

**C143**

## EDUCATION AND DEMOCRACY

(34)

Bev "C143" 1

### Follow Students

Education in this country is not a right for all but a preserve of a certain class and race. Age limits are being imposed on our brothers and sisters at schools. Our very being in this university is subject to us getting permission to be here from the racist government, our brothers and sisters who are bundled in bush universities are constantly harrassed, shot and even killed by police on campus, they are refused readmission to their universities for "reasons that shall not be disclosed". We in this university should never labour under the illusion that this university is any better because of its "liberal" image. It is equally committed to values which underly the South African status quo. In essence the entire educational system is rotten and fundamentally undemocratic.

Education is but one aspect that shows the undemocratic nature of the South African society. The majority of our people live in poverty, many of whom are forced into barren bantustans and more than three million are unemployed. All is done to so many in the interest of so few.

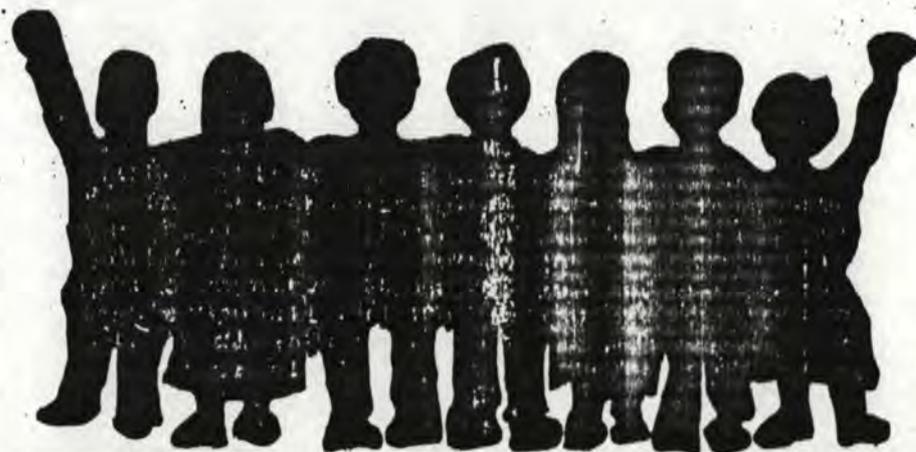
In the face of all this the oppressed people have never rested. They have and still do resist on all fronts - from the classroom to the factory floor. The State has not rested either. It continues to suppress popular people's movements and unions; kills, detains and imprisons popular people's leaders. On the other hand the State tries to co-opt certain sectors of the Black community. This we see in the form of the President's Council and the development of the black middle class. We are by virtue of our position more vulnerable to this co-option and should therefore make a concerted effort to resist this co-option and strengthen the struggle of our people.

We in Azaso UCT together with millions of other South Africans do not have extreme demands. Our ideal South Africa is clearly spelled out in the most popular document in South African history - The Freedom Charter. Azaso UCT like in the past shall continue to work closely with community and worker organisations. This stems from our commitment to make a meaningful and worthwhile contribution to the broader liberation struggle.

Azaso UCT, therefore, calls on you to make 1983 a year that will witness your active participation in its projects. These include numerous seminars, workshops, participation in national and local campaigns and preparation for the annual congress in July.

Your dedication and complete involvement in Azaso could give substance to the principle of democracy and bring us closer to the day of our liberation.

A LUTA CONTINUA'...



# ORGANISATION AND UNITY MEAN VICTORY

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Message from JOE PHAAHLA Azaso National President

On behalf of the National Executive Committee of Azaso, our affiliates, active and passive supporters, I wish to extend a hand of welcome to all black students who have enrolled for studies at universities and colleges throughout South Africa. We wish you a fruitful year in these institutions which are controlled by our apartheid rulers and hope that by the end of this year your understanding of the situation in which we find ourselves will have increased. We hope that you will all be able to withstand the massive indoctrination we are all going through in these institutions and come out of them being more committed to the eradication of injustice in this country.

To our new students I am sure this is going to be a very challenging year. I am sure for most of you the ascent to the "status" where you find yourselves today, that of being a "university student" has not been an easy one. Most of you have struggled through adverse conditions in primary and secondary school to reach the point where you find yourselves today. Most of you have gone through overcrowded classrooms, poorly-qualified and even unqualified teachers, lack of financial assistance, irrelevant education matter, corruption in the apartheid education departments as evident in the exam paper leaks and other adverse conditions stemming from the political, economical and social situation in this country.

