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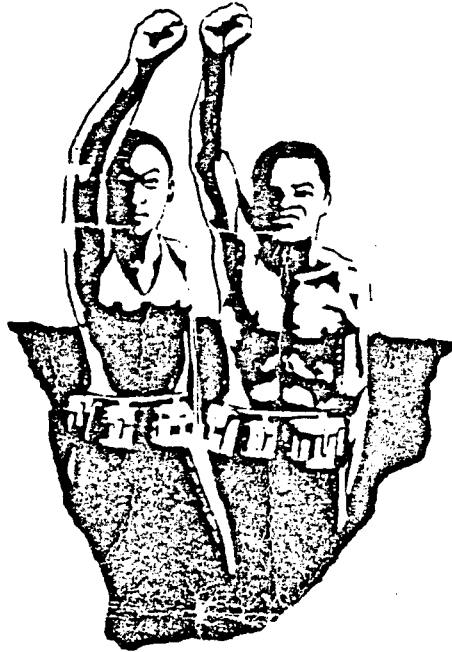
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Azania People's Organization

THE PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT

PROGRAMME



4th ANNUAL CONGRESS HELD AT THE PATIDAP HALL, LENASIA,

ON THE 8th AND 9th JANUARY 1984

ON THE MARCH
facing the challenges

SUNDAY: JANUARY 8th



REGISTRATION

OPENING REMARKS: MUNTU ka MYEZA.

OPENING CONGRESS: HLAKU RACHIDI.

ROLL CALL

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

MINUTES OF LAST CONGRESS.

MATTERS ARISING

COMPOSITE EXECUTIVE REPORT.

DISCUSSION.

GUEST SPEAKER.

THE NEED FOR BLACK SOLIDARITY: NKOSI MOLALA.

STUDENT - WORKER SOLIDARITY : KABELO LENGANE.

SEMINAR PAPERS:

BLACK THEOLOGY

REV JERRY MOSALA

THE LABOUR SITUATION

CYRIL RAMAPHOSA.

THE LAW AND THE STRUGGLE

MATHEWS PHOSA

THE HEALTH SITUATION

DR JOE VARIAVA.

DISCUSSION.

MONDAY: 9th JANUARY

DISCUSSION OF PAPERS

ASSESSMENT OF RECENT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS.

REVIEW OF RESOLUTION 9 OF 1983.

BRAINSTORMING SESSION.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

RESOLUTIONS.

ELECTIONS

NATIONAL ANTHEM

ONE PEOPLE !!!! ONE AZANIA !!!!!

NB: THIS PROGRAMME IS SUBJECT TO CHANGE.

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POLICY DOCUMENT OF AZASM
(AZANIAN STUDENT MOVEMENT)

PREAMBLE

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

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

Therefore resolve:

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

1. BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

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

We understand the ideology of Black Consciousness as :

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

2. SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT

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

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

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3. CLASS AND RACE

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

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

4. RELATIONS WITH ORGANISATIONS

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

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

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

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5. EDUCATION

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

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

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6. SPORT AND CULTURE

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

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

7. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

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

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

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

8. TRADE UNIONS

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

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

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Azapo had just completed a year since its official inauguration and was this in a position to hold its 1st Congress in January, 1981.

1980 was the most trying year for the organisation with its National Executive members as well as the branch Executive members were constantly being harrassed by the White Settler minority regime. When Congress was held, most of the branch Executive Members of the Northern Transvaal were still in detention following the successful bus boycotts there.

The other problem that faced Azapo was the ideological onslaught on the organisation. Some critics maintained that Black Consciousness had completed its logical cycle and that time had dawned for Black Consciousness to open up its ranks, because the ideology had now become racism in reverse.

The oppressive regime was also becoming more subtle in its operations. It aimed at not only dividing Blacks into "Africans" into Zulus, Sothos, Tsongas, Transkeian Xhosas, Ciskeian Xhosas, etc. The Presidents Council was geared at hiring the so-called coloreds and Indians into the White laager.

It was in the light of the above that Azapo went to its first Congress with Courage and Persistence and the Demands of our time as its theme. This bulletin aims at highlighting the major papers that were adopted at Congress, why certain papers were presented, and any criticism on the contents of the papers, the format of the bulletin and any suggestions as to what should be included in the bulletin should be addressed to the publicity Secretary, Y.P.F Centre, 66 Small Street, Johannesburg.2000

There is general talks that Black Consciousness has logically completed its cycle and time has dawned for the Black Black Consciousness people to open their ranks thereby reviewing the ideology.

However, Azapo still defines Blacks as the oppressed people of this country who are deprived of their political, economic and social rights as citizens of Azania. That is why Azapo strongly adheres to Black Consciousness as a liberatory philosophy.

In the following article Azapo outlines its stand on Black Consciousness as driving force.

A PAPER ON "BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS AS A DRIVING FORCE" by Khangale Makhado.

SOUTH AFRICA appears to be a country of extremes in the African continent's political, economic and cultural context. Its capitalist exploitative economy is most developed and apparently it has the oldest Communist Party on the Continent it is the only one with the grandiose and elaborate statutory racism on the scale never known in the history of the continent and Worldwide Humanity; it is the only one on the continent where the force of reaction amongst the Black oppressed, the base tribalistic and divisive so-called Bantustans, have had the longest time to develop themselves.

Stooges Muzorewas and others elsewhere on the continent never had so much time to peddle their sordid wares as puppets Matanzima, Gatsha, Phatudi etc.

In the mist of all these, BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS emerged from the ashes of the mid-sixties' political lull to rally the oppressed Black people under its banner in a concerted drive towards total liberation from all forms of oppression and racism. BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS sees the South African society as divided into two distinct groups - one of the oppressors and the other comprising the oppressed. Whites are the oppressor group whilst Black are the oppressed. Very simple indeed. There is no other group. In South Africa therefore one is either on the side of the oppressor or on the side of the oppressed. Black Consciousness is on the side of the oppressed, i.e. all those who are by law or tradition discriminated against in the South African context and identifying themselves as a unit in the struggle towards the realization of their aspirations. Black Consciousness is a realization by a Black man of the need to rally together with his brother around the cause of their oppression and to operate as a group in order to rid themselves of the shackles that build them to perpetual servitude. B.C. seek to instil the Black community with the new-found pride in themselves, their efforts, their value system, their culture, their religion and their point of view to life.

It seeks to heighten their consciousness of problems related to their oppression, exploitation and dehumanisation whilst at the same time exploring the various options open to Black people's liberation. The "consciousness we speak about is a political one, different from the biological one. It is the consciousness that demands that people, after taking stock of their plight and problems, determine to take appropriate steps to pull themselves out of the morass of exploitation and oppression. An oppressed people that look for more remedies for their oppression and individual problems, cannot be said to be conscious in the political sense.

Black Consciousness asserts that Black liberation can only be brought about by Blacks themselves and nobody else. It therefore exhorts Black to close their ranks, solidify their unity and by so doing realise the power they can only wield as a group. It urges them to strive for reliance upon their own efforts and resources as much as possible where their struggle for liberation is concerned. Hence the slogan "Black man, you are on your own". Thus in our country no genuine struggle for liberation can be waged without offering a strong counterpoint to the white races that permeate our society so effectively. The apologist of Apartheid and other B.C. detractors have called B.C. protagonist reverse racist and white haters. How frivolous. Are Black people expected to hate racism and oppression in a vacuum? Aren't they entitled to concretise their hatred by hating the oppressor, who in this case is the white man? This does not constitute racism at all. It is simply a matter of hating an evil phenomenon and its perpetrators or practitioners. But as soon as racism and oppression are done away with, and the white man is simply another human being and not an oppressor.

Blacks shall have no cause to hate him. The hatred of Whites by Blacks is completely justified as long as whites remain oppressors. It is ridiculous to hate the stick that hits you but love the man who wields it. This is the practical side of the whole issue. For reasons of group cohesion the ranks of the oppressed and recognition of Blacks as the only custodians of their own liberation, Black Consciousness believe in the exclusion of whites from their struggle. There can be no viability in the union of the oppressor and the oppressed, since their interests are opposite of one another. L.C does not deny the existence of a tiny group of whites who can identify themselves with the Black man struggle. Such whites are indeed a rare species and hard to get. However, the priority Blacks have and the desire to solidify the ranks of the all important oppressed, require the exclusion of whites who, in any case, are mere sympathisers who know nothing about the Black man's experience of oppression.

Some of the most diligent critics of B.C are found among the ranks of those dogmatics and blinker - wearing socialists who see the S.African situation as a simple classical situation of the class struggle (It should be noted that we are talking about dogmatic socialists here, and about socialist as a whole) According to them in South Africa the struggle is between the workers on the one hand, and Capitalist on the other. They advocate the rallying and unification of all workers, Black and White, under the same banner in order to confront the capitalist exploiters. They refuse to accept the fact that in the South African situation racism transcends everything and that it has seriously blurred and distorted the classical capitalist class division and related contradictions. It is painful to observe that we are dealing here with people who have learnt some good and elegant theories and formulas, and who are intent on applying them blind to any situation confronting them.

That is indeed a pity, because the said theories recognise the fact that no two situations can be identically be the same in the World. It is incumbent upon freedom fighters in each situation to study it as objectively as possible and devise the necessary and suitable strategies. No matter how powerful and famous a mathematical formula is we cannot solve every problem with it. One should fit a problem to the formula and not the other way round.

Now let us look at the eight classes of society and assess their composition and behaviour in the South African situation.

(1). THE INTERNATIONAL BOURGEOISIE

This comprises international capitalists whose domain of both political and economic activities have gone beyond the borders of their own countries. They are the essence of imperialism, since they are actual exporters of capital which became a matter of great political, economic and social consequence in the host country and compels the exporting country to have vested interests in the domestic affairs of the host country. In our country, this class is represented by foreign multinational investors like the IBMs, GENERAL MOTORS, DUTSUN NISSAN, etc. They are exploiting the available black cheap labour and other resources for their own benefit and that of the South African white racist minority. They do all in their power to strengthen the white racist economically and politically which thing allow the white racist to spurn World opinion and perpetuate their evil Apartheid system.

