confuse the Black masses on this so-called new dispensation. It is our task to make every effort to reach out to the Black masses and tell them the truth and campaign for the highest degree of isolating all the collaborators and political fifth columnists hobnobbing with the so-called new dispensation.

My dear comrades, I wish to be taken seriously when I say that the Black Local Authorities Act is wholly the same as the Community Councils Act which fizzled with time. The same reasons for rejecting the Community Councils exist for us now to reject the Black Local Authorities Act. The latter Act envisages the creation of what it calls the town councils, village councils and local committees. The powers of the town-councils and the village councils are basically the same as those of the disgraced and now-defunct Community Councils. The local committee is an advisory body and cannot co-exist with the village council. A carrot that is being dangled to the politically naive Tshabalalas is the clause that states that a town council can be graduated into a city council. Think about it -e.g. Johannesburg with two racially orientated city councils - one in Soweto the other in the city of gold. This is what makes Thebehali morose that he lost out and that is what makes Tshabalala excited that he went in. Further, these local authorities and committees, are directly "subject to the control and directions" of what is called the Director of Local Government who in his turn is responsible to the Director General of the Department of Koornhof. I therefore have no difficulties in telling you that the Black Local Authorities Act creates sufficient toy administrations for Koornhof to play around with.

The Black Local Authorities Act have the spirit and soul of the institutions created under the Homeland Act and the latter's allied statutes. The local authorities and committees are therefore irrelevant and constitute a far cry from what the Black struggle is all about. It is strange that Koornhof dares to think that these creatures of his Act are geared to satisfy our political aspirations. There could be no further insult to the Black man than what Koornhof wishes about his invention. The system of apartheid is alive and well in the Black Local Authorities Act. It is therefore right and correct for us to reject these toy administrations for their irrelevancy. Every effort should be made to discredit the already discredited Tshabalalas and their allies in betrayal and sellout gimmicks.

What should console us maybe is the fact that all the people participating in the so-called new dispensation in all its forms are the very people whose hallmark and history has been that of indulging in the petty politics of betrayal. Those people are not new on the galleries of playing to "his master's voice" and tune.

Let us resolve not to be detracted from what we are fighting for. The pattern of our struggle is weaved and knitted along different a direction than that suggested by the so-called new dispensation.

Whereas there is still a little flicker of belief in some of us in the strategy of non-violence I think that strategy is about to outlive its usefulness. Black people, as the oppressed and the discriminated against by law, our patience have actually run out and the white minority in this country should all pause to take notice of those fuses which are burning shorter and shorter by the day. If that is not done the whites should not in the future turn around and say that they have not been forewarned. There is absolutely no way in which the Black masses are just going to fold their arms and just let go. Never-never. A definite point of extremely serious conflict is fast approaching and if the white minority pursue their present oppressive system, then I am afraid a ~~violent conflagration shall be inevitable~~. I want you to recognise the painful reality that the laws made by our oppressors can never serve our struggle for liberation, on the contrary those laws serve to frustrate and avert our final and total victory over the policy of apartheid.

*the
discovery*

Finally I wish to point out that there is no need for us as the oppressed people to indulge in the time-wasting liberal cry for our country, we should rather fight for our country, for, it is only if we fight for our country that victory shall be certain.

Victory is imminent. The enemy is committing one error after another. Victory is certain. Let us prosecute the struggle to finality.

Amandla!

B28

*Adm. ep
R. Halim' Lencina*

Editorial

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

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

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

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

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

state.

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

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

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

Steve Biko was absolutely correct when he wrote:

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

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

with Frelimo.

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

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

Frank Talk emphasizes that a vital lesson of Nkomati is that the liberation struggle is a ceaseless struggle: it does not end with political 'independence'. If the oppressed and exploited are thought that milk and honey will flow when there is a takeover from a fascist regime, the costs for the liberation movement will be very, very dear. This is what Frelimo is learning.

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

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

CONTENTS

UN - Breakthrough.....	Page 3
Azapo fights back.....	Page 4
Economic blackmail.....	Page 7
The National Question.....	Page 8
National Forum.....	Page 11
Peace — for an apple.....	Page 12
Clash of cultures.....	Page 14
Manifesto.....	Page 16



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U N Breakthrough

The Azanian Peoples' Organisation made an impressive breakthrough for the Black consciousness movement when it recently won the right to address a special session of the United Nations during a conference held in New York in June.

Imrann Moosa, the Natal vice president of Azapo and editor of Azapo's magazine, Frank Talk, spoke before the United Nations' North American regional conference for action against apartheid, a conference organized by the United Nations' Centre Against Apartheid, which also featured speakers from the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO).

It was the first time that a member of the umbrella Black Consciousness Movement addressed the United Nations. According to the chairman of the UN's Centre Against Apartheid, Major-General J.N. Garba of Nigeria, the move surprised the African National Congress which, he said, planned to write a letter to the organizing body protesting against the participation of Azapo.

The chairman of the United States

International recognition

branch of the BCM, Twiss Xiphu, said the invitation by the United Nations to Azapo was the highest point in BCM's international diplomatic offensive launched last year when the national president Lybon Mabasa toured Europe and the United States to introduce Azapo and its programmes to the international community.

"The ground work has been laid for bigger things to come and we are forging ahead in the international community," he said.

Mr Mbasa spoke on the same day that former US Ambassador to the UN Mr Andrew Young and South African poet, Dennis Brutus, also addressed the conference. Moosa told the conference that the BCM emerged in South Africa to conquer fear and lead black people out of the grip of a frightened paralysis which had been internalized in the psyche of black people because of the onslaught after Sharpsville and Rivonia.

"The pre-1977 BCM also succeeded where the other historical liberation movements had failed, it brought together all black people wherever the system sought to label them 'Coloured', 'Indian', 'African' or even subdivided them into various ethnic groups," he said. "The BCM also injected a remarkable vitality into Azanian politics.

He also took a jab at the recent Nkomati Accord and the position of the United States in the Southern African scene. "The Accord showed that Pretoria is playing the game according to the dictates of Washington, actually toeing the yankee imperialist policy towards our region developed by Kissinger, Reagan and Chester Crocker.

Aims and Objects of Azapo

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.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

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.