We know very well that those of us who ultimately reach university are only a selected few out of the oppressed majority in this country. We only need to think back at the number of people who started with us in primary schools to realise how few are those who ultimately reach university. Those of us who only look at the situation narrowly will conclude that these majority who couldn't reach university were not intelligent enough to make it; but if we look at the situation more analytically, we will



realise that most of these people had more against them than we did. Above all, a determining factor in our education is our ability to afford it financially. The more money you have, the better chances you have of going far with your education and choosing a better school in this corrupt system. It is the fact that we are a selected few that makes us a danger to the mass of our oppressed and exploited people.

## The Challenges Facing the South African Black Student of Today.

To understand and appreciate the challenges facing the South African black student today we need to take a brief look at the South African political situation and the forces working to maintain it and those striving to change it.

The South African society is one torn apart by conflict. This conflict is mainly between those who own and control the wealth of this country and those who work and produce it but get nothing out of it except the minimum needed to maintain them alive so that they can go to work everyday. This social relations of conflict, inequality, oppression and exploitation were established through conquest of the indigenous majority by a colonial minority. Racial stratification of our society has since been used by those in power to maintain their position of dominance through enforcement of division of the oppressed. The development and entrenchment of capitalism as the dominant economic system in the country has led to the ascendancy of a small group within the colonial forces into positions of economic and thereby political control of the whole country. The history of our country is marked by periods of fierce struggle within the alien colonial group mainly between the economically-powerful English group and the poor Afrikaner group. This conflict within the colonial groups has however, always been of secondary importance and has never overshadowed their common interest, that of exploitation of the conquered majority. The previously poor Afrikaner group has through political power accelerated its ascent in the ladder of economic control to the position where it is today. The system of capitalist exploitation in South Africa has always been linked with the worldwide exploitation of man by man and this position was even more entrenched by the discoveries of gold and diamonds. The small group within the white minority who control the economy have managed to secure the loyalty of the vast majority of whites through granting of economic privileges to complement the political privileges they already enjoyed over the vast majority of the conquered black majority. The relationship between the white owners of capital and the privileged white workers has however, not always been a smooth one as witnessed by the 1922 white mineworkers strike which had to be crushed by force.

Even after crushing the last armed resistance by black people in 1906, the minority rulers of our country have found it necessary to continuously review their methods of control over the vast majority of oppressed and exploited black people. It is in this context that privi-

leges have from time to time been granted to certain categories of blacks in order lure them into aligning themselves with the ruling minority. This has taken the form of economic privileges and granting of dummy political powers eg. the bantustans, SAIC, CRC and community councils and many others.

In summary, therefore, we can say that these are the methods used by those in political and economic power to control the vast majority of our people.

1. Force in the form of the police force and the army. This is the most naked form of control used by those in power and is only employed when the other methods prove to be inefficient.

2. Laws and courts. Various legislations are passed by government to legitimise repression. These laws are then enforced by the police force and those who "break" the law are taken to court to be formerly punished.

3. Ideology:

Ideological control is maintained by means of the mass media eg radio, television, the press, schools, churches and dummy institutions like SAIC, CRC and the bantustans. This method is used in order to minimise the need for use of force.

4. Privileges:

As noted earlier, the vast majority of whites are kept loyal to the state and owners of business through provision of political and economic privileges. To make it easier to control the disenfranchised, economic privileges are used to create divisions between different racial groups and also to create division within each race group.

Those of us without political and economic power have our own methods of challenging the oppressive and exploitative system. Among others, following are the methods we rely on:

## 1. Organisation

Organisation of the vast majority of the oppressed is the most important weapon we have in our struggle against oppression and exploitation. Organisation takes place in many forms eg. Trade Unions, Civic Organisations, Youth Groups, Professional Organisations Students organisations, general political organisations etc. These organisations are very important for the waging of a disciplined, protracted struggle against all aspects of oppression.

## 2. Passive Resistance

Resistance against many forms of oppression has always been an important component of our struggle eg. resistance against passes, removals, poisonous education, election of dummy institutions etc.

### Strikes and boycotts

Refusal of workers to sell their labour and support by the community by boycotting certain items has always been an integral component of our struggle.