(2) THE NATIONAL BOURGEOISIE

This class consist of those capitalist whose capital is confined to the borders of their own countries. It is a very powerful group which holds the real reins of power and government in its country and manage things to its own advantage. It consists almost entirely of whites in our country and there no significant Black capitalist in our country, The little ones who are there are incapable of playing their ruling class role due to the constraints of Apartheid.

They had no political powers at all and their meager capitalist activities are severely curtailed and restricted by the demands of Apartheid. This small number of Blacks belonging to this class regard themselves just as oppressed as any other Black group of Blacks.

(3). COMRA-DOR BOURGEOISIE

This is the managerial class. This is the very skilled class which is in charge of the actual running of capitalist production. It plans and erects necessary production infrastructure, such as buildings and machines; it hires and fires workers, it markets products etc, while the real capitalist owners are idling, gambling or walking half naked on the various beaches of the World. To a large extent this class consists of whites in this country and it is completely reactionary.

(4). THE PETTY BOURGEOISIE

This is a class of students, teachers, lawyers, journalists, doctors, nurses etc. Although not well off it is just comfortable. Classically, it is not associated with revolutionary fervour. In our country this class consists of both whites and Blacks. The white members of this class are just part and parcel of the white racist power structure and have a vested interest in its perpetuation. Their Black counterparts, however, are subjected to the vicissitudes of racism and many of their members have joined the Black liberation struggle. The leadership of the Black liberation struggle is provided largely by this class. Its revolutionary zeal and participation was amply demonstrated in the 1976 uprising and the continuing resistance by our people to the white oppression.

(5). THE PROLETARIATE

This is the class of wealth-producers- the workers whose existence depends entirely on the selling of their labour to the capitalist for a wage. Classically it is the most revolutionary class in the society. In our country it consists of both blacks and whites. The white components of this class have not escaped the all pervasive racist mania which is the sketch of our country. The white working class works and votes to promote and maintain the present racist set-up which is affording them benefits they can only have by keeping the Black man oppressed. Traditionally and classically, trade unions promote and protect the interests of all the workers against the evil machinations of the capitalist exploiters. In South Africa, the White trade unions have ganged up with the white capitalist and Government to trample the Black worker. Together they have fashioned laws, regulations and traditions that have reduced the Black worker to a Neo-slave. Furthermore almost every white worker is an employer of a Black man as a so-called maid, garden boy etc. Thus all white people, be the capitalist or workers, have a common interest in keeping the Black man as poor and voiceless as possible.

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Now, with the white worker as thoroughly reactionary as this, where does the "logic" of the apostles of the "unity of all white and black workers" lie? How can a black worker even start approaching a white worker, who insists on being called "Baas" to discuss problems they do not have in common. In fact, the black and white workers are each with their own problems. The blinker-wearing socialist refuses to see all these.

They refuse to accept the P.C view that the only workers in South Africa are the Black workers, and that the bribed white working class should be regarded as part of the enemy. Presently the white capitalist and their State, having been alarmed by the resilience of the Black worker and his unrecognised Trade Unions have decided to change tactics and strategies. They will now register Black Unions in order to emasculate them. We all know how hysterical the white workers are in his opposition to the move,

simply because he believes the black worker will be able to threaten the privilege position of his white counterpart.

(6) THE LUMPEN PROLETARIATE

It consist of the won't works. It is a class that completely refuse to work within the morality of capitalist system. For capitalist and their State, This class is the constant headache and menace. The huge security fences around properties, the nigh watchmen, the buglar alarms etc., are all provided in honour of this class. Well over 90% of all the inmates of prisons are members of this group. In our country it consists overwhelmingly of Blacks. Due to its hatred of authority of any kind, this class is at all times ready to participate in the Liberatory struggle, as demonstrated by its role in the 1976 uprising. The only drawback about this class is its general lack of intergrity and hence its coupling acts like looting for personal gain.

(7) THE RICH PEASANTRY

It consist of those who are able to produce a surplus from their limited agricultural activities who might even hire others to assist with related chores. The surplus is sold. It is the very small class indeed and it is largely severely restricted by the unavailability of land for the expansion of their farming activities.

The 13% land allocated to Blacks in this country hits the class particularly hard. Like other Black classes, it thoroughly loathes Apartheid.

(8) THE POOR PEASANTRY

This consist of those peasants who can hardly make a living from their meage. and poor farming activities. It consist entirely of Blacks in the rural areas of our country. It is from this class that the bulk of the migratory labours are drawn. In fact, this class leads a dual life some where between the peasantry and prolerariate. It leads a particularly harsh and miserable life away from its family associations crowding the develish hostels.

Having glance briefly at this classes, it is clear that the South African situations defies the normal of classical class orientations. Almost in toto, the White working class has defected to the capitalist class and operate as such politically and economically. On the other hand, none of the Black classes plays its traditional role, due, largely, to the all pervasive monster called white race. Black people tend to see themselves, not in terms of economic classes, but in terms of their experiance as an oppressed and exploited group.

At this time BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS is facing an onslaught from both left and right but resisted the tough task it has been facing. Having seen the situation for what is objectively is, Black consciousness offers itself as thee only viable and appropriate vehicles Black people can ride to final victory and freedom.

AZAPO AND OTHER B.C ORGANIZATIONS I SAY LONG LIVE AND WISHING YOU ALL THE COURAGE AND PERSISTENCE IN PERSUATION OF YOUR DUTIES IN ONE AZANIA, ONE NATION.

There has been a lot of debate and misconception as to the meaning of the word "Azania". Some people claim it means the "land of slaves". This is a contradiction in terms because no slave can own any land. In the following article Azapo attempt to explain the Origin Meaning and Significance of the word "AZANIA"

Azania is a Greek transcription of the Arabic name Adjan (pronounced A-DZ-AN) which refers to the East African shore consisting of countries like Somalia, Ethiopia, Kenya and Tanzania.

It is very important to note that Azania has been placed on linguistic evidence in the central area of the Northern Savannas. From here it seems likely that the small groups (different linguistic groups) followed the rivers that traverse the rain forest till they reach the central part of the Savannas. From this point the steady pressure of population growth probably caused the migration of the Black groups in all different directions, thus bringing them into contact with the people of different stocks like the Bushmanoids of Southern Africa the Azanians of Eastern Africa, the Indonesian and the Arabs of the coast with whom they merged to form Swahili.

Swahili comes in because of the very strong trade relations between South Arabia and Azania which date back to many centuries B.C. This Azanian civilisation was mature, had a culture of its own and an accomplished language viz. Swahili. Here one must stress that the Swahili language and culture is an arabised African product whose basis and most of its elements are African.

The characteristics of the Azanian civilisation were that it consisted of a sedentary, agricultural and iron-age folk who practised irrigation works such as canals and terraces, roads, mine workings and smithies, cairns and rock paintings.

The years between 500 and 1500 A.D. were the millennium of maximum growth and development of iron age culture in Eastern and Southern Africa. Social and economic growth was given an impetus by a more advanced agriculture; the emergence of larger and stronger tribal societies; the increasing demand from the coast for ivory and iron and gold and other goods, and the expanding capacity of these settled peoples of the interior to supply this demand and to buy in turn imports from the coast.

The move downwards came about during the 14th century when East Africa suffered a long series of migratory invasion from the north, mainly by pastoral nomads from the horn of Africa. The Azanians were organised whether for peace or war on the extended family of negroid and bushmanoid tradition, while the nomads were organised to move and fight in larger cohesive groups. The technically more primitive nomads were militarily stronger, both by the manner of their lives and the method of their organisation. The Azanians were thus overwhelmed by this barbaric invasion from the North North, their civilising growth stultified and brought to an end.

However, in Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Transvaal the nature of the Azanian culture modified and changed one more by further migration and development in the new

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circumstances, re-emerged flowering and outlived the barbaric invasion in its splendour and majesty. The re-emergence of this civilisation emphasised the fact that these Africans were all branches from single stem because of the similarity in their use of stone dwellings, irrigation, soil conservation, in their mining and metal work, in their knowledge of a widely various pharmacopeia, in their fusion of tribal law and custom with an intertribal and tribute paying system of centralised power, in their habits and in their indigeonous pottery.

In Swahili its kusini and zasi; in shona which all mean south. Etymologically the common heritage of Swahili clearly emerges. In Zulu zansi means down or south. When one looks at countries where the phoneme za or z emerges, one discovers that such countries are situated in the southern hemisphere, e.g. Zanzibar, Mozambique, Zambia, Zaire, and perhaps Zimbabwe. In the ~~later~~ letter zi can be compared to the Zulu ningizimu which also means south. ia is a suffix that denotes land whilst the Swahili nia refers to the innermost part of man, heart, mind conscience or disposition.

The name Azania is also derived from the Egyptian word Zanj which means Black People. For Blacks in this country. Azania is associated with the liberation of their land, whilst South Africa is associate with apartheid, colonial oppression, fascism and all the other oppressive measures that are being meted out against Black people.

It is for the reason that Black Consciousness refers to our beloved country, as Azania. It is calling on the Black people's conscience, hearts and minds to rise up, to recreate and relive the life that was created by the Azanian civilization. It calls on Black people to realised their importance in this continent, to see their value and to recognise the contribution they have made to the world in general.

In the 19th century, when imperialism gained momentum, everything great, everything fine, everything really successful in human culture was white. Black people in Africa who showed any trace of progress were labelled as white. A system first conscious and then unconscious of lying about Blacks became so wide spread that the authentic history of Africa ceased to be taught. With the wink of an eye, printing, smelting of iron, the beginnings of social organisation, not to mention political life and democracy, were attributed exclusively to whites

All that I have just mentioned were the inventions of Black man in Africa and his contributions to the world as a whole. Azapo therefore, calls upon all Azanians to resume their position as pace-setters in the world. Like the muslims and Azan a call to prayer, a call to commitment, an observance of the doctrine, a cherishing all that is of value, an appreciation of all that is good, a reverence of beauty and the majesty of the creation, Azapo calls upon all Blacks in this country to do everything in their power to restore Azania to its formidable position in the international field. Is there any other way of achieving this than being proud of Azania our country? We are all beneficiaries of that magnificent, superb and inimitable Azanian civilization. Lets us all then rise up, one in deed, united in action, steadfast in our goal and fight for our inalienable rights as One People, in One Azania, One Nation.

