

# THE BLACK BOOK



*A TOWER'S MANUAL*





### The Black Book: A Tower's Manual

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"A wise political line produces good cadres. Cadres are trained and mature under a wise line. On the other hand, they take part in the making and development of the line. They ensure the realization of the line. Without competent cadres, even though we have worked out a line, it will be useless. If cadres are bad, they will damage the line itself. If cadres are good and able, they not only help to carry out the line creatively but also contribute to its development."



- Le Duan





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## INTRODUCTION

The Black Book is designed to be A Tower's Manual that could be accessed with ease in time of need anywhere and anytime. It is a pocket size book that is not cumbersome to carry.

The content of The Black Book has been carefully chosen to cover topics that are of immediate importance to a cadre. These are topics the knowledge of which no cadre should push to the background. It is not possible to be a loyal and dedicated member of AZAPO and the BCM if you were found wanting on these basic issues. We must at all times bear in mind that failure to read individually and collectively constitute a breach of the Constitution of AZAPO. It is difficult to cultivate political discipline where a cadre's level of political consciousness and awareness is low. With a high level of understanding of the organisation's values and Code of Conduct, a cadre is likely to embrace with pride any form of corrective disciplinary action imposed on them by the caring organisation.

If an organisation like AZAPO omits to subject its membership to constant political education, then it should accept responsibility for breeding rebels and reactionaries in its ranks. However, no matter how good a political education programme may be, no political education would take place without the willing participation of cadres. Therefore, AZAPO may provide the platform but the cadre must take the responsibility to self-cultivate.

The Black Book is offered by AZAPO as one of the weapons with which to fight the disease of political ignorance among the cadreship. It is for that reason one of the Basic Documents of the Movement.

In the BCM we often address one another as Towers. A Tower is an extremely strong structure. It is the tallest of the building structures and therefore visible for all to see. It is strong because it enjoys a fortified foundation to withstand the rigours of even the most vicious weathers. By its visibility people are able to use it as a reference for direction. At its topmost part it has some lights to ensure it continues to give direction even in the darkest of nights. The lights at night also serve as a form of warning to some flying creatures and aircrafts to watch out for danger as they might crash against the solid and indestructible body of The Tower.

These are the values we must all embrace as Towers in the BCM. You can be visible only if you are proud and sure of yourself and the correctness of your political direction. Self-pride should not be a problem where you are armed with a strong political foundation. These attributes should position you to give correct political direction to the struggling masses. Again, these attributes breed success of the sort that should invite more enemies who would soon crash against your solid and indomitable spirit and resolve. A Tower is not in the habit of claiming easy victories. So as a sign of compassion it also uses the lights to forewarn unsuspecting creatures of its dangerous quality.

The term Tower should never be used to abuse or undermine fellow comrades and other freedom fighters. Its usage demonstrates the presence of self respect, self-assertiveness and self-esteem, but never arrogance. It is an address of honour and pride!

It remains our belief that The Black Book can never be complete. It will have to be developed and readapted as it responds to the challenges of changing times and conditions.

**AZAPO Department of Political Education**

September 2009

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## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Our Black forebears lived in this lower end of Africa (**AZANIA**) for thousands of years. They reared cattle and small-stock, and raised various types of crops. Many of them produced clay and wooden crafts. About 1 200 years ago they began to mine and smelt iron, copper and other minerals, which they used to make work implements. The various communities spoke different languages, yet had trade and inter-marriage amongst themselves. Sometimes, as the numbers grew and they needed more land, they would fight or negotiate as other communities did all over the world.

Whites started coming here from Europe about 500 years ago. They sometimes traded with Black people. Others, whose ships sank, were found and looked after by local communities. Later, as they arrived in large numbers, they began to cheat and fight our forebears. They took our land by force pushing our ancestors into poorer areas and making them slaves. Portuguese, Dutch, German and British settlers took part in dispossessing the indigenous people of their land. For 250 years intense fighting by Africans prevented this takeover. These settlers also brought slaves from Java, Malaya and India. Although our ancestors fought the settlers bravely, they were defeated by superior weapons.

Our country is very rich with large deposits of various minerals, a lot of good land on which grain, fruit, vegetables, cotton and other crops are grown. We have a good Science, Engineering and Technology base to ensure the beneficiation of these minerals. Its oceans have large stocks of fish. The labour force is large and has a number of skills. On the other hand, transport is fairly efficient.

We have learnt from the tradition of our forebears to continue to strive for the control of our land and its wealth. The uprising led by Bambatha in 1906 was the last traditional war by the Azanian people. Many political organisations were since then started to advance the struggle. From about 1910 people such as Sol Plaatjie and later, Clement Kadalie have been rallying Black people to unite and fight for their rights. In the 1940s Black mine workers fought for safe working conditions and better pay. There were brave struggles against discrimination and farm labour abuse in the 1950s, and against pass laws and repression in the early 1960s. The longest protest against pass laws started in 1957 in Dinokana. Large numbers of people were killed or imprisoned in those campaigns. The ANC and the PAC were banned by the settler-colonial regime in April 1960, about two weeks after the anti-pass laws.

### The Rise of the BCM

After these brutal attacks, our people were terribly intimidated and were quiet for some years until the youth spearheaded the renewal of the struggle in 1968. Led by Steve Biko, the Black students were the first to confront the fear of being arrested, tortured or killed. The South African Students' Organisation (SASO) was the first BC organisation to be launched in 1968. SASO was a shock to white liberals who had grown important for thinking, speaking and acting for Black people. The Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) that arose then, called on Black people to unite because they were all oppressed, exploited and discriminated against, whether they were called Bantu, Coloured or Indian, by the same regime of the white settler-colonialists. The militants of the BCM such as Bantu Steve Biko, Barney Pityana, Ranwedzi Nengwekhulu, Omphithetse Man Lenamile, Hendrick Musi, Petrus Machaka, Strini Modyley, Mapetla Mohapi, Onkgopotse Tiro, Mthuli Ka Shezi, Aubrey Mokoape, Vuyelwa Mashalaba, Jeff Baqwai urged Black People to accept their identity, to unite in the struggle and not to fear the whites nor to imitate them, and specially not to accept being told by them how to fight our Liberation Struggle.

The BC mobilising capacity instilled an attitude of fearlessness and defiance in our people. Under the strict guidance of the BC leadership, student leaders like Tsietsi Mashinini and Khotso Seatholo led the youth against the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in what was later to be known as the Soweto Uprising. The student protests were organised under the banner of SASM, a student wing of the BCM. It is also during this time that our people were discouraged from using skin lighteners with the unrealisable hope to be white. The people would not comb their hair resulting in a hairstyle called ama-Azania.

Those who oppressed us and got rich from our labour would not liberate us. We owe our freedom to the youth who staged the Viva Frelimo Rallies in 1974; the youth who fought with stones against armoured vehicles during the June 16 (1976) Uprising, and later fled to exile to take up arms to liberate our country.



## STEVE BIKO: THE FOUNDING FATHER OF THE BCM 1946-1977

In his death he became a symbol of the martyrdom of black revolutionaries whose struggle focused critical world attention on South Africa more strongly than at any time since Sharpeville in 1960.

Biko was a black consciousness exponent who developed intellectually and emerged with his peers to challenge the limits of death in a brutally repressive racist system. They searched for self-identity and hoped to build up pride in a culture that was not emasculated by white state rule. Biko and his student colleagues had been receptive to the political ideas expressed by many black intellectuals and they learned to use the sheer emotional power of the message of black consciousness with bitter assertiveness. These

ideas and slogans filtered down to a much broader group of politically unorganised masses who were angry and impatient for meaningful action.

Biko, the son of Mzingaye and Mamcete, was born eQonce (King William's Town) on 18 December 1946. In 1963, when Poqo activities in the eastern Cape were severe, Steve Biko had just entered Lovedale College when his brother was arrested and jailed on suspicion of outlawed Poqo activity. Biko was interrogated by the police and subsequently expelled. Thus began his resentment against white authority. In 1964 he went to Marianhill in Natal and attended a private Roman Catholic school, Saint Francis College. Though Christian principles had meaning for him, Biko, who was an articulate youth, resented whites influencing the thinking of the future of Africans.

At Wentworth, Natal University's medical school for blacks, he was elected to the Student's Representative Council (SRC), and in 1967 participated as a delegate to a National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) conference at Rhodes University. NUSAS was dominated by white liberals and failed to represent the needs of Black students. At this conference, Black students were affronted when the host university prohibited mixed accommodation and eating facilities at the conference site. Reacting bitterly, Biko slated the artificial integration of student politics and rejected liberalism as empty gestures of people who really wished to retain the status quo. Black students were drawn to Biko in frank discussions about their miseries as second class citizens.

At the University Christian Movement (UCM) meeting in Stutterheim in 1968 these usually reticent young people were enthusiastically supportive of Biko's idea for an exclusively all-black movement. In 1969 at the University of the North near Pietersburg, under the slogan Black Man, You are on Your Own, Black students launched a blacks-only student union, the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) with Biko as the founding President. SASO made clear its common allegiance to the philosophy of Black Consciousness. It (SASO) became increasingly involved in conscientising Black people, providing medical aid and medical clinics, conducting literacy classes as well as helping to develop a cottage industries for the rural poor.

Biko was scathingly critical of white liberals. The whole ideology of liberalism was questioned and rejected openly by SASO with Biko as its main mouthpiece.

The idea that blacks might determine their own destiny, the movement's pride in Black Consciousness swept black campuses strongly influencing those who had experienced the frustrations of the system of Bantu Education and feelings of inferiority to whites. In a short time SASO became identified with 'Black Power' and African humanism.

At the 1972 SASO Conference hostility towards puppet leaders operating in the homeland system was made manifest when the outgoing president of SASO, Temba Sono, was ousted because he recommended some form of co-operation with selected leaders within the apartheid system.

Biko described Sono's speech as 'very dangerous' (Black Review, 1972:25). But Biko saw all moderates working within the system as 'collaborators' and, with the expulsion of Sono, the radical ideology was entrenched.



The BCM placed special emphasis on the dimensions of culture and identity and the return of the land to its rightful owners. In 1972 SASO leaders established an adult wing of their organisation, the Black Peoples Convention (BPC), because they argued that they were black before they were students and had to have a platform to work from during holidays and after their student days. Almost immediately it clashed with the police. Eight BC leaders were banned in 1973 and publication of BPC material became difficult. The BPC effectively brought together roughly 70 BC organisations and associations like SASM, NAYO and the Black Workers' Project (BWP), which supported black workers whose unions were not recognised under the apartheid regime.

The government reacted by systematically depriving SASO of its leaders. In 1973 a flurry of banning orders were issued: Biko and other SASO and BPC leaders were detained under the Terrorism Act. Under a subsequent banning that restricted Biko to his dusty home town of Ginsberg in the Eastern Cape, he could no longer support the Black Community Projects (BCP) in Durban. He then helped set up the Zimele Trust Fund which assisted political prisoners and their families.

The following year nine (9) leaders of SASO and BPC were charged for their participation in the Viva Frelimo Rallies to celebrate the liberation of Mozambique. The accused used the 17-month SASO/BPC trial as a platform to state the case of Black Consciousness. They were found guilty and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. Their convictions simply strengthened the BCM. In June 1976 high school students and police clashed violently and fatally, and continuing widespread rebellion shook the foundations of the apartheid regime.



Biko was detained and interrogated four times between August 1975 and August 1977. In the wake of the revolt of 1976 and with the prospects of national revolution becoming increasingly real, security police detained Biko on 21 August 1977 at a roadblock in Grahamstown. He was 30 years old and was extremely fit when arrested. On 6 September 1977 he was removed from the Walmer police cells and taken for interrogation to the Sanlam Building, which was then used as security police headquarters. On 7 September he was interrogated and tortured. A blow in a scuffle with security police led to him suffering brain damage. After this he refused to eat and talk, and behaved strangely to the extent of wetting the stony mat on which he was lying. The racist doctors dismissed the dying Biko as pretending to be sick. Despite his critical condition and obvious signs of brain damage, the doctors approved that he be chained like an animal to a metal grille at night and left to lie on urine-soaked blankets. He had been stripped naked and kept on leg-irons for 48 hours in his cell. By 11 September Biko had slipped into a coma. Even so, the racist doctors still approved that he be transported naked in the back of a Land Rover that welcomed the biting chill of the night through its net canopy for 1200 km to Pretoria.



On 12 September 1977 Biko died humiliated, alone and naked on a cement floor of a cell in the Pretoria Central Prison. The racist Minister of Justice, Jimmy Kruger still had the nerve to mock our beacon of hope in death by suggesting that Biko had died of hunger strike; and that the news of his death 'left him cold'. A widespread crackdown of black student organisations and political movements followed, and in October, just before the inquest, police swooped on 17 Black Consciousness organisations.

Two years later a South African Medical and Dental Council (SAMDC) disciplinary committee found there was no prima facie case against the two doctors who had treated Biko shortly before his death. Dissatisfied doctors, seeking another inquiry into the role of the medical authorities who had treated Biko shortly before his death, presented a petition to the SAMDC in February 1982, but this was rejected on the grounds that no new evidence had come to light.

It took eight years and intense pressure before the South African Medical Council took disciplinary action. On 30 January 1985 the Pretoria Supreme Court ordered the SAMDC to hold an inquiry into the conduct of the two doctors who treated Steve Biko during the five days before he died. Judge President of the Transvaal Mr Justice W G Boshoff said in a judgment handed down that there was prima facie evidence of improper or disgraceful conduct on the part of the 'Biko' doctors in a professional respect.