In as much as there are a few among the oppressed majority who get won over to defend and facilitate their own oppression because of privileges granted to them by the ruling minority, there has emerged from time to time a small minority from the white privileged group who align themselves with the oppressed majority both in words and actions.

As black university students, it is important that we understand very clearly our position in this on-going conflict. In the methods which I mentioned as being used by those in power, there are two in particular which I wish we examine and understand very clearly because we are an important target of these methods. These methods are privilege and ideology.

## 1. Privilege

For the minority ruling group to survive in a position of strength, it needs assistance from a few among the oppressed and exploited majority. This weapon has become of much more interest to the ruling group since the 1976 popular uprising than ever before. It is on the basis of this that Wiehan and Riekert made their recommendations for stricter control of trade unions while granting them a seemingly greater amount of acceptance and co-opting the union leadership into government bureaucracy. Riekert has recommended a harsher treatment of migrant workers and all workers without Section 10 rights.

It is again on the basis of this that De Lange made his recommendations for liberalisation of Education system.

It is out of us those who have managed to reach universities and colleges that the system is getting its agents for effecting an institutionalised class division to complement the similarly institutionalised race divisions.

Have you ever asked yourself why there is an increasing trend towards modernisation of the existing racial universities and colleges, one only has to look at Unitra for example to not this trend. Even the older campuses are being modernised with smart student centres and sporting facilities costing millions of rands. Why is it that so much money is being spent on such a small number of people while millions are crammed in small classrooms, millions have no place for shelter at night and millions are starving in the presence of an obvious abundance of wealth? The answer is simple, it is to make sure that you come out of the university believing that you are different from the rest of your people. It is to make sure that you come out being totally alienated from the rest of your community and being so much accustomed to a privileged life that you will be easily lured into joining the machinery of control of your people

for the sake of a privileged life.

But then still not all the black students are needed in order to strengthen the already existing black middle class and therefore the rate at which black students pass their degrees and diplomas must be controlled and therefore the high failure rates at the black universities. This also helps to make sure that those who ultimately complete their studies feel much more superior to their fellow people.

The challenge is therefore on us to decide whether we are going to be part of the oppressive system or part of the oppressed majority. Some people amongst us wrongly assume that this is a challenge facing whites only, when we have all the signs before us to show that some black people also form an important part of the oppression machinery. This wrong assumption is very dangerous because some of us the black elite find ourselves perpetuating the system of race and class division unaware that we are doing so. Some of us also hang on this assumption very consciously out of the fear that joining hands with the vast majority of our exploited people will mean losing our privileged positions. If we want to be part of the oppressed, then we must turn all privileges granted us into instruments of strengthening the struggle for democracy as some white patriots have done in the past and continue to do today.

## 2. Ideology

The second weapon of major significance to us black students is that of ideological control. Throughout our education carriers we are fed with the ideology of apartheid and its values.

In our lecture halls, recreation activities, libraries etc we are made to imprint in our minds that people of different races are of different intelligence and that white supremacy is the will of God. Also more dangerous is class divisions of society which we are made to accept as natural and inevitable. We are made to ultimately believe that our people

are morons and idiots and lazy and to be ashamed of our history and ourselves. We are then made to believe that we are better out of this nation of morons and idiots. After completing our studies we then go on with these ideas and unconsciously propagate through words and deeds the philosophy of our own oppression.

It is very clear from the above discussion that:

1. The frustration which most of us experience at the universities and colleges is not accidental but a well-calculated effort by those who control us.
2. That to rid ourselves of this situation, the answer doesn't lie in individual hardwork and the spending of sleepless, agonising nights suffering in silence. The answer lies in our unity so that we can (1) challenge the education system with all its manifestations. Expose the intentions and effects of the system to all our people. (2) Fight the overall oppression and exploitation which our people are experiencing in all aspects of life.

The need for unity cannot be expressed in any stronger terms. We must not lay emphasis and waste our energies on those things which divide us because by doing this we will only be doing good service to the enemy. Our unity must be based on those things which we have in common, those things which stem out of our oppression, our common love for democracy, our common cultural heritage etc. Above all our unity can only grow stronger if it becomes unity in action i.e unity based on our struggle for democracy. It is therefore important that when we select targets for struggle it must be targets we all dislike.