In Court

Azapo fights back against State action

On 10 March 1984, members of the Editorial Collective of Frank Talk visited Art Printing Press and loaded 1 138 copies of Frank Talk Volume 1 Number 1 into a car. As the car left Fountain Lane, another car began chasing it. A high-speed chase ensued: finally, the car containing the copies of Frank Talk was boxed in and Warrant Officer De Wet, accompanied by a few non-white security policemen arrested members of the collective including comrade Thabo Ndabeni (national organizer of AZAPO). The security policemen confiscated every single copy of the first issue of Frank Talk as well as many items belonging to individual comrades.

On 17 March 1984, an interdict was sought in the Durban Supreme Court before Judge Didcott for the immediate return of the copies of the magazine which were seized. It became obvious from arguments presented by the system that there were serious consequences to follow for the Black Consciousness Movement in general and AZAPO in particular. The citation of the case is **Thabo Ndabeni v the Minister of Law and Order and Warrant Officer De Wet**.

De Wet stated in an affidavit that he knew of the contents of Frank Talk before it was printed. Attached to his affidavit were the copies of the first two articles, "The Definition of Black Consciousness" and "White Racism and Black Consciousness". As Thabo Ndabeni stated in a replying affidavit: "The originals of the said (articles) must have been in the possession of Art Printers and used by that company to print Frank Talk": this became clear because the inscriptions and deletions on the articles were exactly the same as the one given to Art Printers. Since counsel for the State insisted that De Wet had seen these articles before Frank Talk was printed, it does not take much imagination to discover how De Wet obtained the articles.

The contention was that the two articles in question were written by the late Comrade Steve Biko and were printed in a collection of Biko's writings (most of which appeared under the pseudonym "Frank Talk") edited by Reverend Ian Stubbs and entitled "I write what I like". The



Thabo Ndabeni

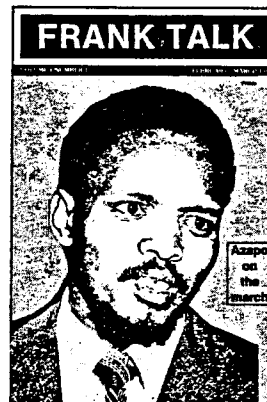
State conceded that this collection was no longer banned.

The contention was that these speeches were delivered at symposia called by the South African Students Organisation (SASO) which is a banned organisation. Thus De Wet concluded that he was entitled to seize all the copies of Frank Talk in terms of Section 13(1)(a)(v) of the Internal Security Act, Act No 74 of 1982. This Section decrees that nobody may-

"... advocate, advise, defend or encourage the achievement of any of the objects of the unlawful organization or objects similar to the objects of such organization, or perform any other act of whatever nature which is calculated to further the achievement of any such object."

Section 56(1)(a) of the same Act makes it an offence to disobey this prohibition. The policeman purported to act under Section 20, of the Criminal Procedure Act, Act No 51 of 1977. Briefly, section 20 entitles the State to seize anything which:

(a) *is concerned in or is on reasonable grounds believed to be concerned in the commission or suspected commission of any offence;*



- (b) *may afford evidence of the commission or suspected commission of an offence; or*
- (c) *is intended to be used or is on reasonable grounds believed to be intended to be used in the commission of an offence.*

De Wet considered that the publication of Frank Talk contravened the quoted section of the Internal Security Act and that the distribution of the magazine would also be an offence.

The Minister also put up the minutes of the second General Students Council (GSC) of SASO held from the 4th to the 10th July 1971 at the University of Natal Black Section (UNB). The relevant portion is the SASO Policy Manifesto which reads:

1. SASO is a Black students organization working for the liberation of the Black man first from psychological oppression by themselves through inferiority complex and secondly from physical one occurring out of living in a White racist society.
2. We define Black people as those who are by law or tradition, politically, economically and socially discriminated against as a group in the South African society and identifying themselves as unit in the struggle towards the realization of their aspirations.
3. SASO believes that:
 - (b) South Africa is a country in which both Black and White live and shall continue to live together.
 - (b) ~~The White man must be made aware that one is~~

Azapo fights back

Why
whites
only →

either part of the solution or
part of the problem

- (c) In this context, because of the privileges accorded to them by legislation and because of their continued maintenance of an oppressive regime, Whites have defined themselves as part of the problem.
- (d) Therefore, we believe that in all matters relating to the struggle towards realizing our aspirations, Whites must be excluded.

In *S v Nokwe and Others* 1962 (3) SA 71, it was held that the achievement had to be of the specific unlawful organization, not the achievement of the same object or objects by somebody else working independently of and lending no assistance to it. Thus in 1963 Section 2 was amended and the words "... or to objects similar to the objects of any such organization," were added.

Judge Didcott pointed out that whatever objects were similar to the objects of an unlawful organization cannot be determined unless the objects of the unlawful organization were themselves first identified and understood.

The Court said that it had no way of knowing why an unlawful organization has been declared unlawful. SASO was declared unlawful in terms of Proclamation R293 of 1977. No grounds were furnished. The court warned that even if reasons are given in a Proclamation, the real objects of the organization must be established. And the test postulated by Judge Didcott is whether an object is an object distinctive of the particular organization to an extent and to a degree sufficient to tie an object with the organization.

Examples given by the judge during the course of argument are illuminating. Say an object of SASO was that workers must get a fair wage and say XYZ Industries has the same object: should XYZ Industries be convicted for furthering the aims of SASO?

Judge Didcott went on to say that on the evidence before him i.e. the SASO Policy Manifesto, BC is a slogan, a label rather than an object. He took the example of two organizations both operating on the slogan "Workers Freedom": Organization A aimed at ensuring that the means of production was in the hands of the working class while Organization B

strove to outlaw trade unions because it felt unions impede workers freedom. Organization A and B are clearly at cross purposes despite their common slogan. It follows that the mere fact that both SASO and AZAPO espouse BC is neither here nor there.

Judge Didcott conceded that distinctiveness is by no means an exact criterion: "One can conceive of objects so mundane or innocuous in themselves that, although they are distinctive of some unlawful organisation, no Legislature, not even a Legislature bent on destroying the influence of every such organization, could have feared for a moment that they strengthened its pull.