There is general concern about the increasing polarisation between Black and White in the country. Some people believe that peaceful change is still a possibility in South Africa. Hence moves and talks towards a National Convention. However, Azapo has a different view on the National Convention and its stand on this is this.

Today it is an open secret that the idea of a National Convention was mooted as far back as 1978. Individuals from various organisations, Black and white ranging from church, welfare, service to political organisations. On the political organisations all except one or two are working within government created institutions. What it must stress is that these people came as individuals with no mandate from their respective organisations. But as individuals attending they gave a de facto acceptance to the idea of National Convention to their organisations. Monthly informal meetings were held in 1978 and the last meeting was held in August last year. After this meeting a meeting was to be held where the National Convention movement was to be formally launched and constituted. This proved to be a disaster because one of the major participants in these talks did not attend, and the press gave it a premature blow up thereby embarrassing some of the participants. The next informal meeting will be next Sunday February 1, 1981, to prepare for a bigger more formal meeting hopefully on the 1st March 1981. Due to the attacks and especially Azapo's rejection of National Convention, this movement has been renamed the Constitution Movement, and its task is to draw a new acceptable constitution for this country. A questionnaire to this effect has been drafted by Mr. Van Zyl Slabbert leader of the PFP.

The initiative in this move was taken by the Black Sash and all the monthly come-togethers were chaired by their chairperson Mrs. Joyce Harris. Two things that must be highlighted are:

- (1) This move is a result of the 1976 aftermath
- (2) It comes immediately after the banning of 18 A.C. organisations in 1977.

1976 gave birth to liberal organisations like the Urban Foundation, whose main objective was to diffuse and to blunt Black anger and militancy of the oppressed Blacks will thus be "protected" by the maintenance and sustenance of capitalism and will be a catalyst towards meaningful change.

Similarly the Black Sash seems to have exploited the bannings of EPC and Saso specifically and started this move of an internal settlement thereby trying to promote a South African Muzorewa. The PFP also joined the bandwagon for similar reasons. Again we have the case of liberals entering our struggle at leadership level rather than at grassroots level, deciding what is good for us, "fighting" our struggle for us thereby giving a white head to a Black body.

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We are here faced with a total onslaught and it is imperative that we know what we know what we are fighting for and who we are fighting against. We must be able to tell our genuine friends from our genuine enemies. In order to do this we must have a clear and concise revolutionary thinking. We must have absolute ideological clarity which clarity must be coherent, comprehensive and adaptable.

Those who want to participate in struggle for liberation must therefore ask themselves whether they want to be reformists, revisionists or revolutionaries. We know that reformists abandon their original principles and expect others to do the same. Revisionists add to or modify their original principles. Whilst revolutionaries are fighting for the complete overhauling of the system. I leave it up to you to decide on which of these three categories the National Convention move falls.

This brings me back to the basic tenet of Black Consciousness viz. that in South Africa today there is only one class of people who have nothing at all to lose if the present system were to be radically changed in such a way that class is the Black working class. It alone can look at the situation without any qualification or reservations. It alone can question the holy-cow not only of the so-called petty apartheid but of the socio-economic system of the total onslaught.

The Black workers has nothing to lose but the chains that bind him in the form of pass laws, influx control, migratory labour, inferior education, rent hikes, bus fare hikes, force resettlement, evictions, detentions without trial, banning orders, banishment, death in detention and all the myriad of the South African oppressive laws.

In short, the rank and file Black activist is the crucial lynchpin of the workers organisation. His resources derive from those he represents and organises: he or she depends, not on their passive consent but upon their active support. He is in the struggle not because of moral obligation, nor because of pangs of conscience but because he really lives and feels the agony of oppression. It is therefore he, who because of ideological commitment, faith and wisdom in the organisation, will continue with his valour in the struggle because of the practical knowledge and experience he has acquired in the quagmire of oppression.

The present initiative for a National Convention comes from quarters that have ulterior motives and have certain privileges that they want to protect. Hence the harnessing and grooming of Black Leadership that they will manipulate at will.

At this juncture it will be opportune to juxtapose this move towards a National Convention with the historical events with our neighbouring countries in Southern Africa. Colonialism will be the operative word.

Colonialists usurped our countries from us and imposed their rule on us, and dominated all aspects of our lives thereby alienating us from our traditions, culture, mores and norms. Protests against foreign domination were made, negotiations failed and the last resort was the bush, and we had to fight fire with fire.

The first of our neighbours to be liberated were the former Portuguese colonies. The pressure the freedom fighters exerted through the guerilla warfare caused Portugal so much in terms of human lives military warfare, financially etc. that the likes of General Spínola could no longer stomach the idea of fighting a losing battle hence the take over by the military junta which gave in to the liberation

4. The historical political organisations ~~such as~~ ANC, PAC, and EPC should be party to the talks.
5. The attack on our brothers at the borders should come to an end for we believe that the people who have resorted to the armed struggle have done so because of frustration that their protests and complaints have fallen on deaf ears.
6. There can be no negotiation between non equals.

From the foregoing, it is clear that time is not yet ripe for a National Convention and that it is an exercise in futility. We should pressurise and force the SA government to a negotiation table, and when we do this, I hope they won't be in a pathetic and hopeless condition in which Smith was, when he went to Lancashire.

No 2

29987

"AP11" Jan 2.3.13

SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE GAVE US A CLEAR PICTURE OF THE TWO DIFFERENT KINDS OF PEOPLE IN SOUTH AFRICA. WE HAVE THE PEOPLE WHO THINK THEY CAN OPPRES PEOPLE FOREVER AND THE PEOPLE WHO ARE PREPARED TO SACRIFICE THEIR LIVES FOR REPARATION WITH THE ~~RETRIBUTION~~ OF WHAT RIGHTFULLY BELONGS TO THEM.

SINCE THE 21ST MARCH 1960, THE BLACK PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY HAVE REALISED THAT ~~INDIVIDUALISM~~ INDIVIDUALISM WOULD NOT BRING THE POSITIVE RESULTS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THEIR LIBERATION. THE ~~ADDITION~~ COMING INTO PICTURE OF THE ^{PHILOSOPHY} BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS IN OUR STRUGGLE WAS THE CLEAR INDICATION OF THE DETERMINATION TO LIBERATE THEMSELVES FROM ALL SORTS OF OPPRESSION.

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS AS DEFINED IN THE 70'S AND TODAY IS REALISATION BY A BLACK MAN OF THE NEED TO RALLY TOGETHER WITH HIS BROTHERS AROUND THE CAUSE OF THEIR OPPRESSION AND CREATE GROUPS IN ORDER TO REAR THEMSELVES OF THE SHACKLES THAT BIND THEM TO CONTINUAL SLAVERY.

WHEN WHITE WORKERS BECOME AWARE OF
 THEMSELVES AS A CLASS AND REALISE THAT
 THE WEALTH CREATED BY THE MAJORITY
 SHOULD BE SHARED AMONG ALL, THEN ONLY
 WILL IT BE POSSIBLE TO RECONSIDER
 THE LABOUR-ORIENTATED VIEW OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS
 UNTIL THEN, WHITES MUST BE EXCLUDED FROM
 THE STRUGGLE OF THE TRUE WORKING CLASS
 FOR LIBERATION FROM ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION
 AND POLITICAL OPPRESSION. BLACK WORKERS ARE
 THE HISTORICAL FORCE FOR THE LIBERATION
 OF THIS COUNTRY. IT IS THIS CLASS THAT
 HOLDS THE FUTURE IN THEIR HANDS.

IN A WORLD OF ADVANTAGES, IT IS PLEASANT
 TO BE ON THE SIDE OF ADVANTAGE WHERE
 THERE IS SO MUCH TO LOSE IN THE SAME
 OF LIFE, IT IS AN ADVANTAGE TO BE
 ON THE WINNING SIDE. IF ON THE MIST OF
 LIFE WE ARE IN DEATH, IT IS AN ADVANTAGE
 IF ONE CAN SAY 'IN THE MIST OF DEATH
 WE ARE IN LIFE.' OURS IS A WINNING
 SIDE. FORWARD TO THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC
 ONE AZANIA! ONE NATION.

Jan 2.3.13

IT IS A MANIFESTATION OF A NEW REALISATION THAT BY SEEKING TO RUN AWAY FROM THEMSELVES AND TO EMULATE THE WHITE MAN, BLACKS ARE INSULTING THE INTELLIGENCE OF WHOEVER CREATED THEM BLACK. BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS TAKES COGNIZANCE OF THE DELIBERATENESS OF GOD'S PLAN IN CREATING BLACK PEOPLE BLACK.

IN TERMS OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS APPROACH WE RECOGNISE THE MAJOR FORCE IN SOUTH AFRICA. THIS IS RACISM COUPLED WITH CAPITALISM WHICH HOLDS THE PEOPLE OF AZANIA IN BONDAGE FOR THE BENEFIT OF WHITE SOCIETY. No 2 25/5/81

THE THINKING ALONG LINES OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS THE BLACK MAN SEE HIMSELF AS A BEING, ENTIRE AND NOT AS AN ADDITIONAL LEVERAGE TO SOME OPERATED MACHINE. WE HAVE THE THE NUMBER OF HIS IN THE DETERMINATION WHICH CLEARLY INDICATED WHITE AND AND FIGHT THE COMMON ENEMY. BLACKS HAVE REALISED THAT CAPITALISTS DO NOT BELIEVE IN GIVING FOR FREE, AND THEREFORE, WHAT EVER THEY GIVE, THEY FIRST COUNT THE GAIN. No 2 25/5/81

84/10/C)

Item 2.3.13

(4)

THE SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE GAVE US
 A CLEAR PICTURE OF THE TWO
 DIFFERENT KINDS OF PEOPLE ^{WE HAVE} IN SOUTH
 AFRICA. WE HAVE THE OPPRESSOR AND
 THE OPPRESSED. WHITES ARE THE OPPRESSORS
 WHILE BLACKS ARE THE OPPRESSED.
 THIS KIND OF ANALYSIS WAS PROVED
 BY THE DEATH OF 69 UNARMED BLACKS
 WHO WERE BRUTALLY SHOT BY WHITE
 POLICEMEN.

