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## SHAPING OUR DESTINY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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it rather cumbersome to mix freely with the working class.

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

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

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

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

ONE PEOPLE

ONE AZANTA

ONE AZANTA

ONE NATION

TIYANI LYBON MABASA

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