## WHAT IS AZAPO?

AZAPO is a veteran of the Azanian liberation struggle whose revolutionary credentials and contributions are well known here and abroad. It is a leading organisation of the BCM. Like the legendary phoenix, AZAPO emerged from the ashes of the BPC, SASO and many other BC organisations that were banned on 19 October 1977 for their active role in agitating and directing the June 16 (1976) national uprisings.

By banning the historical movements in 1960, the apartheid regime thought it had driven the final nail into the coffin of the struggle. Little did they realise that Steve Biko and his comrades would fearlessly re-ignite the flames of the revolution in the late 1960s. They looked death, jail and paralyzing torture right in the face and marched on to organise, conscientise and mobilise the Azanian masses to fight for their rights.

Despite the apartheid regime's countless guns and tanks, the philosophy of Black Consciousness gave the people determination and hope that victory was certain. With this newfound pride and black power, the people were generally defiant and actively opposed every move of the oppressive regime.

The simplicity of BC and its emphasis on teaching ensured that the people captured every single detail of their hardships and the path to freedom. The BCM snatched the leadership of the struggle from white liberals, and returned it to the oppressed and exploited black masses. This liberating move also found expression in the slogan, 'Black Man, You are on Your Own'.

The value of self-reliance was followed to the letter by the BCM. To this end, a mass of self-help community projects were established throughout the country. There was Zanempilo Hospital, Ezinyoka near King William's Town, advice offices and a host of other development projects. This approach made our people regain their self-confidence in making things happen for themselves.

The panic-stricken and paranoid regime could hardly be expected to fold arms and watch the groundswell of what it considered as swart gevaar. In the midst of economic depression and rampant unemployment, they tightened the stranglehold on the poor necks of black people, thereby ripening the conditions for the June 16 national uprisings.

Formed by BCM stalwarts in April 1978 to provide an organisational substitute to the banned organisations, AZAPO had historically become the undisputed heir to the rich legacy of BPC and SASO.

In carrying out the liberation struggle, AZAPO is guided by its twin ideologies of BC and Scientific Socialism. Hereupon lies our conviction that the working class is the leading force for the attainment of an anti-racist, democratic, socialist worker republic of Azania.

Armed with a strong dose of BC and Scientific Socialism, AZAPO spearheaded the call for Sanctions and Cultural Boycott of white racist Suid Afrika in the early 1980s. Consistent with this campaign, AZAPO championed the chasing away of the O'Jays, Edward Kennedy, Paul Simons and other rebels that made malicious attempts to frustrate the Cultural Boycott and Sanctions. These concerted efforts resulted in the isolation of apartheid South Africa in the areas of trade, armaments, sport and diplomatic relations, which contributed in the ultimate crumbling of the white minority regime.

In 1985 the Nationalist Party regime attempted to short-circuit and abort our struggle by wanting to convene the National Convention, an earlier version of CODESA. It was clear by then that some sections of the liberation Movement had been seduced to legitimate this ploy by their participation. AZAPO sparked a vociferous campaign called Death to the National Convention. This found stronger expression under the National Forum, a body that AZAPO helped form.

The National Forum provided a common platform from which the forces of the liberation movement could engage the settler-colonial regime. Indeed, the National Convention plot never saw the light of day.

The racist regime got fed up of AZAPO's unflinching will to organise and mobilise the masses into rebellion. In 1987 the racist regime briefly banned AZAPO and other political organisations. The list included the militant AZAYO. In the intervening two years a make-shift structure, the Azanian Coordinating Committee (AZACCO), was formed to keep the fires burning.

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The late Cde Thabo Sehume was appointed its Convener. During these restrictions, a Conference for a Democratic Future (CDF) was convened at Wits University in 1989. By virtue of its stature and unquestionable revolutionary credentials, AZAPO was in the Convening Committee of the CDF.

AZAPO had realised that a socialist struggle needed the organisation to be populated by workers to give effect to the hegemony of the proletariat. To this end, AZAPO formed many trade unions and Advice Centres throughout the country. Later, a BC Trade Union Federation called the Azanian Council of Trade Unions (AZACTU) was formed. This task was made easy by our experience in trade union politics. Prior to the 1977 banning we had formed several trade unions like the Black Allied Workers Union (BAWU), which were instrumental in the 1973 General Workers Strike. However, AZACTU merged with CUSA in 1986 resulting in the formation of NACTU.

AZAPO has to date formed many organisations and influenced a number of others not directly falling under its political control. The former would be AZASO, AZASM, AZAYO, AZASCO, Imbeleko, etc, while the latter would be giants like the BLA, etc.

When the need for the armed struggle arose, AZAPO never stood idle. Through the exiled BCMA's armed wing - the AZANLA Forces - AZAPO was able to defend the people and fight alongside the struggling masses.

Central in our liberatory efforts, is to improve the black person's quality of life, and tirelessly fight and destroy the slave mentality that believes black people are suitable for townships and mekhukhu, while others live in suburbs and decent houses.

AZAPO holds the view that democracy and good social order cannot be maintained where a minority racial group controls virtually all the wealth, while the indigenous people continue to be condemned to abject poverty. Our biggest challenge is to wage a relentless and concerted struggle against poverty and the social ills that still keep the majority of our people trapped in underdevelopment of all sorts.

When we say we stand for socialism we mean a takeover of political power by the working class and the control of the main sections of the economy such as mines, banks, large factories and big farms. The profit generated by the entities will be used to provide free education and medical care for all the people. When the working class controls state power and runs the economy, it will not exploit or oppress anyone else. Unlike a capitalist system where the means of production are owned by the minority, in a socialist order they will be owned by the majority who are the working people.

People who own small farms, few animals, family businesses, small factories and workshops will be allowed to keep them. Workers both in state companies and in private businesses will be assured good minimum wages and safe working conditions. Importation of luxury goods that are only enjoyed by the rich will be reduced.

In the uncompromising struggle for National Self-determination, AZAPO seeks to build One People, One Nation in One Azania. That nation must be built on a strong basis of progressive African value systems and norms.

To this day, AZAPO remains the leading exponent of Black Consciousness in this country, and draws inspiration from such eminent sons and daughters of this soil such as Steve Biko, Onkgopotse Tiro, Mthuli ka Shezi, Mapetla Mohapi, Makgano Mogashoa, Muntu Myeza, Abu-baker Asvat, Tsietsi Mashinini, Kgotso Sethloho, Fezile Tshume, Mzwandile Mcoseli, Sonwabo Ngxale, Makompo Kutumela, Thami Mcerwa, Kuki Dorris Tihako and many others.

## JUNE 16 SOWETO UPRISING AND THE BCM

Steve Biko was once asked in an interview to show the effectiveness of the BC philosophy. He answered in one word referring to the 16 June 1976 Uprising, "Soweto!"

There are many theories that have since been invented around June 16. The revolts were so sweeping and omnipresent that they captured both the eye and ear of the stubborn international community. The Azanian revolution had been given a new complexion and vigour. Other sections of the liberation movement have been head over heels outpacing one another in trying in vain to claim responsibility for June 16.

In the school syllabus a picture is smuggled that suggests the masses revolted spontaneously without any political direction from any political organisation. No mention is made of the BCM or Steve Biko when this history is recounted in the school textbooks. Yet you cannot talk of June 16 without mentioning the BCM, and the other way round.

What are the historical facts? As it has been stated, when the ANC and PAC were banned in 1960 they fled the country and left the masses leaderless. The BCM came to the fore and kept the flames of the revolution burning. They monopolised the political stage conscientising, organising and mobilising the Azanians with unprecedented vigour and militancy. They set up organisational structures to give political home to various social groups. Like AZAPO of today, the historical Black People's Convention (BPC) acted as an umbrella body under whose political direction the entire BC organisations operated.

In 1953 the apartheid government enacted the Bantu Education Act, which established a Black Education Department in the Department of Native Affairs. The author of the legislation was one Dr Hendrik Verwoed who stated that 'Natives must be taught from an early age that equality with Europeans is not for them'.

There was, by design, an acute lack of facilities in the black schooling system. Nationally, the pupil/teacher ratios went up from 46:1 in 1955 to 58:1 in 1967. There was also a lack of teachers, and many of those who did teach were under-qualified. In 1961 only 10% of black teachers held a matriculation certificate. Because of the apartheid government's homeland policy, virtually no new schools were built between 1962 and 1971. It was assumed that black students would move to their relevant homeland to attend the newly built schools there. Because of the general defiance by black people to embrace the homeland system, there developed an explosive overcrowding in the urban schools.

In 1975 South Africa was engulfed by a period of economic depression. Despite the already non-existent funds, black schools were further starved of funds. The government spent R644 on a white child's education and R42 on a black child.

The previous year (1974) the racist Minister of Bantu Education had issued a decree that made the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black schools compulsory from Standard 5 onwards. Although Afrikaans is an indigenous language, it had been colonised by the boers and gave it a negative image of an oppressor's language. Naturally, the people resisted the imposition of Afrikaans.

When the 1976 school year started, many teachers refused to teach in Afrikaans also because most of them were not proficient in the language. In June Form 1 and Form 2 students from Orlando West Junior Primary School staged a class boycott that was joined by 7 other schools in Soweto. The police were sent in. At Naledi High School the students had demanded to speak to the regional director of education, and the police Special Branch was once more deployed. The students saw red forcing the police to lock themselves in the school principal's office. The South African Students' Movement (SASM), a student wing of the BCM, convened a meeting of about 400 students on 13 June in Orlando. The meeting called for mass demonstration against Afrikaans was addressed by a leader of SASM, a 19-year old Tsietsi Mashinini. On 16 June the students assembled at different points throughout Soweto with the aim of eventually gathering at Orlando West Secondary School. About 20 000 students in uniform took part in that peaceful march. The Bureau of State Security (BOSS) that was in charge of internal security was caught unawares.

A police squad was sent in to form a line in front of the students who they ordered to disperse. They refused.



Police dogs were immediately unleashed on the students, then teargas was fired. Live bullets were rained on the kids without any warning.

The students responded by throwing stones and setting fire to symbols of apartheid such as government buildings, municipal beer halls and businesses belonging to white people. The following day parents pledged solidarity with their children by staying away from work. The revolts spread like veld fire to other areas of the country like Mamelodi, Gugulethu, Mitchells' Plain, Kwazakhele, Chatsworth, KwaMashu, and so forth. Not even brute force could quell the burning flames of the revolution.

The masses and the BCM waited in vain for those who were already armed in exile to come and fight alongside the people. That was not to be. Instead, the BC militants left the country with the hope of taking up arms and fighting for their freedom.

There were at least three dimensions that facilitated such unprecedented gigantic rebellion. First, you had ripe socio-economic circumstances with the height of repression and economic depression. Second, there was in place a relevant ideological force, which was the vibrant BC philosophy. Third, there was a potent organisational force – the Black Consciousness Movement - , which served as a vanguard of the fighting masses. A bonus was the presence of 'young, gifted and black' leadership, which did not have the word 'fear' in their revolutionary vocabulary.

This is the history and the legacy of AZAPO and the BCM. As we did with the boers, we must allow no one to distort this gallant piece of history that served as a solid foundation for our liberation!



## AZAPO STRUCTURE

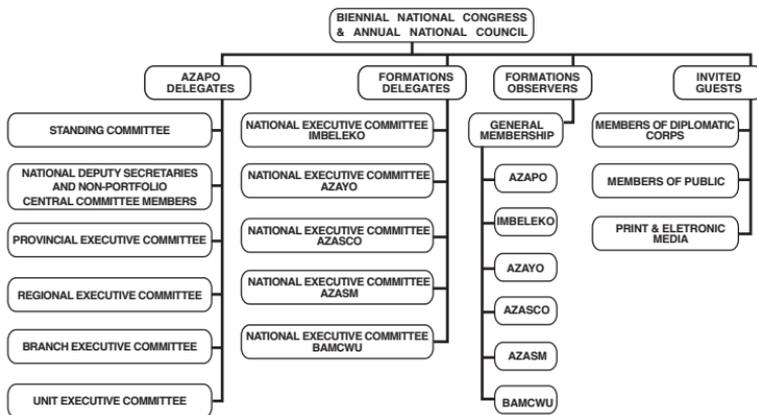
The structure of AZAPO is orderly and hierarchical to allow for the smooth-running of the organisation and observance of protocol. The organisation functions on the basis of Democratic Centralism. Put simply, this means lower structures (lower authority) must respect and follow the democratic decisions of higher structures (higher authority). This is completely different from Liberal Democracy, where you have "a right to act or not to act". In Liberal Democracy, even if a decision were to be taken by Higher Authority, you reserve the right to accept it, or not to. In AZAPO you are given the platform to debate openly and democratically. Once the minority is defeated by the majority, then the minority must abide with the majority decision to the extent of articulating and defending that decision. The decision of the majority is the decision of the organisation, and that decision is therefore policy.

There are however internal channels and procedures that provide space and opportunity to those who seek to review the decisions.

### ***National Congress:***

This is the highest policy making body of the organisation where new national leaders are elected. It sits every two years. There is however a non-electing National Congress that sits every two years to evaluate the general progress of the organisation. No other structure can change the decisions of National Congress. National Congress decisions are binding on all the lower structures, including the Formations. It is only the National Congress that can change its own decisions.