BY BLACK WE MEAN ALL 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
 A UNIT IN THE STRUGGLE TOWARDS THE
 REALISATION OF THEIR ASPIRATIONS.

THIS NEW ^{BLACK} IDENTITY WAS SEEN IN 1960 No 2
 WHEN 20,000 PEOPLE MANAGED TO HOLD 25/9/87
 THEIR HEADS HIGH IN DEFIANCE RATHER
 THAN WILLINGLY SURRENDER THEIR SOULS
 TO THE WHITE MAN. THIS WAS THE REALISATION
 BY THE BLACK MAN OF THE NEED TO RALLY
 TOGETHER WITH HIS BROTHERS AROUND THE CAUSE
 OF THEIR OPPRESSION AND OPERATE AS A GROUP

Item 2.3.13

IN ORDER TO RID THEMSELVES OF THE
SHACKLES THAT BIND ~~THEMSELVES~~^{THEM} TO
PERPETUAL SERVITUDE.

"AP12"

Item 2.3.14

AZAPO  **Azanian People's Organization**

Telephone: (011) 836-7046

Ref.: ACCUMULATING CREDITORS' DEBTS

115 Fleetway House
208 Bree Street
Johannesburg 2001

*Comr. Dube Hlomuka
Vaal Branch*

6th AUGUST 1984

Comrade

Re: OUR DEBTS WITH CREDITORS

This letter is being addressed to you as an AZAPO member of long standing who plays a leading role in the Organisation's visibility.

The Organisation is on the brink of administrative collapse and this largely because of lack of finances. Had our membership dues and pledges been forthcoming this situation could have been averted.

In order to meet outstanding creditors' demands we request you to contribute at least a minimum of R20 as soon as possible but not later than the 25th AUGUST 1984. It is expected that thereafter you will contribute a similar amount each month. (Please see attached list).

Please feel free to contact the undersigned at the offices or by telephoning 836-7046 (which, as you will realise, we are forced to use because our lines are cut!).

Towards consolidation of the AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION.

WE NEED YOUR ACTIVE ASSISTANCE!

Yours in the struggle



Zithulele N. A. Cindi
PROJECTS CO-ORDINATOR

Encl

MASSACRE AT NGOYE

That blood-thirsty, collaborationist ethnic chief has done it again this time at the University of Zululand.

Last Saturday's cowardly and barbaric attack on unarmed students at Ngoye, should be condemned by all those who profess to uphold the principles of academic freedomand DEMOCRACY.

BACKGROUND

For quite sometime now that ethnic-based organisation Inkatha, has, by force and intimidation, suppressed any opposition to Gatsha at Ngoye.

A democratic student organisation had to either operate underground or face the wrath of kierie-wielding thugs on campus, or operate clandestinely.

As Chancellor the "Chief" feels he has got every right to be on Campus, at anytime He could even bring his whole ill-trained, Blood-thirsty and undisciplined army with him if he feels like it. "Whether students are preparing for exams or not, I GATSHA, will hold a rally on Campus".

Students at Ngoye had on several occasions demonstrated their intolerance for a supported and defender of the system.

BUILD-UP

On August 12, a meeting that was to have been addressed by Inkatha Secretary-General, Oscar Dhlomo was disrupted by angry students.

MASSACRE

Last Saturday while Ngoye students were within their right protesting against the disturbing and distracting presence of a collaborationist Zulu impi on their campus 17 bus loads of battle-song chanting thugs including women attacked unarmed and defenceless students, using an array of weapons including kieries, spears, sticks, and iron rods.

"AP13"

Nov 2.3.15

The fact that a lecturer at that university was leading the onslaught against the students is deplorable to say the least. Yet that bespectacled Zulu chief blames instigators for opposition against his sell-out tactics. That is a smokescreen, Chief.

WE SAY

This cowardly, barbaric and unprovoked attack by that remote-controlled, ill-disciplined barbaric and blood-thirsty ethnic impi has no place in any society.

While the circumstances are presently not conducive for Ngoye students to prepare themselves both mentally and physically for the exams, we call for courage and calm in the face of this unprovoked and unwarranted provocation.

We pledge solidarity with the students of Ngoye.

Our heartfelt sympathy and condolences to the friends and families of the students who lost life and limb in this barbaric attack.

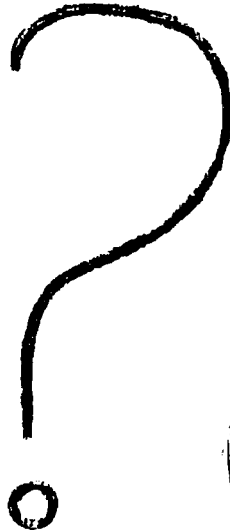
We wish those in hospital a speedy recovery.

We call upon all black people to observe the period starting from the fourth(4 th) to the seventh(7th) November as a period of mourning.

Should we allow this oppressor to be on rampage? A THOUSAND TIMES NO!!!

DOWN WITH PUPPETS: FORWARD TO A FREE, DEMOCRATIC, ANTI-RACIST WORKER REPUBLIC OF AZANIA.

Issued by THE AZANIAN STUDENT MOVEMENT -- NATIONAL EXECUTIVE (NEC)



No 2 se bent

No 2. 2075787

AP14

2.5.84

QUESTIONNAIRE
AZANIA SHALL BE FREE

A Z A P O A Z A P O A Z A P O A Z A P O

The Azanian People's Organisation invites you to a general meeting of the Sebokeng and Sharpville branches to be held at:

<u>Sebokeng</u>	<u>Sharpville</u>
Date 20 05 84 SUNDAY	19 05 84 SATURDAY
Venue Roman Catholic Church	Anglican Church
Time 14h00 2.00pm	14h00 2.00pm

AZANIA SHALL BE FREE WE SHALL FREE HER

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AZANIA SHALL BE FREE WE SHALL FREE HER

DUPA SOHN HLOMOKA

BESK. 2
oupa JOHN HLUMOKA.

Item 2.3.16

QUESTIONNAIRE
QUESTIONNAIRE

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Handwritten note: Decided before the 1st Feb 1984

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Item 2.3.16

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AZANIA SHALL BE FREE WE SHALL FREE HER

AP 15

"AP15"

form 8-3-17

①

A Z A P O M E M B E R S H I P F O R M

T:

This form is to be filled by each and every member of the organisation. One copy to be sent to the Head Office and one copy to remain with the branch.

Surname. ..NETSHIVHALE.....

Name. ..TRYLORD.....

Address ..7506 SHARPEVILLE.....

Employer/School. ..LEGAL & GENERAL BUILDINGS.....

.....35 SAUER STR. JHB.....

Date of birth.'53-12-11.....

Branch ..ORANJE - VAAL.....

Unit (where applicable)

Other Organisation

Branch Chairman's Signature

Membership card Number ..001219.....

Date

Jan 2.3.17 (2)

A Z A P O M E M B E R S H I P F O R M

T:

This form is to be filled by each and every member of the organisation. One copy to be sent to the Head Office and one copy to remain with the branch.

Surname. ... T. SHARAWALA

Name. ... F. N. C. H.

Address ... 1298 MATSHENTANI STR.

... P.O. SHARPEVILLE

... 1932

Employer/School. ... Orange Vaal Administration Board

... Private Bag 1029

... Vanderbijlpark 1900

Date of birth. ... 1953.09.06

Branch ... ORANGE-VAAL

Unit (where applicable)

Other Organisation

Branch Chairman's Signature ... [Signature]

Membership card Number

Date ... 1981-07-01

AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION

3

MEMBERSHIP FORM

[Signature]

Jan 2.3.17

REGION : Vaal.....

CARD NO :

BRANCH : Sekake's.....

PARTICULARS

SURNAME : W. P. M. M. M. M......

NAME : Sekake's Klaar.....

ADDRESS : HOME : 2196 Zoni 12.....

Sekake's.....

TEL 37-1064.....

WORK : Vaal Transport Corp.....

Box 76.....

Vereeniging.....

TEL : 22-3561.....

HOURS : 8 9 1/2 hrs

TYPE OF BIRTH : 1-01-1950.....

OTHER ORGANISATIONS : TRANSPORT AND ALLIED W. UNION

MEMBERSHIP FEE : 10.00 RECEIPT NO:

SUBSCRIPTION FEE

	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JULY	AUG	SEPT	OCT	NOV	DEC
REIPT NO												
AMOUNT												

10TH/06/1984

BRANCH CHAIRMAN : *[Signature]*

AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION

4

MEMBERSHIP FORM

Jan 23.17

REGION : Vaal

CARD NO :

REGION : SEBOKENG

PARTICULARS

SURNAME : MOFORATSI

NAME : MOLEFE E.108

ADDRESS : HOME : 571049 ZONC?

..... SEBOKENG

WORK : ANGLO ALFA GROUP

..... Box 65 NILJOENS DRIFT

..... DENNISVILLE

TEL : 1712

HOURS : 9 HRS

DATE OF BIRTH : 09-07-1957

OTHER ORGANISATIONS :

.....

MEMBERSHIP FEE : 10..... RECEIPT NO:

SUBSCRIPTION FEE

	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JULY	AUG	SEPT	OCT	NOV	DEC
DATE												
AMOUNT												

..... 29-05-1984

BRANCH CHAIRMAN : [Signature]

5

A Z A P O M E M B E R S H I P F O R M

Jan 2.3.17

TT

This form is to be filled by each and every member of the organisation. One copy to be sent to the Head Office and one copy to remain with the branch.

Surname. SEFATSA.....

Name.

Address
.....
.....

Employer/School.
.....
.....

Date of birth.

Branch ORANGE VAAL.....

Unit (where applicable)

Other Organisation
.....