Using the 'Didcott test', the Court had to decide whether BC was distinctive of SASO. The only definition of BC given was that in the SASO Policy Manifesto. Judge Didcott found that there was nothing in this Manifesto that distinguished SASO eg. opposing integration was common to SASO and, say, the Conservative Party and the idea that Blacks must be self-sufficient is also propounded by, say, Inkatha. What the court really needed, said Judge Didcott, was expert evidence as to what BC is and how BC distinguished SASO (if it did). That alarm bells go off in some people's minds with the mere mention of BC is hardly sufficient to say that BC *per se* is unlawful.

The judge made the telling point during argument that if this was a criminal trial, a discharge of the accused at the end of the State case would be quite inescapable. There is not even a *prima facie* case - there is no case at all!

The judge accepted that De Wet acted in good faith, but that he did not act as a 'reasonable man' would have acted.

Counsel for Ndabeni suggested that in order to contravene Section 13(1)(a)(v), a person must be acting in the interests of the unlawful organization as *such*.

Since an examination of the two articles revealed that care had been taken to remove every reference to SASO the articles could not advise, encourage or defend the achievement of any of the objects of SASO as *such*.

The point was strongly made that the articles by Biko (in fact, the article "White Racism and Black Consciousness" was a joint effort by



Biko and Barney Pityana) were included in the first issue of Frank Talk because of their historical interest and that BC had developed since the days of SASO and BPC.

The judge had the following to say about the SASO Policy Manifesto in relation to his test:

"Paragraphs (i) and (v) did not really belong there. Paragraph (i) was descriptive rather than definitive, while paragraph (v) dealt not so much with the concept as with its popularisation. That left paragraphs (ii), (iii) and (iv). These were the paragraphs which defined the philosophy, according to SASO.

"I could not conclude from the information at my disposal that the propagation of Black Consciousness, as thus defined, was an object in the least distinctive of SASO. The definition was broad and general. So were the various ideas it expressed and marshalled. I would not have been surprised to learn that these were taken for granted nowadays by most thoughtful groups and individuals within the Black community, including a large number whose political convictions were far from radical, whose sympathies have never lain with SASO, yet who felt that some such frame of mind was required if Blacks were to overcome the demoralizing effects of subservience and rebuild their self-confidence, their pride. ..."

An order was made by the Durban Supreme Court restoring all but 25 copies of Frank Talk to AZAPO.

The State is seeking leave to appeal against Didcott's decision on the following bases:

1. The Court should not have decided on the lawfulness of the retention but only of the seizure.
2. A reasonable man would have

Battle in the Courtroom

concluded that one of the reasons for SASO's banning was that it promoted BC, thus any person promoting BC is contravening Section 13(1)(a)(v) of the Internal Security Act.

If these grounds of appeal are treated seriously, it means that the system wishes to ban a philosophy.

On Tuesday 22 May 1984 there was a nationwide raid on the homes of leading AZAPO office-bearers and members. Every search warrant stated that the police were busy investigating a contravention of Section 13(1)(a)(v) of the Internal Security Act. The criminal trial promised at the Ndabeni hearing seemed imminent.

The raids were particularly vicious in that they denuded the AZAPO head office: police took away everything including filing cabinets and pencils.

On 29 May 1984, an action was brought by AZAPO against the Control Magistrate of Durban to have the search warrants used by the policemen declared invalid. The warrants used were in terms of Section 25 of the Criminal Procedure Act.

The Durban Supreme Court held that the test to be used is whether there are reasonable grounds for believing in a certain state of affairs i.e. a danger to the security of the state. The magistrate is not a rubber-stamp, he must make up his own mind independently.

The magistrate refused to reveal the grounds upon which he came to the conclusion that AZAPO was furthering the object of a banned organisation. All the state put up were two affidavits by "experts" who claimed that they had reached the conclusion that AZAPO furthered the objects of banned organisations.

Part of Judge Didcott's lucid and hard-hitting judgment are paraphrased below:

"... I find it incredible to be told that there might be grounds which (the state) do not want to tell the court. (The magistrate seemed to) rely on no informant beyond the bare belief of the police ...

This case has a background which supports this contention ... (In Thabo Ndaveni v the Minister of Law & Order & Another) the state gave

grounds viz that both SASO and AZAPO believed in BC. The court held that assuming that this common belief exists, and that the understanding of BC is precisely the same, the mere sharing of the belief is quite insufficient to say that the one organization is coming out of the objects of the other.

"I ruled then that the ground in question did not and could not without anything more amount to reasonable grounds for the belief in question. As long as that decision stands it is the law - in this province at any event. The same section of the police force features in the present case, some of the same officers, the same organisation and the same banned organisation. If the state relied on something other than common affiliation to BC, it would be in the affidavits in these proceedings ...

The opinions of experts are entitled to some respect. There is no case at all where the opinion of the expert, however eminent, however experienced, however well-versed can bind the court. The expert has to assist the court ... (His mere word) is worth nothing at all if it is supported by no evidence whatsoever.

The personnel of (AZAPO) are being harassed. The police say that (AZAPO) is breaking the law or is preparing to do so in a way that is dangerous. The police exist to enforce the law, the court exists to uphold the law. The court will never hamper the police in the proper performance of its duties. If there is indeed a case against (AZAPO) or if there are true grounds against (AZAPO) it is in the interests of justice to bring (AZAPO) to court ...

If the police are on (AZAPO's) back for no other reason than harassment, it is time they got off its back. (Harassment) is not a proper police function. The police must disclose their hand. They are required to be candid about the facts and grounds on which they rely so that these can be examined in the light of day. If they persist in playing poker (with AZAPO) while not divulging their hand they have only themselves to

FRANK TALK



blame if the court finds there is nothing in their hands at all.

AZAPO will now proceed to recover articles seized in Cape Town, Paarl, Port Elizabeth, Nelspruit and Pietersburg. The scene is set for interesting new developments.

Latest

The state's application for leave to appeal against the judgment setting aside the search warrants has been turned down.

In the meantime the security police returned the bulk of goods seized during their searches.

At the time of going to press, AZAPO officials were still busy sorting through boxes of papers in an attempt to ensure that the police had not forgotten to return some documents.

