

**B3**

Bw R3

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

MOBILISE AND CONSOLIDATE THE LIBERATORY EFFORTS  
OF THE OPPRESSED MASSES

Revolutionary greetings to all Comrades.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESSMOBILISE AND CONSOLIDATE THE LIBERATORY EFFORTS  
OF THE OPPRESSED MASSES

Revolutionary greetings to all Comrades.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

**Collection Number: AK2117**

**DELMAS TREASON TRIAL 1985 - 1989**

***PUBLISHER:***

*Publisher:* **Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand**

*Location:* **Johannesburg**

**©2012**

***LEGAL NOTICES:***

**Copyright Notice:** All materials on the Historical Papers website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

**Disclaimer and Terms of Use:** Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

People using these records relating to the archives of Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, are reminded that such records sometimes contain material which is uncorroborated, inaccurate, distorted or untrue. While these digital records are true facsimiles of the collection records and the information contained herein is obtained from sources believed to be accurate and reliable, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand has not independently verified their content. Consequently, the University is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the website or any related information on third party websites accessible from this website.

This document is part of a private collection deposited with Historical Papers at The University of the Witwatersrand.