Branch Chairman's Signature

Membership card Number CC1209.....

Date 18-03-1981.....

A Z A P O M E M B E R S H I P F O R M

term 2.3.17

Tf

This form is to be filled by each and every member of the organisation. One copy to be sent to the Head Office and one copy to remain with the branch.

Surname. ..SECIABA.....

Name.

Address

.....

.....

Employer/School.

.....

.....

Date of birth.

Branch

FRANCIE NAAL

Unit (where applicable)

Other Organisation

Branch Chairman's Signature

Membership card Number

901206

Date

18-08-1991

A Z A P O M E M B E R S H I P F O R M

Item 2.3.17

T:

This form is to be filled by each and every member of the organisation. One copy to be sent to the Head Office and one copy to remain with the branch.

Surname. .. BEDE:

Name.

Address

.....

.....

Employer/School.

.....

.....

Date of birth.

Branch .. ORANGE VAAL

Unit (where applicable)

Other Organisation

.....

Branch Chairman's Signature

Membership card Number .. 001207

Date .. 18-08-1981

A Z A P O M E M B E R S H I P F O R M

Jan 20 2017

T:

This form is to be filled by each and every member of the organisation. One copy to be sent to the Head Office and one copy to remain with the branch.

Surname. M. S. A. A......

Name.

Address
.....
.....

Employer/School.
.....
.....

Date of birth.

Branch ORANGE VAAL.....

Unit (where applicable)

Other Organisation

Branch Chairman's Signature

Membership card Number 001208.....

Date 18-08-1981.....

A Z A P C MEMBERSHIP FORM

Item 2.3.17

T:

This form is to be filled by each and every member of the organisation. One copy to be sent to the Head Office and one copy to remain with the branch.

Surname.

Name. *Andrew*

Address

P.O. VANDERWALL 1030

Employer/School.

*DUNGHAMVILLE VETERINARIANS
1030*

Date of birth.

Branch *ORANGE-VAAL*

Unit (where applicable)

Other Organisation *MEMBER (BASIC) HAWK BOMBS (C.A.S.)*

Branch Chairman's Signature *[Signature]*

Membership card Number

Date *1981-07-01*

12

A Z A P O M E M B E R S H I P F O R M

Item 2-3-17

T:

This form is to be filled by each and every member of the organisation. One copy to be sent to the Head Office and one copy to remain with the branch.

Surname. BEFATA.....

Name.

Address
.....
.....

Employer/School.
.....
.....

Date of birth.

Branch GRANGE VAAL.....

Unit (where applicable)

Other Organisation
.....

Branch Chairman's Signature

Membership card Number 901209.....

Date 18-03-1981.....

A Z A P O M E M B E R S H I P F O R M

T:

Jan 2.3.17

This form is to be filled by each and every member of the organisation. One copy to be sent to the Head Office and one copy to remain with the branch.

Surname. MOSALA.....

Name.

Address
.....
.....

Employer/School.
.....
.....

Date of birth.

Branch CRANF. VAAL.....

Unit (where applicable)

Other Organisation
.....

Branch Chairman's Signature

Membership card Number 1001208.....

Date 18-03-1981.....

A Z A P O M E M B E R S H I P F O R M

Jun 2.3.17

T:

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Surname.

Name.

Address
.....
.....
.....

Employer/School.
.....
.....

Date of birth.

Branch

Unit (where applicable)

Other Organisation

Branch Chairman's Signature

Membership card Number

Date

A Z A P O M E M B E R S H I P F O R M

Jan 2.3.17

T:

This form is to be filled by each and every member of the organisation. One copy to be sent to the Head Office and one copy to remain with the branch.

Surname. SECHABA

Name.

Address

.....

.....

Employer/School.

.....

.....

Date of birth.

Branch ORANGE VIAAL

Unit (where applicable)

Other Organisation

.....

Branch Chairman's Signature

Membership card Number 901206

Date 18-08-1991

A Z A P O M E M B E R S H I P F O R M

Jan 2.3.17

Tf

This form is to be filled by each and every member of the organisation. One copy to be sent to the Head Office and one copy to remain with the branch.

Surname. SENIE

Name.

Address

.....

.....

Employer/School.

.....

.....

Date of birth.

Branch ORANGE VAAL

Unit (where applicable)

Other Organisation

.....

Branch Chairman's Signature

Membership card Number 001207

Date 18-08-1981

A Z A P O M E M B E R S H I P F O R M

Form 2-3-17

TC

This form is to be filled by each and every member of the organisation. One copy to be sent to the Head Office and one copy to remain with the branch.

Surname. MOLA

Name. Hercules Kwafo

Address Hunkel Mt

Room 29 Block B

Seboheng 1989

Employer/School. Apex International Valves

P.O. Box 313

College Street Polokwane 1980

Date of birth. 29-6-80

Branch ORANGE-VAAL

Unit (where applicable)

Other Organisation EX-STEEL WORK UNIONS (S.W.A.)

Branch Chairman's Signature [Signature]

Membership card Number

Date 10th - JULY - 2017

AZAPO MEMBERSHIP FORM

Item 2.3.17

T:

This form is to be filled by each and every member of the organisation. One copy to be sent to the Head Office and one copy to remain with the branch.

Surname. *Makoni*

Name. *S. Makoni*

Address *Box 218, DORCHESTERVILLE*
VEREENIGING

Employer/School. *P.P.E. INTERNATIONAL KALIES*
BOX 218, DORCHESTERVILLE
VEREENIGING 1980

Date of birth. *5/10/57*

Branch *ORANGE-Vaal*

Unit (where applicable)

Other Organisation *EX-STEEL WORK (LONDON) (S.V.V.)*

Branch Chairman's Signature *[Signature]*

Membership card Number

Date *1981 - JULY - 21TH*



"AP16"

2.3.18

AZAPO Azanian People's Organization

Telephone: (011) 834-3410

115 Fleetway House
208 Bree Street
Johannesburg 2001

Ref.:

Dear Comrade,

No 2: 21/5/87

Revolutionary Greeting To a Truly Comrade and Fighter!

There will be ~~EVATON UNIT~~ meeting on Saturday the 17 JULY/17/07/82 at 2PM and the meeting will be at HOUSE NUMBER 575026 ZONE 3

The Purpose of the meeting is to:

- (a) Explain the CONSTITUTION and other POLICY DOCUMENT;
- (b) Explain ways of going about things when ESTABLISHING A BRANCH;
- (c) Filling in of MEMBERSHIP FORMS and PAYMENTS of membership fees of three rands (R3.00)

The ~~EVATON UNIT~~ consist of ~~EVATON~~ residents only. ZONE 3/7/SMALL FARI

I will appreciate it if you can attend this very vital meeting and contribute in the Discussion and Deliberations.

Our STRUGGLE is entering a Very Crucial stage and it is at times such as this that True Revolutionaries will be saperated from counter - revolutionaries.

Remeber that the STRUGGLE for Liberation is no embroidery Class: It is Long, Tortous and Ardous.

What will be your Contribution when Racism, Apartheid and Capitälism go? The answer lies with you. VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

KIBI TSHABANGU (ACTING REGIONAL ORGANISER) ??
Kibibang

PS. INFORM @THER COMRADES OF THIS MEETING.

ON THE MARCH

CONGRESS 84

8 -9 JAN facing the challenges

Item 2.3.19

"AP, 17"

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 a 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).

*Sotho and so-called coloured nationalities.

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.

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.

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.

In conclusion, Comrades I am satisfied that I touched on a few most significant challenges that affect us daily- challenges that demand attention from us- that are basic. Let us, together, brothers and sisters put our shoulders to the wheel and tackle these challenges.

LONG LIVE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS!!!LONG LIVE AZAPO.

"AP 18"

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL HEALTH SECRETARIAT (NHS) TO THE FIRST NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING OF AZAFO HELD IN PORT ELIZABETH FROM THE 1st TO THE 3rd JUNE 1984.

2.3.2

COMPOSITION:

1. Cde Dr Abubaker Asvat Secretary/Head
2. Cde Dr Joe Veriava
3. Cde Ruweida Halim
4. Cde Kelello Lengane
5. Cde Dr Maitshwe N. Aubrey Mokoape
6. Cde Jenny Tissing
7. Cde Thandi Myeza

Cognisant of the very difficult times the Organisation is going through presently the National Health Secretariat(NHS) wishes to state emphatically that we are not deterred in our task and would like to fulfil its with even more vigour so that the struggle of the people can reach its fruition sooner.

The NHS would like the Branches to:

- i) Set up disaster relief teams so that in the event of any catastrophe the Organisation will not be an onlooker but a participant in the assistance of the people in times of need. Branch members should familiarise themselves with First Aid.
- ii) Take into the possibility of setting up clinics together with nursing and medical personnel in the area of operation. Stress should be paid to preventative health.
- iii) Assist with the distribution of "Handbook on Health" as far and wide as possible. Members should familiarise themselves with the contents of the "Handbook" so that they are equipped to answer any questions posed. Since this is the first issue of the booklet there may be items which Branches would to include/exclude. We therefore request Branches to send in their recommendations in writing to the Projects Co-ordinator. While sources are being tapped for financial assistance, Branches will have to do their own photocopying.
- iv) Stimulate worker consciousness in the area and assist with the setting up of Unions where none exist.
- v) Drought Relief Self-help projects should be initiated in drought affected regions. Regions are requested to hold seminars on "Health" where groups and individuals could participate and the main health problems affecting an area or region are/ shall be looked into and ways and means of how best to tackle the given situation on the basis of the input from these seminars.

AZAPO POLICY ON LOCAL, NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.PREAMBLE:

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

- (a) The white minority government with its covert and overt institutions;
- (b) 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 S.A.

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

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

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CODE OF CONDUCT

PREAMBLE

Discipline and commitment being the hallmarks of a revolutionary movement, it therefore behoves a movement like the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) to have a Code of Conduct that will guide, govern and direct the leadership and members in the execution of their revolutionary duties.