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for future
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Economic Blackmail

The so-called "non-aggression" pacts in vogue in Southern Africa cannot wipe off the legacy of the colonial domination and exploitation in the region.

Such pacts are definitely a setback to the cause of the oppressed of the world as the unfolding drama of Lebanon is amply demonstrating.

The victor in the contest of Southern Africa is the white racist and unrepresentative minority Pretoria regime and the cause of both imperialism and neo-imperialism.

The Komatiport pact signing is not for the comfort and progress of our people in Southern Africa and Africa as a whole.

This regime has perfected its ignoble art of blood-suing. In the wake of its de-mobilising strategy, it has left political observers confused.

This country has not introduced a new element in its pursuit of war in Southern Africa and thus to talk of South Africa's "peace initiative" is a gross distortion of the forces locked in a death struggle in the region.

This country's warlords have long perceived that economic blackmail and direct military invasion and aggression constitute their twin weapons.

Diplomatic political stunts only serve as a smokescreen to hide the real nature and development of the conflict.

The primary conflict in South Africa is that of land and all attempts to reduce the struggle to one for civil rights or anti-apartheid, can only buy time for those who wield power!

One black Azanian aptly stated this as follows: "The black man's struggle can never be won or lost outside the borders of the country."

The inevitable resolution of Southern Africa's dilemma shall come only on terms set by the black man.

The problem is internal and is that of the oppression and exploitation of millions of black people.

Whichever way one looks at it, this

The victims of Pretoria



Resettlement: The real conflict

great mass of people is a deciding factor for the solution of this country's problems.

This country's offensive coupled with its racist internal political machinations can be summed up as a time-buying device.

The work of the military security police and intelligence networks, has not blunted or numbed black people's quest for the true humanity in the country.

This has never, and shall never, be cause for despair and apathy.

The clock seems to have turned full circle among the Frontline States.

Dr Hastings Banda, Malawi's President and strongman, and a few unstable African leaders fell victims of South Africa's abortive detente exercise in the 70s.

Time, however, will tell how many this time will follow Banda to "dine with the devil as long as it will bring prosperity and gain to my people and country".

Maybe for Banda it was an opportunistic voluntary action.

The situation today is different, most Southern African states have been battered to submission through what is perceived to be the ultimate realisation of economic priorities and internal stability — and all the time Pretoria is calling the tune.

The recent happenings are indeed a setback to the liberation movement in general, but it must be pointed out that this will only help to accelerate

the liberating efforts of those movements operating within the country.

It is indeed foolhardy of this country's present rulers to regard their problems as externally motivated and therefore needing an external solution.

We must, however, realise that the reasons which made South Africa anathema remain true as those we hold against Nazi Germany and its gas chambers.

We cannot, however, expect Africa to submit to South Africa's military, technological and economic advantage.

We must at all times be aware that the present regime cannot in the same breath be surrogates for efforts of change.

They are only capable of bringing about reform, which by and large, is aimed at perpetrating their class ideology and control.

Reform is not aimed at making the oppressed totally free but to make them unwilling partners of their own oppressors.

At best it teaches them to adapt to their situation of oppression, in keeping with the philosophy of making good out of a bad situation.

This is what this year's ethnic elections are all about.

It is with this in mind that black people are wary of all efforts by the unrepresentative government and the elite white capitalist class at reform.

National Question

Struggle for unity



The National Question involves the solution of national contradictions, the resolution of the problems of oppression of one nation by another, and the form that the future nation should take.

The Social Question is the resolution of social contradictions which have as their base the prevailing mode of production and production relationships which mould and condition social relations.

Briefly put, the National Question investigates oppression and the Social Question investigates exploitation — oppression and exploitation were married in the temple of imperialism.

The designations "tribe" "nationality" and "nation" are transient historical social group forms. At the root of their definition lies the community of economic life that binds together members of each transient social form. Language, territory, mores, national consciousness are simply ethnic features of a nationality/nation.

For example, in a capitalist society the community of economic life for the bourgeoisie consists in the fact that they own the means of production and the wealth so produced at the expense of the producers i.e. the working class.

The community of economic life for the working class consists in the fact that it does not own the means to produce wealth but has to make do with a wage. It should be pointed out that there are points in the development of society where tribes develop into nationalities and nationalities develop into nations but these points are never easy to specify: suffice it to say that the old (nationality) is the new (nation) in embryo.

Stalin offers the following definition of a nation:

A nation is a historically evolved stable community of people based on community of language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture.

History contains numerous examples of long-established boundaries of countries being changed and of inhabitants of countries refusing morally to accept the nationality imposed by a country. **Stalin's definition is dogmatic, restrictive and rigid.** The nation is not simply a collection of abstract, external criteria. In fact, political philosophers have sought in vain to find an objective definition of a nation. The subjective element i.e. the consciousness of a national identity, a national political movement, is no less important. It is not a doctrinaire expert armed with a list of "objective criteria" who will determine whether a community constitutes a nation or not, but the **community itself.**

The popular expression of bourgeois ideology today is "human liberty, human rights . . . regardless of race, colour or creed . . . under a free modern democracy" etc. Only the bourgeoisie enjoy these "universal" freedoms but it is cautious enough to be discreet, hence one is constantly reminded of the "universality" to the point of indoctrination. So it is that bourgeois ideology has developed the slogans of democracy and the right of self-determination. Even in South Africa with outrageous comedy, the caretakers of colonialism speak of national self-determination in the bantustans. Things have certainly changed since Treitschke wrote (nineteenth century)

that "A negro tribe must be chastised by setting its villages on fire, because that is the only remedy which is effective."¹

There is nothing wrong in using the terminology of "democracy" and "national self-determination" if one understands them in their revolutionary senses. A struggle for full democratic rights must be linked to a socialist revolution. Victorious socialism must practise the fullest democracy.

In its hunt for superprofits imperialism dispossessed the aborigines (indigenous owners of the land) as a people. The consequence, whether in Australia, Japan or Palestine was to pit Black against white. Dispossession led to the super-exploitation of Black people. For the colonial world, race determined class: whites were the privileged group and blacks the underdogs. Exploitation is here directed against a phenotypically distinct and identifiable people, leading to elaborate political-administrative structures to keep them subject. This coupled with European chauvinism leads to the relentless oppression of the subject-people.