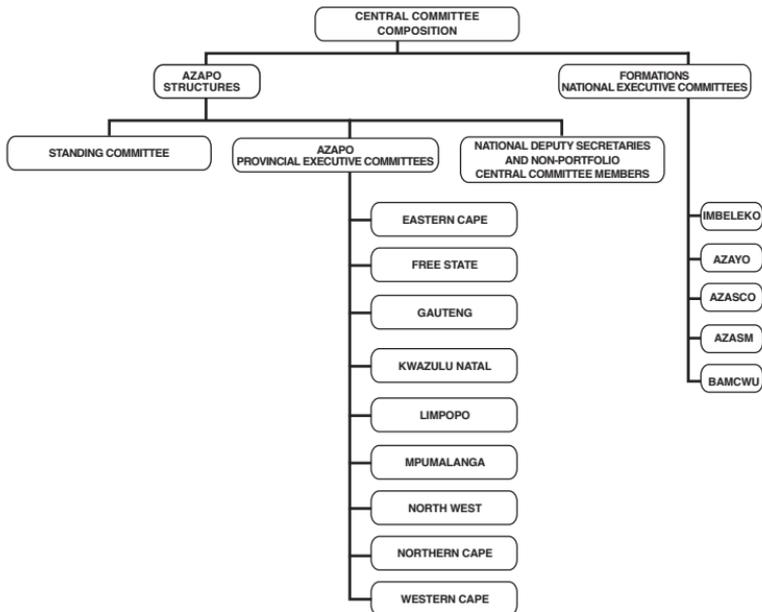
## BIENNIAL NATIONAL CONGRESS COMPOSITION



### Central Committee:

The CC is the second highest decision-making body. It sits on a quarterly basis. It is, in a sense, National Congress in perpetual sitting. It comprises the Standing Committee members and their Deputies, 9 PECs, and NECs of Formations. The Head Office sends the Programme to CC Members well in time to enable them to make the necessary preparations. Structures are required to hold gatherings to discuss the Programme and other issues of political interest as part of their mandate to the CC. Any Structure, therefore, that goes to the CC session without any mandate is violating the general membership's right to determine the political direction of the organisation. There is also a duty on these Structures to report back to their respective constituencies.

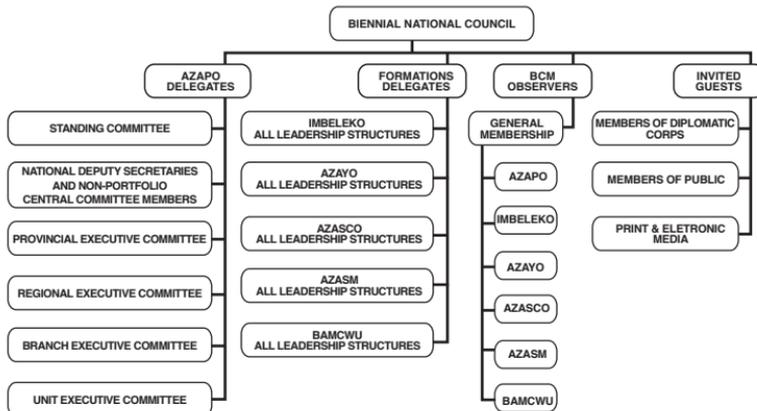
### CENTRAL COMMITTEE COMPOSITION



### National Council:

This is a body that brainstorms policies and makes recommendations to either National Congress or Central Committee. It sits every two years. It comprises all the CC members plus RECs, BECs and Units. This body welcomes a greater number of people than the CC. The lowest levels of leadership participate in this body.

## BIENNIAL NATIONAL COUNCIL COMPOSITION



### **Standing Committee:**

The SC is an arm of the Central Committee that runs the organisation's affairs on a day to day basis. This structure serves as the organisation's Polit Bureau. It is elected on a four-year basis directly by National Congress, and sits on a monthly basis.

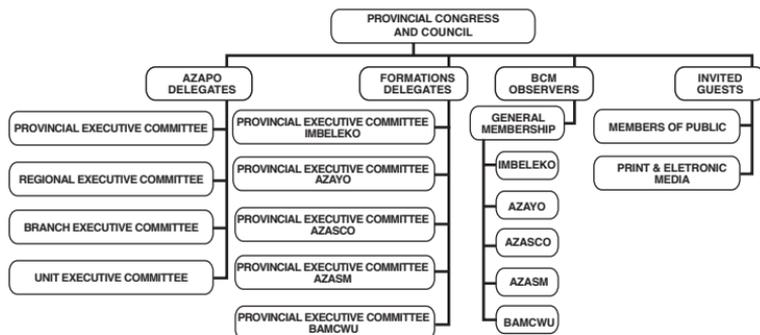
### **Working Committee:**

This is a convenient facility of the Standing Committee that executes its mandates. It sits every week.

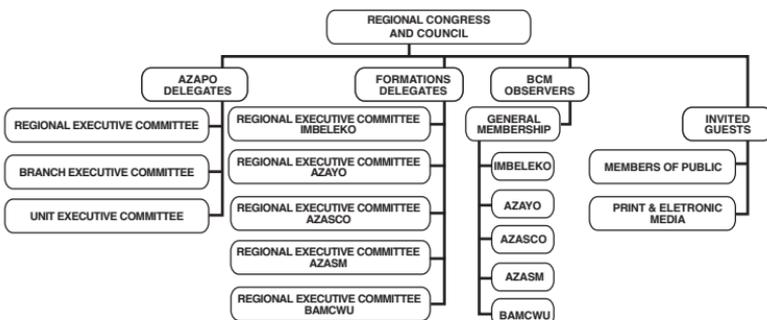
### **Provincial/Regional Executive Committee:**

The PECs and RECs are elected for a two year term, and oversee affairs of the organisation at their respective levels. The PEC is even more important because, apart from organizing and coordinating the Province, it also sits in the CC where the direction of the organisation is determined between National Congresses. They carry the Provincial mandate to the CC, and give feedback to the Province about the CC binding decisions.

## PROVINCIAL CONGRESS AND COUNCIL COMPOSITION



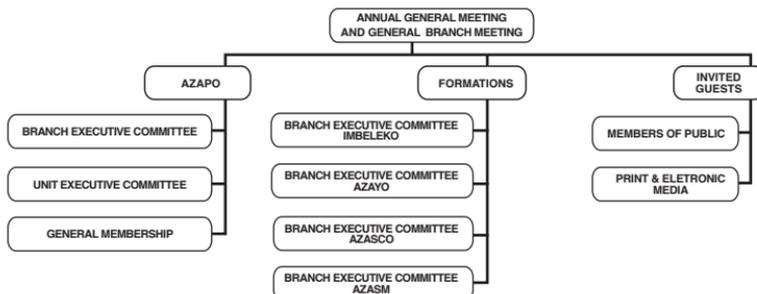
## REGIONAL CONGRESS AND COUNCIL COMPOSITION



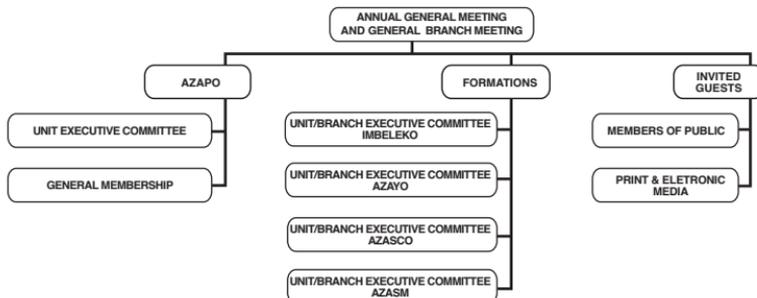
### **Branch/Unit Executive Committee:**

These are the lowest levels of the executive structures, and are elected yearly. They are the most important structures of the organisation, because they give us form, real existence and visibility. They interact closely with the people and their issues. Also, they prove to be strategic when it comes to contesting elections. They are therefore the pillars of the organisation. We would collapse without them.

## BRANCH ANNUAL MEETING AND BRANCH GENERAL MEETING COMPOSITION



## UNIT ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING AND GENERAL MEETING COMPOSITION



### **Formations:**

Society is vast and the problems of the different sections of our people are massive. So to facilitate its work the organisation forms structures around various social groups and interests. An example is Imbeleko for women, AZAYO for the youth, AZASCO and AZASM for students. In this way, these structures are the component organs of AZAPO. They derive their ultimate political direction from their Mother Body, which is AZAPO. Their National Executive Committees represent their constituencies at AZAPO National Congresses and Central Committees Sessions.



## COLOURS, FLAG AND LOGO

### COLOURS

The Colours of the organisation are **Red**, **Gold** and **Black**, representing Socialism, the Wealth of Azania and Black people respectively. Any member of the organisation may be awarded the colours of the organisation in recognition of outstanding service to Black liberation in Azania.

### LOGO

The Logo of the organisation is a right hand Black clenched fist facing forward with a Red Star imposed on the Wrist on an encircled Gold Background. The Black Fist stands for the Solidarity of Black People. The Red Star stands for our hope that the Black workers, whose blood has been spilled for our liberty, will lead the struggle and ultimately rule a Free Socialist Azania. The Gold is for the Wealth of our country. In short, this builds into the statement, Black Solidarity for a Socialist Azania.

### FLAG

The Flag of the organisation is a rectangle with the horizontal side being the longest. A diagonal line from the bottom left hand corner divides the rectangle into two triangles. The upper triangle is Gold and the lower triangle is Black. A Red Star is imposed on the top left hand corner.





## MASS MOBILISATION

A liberation movement like AZAPO does not depend only on its administrative stability, financial viability and intellectual appeal. What gives it its mighty character is its capacity to agitate and lead the masses to take to the streets. The ability to do this is a demonstration of power and mass appeal. With the might of this magnitude at its disposal, an organisation will definitely be taken seriously by its opponents when it raises its voice. This is because it undoubtedly speaks on behalf of the struggling masses and therefore enjoys their full backing.

Mass Mobilisation assumes the character of different forms of protest actions. This is usually preceded by some social discontent. All a revolutionary organisation does is to consolidate such dispersed energies and channel them into a particular direction. Sometimes efforts of this nature may require consultation and collaboration with community organisations and social movements.

It stands to reason that Mass Mobilisation is the lifeblood of a People's Movement. Another way of saying an organisation has no Mass Mobilisation presence is to describe it as inept, ineffective, small or detached.

At all protest action programmes, members of the organisation must always proudly put on their T-Shirts and display our colours.

### **Below are some forms of engagement Mass Mobilisation may assume:**

**Loudhailing:** This involves use of loudhailers to either announce a mass meeting, convey information to clarify or emphasise a cause of discontent.

**Motorcade:** This is a large convoy of AZAPO branded cars driven through the streets to either showcase AZAPO's presence or draw the attention of the community towards a particular issue or event. On one or two of the cars a powerful loudhailer may be mounted to play revolutionary songs or make relevant announcements.

**Pamphleteering:** This is a bold public action where AZAPO members and the community distribute pamphlets at strategic areas of the villages, townships or informal settlements. The pamphlets carry short and precise messages about the nature of discontent, course of action or details about a mass meeting to be held.

**Mass Meeting:** This is a large public gathering where issues that have given rise to the social discontent are discussed. This is done with a view to mapping out a course or programme of action. AZAPO is there every step of the way providing political direction and leadership going forward.

**Picketing and Demonstration:** This is a form of protest action where AZAPO leads the community to gather at a strategic area to sing, chant slogans and wave placards with relevant messages to the cause of action. These demonstrations are staged during peak times when the greater public would be able to see them. The purpose of these actions is usually to raise awareness about a particular problem and mobilise public support. For this reason, it follows that nothing must be done that may result in loss of public support.

**Boycott:** This protest action may entail agitating the community to refrain from buying or using targeted goods and services with a view of disrupting the stability of the targeted forces so that they give audience to the people or accede to their demands. A boycott is normally likened to a double-edged sword that cuts both ways – it cuts the enemy as well as the people. That is why a boycott is staged for a specified length of time to afford reviews as to whether or not is achieving the purpose.

**Marches:** These usually require intensive planning because they work best if there are massive numbers of the people to walk from a particular location to a specified destination. A march normally ends with a handing over of a petition or a memorandum of demands to the authorities. It therefore makes sense to inform beforehand those that are expected to receive the petition.

## SOME POLICY STATEMENTS

**AZAPO believes in a democratic order that entails promotion of, among other things, the following goals and values:**

- Establish an anti-racist, anti-sexist, democratic, socialist worker republic of Azania
- Declare Azania a unitary state while abolishing the 9 provincial legislatures, and redeploying the work force to Local Government with a view to strengthening the latter
- Uphold the supremacy of the law
- Guarantee equality before the law for all citizens regardless of race, sex, or social standing
- Ensure fair trial and access to legal advice centres with qualified lawyers to interpret all legal matters to every citizen requesting it and if necessary represent such citizen in legal proceedings
- Limit right to bail for those who commit rape, murder, armed robbery and similar horrendous crimes
- Guarantee to all citizens the right to speak, write and develop their languages but firmly oppose racism, ethnicity, tribalism or regionalism
- Guarantee freedom of association, movement and assembly and the concomitant right to free expression and to worship or not to, provided such right does is not exercised to promote racism, fascism, sexism, tribalism or any discrimination that is inimical to social justice, stability and progress of the Azanian people
- Build a self-reliant economy that will promote economic growth and developments to create jobs
- Rigorously combat unemployment and uphold the right and duty of citizens to work
- Establish a national minimum wage, establish machinery to monitor and ensure an equitable wage structure and guarantee equal pay for equal work irrespective of race or sex
- Guarantee the right and encourage all workers to organise themselves into free and independent trade unions
- Ban child and migratory labour
- Provide adequate housing, clean water supply, transportation, and personal security
- Charge reasonable rates and rent
- Provide free primary health care and encourage research in traditional medicine and herbs and integrate these into the national health system
- Build health centres in all localities and improve health services, especially in the rural areas
- Fight and destigmatised HIV and AIDS by supplying HIV positive pregnant mothers medicine to minimize the transmission of HIV and AIDS to unborn children
- Provide free and compulsory education up to and including Grade 12 (Matric)
- Tailor educational curricula to serve the cultural, intellectual, social and industrial needs of the people
- Lay special emphasis on vocational, technical, scientific and technological education
- Implement scholarships and bursary schemes to help students through colleges and university education
- Build adult educational centres throughout the country and eliminate illiteracy
- Build and expand crèches and day-care centres throughout the country to alleviate the burden of working parents
- Vest the ownership of the land, including everything below its surface, the air above it and the sea around it, in the hands of the state
- Nationalise all heavy industry, major commercial undertakings, multinational monopolies and syndicates
- Put under state control all mining and fishing industries
- Distribute the land to organised groups for farming, commercial, housing, sporting, etc, in accordance with a Central National Plan
- Strive for the introduction of cooperative farms on existing farmlands and assist these with modern farming equipment and methods
- Establish agricultural produce factories in the farming areas in order to bridge the gap between rural and urban areas
- Audit all unoccupied land for redistribution to the landless people



- Reduce the overall tax burden on individuals, especially low and middle-income earners
- Establish a special government Ministry for SMMEs to fast-track the absorption of informal businesses into the mainstream economy, and to develop the sector
- Oppose and reverse the privatization of state assets
- Combat corruption by tightening the code that regulates the conduct of parliamentarians, politicians and public officials in general
- Actively champion programmes that are geared at the eradication of male chauvinism and inequalities between women and men
- Restore the dignity of traditional institutions
- Remove all barriers, be they physical or psychological, which make it difficult for persons with impairments to function at the workplace or their communities
- Formulate a vibrant and dynamic youth policy that will deal with developmental issues relating to the youth
- Recognise the right of all nations to self-determination and in this respect, cooperate with all progressive nations, organisations, and international agencies to advance the course of freedom and independence for all the oppressed of the world
- Strive for the unity and advancement of the African people throughout the continent
- Cooperate with all countries and organisations fighting against racism, Zionism, colonialism, capitalism, imperialism, super- power domination and interference.