## HOW DO WE ACHIEVE UNITY

By establishing democratic bodies through which we can articulate our demands. These bodies must be democratically controlled so as to ensure that they serve in our interests and not those of our rulers. These bodies

must be fully supported so that they cannot be intimidated by those in power and their local agents. These bodies must not be looked upon as messiahs who will deliver the goods but rather as forums through which we articulate our demands and partake in effecting them.

Secondly, by linking with other students in the country so as to achieve national unity in action. At the present moment, we are trying to make Azaso serve this purpose.

Most important is for us students not to see our struggle in isolation but as part and parcel of the ongoing struggle for democracy in our country. We therefore, need to link up with other organisations and individuals involved in the struggle eg. community organisations, trade unions, women's organisations etc. both on a local and national level. Because of the privileges granted us by our oppressors we can play a very important role in strengthening these other organisations. We must however, not try to use our privileged positions eg. our superiority of articulation and understanding complex technical problems to dominate our more deprived majority. We must submit to the will of the majority at all times. This is the only involvement which can guarantee that we don't become "militant students" who get swallowed by the system upon completion of our studies. We must be able to continue our struggle beyond the confines of our campuses.

Unity is strength

Amandla!

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## WHAT IS AZASO ?

Azaso is an organisation for Black students at the tertiary level of learning. It caters for black students at universities, colleges and technical schools, part-time and correspondence students are also encouraged to join the organisation either through the nearest campus branch or by forming a branch in their area of residence if they are more than ten in that area.

### What does AZASO stand for?

AZASO is committed to a non-racial, united and democratic South Africa, free of economic exploitation racial oppression and injustice. In pursuance of this goal it seeks to organise and unite all black students at tertiary institutions and involve them in the struggle for freedom in this country. We on university campuses have a definite role to play. We essentially form the potentially co-optable middle class. Thus, it is vital that we develop a critical awareness of the society we live in, as regards to why it exists the way it does and what it encompasses. In this way instead of becoming the get-rich and die-early lot of doctors lawyers, or whatever; we can ensure that the skills we acquire on campus will eventually be used for the betterment of our communities and the country as a whole.

AZASO also believes that the struggle must be waged on every front and at every site of society: in the factory in the community, at university, schools, and wherever the oppressed find themselves. These specific struggles as a whole constitutes the national liberation struggle of the oppressed in South Africa. In the light of this it is essential that we forge close links with progressive, democratic trade unions, community, women, youth, and other student organisations, and participate in the struggles of workers and the community.

## Structure of AZASO

At present AZASO has affiliates at the following institutions:

- 1) University of Durban-Westville -mass affiliation (5000 students).
- 2) University of Natal Medical School-mass affiliation (800 students).
- 3) University of Turfloop-branch.
- 4) University of Witwatersrand-branch.
- 5) University of Fort Hare-working group.
- 6) University of Cape Town-branch.
- 7) University of Western Cape-branch.
- 8) University of Zululand-working group.
- 9) University of South Africa-branch.
- 10) Mongosuthu Technikon-working group.
- 11) Mapumulo Seminary College-working group.
- 12) University of Natal-branch.
- 13) L.L.Sebe College -working group.

More branches and working groups are to be established at various colleges during the course of the year.

## HOW TO KILL AN ORGANISATION

- 1 ) Dont come to meetings.
- 2 ) If you do come come late.
- 3 ) Constantly find fault with office bearers.
- 4 ) Say nothing in meetings, but afterwards tell everyone how things should be done.
- 5 ) Dont accept any positions or responsibilities -its easier to criticize than to work.
- 6 ) Hold onto your fees as long as possible -or dont pay at all.
- 7 ) Do no more than is absolutely necessary. Let others roll up their sleeves and do the work.

# CONSTITUTION

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## PREAMBLE

Whereas we the Black students of South Africa, realising that we are members of an oppressed community before we are students, and committing ourselves to a non-racial democratic society free of exploitation and national oppression, in which harmony among people will prevail, find it necessary to articulate the aspirations of the oppressed people in a united and organized manner are therefore determined:

1. To organise students nationally so that they could take up their demands for a relevant role in society.
2. To also organise students so that they could play a more meaningful role in the community in general.

We therefore resolve to found a national students' organisation.

## SECTION 1

### Name

The name of the organisation shall be the Azanian Students' Organisation, hereinafter referred to as AZASO.