To speak of Azania before the advent of settler-colonialism is somewhat misleading because the present borders are of recent historical origin and were drawn up by settler-colonialism. We do not have reliable sources of information and have to make do with rather rudimentary information. We may say that pre-colonial Azania was inhabited by people whose mode of production had not gone beyond the primitive communal stage. All in all these economies had only achieved private property in the ownership of stock

but not of land. Social relations were not at all as antagonistic as we know them to have been in Europe. At the advent of settler-colonialism in Azania, tribes were just moving towards the formation of nationalities.

The Dutch were the first to send a garrison of men to the Cape in 1652. The White settlers launched many wars of aggression in order to gain land, livestock, grain and slave labour from the black people.

British capitalism subsequently began entrenching itself in South Africa and it was evidently incompatible with the backward feudalism of the Dutch. The white settlers allied themselves against blacks, but continued to wage wars against each other simultaneously.

We must pause here and look at the *modus operandi* of imperialism's most far-sighted ideologist, the Christian missionary. The missionary first approaches the chief humbly, Bible in hand, and asks for a small piece of land to set up his mission station. At his heels hastens the trader, the purveyor of small goods. The Bible and the bale of Lancashire cotton become the invidious seeds of devastation of the black way of life. An "agreement" follows between the chief and the Governor whereby the British become the "friend and protector" of the chief. There follows war and looting by the British leading to a "treaty" in which the chief agrees (sic) to a large piece of land belonging to his tribe. In return he receives a magistrate and a now-arrogant missionary. Other mission stations are set up and in their train come more traders. The invaded tribes are split asunder: "divide and rule" under the capable hands of the missionaries is fatally disruptive. In the "confiscated territory" the land

is shared between Boer and British. When the hungry black people try to retrieve their plundered cattle, the settler-thieves accuse them of cattle-theft and send out troops to destroy sleeping villages. Gunpowder, fire and famine are the order of the day. The farmers who have stolen the land cry out for labour: they obtain it from the plundered. When the Dutch grab the land, the British "find themselves compelled" to protect the "Natives"! Hypocrisy is a wonderful Western trait!

Dr Phillip, the Superintendent of the London Missionary Society, clearly states in *Researches in South Africa*:

While our missionaries are everywhere scattering the seeds of civilization ... they are extending British interests, British influences and the British Empire ... Wherever the missionary places his standard among a savage tribe, their prejudices against the colonial government give way, their dependence upon the colony is increased by the creation of artificial wants ... Industry, trade and agriculture spring up.

Dr Phillip did this work amongst the Xhosa, Revs Kitchener and Edwards amongst the Abathwa, Revs Read and va Kemp amongst the Khoikhol, Moffat among the Tswanas and Rev Owen among the Zulus. Liberalism served the British empire well and its first apostles in Azania were the missionaries. Phillip *supra* clearly states that the transition from tribalism to capitalism must be engendered by the missionary. The Christian convert will want to dress, eat and otherwise act like his teacher.

And note this classic piece of advice from Phillip in the face of Maqoma's complaint about the governor's treat-

ment of his people:

If they (the soldiers) drive away your people at the point of the bayonet, advise them to go over the Kieskamma peaceably. If they come and take away your cattle, suffer them to do it without resistance. If they burn your huts, allow them to do so ... and I am convinced you will have no occasion to repent of having followed my advice.

The christianization and "emancipation" of the colonial slave had nothing to do with liberating him but on the contrary had everything to do with subjugating him. There was no milk of human kindness animating the heart of the missionary: the glory of God meant the profit of England.

The Zulu nationality under Shaka saw a need for black unity. Shaka set out to forge unity by force. Thus left in its wake a destruction that boggles the imagination. Society was in a state of agonizing flux.

The missionary's station comprised a church, a trading store and fields for cultivation. Blacks began producing for personal consumption: the black peasant's way of life revolved around producing for the market. His sense of spatial belonging transcended the limited tribal world as he worried about the disruptive effects of war to his trade with distant Cape Town, say. His whole frame of reference geared him towards paying allegiance to an as yet ill-defined territorial entity. The tribe had grown into the nationality.

We see that imperialism manifested itself in Azania in its worst form viz settler-colonialism. Not content with the appropriation of raw materials, their processing in its own industries and its eventual sale to the subject gnation at exorbitant prices, imperialism took over occupancy, possession and ownership of the land.

In fact, this was absolutely necessary for imperialism to survive. Plainly the colonizers were white and the colonized were black: the blacks naturally seek to redress their historical grievances and thus a primary goal of struggle in Azania is repossession of the land.

Control of the Azanian masses was achieved by military invasion, by the imposition of taxes, by the institution of fixed tenure, by laws providing for the disarming of black people, by pass laws. Only the white settlers are regarded as citizens of South Africa.

We come to a crucial point: the gran-



Poverty: A way of life

ting of independence to the colony meant no actual change to the social order. Britain simply relieved herself of the administrative-duties of the colony, allowing the settlers to be their own administrators. Britain would no longer send administrators to SA: Instead, she would send capital for investment. Many other British colonies eg Nigeria were granted "independence" but remained neo-colonies. There was only a change of face where the darker hued became caretakers of colonialism. After 1910 white settlers still maintained their privilege as colonial masters. The "Republic of SA" declared in 1961 further froze this position: blacks were and are still excluded as citizens.

One must here note that the settler regime deliberately attempts to distort history by saying that the arrival of blacks in SA coincided with the arrival of the Dutch (in fact blacks arrived at least eight centuries before!) and by calling the people all sorts of derogatory names eg Bantu (people), "Bushmen" and/or "Hottentots" while referring to themselves as the "afrikaners" i.e. Africans (this deliberate terminology is meant to suggest that the settlers own the land and that the black people are immigrants).

The "legalized" UDI that was the Act of Union was inspired by the Bambata Rebellion. The last war of resistance (1906) spurred the imperialists into uniting the settlers. Bambata said "the African people lost the land on the battlefield and can only regain it on the battlefield."

The 1910 Act, then, served to seal the partnership of Boer and Briton and is a vestige of colonialism. It consolidated the dispossession of the black people politically (and formally extended the dispossessed to include the so-called Indian). Note that even by English common law principles (*nemo dat quod non habet*) this "transfer of land" to the Anglo-Boers was invalid: armed robbers cannot have a valid title to other robbers.