## SOCIALISM AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

AZAPO is a Liberation Movement that is guided in the struggle by the theory, practice and principles of its twin ideologies, namely, Scientific Socialism and Black Consciousness (BC).

When Europeans robbed the Africans of their land about 500 years ago, they (Europeans) also systematically oppressed and exploited the indigenous people. This meant denying them social, political and economic rights. We had no right to work, vote, or voice a political opinion. Thus black people soon became second (if not third) class citizens in the country of their birth. White racism and apartheid were designed to make it a point that the humanity and dignity of Africans was destroyed. Their residential areas, schools, churches, education and everything, were of an inferior type. This socialisation of blacks into inferiority resulted in them being hopeless, despising themselves and seeing whites as gods.

Out of the plight and miseries of black people, the BC philosophy was born. BC is therefore an attempt to understand the conditions of existence of black people. Arising from the understanding of the totality of our socio-political circumstances, BC seeks to articulate black aspirations without any reservations. At this level, BC is a way of life, an attitude of mind.

The historical mission of BC is not just to understand circumstances of black people and society, but it must change those miserable circumstances and society as a whole. In the preceding paragraph, we have just highlighted the first category of BC, which is philosophy. We are now dealing with the second category called ideology – a programme for liberation. At this level, the people are organised and mobilised under the banner of AZAPO to fight for the return of their land, liberation and restoration of their humanity and dignity. This can best be done under the agency of BC, for BC is a quest for true humanity.

The BCM has always viewed our struggle as being Nationalist in character, and Socialist in content. The National Question directs itself to addressing the conflict of interests between nationalities, whereas the Social Question seeks to resolve contradictions between the classes. To the extent that the Black people were dispossessed of their land and subsequently oppressed as a group, the National Question arises with a resolve to eradicate oppression and return the land to its rightful owners – the Black people in general. This aspect of contradictions is said to be non-principal.

The Social Question springs to the fore with the exploitation of the working class that sell their labour-power for meagre wages in return. The minority bourgeois class owns the means of production and extracts super profits from the toil of the majority class of workers. This aspect of contradictions is principal. These contradictions are fundamental, antagonistic and irreconcilable. This is because the interests of the working class (i.e. the agents of change) are by definition diametrically opposed to those of the capitalists. It is instructive to remember that our position “race is a class determinant” made us conclude that the Black working class is the driving force of our liberation struggle. By virtue of their privileged status, the white section of the working class was deemed to have been co-opted into the ranks of a reactionary labour aristocracy. With the loss of state power in 1994 by the white settler-colonial regime, the status of white workers has to be reviewed.

That is why our Party never failed to accentuate the principle of the hegemony of the proletariat. In all our Party constitutions we made it a point that we stipulate our strategic goal that “the interest of the workers shall be held paramount”. As you know, our envisaged form of state is an “Anti-racist, Democratic, Socialist Workers’ Republic of Azania”.

The Party’s strategic approach to the prosecution of the struggle involves the “fusion of the Social and National questions”. What do we mean by this? Because we have said the Social Question provides the content of our struggle, it goes without saying that the paramount interests of the working class should determine the character and tempo of the struggle.

Put differently, the working class is the vanguard of our liberation struggle!



Proletarian vanguardism does not mean we undermine or exclude other social classes from taking part in the socialist revolution. Nor are the revolutionary dimensions of their class interests pushed to the background. All that is done is to merely assert the hegemony of the proletariat. This must be understood to mean that other classes must rally around the working and submit to its progressive leadership. The fusion of the Social and National Questions by our Party is a direct onslaught against the revisionist “two phase struggle” that prescribes the exclusive prosecution of the bourgeois revolution first, to be later followed by the socialist revolution.

An AZAPO socialist government will seek to nationalise (socialise) the commanding heights of the economy. This will enable us to attend to the developmental needs of the majority, and eradicate poverty and inequality once and for all!





## EXPLANATORY NOTES ON PRINCIPLES

### 1. Democratic Centralism

This is a way of practising democracy within the organisation. All members are allowed to air their views. If there is no agreement, and it is difficult to reach a decision, then a decision is arrived at by voting. The views of the majority must then prevail. The minority have to accept the decision, no matter how strongly they feel opposed to it. In addition, they should do nothing that militates against that decision.

Since our organisation is hierarchical, the lower structures are subordinate to the higher structures. That means the lower structures may not defy, but always have to obey and carry out the decisions, including instructions, of the higher structures.

The principle extends to individual leaders and members. Members may not act in defiance of the leaders.

### 2. Collective Leadership

This principle has long been in use in the organisation. No individual leader may take a solo dash decision which will bind every other leader and the organisation without due consultation, discussion and agreement. At all times those who are in leadership are expected to act in concert. No single leader may present the organisation with an intractable *fait accompli*.

### 3. Recall and Active Participation

When a leader fails to perform to expectation due to wilful negligence, then that leader is liable to recall, i.e. that leader should be informed of the defect and removed from office. In other words, the term of office, as is applicable in bourgeois parliamentary practice, where a person shall continue to serve as a member of parliament until the next elections, is not applicable in AZAPO. Active participation means that a leader, and every member, shall be seen to be active in the programmes of the organisation and not only attend meetings just to listen to others' activity reports and then pronounce lofty comments on them. Leaders have to be active.

### 4. Criticism and Self-Criticism

This principle implies that every Comrade has an inalienable right to criticise another without malicious intent.

And the one being criticised has to accept valid, just and constructive criticism; but not to accept unfounded criticism. In criticising one another, Comrades should aim at building, and the conduct of the criticism session should be constructive. Those justly criticised should not only nod their heads in agreement, they should strive to change and mend their ways, conduct and actions.

Self-criticism, as in criticism, is a way in which one is able to see and acknowledge one's mistakes and strive to correct them.

### 5. Anti-Capitalism

AZAPO is opposed to the present structure and system of the distribution and exchange of the fruits of the labour of the working class. The system where the minority own the means of production (land, minerals, factories, etc) and the majority live by selling their labour power (working for the capitalists) for small wages presents AZAPO with a historic duty to organise the workers and the masses to overhaul such an exploitative system in favour of an egalitarian society – a democratic, socialist worker republic of Azania where the wealth shall be equitably shared among the citizens.

### 6. Anti-Imperialism

AZAPO's fight against capitalism does not end within the borders of our country. When capital is exported to exploit fellow workers beyond the borders of our country it changes its name into Imperialism. As and when this happens, AZAPO also "exports" its fighting energies to pledge solidarity with the affected working classes in those countries. This phenomenon is called Proletarian Internationalism.



### **7. Anti-Racism**

AZAPO is vehemently and actively opposed to any form of racism. We believe there is only one race, which is the human race. However, the classification of human beings by race evolved historically as they were vying for scarce resources. Biological and phenotypical features were used to isolate those that were to be at the receiving end of slavery, oppression, exploitation or colonisation. BC defines racism as the subjugation of one race by another for the purposes of economic gain.

### **8. Anti-Sexism**

Gender based discrimination is strictly forbidden in any structures of the Movement, and it is a punishable offence. All comrades – females and males – have an equal opportunity to be elected into office on the basis of their potential or requisite ability. There are no roles whatsoever that should be reserved for a particular gender.

This notwithstanding, visible organisational efforts in terms of support structures and networks must be made to give space to women to combat the negative effects that are a result of living for centuries under a male chauvinistic and paternalistic society.

### **9. Anti-Regionalism**

The demarcation of the continent into the present borders and the zoning of our country into the present regions and provinces is a consequence of the greed of western imperialism. We are in fact one people. Hence the BCM's slogan, One Azania, One Nation! A slogan is not just a meaningless chant. It is a reflection of cherished values and principles. In AZAPO, the regional and provincial demarcation is followed just for the convenience of operation. We do not believe that people in a particular region or province are better or powerful than the people in the other areas. We are one people. That is why in AZAPO allocation of resources and election into leadership is as a rule never done on the basis of regionalism.



# AZAPO CONSTITUTION

(These are selected sections of the Constitution that are considered relevant for this project. Please consult the full version.)

## CHAPTER 1

### Preamble:

#### WHEREAS we, the Black people of AZANIA,

- (a) Conscious of the adverse physical and psychological effects of centuries of oppression on Black people, and on Black workers in particular; and
- (b) Aware of the determination of Black workers to gain freedom and justice, and their desire to occupy their rightful place in the land of their birth; and
- (c) Realising that the system in Azania is based on white racism, capitalism and neo colonialism; and
- (d) Acknowledging that Black people in general, and Black workers in particular are responsible for the creation of the bulk of the wealth in Azania; and
- (e) Mindful of the fact that the system seeks to render Black workers powerless and perpetually subservient by creating and utilising tactics of divide and rule; and
- (f) Alive to the danger that the system shall always endeavour to divide and frustrate the liberation efforts of the people towards true emancipation; and
- (g) Conscious of the desire of Black people to liberate themselves from the system; and
- (h) Motivated and inspired by our individual and collective quest for liberation, return of the land to its rightful owners, justice, peace and equality of persons; and

#### **Therefore Hereby Resolve**

In active pursuit of the above, to found a National Liberation and Political Organisation.

## SECTION 1

### THE NAME

The name of the National Liberation and Political Organisation shall be the AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION (AZAPO), hereinafter called "the organisation".

## SECTION 2

### AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

- (i) To organise, mobilise and lead the oppressed people of Azania towards the elimination of neo colonialism, capitalism, imperialism and all other forms of oppression in our country.
- (ii) To reconquer the land for fair and equitable distribution amongst all Azanians.
- (iii) To recapture and restore political, economic and social power and control to all Azanians.
- (iv) To establish a revolutionary national democracy in Azania.
- (v) To establish a democratic, socialist Republic of Azania.
- (vi) To work towards the unity of all people in order to maximise efforts at the total liberation of all the oppressed and exploited.
- (vii) In keeping with the above, employ all means at our disposal for the attainment of the aims, goals and objectives of the organisation.

## SECTION 4

### MEMBERSHIP

1. Membership of the organisation shall be open to all those who subscribe to the philosophy of Black Consciousness and Scientific Socialism.
2. All members shall subscribe to the policies, principles, aims, objectives and philosophy of the organisation as outlined in this Constitution, and shall at all times observe, honour and respect decisions of the National Congress, Provincial Congress, Regional Congress and the Central Committee.
3. Membership shall be obtained through a Branch or Unit by individual application.
4. The Executive Committee of a Branch or Unit shall have the right to accept or reject an application for membership.

5. All applicants shall complete a prescribed membership form and submit same to the Branch or Unit nearest to their places of abode, employment or business.

#### **MEMBERSHIP FEES AND SUBSCRIPTION FEES**

1. Every new application for membership shall be accompanied by a membership fee, the amount of which shall be determined from time to time by the Central Committee on the recommendation of the Standing Committee.
2. The membership fee shall be payable once per annum by every member of the organisation: provided that members who fall in arrears with their membership fees shall not be entitled to the rights and privileges of membership until they are in good standing.
3. Every member of the organisation shall pay a monthly subscription fee to be determined from time to time by the Central Committee on the recommendation of the Standing Committee, and failure to do so entail the same consequences as in 2 supra.
4. All members who earn an income shall pay a predetermined percentage of their monthly earnings as a pledge to the organisation and failure to do so entails the same consequences as in 2 supra.

#### **DUTIES**

##### **A member shall:**

- (a) Commit him/herself to active service in the liberation of the exploited masses of Azania for total liberation from imperialism, capitalism, neo colonialism, racism, sexism, tribalism, regionalism, ethnic chauvinism, factionalism and nepotism.
- (b) Undertake, individually and collectively, constant study of the political programme of the organisation for the purpose of remoulding his/her outlook and political consciousness.
- (c) Resolutely criticise and strive to correct errors and deviations, both left and right, in theory and in practice.
- (d) Uphold, in a spirit of self sacrifice and dedication, the principles, policy and programme of the organisation and at all times, strive to advance the programme of liberation.
- (e) At all times subject him/herself to the discipline of the organisation.
- (f) Never under any circumstances and for any consideration whatsoever, betray, sabotage or subvert the plans, programmes, projects and any activities of the organisation.