1. BREACH OF CONDUCT

A member shall be considered to have breached AZAPO'S Code of Conduct if he/she;

- a) fails to submit to or carry out a democratic decision of the majority;
- b) refuses to carry out and/or interferes with decisions, instructions or directives of AZAPO and its organs;
- c) fails-in defiance of the principle of collective leadership to act in concert with the rest of the membership thus inculcating individualism and creating personality cults and furthermore refuses to recognise that every task assigned by the organisation and its formations/organs is equally important;
- d) persistently shows disregard for promptness and punctuality and furthermore shows lack of diligence;
- e) misrepresents, distorts and/or is dishonest about the policies of the organisation;
- f) issues unauthorised pamphlets, posters, documents and press statements in the name of the organisation;
- g) engages in fundraising activities and other negotiations with other parties without the authority of the organisation;
- h) engages in unauthorised lending collections and the exchange of documents and information of the organisation;
- i) engages in factional or sectional activities by promoting and encouraging divisive tendencies such as tribal, racial, regional and sexist affinities;
- j) sows mistrust and suspicion amongst members and others by rumour-mongering, backbiting, tale-bearing, gossiping, lying and witch-hunting;
- k) indulges in immoral acts such as abuse of alcohol and drugs, fighting and the use of abusive language;
- l) through his/her public conduct and/or association with individuals, institutions or organisations subverts, embarrasses, undermines and/or brings the organisation into disrepute and also by displaying colours, emblems, labels, T-shirts, flags etc of the organisation in unauthorised and disreputable places;

2.

- m) attends meetings and sessions or any activity of the organisation in an inebriated state, resulting from the use of alcohol and/or drugs;
- n) acts towards other comrades in a manner which militates against the interests of the organisation;
- o) tries to achieve or achieves his aims through intimidation of other comrades;
- p) cannot fruitfully participate in activities of the organisation as a result of having consumed intoxicating beverages and/or drugs prior to or inbetween such organised activities;
- q) commits any other act which is considered by any organ of the organisation to be a breach of conduct.

PUNISHMENT

Infringement of any of the regulations stipulated in this Code of Conduct will result in the application of penalties which shall be determined by the recurrence of the misconduct as follows, unless is an expellable offence.

First Offence = Warning

Second Offence = Suspension

Third Offence = Expulsion.

The seriousness of each misconduct shall be judged on merit.

PROCEDURE TO BE FOLLOWED ON:

- 3.1 It is important that investigations of the offence/s be carried out beyond any reasonable doubt by the constituted authority.
- 3.2 Findings of the investigations should be forwarded to the National Executive within one (1) month of the conclusion of such investigation.

Should a member not be satisfied with the decision resulting in his/her punishment he/she is entitled to appeal to the National Executive within one (1) month of such decision.

WARNING.

- a) All acts of misconduct resulting in a warning or reprimand given to a member must be reported in writing to the National Executive by the Branch or Regional Executive.
- b) The verbal warning (to the errant member) shall and must be given in the presence of two(2) witnesses and furthermore the said member must acknowledge such warning by attaching his/her signature to the report in a) above.

SUSPENSION.3

B. SUSPENSION.

- a) In the case of a serious breach of the Code of Conduct and if a member does not correct his/her conduct after warning such a member be suspended.
- b) However such suspension will not take place unless:
 - (i) Evidence against him/her is led in his/her presence.
 - (ii) He/she is given the opportunity to test the validity and credibility of the evidence.
- c) If after such hearing it is the view of the constituted authority that there has been a serious breach of discipline, the member shall be suspended forthwith for a period not exceeding one year subject to periodic review every three months.
- d) Such suspension shall exclude the person from engaging in all organisational activities subject to the discretion of the constituted authority in conjunction with the National Executive.
- e) If a member fails to attend a disciplinary meeting/hearing with no valid reason, he/she will be summarily suspended.

C. EXPULSION.

- a) All expulsions arising from transgressions of the Code of Conduct as laid down must be approved by the National Executive.
- b) A member committing any of the following acts shall be liable for expulsion:
 1. Incitement or attempts to incite other members of the organisation to revolt against the constituted authority.
 2. Indulges in deceitful acts such as bribery including attempts to bribe or accept bribes.
 3. Passes on to the enemy or elements hostile to the organisation any documents or information of the organisation.
 4. Commits or attempts to commit acts calculated at sabotaging the programmes.
 5. Strives to seize power by unconstitutional means including the formation of cliques or power blocs within the organisation.
 6. Engages in activities calculated to cast doubt on the Organisation's political line, confidence in leadership and activities of the organisation in general.
 7. Proves to be an agent provocateur, a spy or a traitor who betrays fellow comrades.
 8. Commits any other misdeeds of a comparatively grave nature that can be deemed by the constituted authority to be endangering, subverting and undermining the programmes of the organisation.

D. INTERPRETATION.

This Code of Conduct shall be read in conjunction with the Constitution of the Organisation.

YOUR ILLEGAL RIGHTS

guilty when you have spoken with your lawyer.

RAIL:

It is your right to ask for bail but you may not get it. If your crime is serious only a magistrate can give you bail. **IMPORTANT — YOU YOURSELF MUST ASK FOR BAIL.** A magistrate cannot give you bail unless you ask for it.

DETENTION:

HOW YOUR FAMILY OR FRIENDS CAN HELP YOU.

1. They should go to the police headquarters in your area. They should ask what Act you are being held under. They should find out where you are being held.

2. They should try to get bail for you. They should go to the Clerk of the Criminal Court in which you appeared and ask him to arrange bail for you. It is important for them to contact the investigating officer. He can be the most helpful person in getting bail for you.

3. They should try to get a lawyer for you as soon as possible.

4. They should look for you at a police station during the time before you are brought to court.

5. After you have appeared in court, they should look for you at a prison or jail.

6. While you are being detained they should bring you food parcels and clean clothes and visit you.

7. The jail officials have a duty to write to your family to tell them where you are. You are allowed to write to them too. (If you are held under Section 8 or Section 22 you do not have any of the rights mentioned in the last 2 paragraphs).

SECTION 10 OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT:

1. This is "preventive detention" The Minister of Justice may detain you for a stated length of time.

2. A Review Committee chosen by the Minister will review your case within 60 days of your detention and every 6 months after that. You or anyone else, (your family, priests, ministers, friends) may write to the Review Committee, through the Secretary of Justice. The Minister has to say what the recommendation of the Review Committee is, but he does not have to follow it.

3. Section 10 detainees are allowed visitors, food parcels, radios and newspapers and can write and receive letters.

Section 6 of the Terrorism Act:

1. If you are being held under Section 6, a policeman with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, colonel or brigadier can detain you for interrogation in solitary confinement. He can detain

you until in his opinion you have answered his questions satisfactorily.

2. The police do not have to tell your relatives where you are being held.

You ARE NOT allowed to see a lawyer or any one except prison or police employees.

3. Your only rights are:

(a) To write to the Minister of Justice about your detention;

(b) To receive a visit from a magistrate at least once every two weeks;

(c) To be given a Bible.

4. You should ask to see a priest or minister.

SECTION 22 OF THE GENERAL LAWS AMENDMENT ACT:

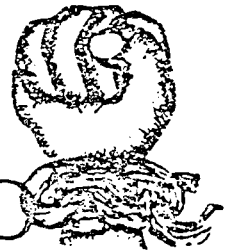
Detention under Section 22 is almost the same as detention under Section 6. The only difference is that the period of detention under Section 22 is limited to 14 days. After the 14-day period has expired, the detention order has to be renewed in court.

Sometimes the person is detained under Section 6. That type of re-detention does not require a court appearance.

ILLNESS DURING DETENTION:

If you are sick tell the police. They should arrange for a doctor to give you proper treatment. If you do not get proper medical treatment, ask your relatives to tell your lawyer immediately.

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AZAPO

BLACK

SOLIDARITY

DON'T BETRAY OR SABOTAGE THE MOVEMENT OF THE PEOPLE.

THE MOVEMENT OF THE PEOPLE CANNOT BE KILLED

Edited by: George Wauchope

Layout & Design: Sefako Nyaka

Published by the Azanian people's organisation 115 Fleetwy House, 208 Bree Street Johannesburg 2001

PRESIDENT: Khehla Mthembu

VICE: Sefako Nyaka

NATIONAL ORGANISER: Thabo Ndabeni

GEN SEC: Mlungisi Mavana

PUB SEC: George Wauchope

WHY COMMUNITY PROJECTS

Item 2.3.27

"AP23"

IN AN ATTEMPT TO RESPOND TO THE ABOVE TOPIC WE SHALL COME UP WITH A NUMBER of observations that, we believe, will help to elucidate issues under consideration. In so doing this paper will have no pretensions to being an authority on the subject but will focus on some of the mundane considerations we may have overlooked or tend to overlook in our zealous attempt "to help the needy".

We shall assume that we are all familiar with both the emotive and connotative meaning of community.. Community projects - though not the only way in which to maintain a cohesive bond between the community and the organisation - are an effective and viable means of achieving this close affinity. There are several other aspects that community projects, if correctly orientated, can contribute to achieving the objectives or elements of the objectives set by political organisations like AZAPO.

BESIDE the fact that community projects may solve or help to solve the immediate needs of the people, which in itself is of considerable significance they can also contribute to the attainment of long term political goals.