Colonialism also further balkanized Azania by creating the "protectorates" of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. Note well that these people actually asked the British to protect them from the boers! The colonial consolidation programme was completed by "benevolent" Britain without the need to fire a single bullet.

We may argue that the so-called Xhosas, Sothos, Coloureds, Indians, Tswanas etc., because of their

landlessness and structured propertylessness, constitute a single black nationality i.e. nation in embryo. The repossession of land and the consequent seizure of political power is an absolute necessity for the achievement of nationhood in the specific conditions of Azania. Note that the achievement of political power does not necessarily mean the achievement of nationhood. Zambia, Uganda etc have gained political independence long before the process of nation-building reached maturity. The acquisition of state power should speed up unity and identification with a clearly defined territorial entity.

BC has long emphasized the National Question. The records in *S v COOPER & OTHERS* at page 61 quotes a resolution proposed by Tiro in 1973 which says:

That this GSC noting that SASO's policy with regard to ownership and political character of this country can be exploited by our enemies for their own ends.

~~*Therefore wishes to explicitly state that this country belongs to Black people and to them alone. Whites will live in or leave this country on terms laid down by Blacks and on condition that they respect the Black people*~~

This should not be construed as anti-whitism: it only means that in as much as Black people live in Europe on terms laid down by Europeans, whites shall be subjected to the same conditions.

We further wish to state that in our operation we shall always be pro-Black.

The BC Movement has consistently opposed the balkanization of Azania into bantustans. In doing this the ruling class is attempting to impose its idea of who or what constitutes the NATION. To say that there are various 'national groups' in South Africa (multi-nationalism, multi-racialism or non-racialism) is to propagate the same ruling class idea. BC, by contrast, has long employed the banner slogan **ONE AZANIA, ONE NATION**. The BC Movement asserts that Black nationalism is the driving force of the struggle.

BC asserts that blacks suffer from national oppression and class exploitation and that the black working class is the vanguard of the struggle. The black people constitute the core

of the emergent Azanian nation. The former settler-colonialists will have to re-orientate themselves to become Azanians. Their acceptability to Azania is conditional on their willingness to accept the reality of the new state. The BC Movement sees that it is necessary to wed the Social with the National Question in order to guarantee that the gains of the revolution will not be sabotaged by treacherous petit-bourgeois leadership.

When imperialism began exploiting Azania's mineral wealth, there was an influx of skilled white workers to the country. This group was in no time elevated to a labour aristocracy and protected from competition by the black workers. The Industrial Conciliation Act of 1913 legalized this division, formally drawing the white labour aristocrat into the ruling class. Thus the white labour aristocrat participated in legitimizing land robbery and arrogating to white settlerdom 87% of Azania.

We reject the notion of **Internal colonialism** because it is based on the false assumption that the whites are natives of Azania. The absence of a metropolitan power makes SA a semi-colony. Doctrines like internal colonialism are unobvious concessions to the heightened consciousness of the black people. European chauvinism simply refuses to recognize the right of national self-determination amongst blacks. In Azania, the multi-racialists or progressive-democrats (the modern day missionaries) try to propagate that Azania "belongs to all who live in it, black and white". We repeat that Azania is not a prostitute which belongs to all or everybody: Azania belongs to the black people. BC is of the view that invariably the most radical amongst the whites is imbued with racism and that no black person can wish away his practical experience at the hands of white society.

Whites who claim that they are committed to seeing a total transformation of this society must slough off the layers of ruling class racist indoctrination and self-induced racist prejudice and begin actively to denounce their heritage of land-robbery, and proclaim the legitimacy of national self-determination led by the black working class, submerge their instinctive herrenvolk and hegemonic desires. When such primary stages of re-socialization are totally experienced, such persons are on the road to becoming Azanians.

National Forum

Africa shall be free when Azania is liberated

The road ahead

This position statement emerged as a result of the deliberations held at the National Internal Summit on the Nkomati Accord at Edendale on 21-22 April 1984. The NFC appreciated FRELIMO'S dilemma and emphasized that the Black people of Azania need to gather their vital resources - only the liberation of Azania can mean liberation for Africa.

We, the oppressed and exploited people of Azania, are witnessing the intensification of the imperialist to assault and hegemonic interests in the region which is aimed at stemming the tide of the total liberation of the people of South Africa.

We note with concern the role some statesmen in Southern Africa have played in that they have become tools of imperialism by promoting the general project of weakening the liberation movement and entrenching racism in South Africa.

For this reason the National Internal Summit called by the National Forum Committee has examined the following issues and passed the following resolutions:

1. Our resolve in regard to the Frontline states.

We acknowledge that the Frelimo Government despite its valiant struggle against Portuguese colonialism and its support for liberation struggles in South Africa was compelled to sign the Nkomati Accord under extreme pressure. Constrained by the heritage of their colonial past and by economic and military considerations beyond their control, they chose this dangerous path of placing their faith in the hands of South Africa's designs and American Imperialism.

2. Warning to Frontline States.

Against this background we wish to strongly remind the Frontline states and other signatories to the Lusaka

Manifesto of 1969 that the destabilising efforts and accords in the region contradict even the moderate sentiments of that manifesto.

We also wish to impress upon the Frontline States that the political developments in this country have reached a point where it is necessary for them to reassess their position and to take heed and not dilute and distort the aspirations and ideas of the oppressed and exploited masses.

3. On the national convention and the civil rights struggle.

We reject the idea of encouraging a national convention as a strategy by the ruling class and their allies which will entrench power in the hands of the racist capitalist regime and their puppets, and thereby betray the struggle for total liberation.

It is in this context that the reduction of the struggle for national self-determination to a mere civil rights campaign is condemned as a gross misrepresentation of the revolutionary character of the struggle.

4. National self-determination.

We reiterate that our struggle is one for national self-determination which is characterised by:

- *The reconquest of the land;*

- *The building of an Azanian nation through an ongoing process of struggle;*

- *The leadership of the black working class;*

- *A socialist character and content.*

- *Anti-imperialism*

5. The forces of liberation

We view the struggle for liberation as a single struggle waged by various liberation forces and we see the Nkomati accord and related events in Swaziland, Lesotho and other countries as a temporary setback.