#### **VIOLATION OF DISCIPLINE**

##### **A member shall be considered to have violated AZAPO discipline if he/she:**

- a) Fails, in defiance of the principle of democratic centralism, to submit to carry out a decision of the majority which has been arrived at democratically;
- b) Refuses to carry out decisions or directives of the organisation and its organs in their execution of the programme for liberation and thus infringing the principle of active participation;
- c) Refuses to act in self sacrifice, dedication and commitment to the cause of national and social liberation of Azania and the recognition that every task assigned by the organisation and its organs is equally important;
- d) Consistently fails to honour the obligations and conditions of membership;
- e) Fails to attend three (3) consecutive meetings without a valid reason and without reporting;
- f) Shows contempt and disrespect for the membership and its elected leaders;
- g) Persistently shows lack of diligence and disregard for promptness and punctuality;
- h) Engages in factional and/or sectional activities, sows mistrust, suspicion among members of the organisation and others, by rumour mongering, back biting, gossiping, lying and spreading myths;
- i) Is dishonest about, misrepresents or distorts the policies of the organisation, and issues unauthorised statements to the media or any other party;
- j) Fails, in defiance of the principle of collective leadership to share and pass on his/her skills, knowledge and experience with the rest of the membership, thereby inculcating individualism, the creation of personality cult and authoritarianism;
- k) Indulges in excessive use of alcohol, takes habit forming drugs and/or shows contempt and disrespect for members of the opposite sex;
- l) Brings the organisation into disrepute through his/her public conduct.

## TERMINATION

Any member of the organisation may tender his/her resignation from the organisation. Reasons must be given for the resignation. In the event of such resignation, the member in question shall not be entitled to a refund of any fees or pledges paid to the organisation while (s)he was still a member.

## EXPULSION AND SUSPENSION

The power to expel anybody from the organisation shall rest with the Standing Committee which shall report such action to the Central Committee for ratification, which in turn shall report such action to Congress. Other structures may just recommend such action.

## SECTION 6

### VOTING PROCEDURES

1. At all meetings of the organisation, voting shall be by show of hands unless otherwise stipulated.
2. Decisions at all meetings shall be arrived at by a simple majority of those present and voting.
3. Every person or delegate voting at a meeting of the organisation shall have one vote.
4. Voting by proxy shall not be allowed at any of the meetings of the organisation.
5. Where voting takes place by means of a secret ballot, all ballot papers shall be kept for record for a period of six (6) months after such voting has taken place.
6. Notwithstanding the provisions of relevant sections in this constitution, a Branch whose membership exceeds five hundred (500) shall be entitled to two (2) additional delegates, and those above one thousand members shall be entitled to three additional delegates.

## SECTION 10

### ELIGIBILITY

1. Only members of the organisation in good standing may be elected to occupy a vacant office in the organisation.
2. Only members of the organisation who belong to and are active within a Branch and in good standing with the organisation may be elected to any national office.

## SECTION 11

### PROPERTY OF THE ORGANISATION

All property of the organisation shall be registered in the name of the organisation.

## SECTION 12

### DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

**Organisationally, AZAPO will be guided in its functions and conduct of the struggle by a form of discipline based on the following principles of:**

- Criticism and Self-criticism
- Democratic Centralism
- Collective Leadership
- Recall and Active Participation.

### INTERPRETATION CLAUSE

- (a) Black people, in the context of Azania, are the indigenous, the descendants of mixed extraction and the descendants of indentured labour who historically, traditionally and by law, had been discriminated against as a group and continue to be disadvantaged as a result of these historical realities and who continue to struggle towards their emancipation.
- (b) By "Reconquer" is meant to take back, by any means, the colonised, conquered and alienated land and restoring it to the Black people.

# AZAPO CODE OF CONDUCT

## PREAMBLE

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

Any member of the Organisation who conducts himself/herself contrary to the Code of Conduct shall be guilty of such misconduct.

## 1. BREACH OF CONDUCT

**A member shall be considered to have breached AZAPO's Code of Conduct if (s)he:**

- (a) Fails to submit to or carry out a democratic decision of the Organisation.
- (b) Interferes with the execution of the decisions, instructions or directions or directives of the Organisation and/or its organs.
- (c) Fails to act in concert with other members in defiance of the principle of Collective Leadership.
- (d) Includes individualism and/or creates personality cults within the Organisation.
- (e) Shows persistent disregard for punctuality and diligence.
- (f) Shows mistrust and/or suspicion amongst members or the public by rumour-mongering, back-biting, tale-bearing, gossiping, lying or witch-hunting.
- (g) Brings the name of the Organisation and/or its leadership into disrepute.
- (h) Indulges in immoral acts such as the abuse of drugs or alcohol.
- (i) Attends meetings of the Organisation or any of its activities in an inebriated state induced by the use of any habit forming substance.
- (j) Acts towards other members of the Organisation in a manner that militates against the interests of the Organisation.
- (k) Attempts to achieve personal aims or objectives through the intimidation of other members.
- (l) Commits any act or omission which in the opinion of the Organisation or any of its organs, amounts to misconduct.

## EXPELLABLE OFFENCES

- (m) Fundraises in the name of the Organisation without the necessary authority of the Committee having such responsibility in terms of the Constitution.
- (n) Enters into unauthorised negotiations with parties antagonistic to AZAPO.
- (o) Discloses confidential information and/or documents and decisions of the Organisation to the enemy or elements inimical to it.
- (p) Engages in factional or sectional activities by promoting and encouraging divisive tendencies such as ethnic, tribal, racial, regional or sexist affinities.
- (q) Promotes aims and objectives of rival organisations that undermine any of the revolutionary principle of the Organisation.
- (r) Incites or attempts to incite other members of the Organisation to revolt against the constituted authority.
- (s) Strives to seize power by unconstitutional means, including the formation of cliques or powers blocs within the Organisation.
- (t) Engages in activities calculated to cast doubt on the Organisation's political line, confidence in the leadership and activities of the Organisation in general.
- (u) Proves to be an agent provocateur, a spy or a traitor who betrays fellow comrades.
- (v) Furthers the aims and objectives of expelled or suspended members.

## 2. DISCIPLINARY ACTION AND APPEAL PROCEDURES

- (a) Any member or organ of the Organisation may, in writing, lodge a complaint against any member who has misconduct him (her) self.
- (b) The complaint referred to in (a) above shall contain sufficient particulars to enable the member complained against to understand the nature and content of the charge.

- (c) A complaint against a member shall be lodged with the Executive Committee of the Branch to which he belongs. A complaint against a member of an Executive structure shall be lodged with the Executive Structure immediately above that in which (s)he serves.
- (d) On receipt of a complaint any member, the relevant organ shall immediately serve a written charge of misconduct upon the member complained against.
- (e) The charge sheet shall contain sufficient particulars of the misconduct and the member concerned shall have the right to request further particulars to such charge.
- (f) The charge sheet shall name the date, place and time of the inquiry to be held into the alleged misconduct and shall require the attendance of the members charged.
- (g) After all the evidence has been led, the Disciplinary Committee shall return a finding of guilty or innocence and shall inform both the complainant and the accused of such finding.
- (h) An appeal shall lie from the Branch Disciplinary Committee to the Regional Disciplinary Committee whose decision shall be final.
- (i) Likewise, an appeal shall lie from the Regional Disciplinary Committee to the National Disciplinary Committee whose decision shall be final except in expelled offences.
- (j) An appeal shall also lie from the decision of the National Disciplinary Committee to the Central Committee whose decision shall be final except in expelled offences, when the final appeal shall be to Congress.
- (k) All expulsions shall be appeal able to the National Congress.

### 3. COMPOSITION OF THE DISCIPLINARY COMMITTEE

The following members of the Organisation shall constitute Standing Disciplinary Committees at the appropriate levels of the Organisational hierarchy.

The following members of the Organisation shall constitute Standing Disciplinary Committees at the appropriate levels of the Organisational hierarchy.

- (a) The National Chairperson; Secretary For Political Education; Secretary For Legal and Constitutional Affairs; and two (2) members of the Organisation who shall not be members of the Central Committee.
- (b) The Provincial Chairperson, Secretary and Political Commissar for complaints against members of a Branch Executive Committee.
- (c) The entire Branch Executive Committee for complaints against a member of a Branch.
- (d) The Central Committee shall have the right at all times to reconstitute any standing Disciplinary Committee as it deems fit, regard being had to considerations of fairness and justice.

All expellable offences shall be referred to and adjudicated by the National Disciplinary Committee.

### 4. METHODS OF CORRECTION AND/OR PUNISHMENT

It is required that all organs of the Organisations shall regularly and formally arrange for members to engage in criticism and self-criticism through evaluation of the conduct of members and/or affairs of the Organisation. Open and constructive criticism of weaknesses and the devising of means to remedy defects are strongly urged.

Every Disciplinary Committee shall have the power to impose the following discipline on a member found guilty of misconduct.

- 4.1 If a member persists in conduct which is in breach/violation of the Code of Conduct of the Organisation, (s)he shall be called to a formal meeting of the entire Branch Executive Committee to explain his/her conduct. Failure to give a satisfactory explanation shall result in a formal warning being minuted.
- 4.2 An affordable fine;
- 4.3 Demand for a written or verbal apology;
- 4.4 Suspension from an official position until the expiry of a term of office;
- 4.5 Suspension of membership for a period not exceeding twelve (12) months;
- 4.6 Suspension with a recommendation of expulsion from the Organisation to the Central Committee.



**None of the above steps will take place unless the following procedures have been followed:**

1. A member shall be given notice in written of the charges at least seven (7) days before any hearing against him/her takes place.
2. The evidence against him/her shall be led in his/her presence and (s)he is given the opportunity to defend him/herself.

If a member fails to attend a disciplinary hearing without a valid reason, the Disciplinary Committee may continue with the case in her/his absence and hand down appropriate punishment.

Disciplinary steps taken against any member should be reported to the Standing Committee within one calendar month of such decision.

The National Disciplinary Committee shall review all suspensions in force every three (3) months and may at its discretion grant an audience for representations. A refusal shall not be appeal able.

**APPEAL**

Appeal must be lodged at most one calendar month after the relevant Disciplinary Committee's decision or within the period of one calendar after the member came to know of such decision or could reasonably have become aware of it. The Disciplinary Committee must inform the guilty party of this procedure in writing at the same time as they notify the accused of their verdict.

**INTERPRETATION**

This Code of Conduct shall be read in conjunction with the Constitution of the Organisation, particularly Section 4.



## STANDING RULES OF ORDER

All constitutional meetings of all organs of the BCM are conducted in accordance with agreed Rules of Procedure. This ensures that not much time is wasted by allowing one speaker to speak 'the whole day' on issues that are irrelevant to the one under discussion. The chairperson of a meeting has powers and duty to effect the Rules.

For the strict observance of these Rules, it is expected that whenever the Chairperson rises before or during the debate, any member then speaking or offering to speak shall sit down and all the members shall be silent so that the Chairperson may be heard without any interruption.

### 1. RIGHT TO CONVENE MEETINGS

- 1.1 Only those members entitled to preside over meetings of the organisation have the right to convene meetings.
- 1.2 Special meetings of the organisation may be petitioned by at least two thirds of the members of the relevant structure, in which event the presiding official shall be obliged to convene such a meeting in terms of the relevant petition.
- 1.3 All meetings must be convened by a written notice to members constituting the structure affected.

### 2. AGENDA

The presiding official, in consultation with the secretary of the relevant structure, shall prepare an Agenda for all meetings, which Agenda must first be confirmed and adopted at the commencement of each meeting.

### 3. QUORUM

- 3.1 In addition to the number of members required to constitute a Quorum in terms of the Constitution, it shall be a requirement that in respect of the National Congress, the National Council, the Central Committee, the Provincial Congress, the Regional Congress, the Regional Council and sub-Regional meetings, at least half of the Provinces, Regions and Branches, as the case may be, must be present at the meeting in question to constitute a valid Quorum.
- 3.2 If the Quorum be not obtained within the first hour after the scheduled commencement of the meeting in question, such meeting shall stand adjourned until again reconvened in accordance with clause 1 above.

### 4. GOOD STANDING

- 4.1 In considering whether or not a Quorum exists at any meeting, members or structures not in Good Standing shall be excluded.
- 4.2 Members not in Good standing shall not have the right to speak or vote on any matter on the agenda of the meeting they attend.

### 5. POWERS OF THE CHAIRPERSON

- 5.1 The Chairperson shall have the right to direct the meeting to discuss its business in an order different from that contained in the Agenda.
- 5.2 The Chairperson shall rule on all procedural issues. His or her ruling may however be contested by any member at the meeting. In this case the Chairperson shall give the chair to any member of the Executive Committee so that he or she can defend his or her ruling.
- 5.3 A Point of Order raised by any member takes precedence over all discussions. The Chairperson must listen to a Point of Order and rule thereon before discussions are proceeded with.
- 5.4 The Chairperson may hand over his or her functions to any member of the Executive Committee in respect of any agenda item in which the Chairperson has a personal interest or bias; provided that in exceptional circumstances the Chairperson may be requested by the meeting to recuse himself or herself from presiding over such item.
- 5.5 The Chairperson shall have a deliberative and a casting vote.
- 5.6 Any person acting as Chairperson for a specified item or period shall have all the powers of the Chairperson in respect of that particular meeting.

### 6. MOTIONS AND RESOLUTIONS

- 6.1 Decisions at all meetings shall be arrived at by the adoption of Motions and Resolutions.
- 6.2 All Motions on substantive issues must be in writing and signed by both the Mover and Seconder.

