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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 Kenyatta 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

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

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<sup>is</sup> 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.

... and ... **Book 2**  
It is the most important basic aspect when coming to overtake an  
evil force, that attempts to destroy or to cause havoc to the  
black society.

The black society is composed of whoever lives and was born and  
grew up in South Africa or Africa in general. This is special and based  
on students who are leaders of the future. They should unite  
because tomorrow never comes, "As William Shakespeare says  
tomorrow never comes for when it is come it's call today.  
It is our objective as students to demonstrate or exhibit the  
justice that prevails <sup>with</sup> in our society.

Quote the results of this evil injustice? What we saw during the  
risings for the mental increase, especially on the 3rd September 1976  
and is still a remarkable achievement. The students were united  
and it became a Herculean, stiff or very difficult task to  
mangle them.

The unity we showed during that day was a key to open the  
doors for students unity to reign.

Proves beyond reasonable doubts that there is no stumbling block  
for us as Sharpeville students to have our own organisation. It  
will pay us price because we can be an instant hit and try to  
bring the evil forces to their knees.

Decided to have the affiliation of AZAPO and AZASO. Then  
a resolution was advocated that we should form a students  
under the following reasons.

To unite students for the future difficulties that we will  
encounter.

To expose their part and influence in the struggle for the  
liberation and survival of blacks in Africa as a whole.

To keep away from shebeens and show them their responsibility  
to the African population.

To solve our national school problems without any violence  
or destroying school buildings.

To stand firm to our culture and effect resistance  
to ethnicity (Zulus, Xhosas, TSWANAS) or however we can be  
divided.

To oppose things with the capable use of our mental power  
and efficiency.

We have to fight and oppose the injustice of this country  
in the philosophy of the Black Consciousness.

The meaning of Black Consciousness is as follows.

The first word BLACK - means everybody who is born and grew  
up in Africa, or whoever is a blackman in  
the continent of Africa.

CONSCIOUSNESS - means awareness and self realization.

Awareness to

- (i) Identify our aspirations and our own culture.
- (ii) To identify an enemy who is planning an  
evil scheme on our continent.
- (iii) To establish a sense of unity so as to  
strive for a free and democratic S.A.

Summary of the whole theory of Black Consciousness  
is the founding of oneself.

~~...~~ → ...

course...

is in a Democratic State or Africa that people since  
- explanation of Democracy. You can get liberty to see what  
rights the British had or how they were given.  
AFRICANER - AFRICAN.  
We must NOT be awed by critical theories.

AZAPO MEMBERSHIP FORM

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. MORALA.....

Name. ....

Address .....

.....

.....

Employer/School. ....

.....

.....

Date of birth. ....

Branch ORANGE VAAL.....

Unit (where applicable) .....

Former Organisation .....

.....

Branch Chairman's Signature .....

Membership card Number CC1208.....

Date 18-08-1981.....

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Surname. ....

Name. .... ANDREW

Address ....

P.O. DUNCANNVILLE 10130

Employer/School. ....

DUNCANNVILLE VETERINARIANS  
10130

Date of birth. ....

Branch .... ORANGE - VIAL

Unit (where applicable) ....

Organisation .... MEMBER (BOARD) HAWK BOXING CLUB

Branch Chairman's Signature ....

A.P. AKING

Membership card Number ....

Date .... 1981-07-01



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Surname. Sefatso.....

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Address .....  
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Employer/School. ....  
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Date of birth. ....

Branch ORANGE VAAL.....

Unit (where applicable) .....

er Organisation .....  
.....

Branch Chairman's Signature .....

Membership card Number 901209.....

Date 18-08-1981.....

AZAPO MEMBERSHIP FORM

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Surname. Mossala.....

Name. ....

Address .....

.....

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Employer/School. ....

.....

.....

Date of birth. ....

Branch CRANF VAAL.....

Unit (where applicable) .....

Organisation .....

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Branch Chairman's Signature .....

Membership card Number 101208.....

Date 18-03-1981.....

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Jun 2.3.17

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Surname. ....

Name. ....

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

Date of birth. ....

Branch .....

Unit (where applicable) .....

Other Organisation .....

Branch Chairman's Signature .....

Membership card Number .....

Date .....

AZAPO MEMBERSHIP FORM

form 2.3.17

T:

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Surname. SECHABA .....

Name. ....

Address .....

Employer/School. ....

Date of birth. ....

Branch ORANGE VAAL .....

Unit (where applicable) .....

Other Organisation .....

Branch Chairman's Signature .....

Membership card Number 001206 .....

Date 18-08-1981 .....

AZAPO MEMBERSHIP FORM

Jan 2.3.17

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Surname. SEDI .....

Name. ....

Address .....

.....

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Employer/School. ....

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Date of birth. ....

Branch ORANGE VAAL .....

Unit (where applicable) .....

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Branch Chairman's Signature .....

Membership card Number 001207 .....

Date 18-08-1981 .....

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