Community projects - by creation in which people are encouraged to help themselves - throws up people whose administrative capabilities would otherwise not be revealed or realised. People gain more confidence in their own abilities to solve their problems and thereby to articulate their aspirations for themselves. Communities realise that their impotence and inability to deal with their own problems can be overcome and begin to plot their own destinies rather than having the government or surrogates of the government decide their future for them. The wretched of the earth become participants of change instead of passive victims of their environment

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON COMMUNITY PROJECTS:

- Community projects by their very nature are short lived because they are geared alleviating immediate needs.
 - When embarked upon by a political movement directed at the liberation of the people, they should not be or serve to perpetuate the status quo.
 - The organisation, through its field workers, should not adopt the "big brother" attitude.
 - We should be careful of "self-help" projects which will result in being apologia for the system.
 - Any programme which does not relate or respond to the social question is doomed to be a furtherance of the system's aims.
 - The organisation should be careful not to inculcate the idea of accepting poverty because "we will always be there to provide help" We-AZAPO
 - Any educational or cultural programmes must be embarked with the view and purpose of giving political direction since people live in a political environment.
 - Finally, for any project to be successful, we should shed the paternalistic approach towards the struggle whereby we may appear to be deciding what is right for the people or what they want. We should rather work with the people and decide together with them on what is desirable and only with the political acumen we have at our command can we provide political direction necessary for an efficacious implementation of such projects.
- FORWARD WITH THE PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE! ...FACING THE CHALLENGES!**

MEMBERSHIP OBJECTIVES

- (1) To create a forum for students to articulate and express their aspirations as part of the Black nation.
- (2) To mobilise and unite students around the liberatory ideology of BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS.
- (3) To reorientate the entire value system of the students in the Vaal Triangle and the Black Nation.
- (4) To instill in the entire student community a sense of responsibility towards the Black community.
- (5) To work towards the total eradication of the racist exploitative and oppressive system of this country and ushering in of an egalitarian, anti-racist society.
- (6) To encourage the involvement of students in the problems facing them as well as those that are facing the Black community in general.
- (7) To expose the inferior status of women in the white capitalist society and to actively campaign against the specific and multiple oppression and exploitative dispositions of Black Women by the white in South Africa.

SECTION 3

MEMBERSHIP

- 1. Membership shall be open to every Black student at both secondary and tertiary institutions, in the Vaal Triangle.
- 2. Every member shall subscribe to the aims and principles, policy, goals and philosophy of the organization.
- 3. No membership shall be granted to those students or individuals whose interests are in conflict with those of the organization.
- 4. Membership shall be by individual application.
- 5. Every member shall pay membership fee and a monthly subscription fee which shall be determined from time to time by the EXECUTIVE
- 6. Membership shall be renewable annually.
- 7. Any member whose interests have been subsequently proven to be in conflict with those of VASMA shall be forthwith be expelled from the organization.

SECTION 4

STRUCTURE

The structure of VASMA shall be as follows: The REGIONAL STUDENT CONGRESS
 REC OR THE REGIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
 SEC OR THE STUDENT EXECUTIVE COUNCIL
 LEC OR THE LOCAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

SECTION 5

Item 2.3.30

THE REGIONAL STUDENT CONGRESS

The supreme and highest governing and policy-making body of the organization shall be the RSC and it shall meet annually at a place and time determined by the PROVIDED THAT:

- a) The may convene a special session of the RSC whenever the Council sees it necessary and desirable to do so.
- b) The RSC shall comprise of every member of VASMA and every branch shall be represented by two (2) delegates, members of REC and LEC.
- c) The RSC shall have the power and authority to take decisions by majority vote of those present at CONGRESS in all aspects in the policy, principles, VASMA finance, and discipline, and all other and such decisions shall be binding on the organization and all its formations providing that the RSC shall have the power and authority to abrogate amend, rescind and/or alter its own resolutions and/or decisions on constitution, policy, principles, aims, objectives and goals by two-thirds majority of members attending the session.
- d) Voting shall be restricted to those members specified in (b) above.

SECTION 6

COMPOSITION OF THE STUDENT EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

- 1) Members of REC
- 2) Branch chairpersons and secretaries from each branch.
- 3) Members of LEC.

SECTION 7

DUTIES OF THE SEC

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

SECTION 8

MEMBERS OF SEC

- 1) The chairperson of the local executive hosting the meeting shall chair.
- 2) The COUNCIL SHALL meet twice a year at a venue determined by REC.
- 3) Failure by a member of the COUNCIL to attend two (2) consecutive meetings without adequate reason shall lead to automatic suspension from the COUNCIL.

- 1) President
2. Vice-President: Tertiary Institutions
3. Vice-President: Secondary Institutions
4. Secretary
5. Treasurer
6. Publications Secretary
7. Projects director

SECTION 10

DUTIES OF THE PRESIDENT.

1. He shall be the chief executive officer of VASMA.
2. He shall represent VASMA nationally and internationally.
3. He shall be responsible for the guidance and principles of VASMA.
4. He shall be responsible and report to the RSC, REC and SEC.

DUTIES OF VICE-PRESIDENTS.

- 1.1 They shall perform the duties and functions which are otherwise performed
2. They shall assist the President in the execution of his duties, functions and responsibilities.
3. Each Vice-President shall be directly responsible for the co-ordination of student affairs in Secondary and Tertiary institutions.

Appointing of the Acting President or Vice-President

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

DUTIES OF THE SECRETARY

1. The secretary shall act as the chief administrative officer of VASMA
2. He shall be the custodian and see to the safe-keeping of all the properties of VASMA unless the REC decides otherwise.
4. He shall be responsible for the keeping of all records of VASMA.

DUTIES OF THE TREASURER.

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

DUTIES OF THE PUBLICATIONS SECRETARY.

1. He shall be responsible for all VASMA's material and other needs reconcilable with his office.
2. He shall be responsible for the compilation of a resource center for VASMA.

FUNCTIONS OF THE REGIONAL PROJECT 3 CO-ORDINATOR

Jan 2.3.30

1. He shall be the co-ordinator of local co-ordinators.
2. He shall be responsible in conjunction with local co-ordinators for the establishment of branches.
3. He shall be co-ordinating officer of VASMA.
4. He shall be responsible for the institution, formulation of various methods of approaching the students.
5. He shall a) at least once every two months hold a meeting with local co-ordinators inquire into the progress of the organization.
b) record the proceedings and report to the REC.

SECTION 11

ELECTION OF THE REC

1. The RSC shall elect the REC annually which will meet at least once in every one (1) month.
2. The term of office by the full time staff shall be extended for two years. Each year the CONGRESS shall have the power to ratify the position.
3. The REC shall have the power to appoint the task committees in different fields.

SECTION 12

Branches

1. The Regional Organizer shall, subject to the approval of the REC establish branches in consultation with the Regional Co-ordinator.
2. A branch shall consist of at least twenty (20) members or any such number that the REC may decide upon.
3. Delimitation of branches shall be determined by the Regional Co-ordinator in consultation with the Local co-ordinator.
4. Election of the branch executive shall be held annually.
5. Each branch shall supervise over all aspects and activities of VASMA within the area of its jurisdiction.
6. Each branch shall submit to the REC or the RSC for consideration recommendations concerning the principles, aims objectives and local VASMA.
7. Each branch shall elect delegates to the Regional Congress.
8. Each branch shall have an executive committee comprised of :
 - a) Chairperson
 - b) Vice-chairperson
 - c) Secretary
 - d) Treasurer
 - e) Organizer

SECTION 13

Item 2.3.30

POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE BRANCH EXECUTIVE.

THE CHAIRPERSON shall:

1. Be the head of the branch.
2. Be the chief executive member to whom the branch shall be responsible
3. Wherever possible represent the branch.
4. Carry out aims and objectives of the organization: VASMA.
5. Preside at all meetings of the branch.
6. Within the policy of the organization, in consultation with at least one member of REC in addition to the President, issue a press statement pertaining to the branch only.

THE VICE-CHAIRPERSON shall:

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

THE TREASURER shall :

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

THE SECRETARY shall:

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

THE ORGANISER shall::

- 1) Be responsible for the recruitment of membership for the branch.
- 2) Be responsible for the conscientization of the members.
- 3) Initiate and maintain all projects that may be embarked on
- 4) Be responsible for the involvement of the members in projects and related activities.

SECTION 14

QUORUM

- SEC :A third of branch delegates will constitute a quorum.
REC :A simple majority present will constitute a quorum.
RSC :A third of the members of the congress will constitute a quorum.

Branch Executive Meetings: A simple majority will form quorum.

Branch general meetings: A third of the members will constitute a quorum.

SECTION 15

VOTING

- 1) Voting at all meetings and/or sessions shall be by show of hands unless the chair person/presiding officer decides otherwise.

Jan 2.3.30

NOTIFICATION OF MEETINGS

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

SECTION 17

FINANCES

1. Funds shall be deposited with the bank determined by the REC.
2. The REC shall frame and prescribe regulations and procedures to be adopted and followed by all formations of VASMA with regard to finances
3. The treasurer shall be in charge of finance and fund-raising.
4. All financial transactions carried out in the name of VASMA shall bear the signature of the treasurer and one member of the
- 5 VASMA shall appoint a recognized firm of auditors who shall be allowed to inspect the financial reports .
6. Books and/or records of VASMA shall be audited annually prior to RSC.
7. VASMA shall be a body corporate capable of managing its own assets liabilities.

SECTION 18

PROPERTY

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

SECTION 19

LEGAL PROCEEDINGS

VASMA shall, may sue or be sued in its own name, and appoint its own legal advisers. The president shall be authorized to institute and defend all legal proceedings by and on behalf of VASMA.

SECTION 20

DISSOLUTION

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

SECTION 21

A E N D E R S .

SECTION 21AMENDMENT

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

SECTION 25INTERPRETATION OF TERMS

unless inconsistent with the context;

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

Insurance Assurance Workers Union of South Africa

IAWUSA

51 COMMISSIONER ST.
JOHANNESBURG
2000
TEL: 834 6733

"PP26"

THE SECRETARY

.....AZASM; SEROKENG.....

Dear Comrade

Although Black women have always been involved in the South African economy as farm labourers, domestic workers or in the "invisible" position as caretakers of the breadwinner through seeing that he is comfortable by cooking his food, cleaning his clothes, etc., and through ensuring that there is a constant cheap labour force through raising the children; now, more than ever before, Black women are becoming an integral part of industrialised economy by being active as workers in various industries. This of necessity gives rise to the question of women becoming organised workers in the labour field, a question that has been neglected over the past decade.

It is because of the above that IAWUSA has decided to hold a National Seminar on the question of Black Women and Trade Unions. This seminar is to be held over the weekend of the 7th to 9th September, 1984, at the VITAL LINK CHRISTIAN CENTRE in Port Elizabeth. Please find attached hereto a copy of the proposed Agenda for the said seminar.