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- 6.3 Motions on procedural issues, Motions of Exigency and Motions of course may be made verbally but must also be seconded before a decision thereon may be taken.
  - 6.4 On receipt of a Motion, the Chairperson must read the motion and call on the Mover to substantiate it.
  - 6.5 The Chairperson shall determine the number of speakers for and against the Motion, and may not allow any person to speak more than once thereon; provided that the Mover may be allowed to respond to the debate without introducing new aspects or arguments.
  - 6.6 At the end of the debate the Chairperson shall call for a vote on the Motion.
  - 6.7 If it appears to the Chairperson that there exists sufficient consensus for the adoption of the motion, voting may be dispensed with.
  - 6.8 After discussion of the Motion (and a vote thereon if necessary), the Chairperson must declare if a Motion has been carried or lost.
  - 6.9 The Mover may at any stage with the concurrence of the Seconder and the meeting withdraw a Motion.
  - 6.10 Any member may propose an Amendment to the Motion under discussion, but such proposal must also be seconded.
  - 6.11 Competing or Counter-Motions may not be discussed simultaneously with the Original Motion. All Motions must be discussed, adopted or rejected in their order of submission.
  - 6.12 If a Counter-Motion is adopted, it automatically cancels out the resolution on the Original Motion.
  - 6.13 Despite the prohibition that a member may not speak more than once on a Motion, the Chairperson may allow a two-finger intervention by which a member intends to clarify or inform the meeting on any aspect of the debate. Such intervention must not be used to argue for one or other view.
  - 6.14 Once defeated, a Motion may not be reintroduced for at least three months, unless it can be shown that failure to adopt it was contrary to law or the Constitution of AZAPO

## 7. OBSERVERS



At all meetings where there are Delegates and Observers, Observers have the right to move and speak on Motions, but they do not have a right to vote.



## 8. VOTING

Except in meetings contemplated in 7 above, all members in Good Standing are entitled to vote on any Motion. No voting by proxy shall be allowed. There may be abstentions.

## 9. UNRULY BEHAVIOUR

The Chairperson shall have the right to exclude from any meeting any member who deliberately and persistently hampers the progress of the meeting or who, by reason of drugs, intoxicating liquor or other substances appears to be non compos mentis. Such member shall be excluded for such period and under such conditions as the Chairperson may deem necessary and appropriate in the interests of the meeting.

## 10. ELECTIONS OF OFFICE BEARERS

- 10.1 Every Nomination of a Candidate must be seconded.
- 10.2 No person who is a Candidate for any position may preside over the meeting where Elections are to take place.
- 10.3 The meeting must decide on the number of Nominations to be accepted in respect of any position that must be filled at the meeting.
- 10.4 All Nominees for a contested post must leave the meeting while deliberations and voting are conducted.
- 10.5 The person with the highest votes must be declared Elected by the Electoral Officer.
- 10.6 Election of the Office Bearers at all Congresses must be preceded by the dissolution of the outgoing Executive Committee, whose members must join the rest of the audience before Nominations are submitted.

## 11. COMMON LAW

Where any matter has not been specifically provided for in these Standing Rules of Order, the relevant provisions of the Common Law shall govern such matter.



## THE ORIGINS OF THE WORD “AZANIA”

When they get their liberation, all the nations of the world that were fighting oppression and colonialism effect a number of changes to indicate that they have parted ways with the dehumanising colonialism. The immediate move by a victorious people that is never negotiable is the change of the name of the country. This is a strong symbolism that points to a radical break with the horrible past, and the emergence of the new era. This is why South West Africa became Namibia, Northern Rhodesia changed to Zambia, Bechuanaland became Botswana, Rhodesia was renamed Zimbabwe. The list is endless.

The Black Consciousness Movement chose the name AZANIA as a name that is not only suitable for our country, but one that has historical roots.

In the 1970s AZANIA became acceptable to all our people as the revolutionary name of this country, instead of SOUTH AFRICA, which was imposed on us by our colonizers. So the word SOUTH AFRICA is a painful reminder about our miserable past where we were treated almost as slaves in a country of our birth.

Born out of history and struggle, AZANIA was baptised through the blood of thousands of our people and martyrs who sacrificed their lives so that Azania could be a reality. The majority of our former white oppressors are part of those who are opposed to AZANIA. This is because the debate concerns much more than a name. It involves everything we are fighting for. It concerns the very nature of the society we seek to build.

Those who oppose the use of the name AZANIA often argue that it means “the land of slaves”. This is a contradiction in terms, for slaves are by definition people who are owned. They are regarded as objects, and can therefore hardly own anything, let alone land. In any event, this tenuous logic would oppose the use of the word “proletariat” because it derives from the parasite of the Ancient Greece that lived at the expense of slave society. It would also oppose the name “Cuba” which recently referred to slave society.

AZANIA is a Greek transcription of the Arabic name Ajam, which refers to the East African shore consisting of countries like Somalia, Ethiopia, Kenya and Tanzania. It is very important to note that AZANIA was 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 forests till they reached the central part of the southern Savannas. From this point, the steady pressure of population growth probably caused the migration of the Black groups in all directions, thus bringing them into contact with peoples of different stocks like Bushmanoids of Southern Africa, the Azanians of East Africa, the Indonesians and the Arabs of the coast with whom they merged to form Swahili.

Swahili comes in because of the very strong relations between South Arabia and Azania which date back to many centuries Before Christ. This Azanian civilization was mature, had a culture of its own and an accomplished language, which is Swahili. Here, one must stress that the Swahili language and culture is an arabised African product whose basis and most elements are African. The characteristic of the Azanian civilisation were that it consisted of a sedentary, agricultural and iron-age folk who practiced irrigation works such as canals and terraces, roads, mine working and smithies, cairns and rock paintings.

The years between 500 and 1500AD 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 large and stronger tribal societies; the increasing demand from the coast for ivory, iron, 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 invasions from the north, mainly by pastoral nomads from the horn of Africa. The Azanians were organised 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.

<sup>1</sup>This is a slightly edited version of Cde George Wauchope's article.



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, their civilization growth stultified and brought to an end.

However, in Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Transvaal, the nature of the Azanian culture modified and changed once more by further migration and development in the new circumstances, re-emerged flowering and outlived the barbaric invasion in its splendor and majesty. The re-emergence of this civilization emphasised the fact that these Africans were all branches from a single stem because of the similarity in their use of stone dwellings, irrigation, soil conservation, in their mining and mental work, in their knowledge of a widely various pharmacopoeia, in their fusion of tribal law and custom with an intertribal and tribute-paying system of centralised power, in their trading habits and in their indigenous pottery.

Etymologically the common heritage of Swahili clearly emerges. The work 'Zanj' is a Persian word meaning 'Black'. 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 latter 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 the human being, heart, mind, conscience or disposition. Therefore Azania means land of the Black people.

It is for this reason that Black Consciousness refers to our beloved country as Azania. It is calling upon 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 realise their importance in this continent, 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 labeled as white. A system first conscious and then unconscious of lying about Blacks became so widespread that the authentic history of Africa ceased to be taught. With the winking of an eye, printing, gunpowder, smelting of iron, the beginnings of social organisation, not to mention political life and democracy, were attributed exclusively to whites.

## MYTH

Azania is both a historical and a political myth. But myths are not lies. They are an outline of reality. And a liberation movement can certainly use myths in order to unite the oppressed, to serve as a rallying point.

We may draw a valuable lesson from the current anti-colonial struggle being waged by the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) near the Philippines, which was once a Spanish colony. The current anti-colonial struggle is being waged against both the Philippines and the United States of America.

In the 16th Century the Spanish conquerors of the islands of Mindanao, Basilan, Sulu and Palawan referred to the natives as Moros because they practised Islam much as the Moors of North Africa, who once ruled the Spaniards, had practiced denote a savage and treacherous people.

Abdurasad Asani of the MNLF explains:

"But despite its colonial origins the MNLF has cleansed the term of its unpleasant connotation by propagating the more correct view that the tenacity with which the natives conducted their war of resistance against foreign intrusion was a classic example in heroism.

"The term is not only common to all the indigenous tribes of the region but included Muslims, Christians and those still adhering to traditional religious values - in a word, all those who share a common aspiration and political destiny. Hence, the MNLF adopted Bangsa (nation) Moro as a national identity and implants it in the consciousness the heart of every man and woman and the defence of its integrity has become a national duty".



## SOURCES

The term "Azania" carries with it an essentially anti-imperialist content. It was adopted because it helped to situate the struggle for the liberation of the people of South Africa in the context of Africa's history.

**We should remember that the names of countries have mainly two kinds of sources:**

**The tribal past:** Names develop organically through a struggle for national liberation and the country bears the name of the main tribe or of a confederacy of tribes.

**Outstanding Geographical or Historical Features of the Country:** Zimbabwe is an example where an outstanding historical feature (the Zimbabwe culture, not simply the Zimbabwe ruins of the tourists!) has lent its name to the liberated country. Namibia (from Namib), a Khoikhoi word meaning desert is a clear example of a geographical name.

In South Africa, there is neither an overriding geographical feature because of the variety of nature, nor is there a single common historical event or personage that can serve to unite symbolically all the oppressed people. Hence, names such as Ulundi or Maluti are as critical and as arbitrary as Azania might sound to some.

In the final analysis, it is historical action of masses of people that decides questions such as the name of a country. The activities of the Black Consciousness Movement during the '70's and especially during the 1976 Soweto Uprising have put the final seal on this question in our country. Azania, like Namibia, has come to stand for a political programme that is accepted by all the oppressed people of this land. It embraces no less than the aspirations of the people for an undivided, anti-racist, socialist country. To accept the name AZANIA simply means that one identifies with the aspirations of the oppressed people for liberation. We cannot play silly games with new "names" for our country. Azania has been baptised on the bloodstained streets and banners of Soweto, Gugulethu, Chatsworth, New Brighton and even in the remotest corners of the land.

**AZAPO calls upon all Azanians to resume their positions as pacesetters in the world. He Muezzin calls the faithful to prayer with the Azaan:** To a Muslim, the Azaan is an observation of the value of the doctrine; it is cherishing all that is of value, appreciating all that is good and revering the beauty and the majesty of creation. AZAPO calls upon the Black people to restore Azania to its formidable position in the world. We are all beneficiaries of that magnificent, superb and inimitable Azanian civilization. Let 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.



## THE BCM CHRONOLOGY: SOME OF THE SIGNIFICANT EVENTS

**1488**

Some of the first explorations by Portugal that would later lead to the colonisation of Azania see Bartholomew Diaz sailing around the Cape seeking his way to India by sea. The Azanian nature engulfs Diaz's fleet under violent storms. He calls that part of the land "Cape of Storms". Seeing the future imperial prospects, his leader King John II disagrees and calls it "Cape of Good Hope".

**1497**

**8 July:** Vasco da Gama leaves Lisbon, Portugal, with a fleet consisting of 4 ships and a crew of 170 men.

**16 December:** The fleet passes the Great Fish River (iNxuba). This happening closer to Christmas, da Gama names that part of the land "Natal" in reference and celebration of the birth of Jesus Christ.

**1652**

**6 April:** Having joined the Dutch East India Company in **1639**, Jan van Riebeeck's 3 ships (Dromedaries, Reiger and Goede Hoop) dock at the Cape to pursue imperialist interests. (Notice the name of the third ship captures Portugal's imperial sentiment of a "Cape of Good Hope".) This happens after he was withdrawn from Tonkin, Vietnam, for criminal activities.

**1903**

William Edward Durghardt Du Bois publishes *The Souls of Black Folk* rejecting the notion that Black people need Western values to be accepted as citizens. Du Bois calls for Black Consciousness (BC) among all Africans throughout the world.

**1945**

The 5th Pan-African Congress is held in Manchester, England, shortly after the end of World War II. This is a critical event in exposing African scholars to ideas and strategies on seeking independence for African colonies using BC ideology. The theme of the congress covers an end to colonial rule and political independence.

**1946**

**18 December 1946:** Bantu Stephen Biko is born in Ginsberg, King Williamstown.

**1963**

Steve Biko is introduced to politics as a teenager when one of his older brothers, Khaya, a student at Lovedale High School, is arrested as a suspected Poqo member and jailed for 3 months. The South African Police interrogate Steve Biko in connection with his brother's Pan Africanist activities, and Steve Biko is subsequently expelled from Lovedale. Biko develops a strong antipathy toward white authority, and carries this attitude with him when he enters St Francis College at Marianhill in Natal, a liberal Catholic boarding school and one of the few remaining private high schools for Africans in South Africa.

**1964**

**April:** Jonty Driver delivers a speech at a Nusas conference at Botha's Hill, arguing that the organisation would be weakened if it broke away from its student base, but also saying that ideally the organisation should be led by black students, and that its political activities were much more important than its involvement in student affairs. Driver's speech was leaked to the national press and presented as official Nusas policy, and at the next Nusas conference, Driver is censured, marking a rightward shift over the next few years.

In the face of strong opposition from mostly white rank-and-file members to some of its more "radical" policies, the Nusas shifts rightwards, confining itself to symbolic multiracial activities and protests after-the-fact against government infringements on academic freedom.

This marks the beginning of a phase of deep frustration for the small Black membership, as virtually all channels for the expression of revolutionary sentiment are closed.

The World Student Christian Federation calls on South Africa's Student Christian Association (SCA) to reject segregation. The SCA withdrew from the federation eventually leading to a split in the SCA along racial lines, setting the scene for the launch of the University Christian Movement (UCM) in 1967.

<sup>2</sup> The South African Democracy Education Trust's (SADET) *The Road to Democracy in South Africa*, Volume 1, 1960-1970 and Volume 2, 1970-1980, has helped a great deal in refreshing memory in writing this Chapter. No less handy was the *South African History Online's BCM Timeline*.