We, therefore, consider the weakening of any of these as a blow to the entire liberation movement.

6. The road ahead.

In the light of the Nkomati Accord the focus of our struggle will undoubtedly shift onto the internal arena. In this circumstance the liberation forces are presented with an historic opportunity to turn a weakness into a strength.

More than ever before it is incumbent on us to promote practical principled unity of all organisations of the oppressed and exploited people.

The Nkomati Accord indirectly extends the reservoir of cheap black labour on which the racist, capitalist regime thrives and this threat to the labour movement must be met by intensifying organisation and struggle in trade unions and other working class structures.

A Black Eye's View

An apple a day keeps Marxists away . . .

The tropical sun beat down relentlessly upon the tarred streets of Maputo, tempered somewhat by the moist winds blowing in from the Indian Ocean. But even the humidity could not dampen the tension that seemed to have gripped everyone from the top echelons of the People's Party to the lowliest of peasants.

The reason for the despondency was not hard to find: everybody these days was going to bed on a somewhat light stomach. It was a long time since the rains last lashed the usually lush valleys and plains of Mozambique.

Rains, by the way. Not the destructive havoc wreaked by the thunderstorms that accompanied a cyclone called — what, Domoina? Another cyclone, as though told of how easily Domoina had laid waste the peasants' farms in Mozambique, followed soon.

This latter destructive force also went by the beautiful name of a girl. It was called Imboa.

As though the cyclones had not been enough, the three-year drought continued to kill whatever crops the farming community had tried to raise. Everybody was simply starving in Mozambique, though it was not a scourge unique to that land alone.

All these thoughts played slowly in the mind of Samora as he sat beneath a huge multi-coloured umbrella in the garden of his palace. Even though the shade provided by the huge parasol was large and cool enough, he still wore his dark green military cap.

He stroked the fuzz of beard on his chin and tried to come up with solutions, but each time something crossed his mind it was as speedily discarded. Angrily he beckoned Joaquim, his Minister of Foreign Affairs.

"Joaquim, I think you would be doing a far better job if you concentrated on what was happening right here at home than in other lands. What do you expect the peasants to eat in this time of extreme distress? Do you expect them to eat cake," barked Samora while he simultaneously suppressed a cold shiver at the thought of what that last remark had led to in France.

Joaquim had been sitting not far from his peer, also lost in his own thoughts. If Samora had been thinking about the drought and the cyclones and hungry stomachs, Joaquim was thinking of full bellies elsewhere.

He had just returned from Pretoria and Cape Town where he had been feted at some of the most fantastic places he had ever been to in all his life, and was eagerly awaiting a return trip. Only he did not know when that would happen.



Nkomati Pact: A bite of the apple

Dead men tell no tales

"I understand that the people are hungry, Comrade, but I have a promise of six million tons of the choicest of Cape apples if only you will be prepared to be seen with your arch-enemy Boater in public. I have it here, in writing, that if you can sign some document or other we will all begin eating a little bit more," Joaquim said.

Samora knew it too, knew fully well that if he signed along the dotted line he would in a way be "opening sesame" for himself. But unlike Joaquim, he was also aware that such a seemingly innocent exercise like scrawling his initials on papers drafted in Pretoria had its own dangers.

"I have always said it will definitely be a long spoon that I will need to sup with any devil. I have also always stressed the care to be taken when accepting bullets coated with sugar, for they are as lethal as those of lead. Have you not yet learnt that it is foolhardy to accept any gifts from the Greeks?" inquired Samora.

"Be very careful, Comrade. Boater is not a Greek. He and his people have made it clear that they will die to preserve their national identity. He is Afrikaner," retorted Joaquim, classics never having been one of his passions.

Samora ignored him and thought of another obstacle.

"If we sign that thing, Joaquim, do you realise we will have nobody left to blame? Whom will we start calling the "forces of darkness" and "running dogs of the system?" Whom will we start labelling an "imperialist aggressor?" Whom will we accuse of colonialism, because having signed will have made us their colony? Think bright, man, and earn your escudos," said Samora.

But the lure of the apples had got hold of Joaquim, and he was not to be put of by any amount of chiding. Just as the Biblical Eve fell for the magical charms of the fruit, so did the gullible minister for other lands.

"The apples, Samora, the apples! Just think about it! Six million tons of those sweet little things! My soul! Six million tons, Samora! Six



Samora Machel

million," he cooed.

Samora's taste buds were already tingling to the imagined taste of the fruit, though he would not admit it outright.

Instead he said: "Alright. I will sign the imperialist-inspired papers. I will sign for the apartheid apples. It will be done in the name of peace, and we might just appease the peasants. But what if Lenin turns in his grave once he discovers that we are given apples by the capitalists and colonialists of this world?"

Joaquim did not bother about what Lenin might do. He was a firm believer in the theory that dead men tell no tales. All he wanted to hear had been said, and the apples would soon be rolling over the waves of the Indian Ocean in their millions.

Quick as a flash he bolted inside Samora's palace and made for the telephone. His hands were trembling and he could scarcely hold the instrument because of his excitement.

He dialled Pretoria and as soon as the connection was made he rasped into the mouthpiece, "Is that Baas Boater, please? I want to speak to Baas Boater!"

The man on the other end said, "It is Baas Botha. Praat, jong!"

Joaquim could no longer hold his excitement: "Oh, my baas! Oh, my great baas! When can I come to see you again? Today, perhaps? This afternoon? Please, baas!"

"In connection with what is it, man? You is not talking properrly, and I am



P.W. Botha

in a big hurry because, you see, you people mut ansverr that we must meet at the Nkomati place otherrwise we come again and destroy yourrr places. You see?"

But Joaquim had seen too much destruction of his fatherland to care about any more bombings. He was not about to tell "Boater" over the phone what he had.

He wanted a good excuse to go to Pretoria for some more good food and wines and he would not throw away such a magnificent opportunity by saying anything over the telephone.

"Baas, I have good news. I want to ...," he started, but was cut short.

"Alright man. I am sending an Impala fighterr plant to pick you up now, see? I will be waiting for you and I want good news. The radio and television peoples here want news positively, see? There are also these newspaperrr peoples, see?"