Your organisation is therefore invited to send two (2) delegates to this seminar. However, the seminar will be open to observers as well. Should you intend sending delegates to the seminar, please inform us at a date not later than the 12th August, 1984 so that arrangements can be made for accommodation, etc.

Those delegates who require accommodation are requested to pay R 5.00 to help cover costs. Observers in a similar position will be required to do the same.

We hope to hear from you as soon as is possible.

Yours in the struggle for independent worker organisations

J. RAKGOADI
GENERAL SECRETARY

Insurance Assurance Workers Union of South Africa

IAWUSA

51 COMMISSIONER ST.
JOHANNESBURG
2000
TEL:

WOMEN'S SEMINAR - EASTERN CAPE

8th & 9th SEPTEMBER 1984

PROPOSED AGENDA

FRIDAY, 7th SEPTEMBER:

- 6.00p.m. - ARRIVAL & REGISTRATION
- 8.00p.m. - SUPPER
- 9.00p.m. - OPENING ADDRESS: REV. J. SEOKA (PRESIDENT-IAWUSA)
- 10 p.m. - LATE NIGHT MOVIE
- 11 p.m. - END OF SESSION

SATURDAY, 8th SEPTEMBER:

- 8.00a.m. - BREAKFAST
- 8.54a.m. - 1ST PAPER: WOMEN & THE S.A! ECONOMY: ASHA MOODLEY
- 9.00a.m. - GROUP DISCUSSION
- 10.15a.m.- TEA
- 10.30a.m.- PLENARY SESSION
- 12.30p.m.- LUNCH
- 1.45p.m. - 2ND PAPER: WOMEN & TRADE UNIONS: MANOKO NCHWE
- 2.45p.m. - GROUP DISCUSSION
- 2.30p.m. - TEA
- 3.45p.m. - PLENARY SESSION
- 6.00p.m. - SUPPER
- 7.00p.m. - 3RD PAPER: WOMEN & THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE:-
ZEIBOEN PATEL
- 7.45p.m. - GROUP DISCUSSION
- 8.45p.m. - PLENARY SESSION
- 9.45p.m. - SUMMARY OF THE DAY
- 10.00p.m.- SOCIAL GATHERING
- 11.30p.m.- END OF DAY

SUNDAY, 9th SEPTEMBER:

8.00a.m. - BREAKFAST

9.00a.m. - EVALUATION

11.00a.m.- FUTURE STRATEGIES

12.00p.m.- LUNCH

2.00p.m.-- NATIONAL ANTHEM, CLOSURE & DEPARTURE

NOTE: After each paper has been delivered, a time period of fifteen (15) minutes will be allocated for questions directed at the speaker.

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of strengthening the movement can be based. It is a base with a firm foundation, and it is a better mass-involvement approach than the approach that is rubber stamped from above. This latter approach has the weakness of taking the ordinary people for granted, whilst in the meantime what is needed is the undivided support of the people. Another challenge facing us^{is} the need to move towards economic independence. This looks like a far-fetched and above-average involvement. It is however one of the basic tenets of liberation. Let's face it: Political liberation is not an overall answer to our bread and butter problems. The fundamental problem of being able to feed a family, a community and a nation - is a basic down to earth issue. We have seen that many African countries went through - and are still going through - turmoil because of attaining political independence before attaining economic independence.

For us to reach a stage where we must and will be able to maintain ourselves economically even if the controllers of the economy can try to blackmail us by pulling out quicker than we anticipated, we must start building this independence along with the political independence we need.

We see this subtle blackmail

being experienced by the 'so-called homelands today'. Some of these barren pieces of land were allegedly given political independence without a viable degree of economic independence. This has resulted in these "so called states" being depended on the master in the economic sphere exposing further the myth that there are parts of Azania that are free. The Afrikaner nation gives us a clear example of a people bent on being on their own economically. The emergence of concerns like Volksas and Sanlam are a clear example of how every Afrikaner was persuaded to invest in these concerns. I see the Black nation returning into something of this kind. It is a challenge that cannot be postponed for long, bearing in mind that our envisaged economic order will be socialistic --while today we live under a capitalistic order. Whatever project are embarked upon for the sake of economic self-reliance and development - a degree of social responsibility must be involved in these projects.

I have heard naive arguments about "some people turning capitalist", simply because people venture into some economic activity to feed themselves. We cannot afford to have a nation of beggars. Anyway, from whom do you beg for sustenance? Have you ever bothered to trace the origin of this somebody's means? We all cannot live through our wits. It is through hardwork, dedication and sacrifices that we can meet the challenges of today.

those who came first didn't think like we do today To those who think that our predecessors had watertight blueprints and strategies, my sound advice to them will be to pack up and sit back and wait for those who did it before. Things have dramatically changed in all spheres, that refusing to adapt to the prevailing situation will be tantamount to pronouncing the death-knell to our noble efforts. The in-thing today is to adapt or die. I want to make it exceedingly clear that the adapt or die approach is a basic strategic approach. This has nothing to do with a man's political conviction.

This brings me to the important aspect of our life as comrades under the banner of Black Consciousness. It appears that our association is basically a political phenomenon. To strengthen ourselves and our convictions, wouldn't it be better if we could manage to live together as one Black family. They say charity begins at home. We fail to recognise that our association can spread far and wide in our daily lives such that this can strengthen not only our association but our convictions too.

Take a simple example. Say one of us is arrested and appears in court How many of us have tried to make ourselves available to go to court in solidarity with our comrade. How many of us have bothered to go and see Ishmael Mkhabela's new born baby ?

It is our belief that nothing in our lives can be divorced from the politics of the day. We maintain that sport, religion, education and almost everything is under the influence of politicians of the day So don't we think that our togetherness in all spheres of our lives will only succeed in strengthening us. It is not only the charity begins at home principle that applies here, but also the 'take care of the pennies for the pounds will take care of themselves.' It is the small things that bind us together and prepare us for the big challenges. There is no hope for us to meet the bold challenges if we fail to satisfy the demands of the mini challenges. It is from this unit that we can move into community involvement as an identified unit which can defy all obstacles, a unit which is united in all respects.

Community involvement stands out as a pinnacle of mass involvement. A clear political programme of action must involve the community in political programmes, we must first be able to relate to the community as part of it and hence mutually experiencing and tackling all community problems with the community. This is undoubtedly a long term approach with long term result-. To us the community must be involved from the simple basics of life. It is from here that the main challenge

labour, for this is the force that can and must take our society forward.

I want to remind you at this stage that I am dealing here with mainstream tendencies and not with those of individual persons. For Black Consciousness appreciates that in as much as there are those individuals from among the Black oppressed who actively identify with the oppressor so there will be those from among the white oppressor who fully align themselves with the struggle of the oppressed. But as to when, if ever, B.C will accommodate such individuals is a question B.C alone will decide when the time is ripe. As for now the mobilisation, organisation and consolidation of the Black oppressed are the tasks demanding immediate and unrelenting attention from every serious revolutionary organisation.

This then brings me to the subject of my talk: THE NEED FOR BLACK SOLIDARITY. Ours, Comrades, is but a part of a larger world revolutionary movement. From the struggles of other countries we are able to appropriate invaluable lessons both from the successes achieved and errors committed.

BC has been sufficiently sensitized to the destructive nature of forces set in motion by the mobilization of the oppressed on the basis of ethnic and/or tribal affiliations. Not only does any such strategy of mobilization militate against the logical conclusion of our struggle but it also facilitates the achievement of enemy objectives - the entrenchment of ethnically based differences in the minds of the oppressed.

Such a strategy carries in its wake both during and after the revolution the potential for inter-ethnic struggles for control and leadership. It is for this reason that BC has sought to break down these system-nurtured and -perpetuated barriers. It is for this reason among others that BC has elected to refer to all the oppressed as Blacks and not as 'Coloureds', 'Indians', 'Pedis', 'Zulus', 'Xhosas' etc. the list is inexhaustible. And it is indeed for this reason that BC views with justified contempt all those alliances of the oppressed that have as their basis ethnic considerations.

Now, there is a new wave of political thought that parades as extremely progressive, all-knowing and owning the struggle of the oppressed. (I must hasten to mention, however, that even Hitler saw himself as progressive, that even Idi Amin thought he was all-knowing and that even Jomo Kenyata believed that he owned the struggle of the Kenyan people). It is this wave of political thought that condones the mushrooming of the ethnically-based organizations on the grounds that division into ethnic groups is a South

By No 2 general AP 29

No 2 20/5787

Item 2.3.35 (2)

"AP29"

AZAPO Azanian People's Organization

SOUTHERN TRANSVAAL REGION

P.O. Box 84
CHIAWELO 1818
16 July 1984

The Secretary
BOPHELONG BEATHE
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.....
.....

Comrade Secretary

re: Notice of Regional Conference (S. Transvaal).

Notice of a Regional Conference of the Southern Transvaal is served on you by the Inter-Regional Executive. The conference is scheduled for the 4th August 1984, starting at 1.00p.m. sharp. The venue is Dube Y.W.C.A. .

This conference is not for executive members of the various branches only but for the entire membership, so that branches that are going to be represented by executive members only will be penalised.

Hoping that your branch will exert all effort in making h the coming conference success.

Yours in the struggle

Poneng Molefe
.....
PONENG MOLEFE- SECRETARY

2

Item 2.3.35 (1)



ZAPO Azanian People's Organization

SOUTHERN TRANSVAAL REGION.

P.O. Box 84
CHIAWELO 7818
16 July 1984

The Secretary
S.A. SOLBURY BRANCH
.....
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.....

Comrade Secretary

re: Notice of Regional Conference (S. Transvaal).

Notice of a Regional Conference of the Southern Transvaal is served on you by the Interim Regional Executive. The conference is scheduled for the 4th August 1984, starting at 1.00p.m. sharp. The venue is Dube Y.W.C.A. .

This conference is not for executive members of the various branches only but for the entire membership, so that branches that are going to be represented by executive members only will be penalised.

Hoping that your branch will exert all effort in making the coming conference a success.

Yours in the struggle

A. Molefe
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ONENG MOLEFE - SECRETARY