1965

Steve Biko matriculates after finishing his schooling at St Francis College in Marianhill in Natal.

1966

After completing his studies at Marianhill, Steve Biko enters the Natal University's 'non-white' medical school familiarly known as Wentworth. A vastly talented revolutionary activist, he is soon elected to the Students' Representative Council (SRC) and through the SRC he is drawn into Nusas activities. Biko lives in the Alan Taylor Residence of the university in Wentworth where African black (African, Coloured and Indian) students are housed.

**July:** Steve Biko attends the annual Nusas Congress as an observer. He impresses the Nusas leadership enormously and is considered for "grooming" to become the first black president of Nusas, and invited to a Nusas leadership training seminar. At the conference, about a quarter of the delegates are black. The black students put forward a motion to cancel annual fundraising festivals (rags) unless they were racially integrated, but the motion is defeated.

**Late 1966:** John Vorster becomes Prime Minister.

1967

**July:** UCM is formed mainly by a group of liberal white clergymen. About 90 students and clergymen attended the founding congress in Grahamstown, many of them black, and an executive committee was elected, with Basil Moore as president. The executive committee included Winifred Kgwara who was to be the first president of BPC.

Steve Biko remains in Grahamstown to participate in the annual Nusas Congress as a Wentworth Delegate.

The Congress sees bitter reactions from Black students when Rhodes University, the host institution, prohibits mixed accommodation or eating facilities at the conference site. The Black students put forward a motion to suspend the Congress until a nonracial venue is found, but the motion is defeated, 42 voting against, and 9 in support of the motion. The Black students led by Biko begin to question their status within Nusas and consider a black breakaway group.

1968

**July:** At the Annual Nusas Congress, Steve Biko and some of his fellow medical students begin to draw black students into a candid discussion on their second class role within the union.

The UCM holds its second National Conference at Stutterheim, where 60% of the delegates are black. Biko, also at the conference, begins to actively promote the idea of an all-black university movement.

**August:** Following a government veto on the appointment of an African anthropologist, Archie Mafeje, as a lecturer at the University of Cape Town (UCT), students at Fort Hare boycott the appointment of their new principal, JM de Wet. Over 300 students are suspended by September. Most of these were allowed to return to campus, but 22 are expelled, including Barney Pitso, Kenneth Rachedi, Justice Moloto and Chris Mokoditso.

**Late 1968:** The UCM is barred from holding meetings at Fort Hare, Turfloop, Ngoye and the University of the Western Cape (UWC).

During the Christmas recess, a meeting takes place at Marianhill and is attended by about **30 members** of the black university SRCs. From analysing the Nusas experience from this group, Steve Biko finds an encouraging receptiveness to his idea of an all-Black organisation. The name South African Students' Organisation (SASO) is chosen and plans are laid for a formal inaugural conference.

1969

**1969-70:** The SA Council of Churches (SACC) in collaboration with the Christian Institute, launches a programme for research into the black community called Study Project for Christianity in Apartheid South Africa (Spro-cas).

**1 July:** The Constitution of SASO is adopted at the inaugural Conference and Steve Biko is elected President. Though the new organisation is committed to a philosophy of BC, it strategically does not reject the liberalism of Nusas right away.

1970

**July:** SASO's first General Students' Council (GSC) is convened where the organisation takes a bolder stance. The organisation encourages contact between SASO and other organisations such as the UCM and the Institute of Race Relations, but recognition of Nusas as a "true" national union of students is withdrawn. The term 'Black Consciousness' enters SASO discourse, and in **July 1971** is set out for the first time in SASO's Policy Manifesto.

Mosibudi Mangena enrolls as a student at Ngoye, and is exposed to SASO ideas through speeches by Biko, Pityana and Nengwekhulu.

Basil Moore publishes a paper, titled "Towards a Black Theology", which is enthusiastically received, and sparks off a Black Theology Project within the UCM to be coordinated by Stanley Ntwasa, a student at the Federal Theological Seminary in Alice. Moore begins to disseminate the works of James Cone, the originator of Black Theology in the United States.

1971

**January:** SASO helps launch the Black Community Programmes (BCP).

**April:** After Biko, Pityana, Mokoape and Lindelwa Mabandla hold meetings with various black organizations in March, a meeting is held in Bloemfontein with IDAMASA as convener. Representatives of SASO, IDAMASA, ASSECA, AICA, the YMCA and members of the St Peters Old Boys' Association. A subsequent meeting in Edendale in mid-August produced an agreement to form a confederation of African organisations to promote community development programmes and represent African political opinion. The Edendale gathering chooses Drake Koka to head an ad hoc committee to convene a follow-up meeting. Ben Khoapa (of the YMCA) and Biko are commissioned to produce a draft constitution for the organisation.

At a mid-December Conference at the YMCA in Orlando, the SASO bloc pushes through a resolution in favour of a more overtly political organisation based on BC philosophy, and using its expanded definition of "black". This would result in the launch of the Black People's Convention (BPC) in July 1972.

**July:** SASO passes a resolution on Black Theology at its Conference in Wentworth, declaring that Christianity in South Africa has proved to be a support for the status quo and oppression.

Strini Moodley and Saths Cooper, former members of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC), urge other Indian activists to embrace the BC ideology.

1972

**January:** Spro-cas launches Black Community Programmes (BCP) with Ben Khoapa as director.

A book of papers from seminars on Black Theology titled Essays on Black Theology is published by UCM.

**29 April:** Onkgopotse Ramothibi Tiro delivers a blistering speech at Turfloop graduation ceremony attacking apartheid education and anticipating a movement of national liberation.

South African Students' Movement (SASM) is launched as a high school-based organisation.

**3 May:** Tiro is expelled from Turfloop, sparking a student boycott of lectures the next day. Eventually, all 1146 students are expelled. Tiro gets a job as a history teacher at Morris Isaacson School in Soweto, but is fired after 6 months as the white settler authorities put pressure on the school, where high school students join the SASM.

**12 May:** SASO holds a formation school at the Federal Theological Seminary in Alice producing the Alice Declaration. The Declaration resolves that students nationwide should close down black institutions of higher education through lecture boycotts in support of the expelled Tiro from Turfloop.

**1 June:** Every major black campus endorses the strike, eventually leading to SASO being banned on many campuses. The planned reopening of Turfloop fails. Their grievances go beyond the Turfloop expulsions to reiterate long-standing student complaints about domination by white staff, biased curricula and demeaning campus conditions.

**2 June:** White students at UCT demonstrate in solidarity with black striking students, and are viciously baton charged by police outside St George's Cathedral. Press coverage of the white demonstration eclipses the strikes by black students, and newspapers cry out against the Afrikaner treatment of English students at liberal campuses. Jerry Modisane takes over as President.



**2-9 June:** In a rare and unprecedented demonstration of principle by the liberation movements, Themba Sono is expelled as SASO President in a General Student Council held in Hammanskraal for violating the organisation's policies. Sono pushes for close cooperation between SASO and some homeland leaders. He is hurriedly bundled and thrown out of the Council.

The Theatre Council of Natal, a politically committed Indian drama group which included Strini Moodley and Saths Cooper, decides to devote itself exclusively to black audiences.

MDALI (Music, Dance, Art and Literature Institute) is formed to combat exploitation by white impresarios.

**July:** Black People's Convention (BPC) is formally launched at a Conference in Edendale with Reverend Mashwabada Mayatula as interim head and Drake Koka as interim secretary general.

**Mid-1972:** UCM disbands, bequeathing many of its funds to SASO.

**Mid-1972:** BPC establishes the Black Allied Workers' Union (BAWU), which evolved out of the Sales and Allied Workers' Association that was begun by Drake Koka. BAWU sets up offices in Johannesburg and Durban, espouses BC and criticises the paternalism of the white-led Trade Union Council of SA (TUCSA).

**July:** SASO expels journalists from The Star and The Rand Daily Mail from its Conference because of the newspapers' refusal to use the word "black" in place of the rejected "non-white".

**July:** The Chatsworth train boycott and a public stance on foreign investment attract more attention to the BPC.

**August:** Biko quits his medical studies and becomes a paid staffer at BCP.

**September:** Bokwe Mafuna, a journalist with trade union experience, is tasked with a plan to initiate a national Black Workers' Council.

**16 December:** BPC holds its first Annual Congress in Hammanskraal, with delegates from 25 newly formed branches (each having at least 25 members). Winifred Kgwere is elected national President with Chris Mokoditso as the Deputy President. Interim head Reverend Mashwabada Mayatula's address calls for economic justice and puts forward reasons why blacks should reject homelands.

**December,** Activist Mthuli Shezi, who inspired BC through his writings and plays, dies. He is pushed beneath a moving train at Germiston Station for standing up for the dignity of black women who were being drenched with water by a white station cleaner.

**1973**

**January - February:** Durban is swept by a wave of strikes by black workers. This prompts reserved acknowledgment from industry, and attracts worldwide publicity. BPC declares its support for the Durban strikers.

**8 March:** In Parliament, Helen Suzman refers to the BC movement as the "ugly stepchild of apartheid's racism".

BPC National Organiser Mosibudi Mangena is detained and convicted on charges under the notorious Terrorism Act for allegedly trying to recruit two policemen for guerilla training. This forms part of a campaign by the authorities to stop BC activity: Printers of BC material are raided, activists are detained and interrogated. SASO and BPC offices are raided and searched throughout the country.

Muntu Myeza becomes SASO President until his arrest for the Viva Frelimo Rallies in 1974.

**May:** BCP forms the National Association of Youth Organisations (NAYO), an umbrella body for youth organisations.

**September:** Bokwe Mafuna and Harry Nengwekhulu cross the border into Botswana, later to be joined by Tiro, Tebogo Mafole of BCP and Welile Nhlapo. Relations with the older exiled liberation movements are strained and they spread a campaign that BC organisations would form a "third force". They further question the right of the BCM to exist. BCM life is deliberately made difficult by rival organisations that fear the radical BCM would still their "limelight".





**October:** Mangena's "Terrorism Trial" ends in his conviction. He becomes the first BC cadre to be imprisoned on Robben Island.

**1974**

**February:** Tiro is killed by a parcel bomb. All evidence points to the apartheid regime.

**25 April:** Portuguese dictator Marcello Caetano is toppled, setting off a process of phased transition to the independence of Portuguese colonies, including Mozambique and Angola.

Lack of capital for a black-owned newspaper sees the project scuttled, prompting black journalists to form the Union of Black Journalists (UBJ).

**September:** The Durban branch of SASO announces that it will hold a rally to celebrate Frelimo's impending takeover of power in Mozambique, with Frelimo representatives invited to make speeches at Curries Fountain in Durban. On **September 24**, Minister of Justice Jimmy Kruger announces a ban on the rallies. On **25 September** police use dogs and truncheons to disperse several thousands of people gathering to hold a rally outside Curries Fountain in defiance of the ban.

**25 September:** The arrest of SASO leaders begins. They are Sathasivan Cooper, Muntu Myeza, Mosiua Terror Lekota, Aubrey Mokoape, Nkwenkwe Nkomo, Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, Kaborane Sedibe, Rubin Hare, Strinivasa Moodley, Sadecque Variava, Zithulele Cindi, Sulayman Ismail and Sivalingam Moodley. Nine are subsequently charged under the Terrorism Act, 83 Of 1967 for organising the Viva Frelimo Rallies, excluding Variava, Ismail and Sivalingam Moodley. The Nine are convicted and sentenced between to between 5 and 6 years on Robben Island. This trial is known as the "SASO Nine Trial".

**December:** The Black Renaissance Convention sees 300 representatives of black organisations meet over 4 days in Hammanskraal.

SASO and BPC arrive in numbers and steer the convention to adopt a militant declaration of principles calling for black trade union recognition and sanctions against South Africa.

**1975**

**January:** Thirteen of the activists who organised the Viva Frelimo rallies are all in detention and are charged with offenses under the Terrorism Act.

**February:** At the SASO Nine pre-trial hearing, the defendants emerge from the holding cells singing a protest song, waving in defiance the Black Power fist and generally behaving in an insubordinate manner. Mamphele Ramphele is mandated to found Zanempilo Community Health Centre at Zinyoka village outside King Williamstown.

**25 June:** Mozambique becomes independent under Frelimo.

**August:** The trial of the SASO Nine, officially designated The State vs Cooper and Eight Others, begins at the Pretoria High Court. Accused of conspiring to bring about revolutionary change and inciting anti-white hostility, the trial lasts 17 months.

**Mid-December:** BPC holds its Fourth National Conference in King Williamstown and attempts to define the concept of "black communalism" are made. Papers drafted by Biko, Rachidi and Mxolisi Mvovo are inconclusively discussed at the Conference. These papers now known as the Mafikeng Manifesto and containing policies on BC economic policy are debated at a symposium in Mafikeng in **May 1976**.

**1976**

**May:** Steve Biko testifies for five days at the SASO Nine trial, turning the trial into an open "seminar on the history, aims and principles of Black Consciousness".

**13 June:** Representatives from Soweto schools meet at the Naledi branch of SASM, and decide to protest on **16 June**. The Soweto Students Representative Committee (SSRC) is formed under the leadership of SASM to organise the protest.

**16 June:** The Soweto Uprisings begin with about 20 000 students marching in protest against the new language decree and the Bantu Education system. The march turns violent with many students being killed by the South African Police. The uprising spreads countrywide. Interestingly, it is on this day that the BPC Head Office had an appointment with Counsel to discuss the injunction that the organisation sought to stop the Dept from going on with its policy.

**4 August:** Revolts erupt again in Soweto and spread to other townships in South Africa. The Minister of Justice again bans public meetings under the Riotous Assemblies Act until the end of **August**.