Joaquim was by now beside himself. He said: "Baas, I am coming. please have the T-Bone steak, the rice, custard and jelly, ice-cream, milkshakes, strawberry jam, those yellow peaches in syrup, the koeksusters that the Missus bakes so nicely ..."

The other man was equally delighted, but for other reasons. He saw that the carrot and stick method was still an effective weapon, even though bombs every now and then settled most disputes even if the disputes were of an imaginary nature.

"Right, Joaquim, right. You will eat like a good boy tonight. Totsiens."

The Conflict

A clash of cultures

Understanding the nature of psychological oppression to discover precisely where one fits in the scheme of things in an unequal society requires that we briefly examine the history of the conflict that has developed between the oppressed and the oppressor.

In 1652 Jan van Riebeeck and his party landed at the Cape. That date signified for the peoples of this country the beginning of the battle between the indigenous people and the white colonisers from Europe.

From the outset there developed a conflict of interests in that the colonisers sought to exploit the wealth of the land at the expense of the indigenous people.

The indigenous people themselves saw the colonisers as a threat to their continued existence and their rightful ownership of the land. Therefore, the indigenous people began to resist the efforts of the colonisers to encroach upon what was rightfully theirs.

In the beginning the conflict took the form of a series of skirmishes between the Khoi and San people against the Dutch colonisers. The skirmishes followed upon disputes over land and cattle.

These military attacks were bound to end with the colonisers being more successful because of their superior military power. As the colonisers

realised that there was much to be reaped from the land they stepped up their campaigns against the Khoisan and eventually defeated them.

The Khoisan people were literally wiped off the face of the earth by the colonisers who used a variety of tactics to win their battles for supremacy, and lost little time in subjugating the indigenous people in whom they saw a ready labour force.

As it has been seen throughout the world where Europeans invaded other lands, the colonisers had a particular view of the original inhabitants of the land.

For Jan van Riebeeck and his party, the inhabitants of this land were 'savages', 'simple-minded', 'dirty', 'quarrelsome', and a 'nuisance'.

They also regarded them as 'pagans' (non-Christian) and thus looked down upon the people they came into contact with in this part of the world.

This superiority complex gave the colonisers the excuse that they required to be able to oppress the people and exploit the land. They believed that they had the authority from God to 'civilize' the indigenous people who had become the children of satan.

What we witnessed in this part of our

history was the meeting of two different ways of living. The one more militarily and technically advanced; the other still emerging from its own feudal development.

Not only was this a clash of two different economic systems; but it was also a clash of two different cultures, two different value systems.

The powerful system was able to defeat the weaker one. After the defeat of the weaker system the conqueror set about a task of completely destroying the vestiges of that system. It did so to more easily control and manipulate the defeated people so that they could be oppressed and exploited to maintain the power and the privilege of the stronger system.

However, unlike in the other areas where there was a clash of systems, in South Africa the conquerors did not develop an assimilative strategy, i.e. they did not incorporate sections of the defeated people into their system. Rather they opted for a system of exclusion where the defeated people became the hewers of wood and the drawers of water.

A clear division was marked between the ruler and the ruled based upon the colour of the skin. Whites were the rulers and blacks were the ruled.



Who needs the civilisation of the oppressor?

THE CHURCH

We have seen that the rulers had a certain view of the ruled. They saw the ruled as non-Christian, and so they brought in the church to effect a campaign of 'missionising' the indigenous people.

The Christian Church was used as a tool to 'civilize' the indigenous people, in that it broke down the traditional value systems within the indigenous community and replaced them with the values and ideas of the Christian world.

This meant that the indigenous people were urged to reject themselves and their own way of looking at the world and see themselves as they were defined by their new teachers.

The church's role did not begin after the military campaign but in some instances went ahead of the militarists.

Missionaries such as David Livingstone are good examples of the forebearers of the 'Christian word'. They came to Africa in the belief that they were charged with a mission by God to 'civilize' the people of Darkest Africa.

Their task lay in persuading the indigenous people to define themselves in terms laid down by the gospel of Christianity. They were call-

Clash of cultures

ed upon to reject the traditional methods of worship, to hate their past, themselves and their own people.

Everything had to be redefined in terms of Christianity. However, the indigenous people found it difficult to come to terms with a religion that called upon them to relinquish 'material things' and live in the hope of a pleasant 'hereafter'.

They could not come to terms with the jealous God who took everything away from them and gave nothing concrete in return. And when the people rejected the Christian teachings the military might of the Europeans moved in.

Having been defeated the people were forced to reject themselves; and were forced to accept the dictates of the rulers. The way of life determined by the Christian found the defeated people always in a position of subservience because they could not do anything without being told by their masters.

The first step of the conqueror was to break down the beliefs of the conquered, and the church led the way in this. The next step was to break down the language, the dress, education process and the cultural traditions.

MENTAL CRIPPLING

This process led to the mental crippling of the indigenous people. No longer were the people allowed to make decisions about their lives. Now they found that decisions were being made for them. And whenever the people resisted, the military might of the conqueror came down heavily upon them.

All the while the conquerors were taking away the land, and recruiting from the conquered for their labour. This caused, with the black people, the development of an illness - a type of culture shock - where they found that their history, their culture, their language and their wealth was slowly disappearing.

Thus, in their minds the people became lost. They did not know what to do. In most societies where the coloniser had defeated the will of the people there developed a number of syndromes which we shall discuss in the next issue.

(To be continued)



The Manifesto

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

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

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

oppression and exploitation by the white ruling class.

OUR PRINCIPLES

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

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

OUR RIGHTS

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

- *The right to work.*
- *State provision of free and compulsory education for all. Education shall be geared*

towards liberating the Azanian people from all oppression, exploitation and ignorance.

- *State provision of adequate and decent housing for all.*
- *State provision of free health, legal, recreational and other community services that will respond positively to the needs of the people.*

OUR PLEDGES

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

- *The abolition of all laws, institutions and attitudes that discriminate against our people on the basis of colour, sex, religion, language or class.*
- *The re-integration of the bantustan human dumping grounds into a unitary Azania.'*
- *The formation of trade unions that will heighten revolutionary worker consciousness.*
- *The development of one national culture inspired by socialist values.*