## SECTION 2

### Membership

Membership shall be open to all students in all institutions of higher learning and training and as decided by the GSC. Associate membership conferred to organisations by GSC.

SECTION 3

Aims and Objectives.

1. To unite the students of South Africa.
2. To take up demands of students in South Africa.
3. To be the national and international voice of the student community in South Africa.
4. To forge links with all relevant organisations concerned with the liberation of oppressed and exploited people in South Africa.
5. To identify with the liberation of the black worker and strive towards the eradication of their exploitation in the labour field.
6. To strive for the eradication of exploitation of women and sexist attitudes in our society.
7. To strive for a relevant and non-racial education.

SECTION 4

General Students' Council (GSC)

The General Students' Council hereinafter referred to as the GSC, shall consist of members of the National Executive Committee and 3 delegates from each branch.

SECTION 5

The National Executive Committee (NEC)

(1) The National Executive Committee, hereinafter referred to as NEC, shall be the President, the Vice President, the Secretariat consisting of the National Secretary, the Correspondence Secretary and the Minute Secretary, the National Co-ordinator, the Treasurer and the Womens and Publications Co-ordinator.

(111) Any election to NEC shall be proposed by the Branch of the nominee.

SECTION 6

Duties

- 1... The Annual Congress (AC) shall be the supreme policy-making organ of AZASO.
- 2 The GSC shall run affairs of AZASO between Congress.
3. The NEC shall run the day to day activities of AZASO.
4. The President shall:
  - i) be the Chief Executive Officer of AZASO.
  - ii) issue statements on behalf of the organisation in consultation with at least 1 member of the executive.
  - iii) carry decisions of the organisation.
  - iv) represent the organisation.
  - v) preside at meetings.
5. The Vice President shall:
  - i) Deputyize for the President.
6. a) The National Secretary shall:
  - i) be the chief administrative officer of AZASO.
  - ii) keep register of all AZASO branches and affiliates.
  - iii) liase with the co-ordinator when necessary regarding international and/or national relations.

- b) The Correspondence Secretary shall:
- 1) be responsible for correspondence.
  - ii) responsible for all matters affecting invitations.
- c) The Minutes Secretary shall:
- 1) keep minutes of all NEC, AC and Special Meetings and send detailed minutes of all National Meetings to all branches.
7. The Treasurer shall:
- 1) issue and collect receipts of all monies received and paid by AZASO.
  - ii) open and operate a banking account.
  - iii) ensure that proper books are kept.
  - iv) sign all cheques which shall be countersigned by another NEC member.
8. The National Co-ordinator shall:
- 1) be responsible for AZASO projects.
  - ii) serve as liaison between regions/branches and the National Officer.
  - iii) initiate standing committees and delegate to them specific functions whenever necessary and draw up standing rules for the standing committees.
  - iv) liaise with other bodies on community projects.
  - v) be full time payed organiser elected at AC.

#### SECTION 7

##### Meetings

1. The AC shall be held at least once every calender year.
2. The GSC shall meet at least once every calender year.

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3. The Regional Councils shall meet at least once every 6 months.
  4. The NEC shall meet at least once every 3 months.
- Special Meetings

The President of AZASO at the relevant time shall in consultation with the National Secretary convene special meetings in respect of all urgent matters pertaining to the organisation and shall appoint the date, time, venue and agenda.

#### SECTION 8

##### Quorum

The quorum at GSC and NEC meetings shall be a simple majority with regions being able to vote. If within thirty (30) minutes of the appointed meeting time a quorum is not formed the meeting will stand adjourned for no longer than a week and no sooner than two (2) hours. At the expiration of the appointed meeting time the quorum will then be constituted by more than one member.

#### SECTION 9

##### Branches

1. The branch shall consist of at least ten (10) members or any such number that AZASO GSC may decide upon. There shall be a branch committee at each institution.
2. Each branch shall supervise all aspects and activities of the organisation within the area of its jurisdiction.
3. Each branch may submit to the GSC for consideration, recommendations concerning the principles, aims, objectives and goals of the organisation.
4. Each branch executive shall have a Chairperson, Vice-Chairperson, Minutes Secretary, Correspondance Secretary, Treasurer and additional members as determined by the branch.

5. The region shall liaise with the National Organiser and National Treasurer in connection with projects and fund-raising respectively.