**5 August:** Mapetla Mohapi mysteriously dies in detention. Police claim he hung himself with a pair of jeans. It is generally believed the police killed Mohapi.

**23-25 August:** A 3-day strike is observed in Soweto by between 150,000 and 200,000 workers.

**13-15 September:** A second strike called in Soweto leads to absenteeism estimated at 75-80 percent in Johannesburg.

**17 October:** Soweto flares into revolts again. Incidents are also reported from Cape Town, Pretoria and Krugersdorp.

**21 December:** The SASO Nine Trial ends with the conviction of all defendants, with 6 sentenced to 6 year terms and 3 to 5 year terms on Robben Island.

#### 1977

**1 January:** Four senior members of the Soweto Students' Representative Council (SSRC) are arrested.

**11 February:** In a 'Declaration of Commitment' the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference states that it will promote BC in solidarity with all those who work for the legitimate aspirations of oppressed people.

**21 March:** Steven Biko is released on **30 November 1976** after temporary detention under security laws, and is subsequently rearrested.

**27 April:** Police confront some 10,000 students demonstrating against rent increases in Soweto and violence ensues. The offices of the Urban Bantu Council in Soweto are attacked. The government later suspends rent increases for one month, pending investigation of alternative financing.

**21 May-22 May:** The US Ambassador to the United Nations, Andrew Young, pays a two-day visit to South Africa at the invitation of Harry Oppenheimer. He meets Soweto student leaders, black and white community leaders, newspaper editors and addresses a business dinner. He maintains economic pressure can bring about radical changes.

**11 June,** It is announced that Security Police have arrested the leader of the Soweto Students' Representative Council (SSRC), Dan S. Montsitsi, in connection with plans to commemorate the Soweto uprisings.

**23 June,** Violence erupts in Soweto again and at least 146 arrests are made by the police.

**26 July,** The 'Committee of 10' formed by prominent Soweto residents at the behest of the BPC issues a programme for the election of a new community board to have total autonomy in Soweto, including powers to levy taxes and to control education, the police and local elections. The Minister of Justice rejects this and the government remains committed to community councils with limited powers, control being retained by the Bantu Administration Board.

**12 September,** Steve Biko dies in detention, the 10th in a year, in Pretoria after being tortured and beaten by security police.

**25 September,** Steve Biko's funeral in King William's Town is attended by about 15,000 people. Thousands more are turned away at roadblocks throughout the country. Twelve Western diplomats are present at the funeral, including the American Ambassador.

**19 October:** Following a Cabinet decision on **12 October**, Justice Minister Jimmy Kruger, by proclamation under the Internal Security Act, declares 17 BC organisations and two newspapers unlawful. The Minister of Justice, Police and Prisons receives a report of a police investigation into Steve Biko's death and a post-mortem report submitted to the Attorney General of the Transvaal and signed by Professor Johan Loubser, Chief State Pathologist, by Professor W Simpson (University of Pretoria) and by Jonathan Gluckman (pathologist appointed by the Biko family) whose findings are unanimous.

Death has been caused by extensive brain damage. Biko sustained at least a dozen injuries between eight days and twelve hours of his death.

**26 October:** The Attorney General of the Transvaal, Jacobus E Nothing, announces that an inquest into Biko's death will be held, but that he would not institute criminal proceedings.

**28 October:** The Attorney General of the Eastern Cape, Carel van der Walt, also declines to institute criminal proceedings.

**14 November:** The Chairman of the Olympic Games organising committee announces that Rhodesia and South Africa will be excluded from the **1980** Moscow Olympics.





The inquest into the death of Steve Biko opens in Pretoria. Evidence given concerning the autopsy report is widely reported both locally and overseas.

**21 November:** A Soweto Action Committee is formed to back the plan for the future of Soweto proposed by the 'Committee of 10' most of whose members are in detention.

**1 December:** Counsel for Steve Biko's family, Sydney Kentridge, makes his final submission calling for a verdict that Steve Biko died as the result of a criminal assault on him by one or more of the eight members of the Security Police in whose custody he was on **6 and 7 September**. During his four hour address Kentridge reserves his most serious criticism for two Security Police officers, Colonel Piet Goosen and Major Harold Snyman and two doctors who examined Steve Biko, Dr Ivor Lang and Dr Benjamin Tucker.

**2 December:** The fifteen-day inquest into the death of Steve Biko ends with a three-minute finding by the presiding magistrate, Martinus Prins, who rules that no one can be found criminally responsible for his death in detention.

The verdict causes deep concern within South Africa and a storm of protest overseas. Shock is expressed by the United States Secretary of State and consternation by the United Nations Secretary-General.

**3 December:** The record of the Biko inquest will now go to the Attorney General of Transvaal who can decide whether there should be any further investigation or any other action taken.

**8 December:** Sir David Napley, President of the Law Society of England who attended the Biko inquest as an independent observer at the invitation of the Association of Law Societies of South Africa issues a 25 page report on the inquest in which he severely criticises police procedure, evidence and investigation as "perfunctory in the extreme".

**2 February:** The Attorney-General of the Eastern Cape states that he will not prosecute any police involved in the arrest and detention of the BCM leader, Steve Biko.

**27 February,** Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, founder of the Pan Africanist Congress, dies of cancer at the age of 53 and is buried in his home town, Graaff Reinet.

**23 March:** Three more detainees are released: the Chairman of the "Committee of 10", Dr Ntatho Motlana, a member of the Committee Leonard. Mosala, and Soweto Journalist Aggrey Klaaste.

**12 April:** The Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) is formed in London, UK.

**28 April:** AZAPO is formed at an inaugural Conference at Roodepoort near Johannesburg as the flagbearer of BC and the leading organisation in the BCM. It is formed by members of the banned BC organisations who decide to outsmart the apartheid regime by perpetuating the BPC legacy under a new name of "AZAPO".

**20 November:** The notorious Bureau of State Security (BOSS) becomes a full portfolio of National Security under the Prime Minister who is now Prime Minister and Minister of Defence and of National Security.

**1979**

**29 July:** The Minister of Police, Louis le Grange, announces that the state is not admitting liability and the file on the Biko affair is now closed.

**30 September:** AZAPO elects new leaders at its First Congress, near Johannesburg. The delegates choose as leader Curtis Nkondo, a former Soweto teacher who had resigned in protest against the separate school system for blacks.

**November:** AZASO is formed as a tertiary student wing of AZAPO only to be later highjacked to align with the ANC.

**1981**

**March:** AZAPO flexes its political muscles as it stages massive demonstrations against the O'Jays performances in violation of the Cultural Boycott. In **1980** Millie Jackson had come to South Africa and made arrogant statements against the Cultural Boycott.

**1983**

**2 July:** AZASM is launched as the AZAPO student wing that will inherit and deepen the legacy of the banned SASO and SASM. Cde Kabelo Lengane is elected the President of the organisation.





**11 June-12 June:** The National Forum representing about 170 black organisations holds its first Conference at Hammanskraal near Pretoria. Delegates from political, religious, student and trade union movements unanimously adopt the Azanian Manifesto identifying racism and capitalism as the real enemy and pledging to establish a Worker Socialist Republic of Azania. Cde Saths Cooper is elected the Convener.

**1984**

**May 1984:** The Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (AZACTU) is formed. Cde Pandelani Nefolovhodwe is elected the General Secretary. The BCMA Central Committee resolves to give effect to the **1980** resolution to establish a BC military wing.

**1985**

Cdes Nkutsoeu Skaap Motsau and Hlomani Mabasa are sent to Eritrea with the objective of learning skills about the establishment and running of an efficient and effective guerilla army.

They spend time with the Eritrean freedom fighters that are waging fierce guerilla warfare for national self-determination against the Ethiopian forces.

On their return after their long stay plans are afoot to establish the military wing called the AZANLA Forces with Cde Motsau as the Secretary for Defence and Cde Mabasa as the first General. In **January 1988** Cde George Mlungisa Biya succeeded Cde Mabasa as the General. In **June 1990** Cde Biya got arrested in a skirmish between AZANLA and SADF (in collaboration with the Bophuthatswana Defence Force) where senior fighter Mzwandile Mcoseli fell. With Cde Biya's arrest, Cde Jaftha Pitso took over as General.

**January:** American Senator Edward Kennedy comes to South Africa at the invitation of the UDF. Reverends Desmond Tutu and Allan Boesak are the front men. AZAPO demonstrates against this visit as it undermines the bid to generally isolate South Africa in the spirit of Sanctions and the Cultural Boycott.

**30 January:** The South African Medical and Dental Council is ordered to hold an inquiry into the conduct of doctors that treated Biko, who died at the hands of the security police in **1977**.

**April:** In Port Elizabeth the ANC-aligned UDF starts a process of physically eliminating AZAPO and the BCM in what became known as the UDF-AZAPO Feud. This spreads throughout the country between **1985** and **1987**. The methods of political intimidation used against AZAPO members and supporters include death by necklacing and destroying their homes by fire. There is evidence that MK guerrillas are used in this plot as evidenced by a hand grenade hurled by one Mazantsana at a house where there were more than 200 AZAPO members. He is arrested and it turns out that he and others received a military crash course to eliminate AZAPO members. Cde Zolile Tshisa is the first victim of the feud. Of the many killed, Eastern Cape Provincial Chairperson Sonwabo Paper Ngxale, Siphon Mgonezulu and Fuzile Luphuwana are some that are necklaced to death. The funeral of Cde Mgonezulu is intercepted and his coffin set alight. AZASM Deputy President Xolisile Mnyaka is also shot dead during this period of madness. AZAPO is severely disorganised by this physical and psychological intimidation as it means that people in the communities are too scared to be associated with the organisation.

**5 July:** Two white medical doctors are found guilty of misconduct by the Medical Council in the **1977** death of the founding father of the BCM, Steve Biko.

**October,** Dr. Benjamin Tucker is struck off the roll for disgraceful conduct over the death in detention of Steve Biko on **12 September 1977**.

**30 November:** COSATU is formed after AZACTU and CUSA pull out.

**31 December:** Government extends orders that were in force since March, prohibiting anti-government groups from holding meetings for another six months. Initially, they affected 29 organisations in 18 districts. In June they were extended to 64 organisations and 30 districts. Now 10 more groups linked to UDF and AZAPO are added.

**1986**

**October:** AZACTU and CUSA merge to form the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU). Cde Pandelani Nefolovhodwe is elected the Second General Secretary.





**1987**

AZAYO is launched at the Himalaya Hotel in Durban. Cde Thami Mcerwa is elected President.

**1988**

Under the Presidency of Cde Nkosi Molala, AZAPO and the AZAYO are banned. AZAPO moves quickly to close the vacuum by forming a holding committee called the Azanian Coordinating Committee (AZACCO). Cde Thabo Sehume is appointed the Convener.

**1989**

**January:** AZAPO's Secretary for Health Dr Abu Baker Asvat is assassinated by two men in his Soweto surgery. It is generally believed he is killed for refusing to supply false medical records clearing some political heavyweights linked to the death of teenager activist Stompie Seipei. A selfless and dedicated revolutionary, Cde Asvat would treat patients free of charge and earned himself the title of "The People's Doctor" from the black communities. He spearheaded AZAPO's Community Health Awareness Project (CHAP) that made primary health care accessible to the poor.

**December:** A Conference for a Democratic Future is held at the Wits University with the main groups being the BCM and the Mass Democratic Movement.

**1990**

**2 February:** Apartheid South Africa President FW De Klerk announces the lifting of the ban on all political organisations.

**3 July:** Cde Muntu ka Myeza dies in a mysterious car accident in the Free State. AZAPO is skeptical and believes the "system" is involved in the assassination of Cde Myeza. He is one of the BC pioneers and served time on Robben Island for organising and participating in the Viva Frelimo Rallies. His leadership of the civic and community struggles endeared him to the masses who affectionately called him "Ingelosi yoMhlaba". At the time of his death he is AZAPO's Secretary for Defence.

**1991**

**Founded** on a 1990 Congress resolution of AZASM, AZASCO is launched at the Medical University of South Africa (MEDUNSA). Cde Xolani Brister Kalaote is elected the first President of the organisation.

**1994**

**January:** AZAPO launches an anti-election campaign as these elections are based on the sellout Kempton Park Settlement that guaranteed white minority rights, entrenched economic control in white hands and imposed a Government of National Unity that would co-manage the hoodwinking and immobilisation of the black majority.

**9 October,** The exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) merges with AZAPO. BCMA Chairperson and Commander-in-Chief of the AZANLA Forces Cde Mosibudi Mangena is elected President of AZAPO at the AZAPO Eleventh National Congress. Cde Itumeleng Mosala is the last President of AZAPO before the merger.

**1996**

In a Constitutional Court case cited as the The Azanian People's Organisation vs The President of the Republic of South Africa and Others, AZAPO challenges the sham perpetrated by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) where it seeks to indemnify the perpetrators of apartheid crimes against justice. All the perpetrators needed to do was a "full disclosure" of their crimes to escape court justice. AZAPO loses the case in what legal scholars believed was political rather than a legal judgment.

**1997**

**28 January:** The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) confirms newspaper reports that five former security police officers confessed to the 1977 murder of the BCM leader Steve Biko, and have made a formal amnesty application.

**1998**

AZAPO and Tiro's family organise the exhumation of Tiro's remains in Botswana and returned to his birthplace of Dinokana in the North West for reburial.





**1999**

Having boycotted the **1994** General Elections, AZAPO participates for the first time in these Elections. Signs of late entrance are showing as AZAPO manages only one seat in the National Assembly. President Mosibudi Mangena becomes AZAPO's first Member of Parliament.

**2007**

**16 June:** In a moving and emotionally charged ceremony, AZAPO unveils the tombstone of Mthuli ka Shezi at his Thembisa home.



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