#### SECTION 10

##### Branch Meetings

1. The branch Executive Committee shall meet at least once a month.
2. The branch Council shall meet at least once a month.
3. The branch shall also have a general members' meeting once every month.

#### SECTION 11

##### Powers and the duties of the branch Executive

1. The Chairperson shall:
  - i) be the Chief Executive Officer of the branch.
  - ii) whenever possible and necessary represent the branch.
  - iii) preside at all meetings of the branch.
2. The Vice-Chairperson shall:
  - i) Assist the branch Chairperson in the execution of his duties and deputise for the Chairperson.
3. The Correspondance Secretary shall:
  - i) be responsible for the safe-keeping of the records of the branch.
  - ii) be responsible for the secretarial work of the branch.
4. The Minutes Secretary shall:
  - i) be responsible for the recording and distribution of the minutes of all the branch

meetings.

5. The Treasurer shall:

- i) be responsible for the funds and shall keep a register of all the capital assets of the branch.
  - ii) deposit funds of the branch in a bank to be decided on by the branch Executive.
  - iii) draw up and present a report to National Treasurer.
  - iv) make sure that monies are countersigned by Chairperson.
6. The additional members shall:
  - i) be responsible for all assignments allocated to them by the branch Executive.

#### SECTION 12

##### Elections

1. Voting at all meetings and/or sessions of the organisation shall be by a show of hands unless the President/Presiding Officer decides otherwise.

#### SECTION 13

##### Property

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

#### SECTION 14

##### Discipline

1. A member may be disciplined for misconduct by the AZASO General Council or any branch Executive.

2. No member may be disciplined unless he has been afforded an opportunity to state his case personally at a meeting of the AZASO Council or the Branch Executive.

3. There shall be a right of appeal from the decision of the branch Executive to the GSC. Notice of such an appeal shall be given to the date on which the decision of the branch Executive Council was communicated to him.

4. The AZASO GSC may suspend any office bearer from office on the recommendation and request of the organisation by the member concerned, have been paid.

SECTION 16

Subscriptions

Subscription fees shall be one rand (R1) per annum per student. This shall be payable by all members. Where an SRC affiliates en bloc the subscription fee will be decided upon by the GSC according to the size of the student body.

SECTION 17

Minutes

The organisation shall keep proper minutes of its meetings.

SECTION 18

Amendments

Any amendment to the constitution shall be on a twenty-one (21) days notice of the GSC meeting at which such amendment is intended and a two-third majority shall be required to effect such amendments.

SECTION 19

Emergency situation

During an emergency situation members of the GSC may appoint an acting National Executive to deal with the day to day activities of the organisation. This shall be applicable even to the various branches.

SECTION 20

Dissolution

The President, acting on instructions from GSC, shall convene an emergency Congress which will deliberate and vote on the issue by a two-thirds majority for dissolution. The organisation's assets shall be distributed to deserving charities as decided by Congress or the GSC or the AC.

SECTION 21

Definitions

President shall mean the National President of AZASO

AC shall denote Annual Congress

GSC shall denote General Students Council

NEC shall denote National Executive Committee

AZASO shall denote Azanian Students' Organisation

Students shall denote any black person who is registered as a student at any institution of higher learning or training college, and those members of AZASO decided on by the GSC.

# AZASO POLICY DOCUMENT

Main guide to Azaso policy is a resolution adopted after intense discussion which rounded up preceding deliberations at the 1st Azaso Congress in July 1981. The resolution reads as follows:

We at the Azaso Congress, learning from the struggle of oppressed people in the world against oppression, pertinently in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, and realising that they fought against the system and not individual Portuguese colonialists or white Rhodesians and noting Samora Machel's statement on racism and capitalist exploitation - "We always say that we are struggling against the exploitation of man by man of which Portuguese colonialism is today the principal expression in our country.... There are nationalists - some naively, because they do not have a developed class-consciousness and others because they are involved in exploitation - who think that the purpose of our struggle should be to establish black power instead of white power, and to elect or appoint blacks to various political, administrative, economic and other posts which are now held by whites. Their ultimate aim is to "Africanise" exploitation. For them our struggle should be a struggle between black power and white power, whereas for us the struggle is between the power of exploiters and people's power. A black state of rich and powerful men in which a minority decides and imposes its will would be the continuation in a new form, of the situation against which we are struggling".

We wish to dispel the myth that all blacks are workers whilst we confirm that black workers in South Africa are the most exploited and therefore the vanguard in the national struggle for democracy.

nisance of the above and support those who have already taken this position to confirm that we are struggling against the system and not individual whites.

2. We must seek a working policy relating directly to the struggle of the workers as conducted by the progressive Trade Union movement.
3. Since the success of our struggle depends upon effective mobilisation of all people committed to democracy, we call for genuine unity of the oppressed against the oppressive system.

## EDUCATION

1. Azaso regards the present form of education as a kind of education that prepares black people to be tools of the system and obedient followers, and a kind of education that aims at dividing black people firstly into racial and ethnic units and secondly into classes which seek to make us ineffective as a force against the present system.
2. Azaso condemns the presence of uniformed gun-toting servicemen in black institutions of learning and regards this with the contempt it deserves, as we view this as an attempt to subjugate and intimidate black students into inaction so as to render them impotent in the struggle for democracy.
3. Azaso believes that students have the right to organise themselves and demand a relevant education but always realising that the goal of a just education system can only be achieved in a democratic society and that the education struggle will contribute to the establishment of a democratic society.

## SPORT

Azaso rejects multiracial sport as we view this as being meant to exploit the presence of black players in these multiracial sporting organisations in order to gain international recognition. We endorse the call by several organisations which has also been taken up by the United Nations Committee against Apartheid to have racist South Africa isolated from international sporting, cultural and economic activity. We urge all international sportsmen, artists, musicians and other personalities to avoid being used as mercenaries of apartheid. We also call upon all peace-loving South Africans to stop supporting all sporting and cultural activities which involve international artists for this can only perpetuate our oppression by giving credibility to these mercenaries of apartheid.

### Dialogue, National

Azaso believes in discussing points of mutual interest, establishing and maintaining working relations with organisations inside the country whose principles and policies are not in conflict with those of Azaso.

### International

Azaso fully recognises the need for dialogue with genuinely progressive organisations on the international front as long as such dialogue shall be based on the principle of mutual respect.

### Government-created institutions

Azaso views with scepticism all government-created bodies and believes in principle that the oppressor cannot voluntarily relinquish his privileged position and therefore asserts that no government-created institution will ever be instrumental in ushering in total liberation. Azaso regards all government-created institutions as the apartheid system's strategy to delay our struggle for a democratic society.

## Foreign investments

Azaso rejects the practice of foreign investment in South Africa and views this as operative in sustaining the apartheid, exploitative system of South Africa and in furthering the super-exploitation of black workers. If progressive organisations are offered facilities by these multinational companies, they should only be accepted if there are no strings attached.

### NATIONAL COMMEMORATIVE DAYS

- March 21 SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE: 69 killed 186 wounded in protest against passes. (1960)
- June 16 SOWETO UPRISING: nation wide uprising lead by students who demand the abolition of 'bantu' and gutter education and an end to the system of economic exploitation and racial oppression. (1976/77)
- June 25/26 DRAWING UP OF FREEDOM CHARTER (1955) SOUTH AFRICA FREEDOM DAY (1950) workers, students, peasants, women and youth draw up the minimum programme of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.
- August 9 NATIONAL WOMANS DAY 20 000 woman march on Union buildings Pretoria. (1955)
- sept. 12 BIKO DAY death in detention of Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko. (1977)
- Dec. 16 HERO'S DAY formation of Umkhonto We Sizwe and the begining of armed struggle in South Africa. (1961)

**NOTES**

## POEM FOR THE APOLITICAL

One day  
the apolitical  
intellectuals  
of my country  
will be interrogated  
by the simplest  
of our people.

They will be asked  
what they did  
when their nation died out  
slowly,  
like a sweet fire,  
small and alone.

No one will ask them  
about their dress,  
their long siestas  
after lunch,  
no one will want to know  
about their sterile combats  
with "the idea  
of the nothing",  
no one will care about  
their higher financial learning.  
They won't be questioned  
on Greek mythology,  
or regarding their self-disgust  
when someone within them  
begins to die  
the coward's death.  
They'll be asked nothing  
about their absurd  
justifications,  
born in the shadow  
of the total lie.

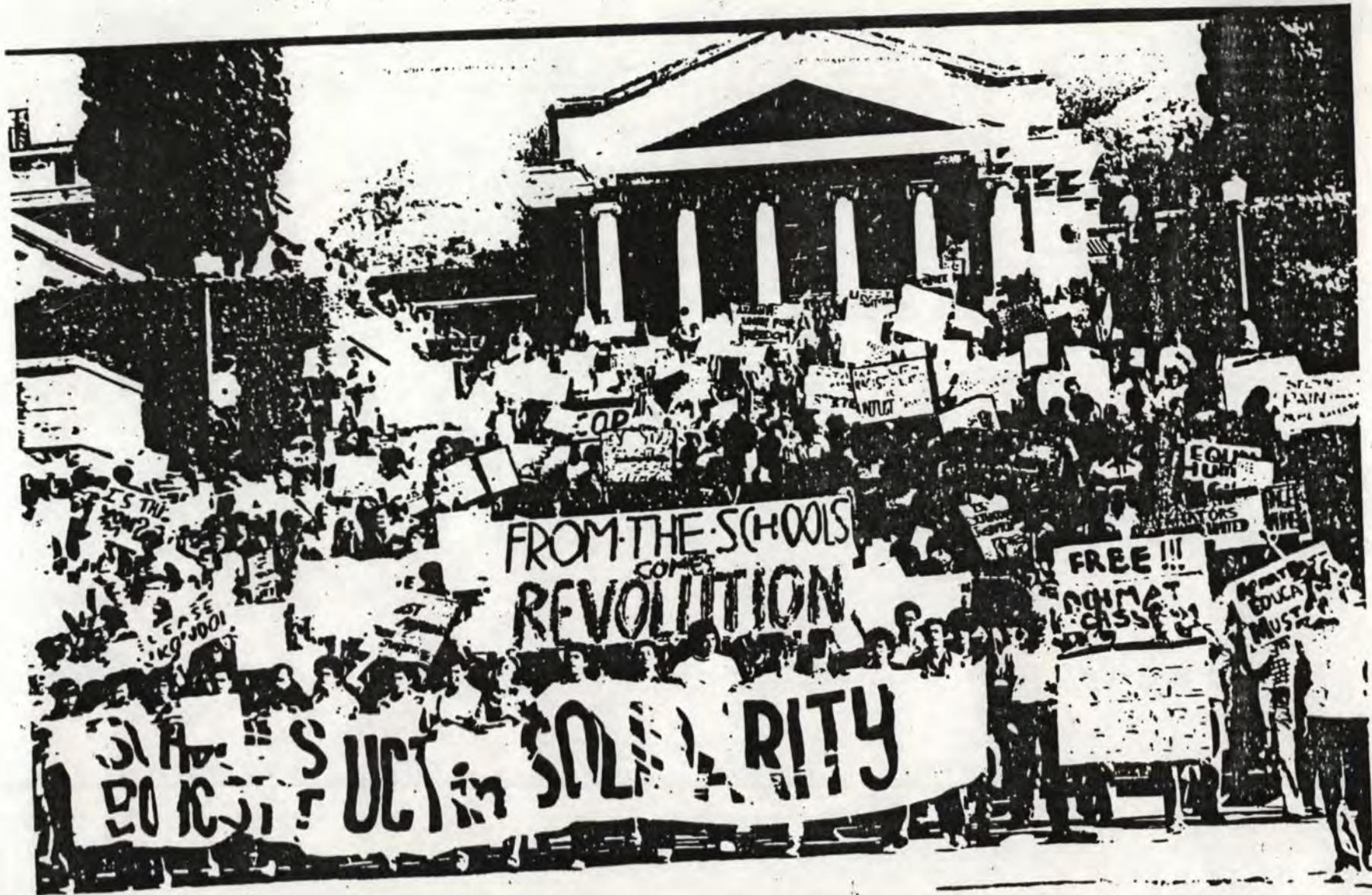
On that day  
the simple men will come.  
Those who had no place  
in the books and poems  
of the apolitical intellectuals,  
but daily delivered  
their bread and milk,  
their meat and eggs,  
those who mended their clothes,  
who drove their cars,  
who cared for their dogs and gardens  
and worked for them.

And they'll ask  
'what did you do when the poor  
suffered, when tenderness  
and life  
burned out in them?'  
Apolitical intellectuals,  
of my sweet country,  
you will not be able to answer.

A vulture of silence  
will eat your gut.  
Your own misery  
will pick at your soul.  
And you will be mute

in your shame.

O.R.CASTILLO



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