

14th BIENNIAL NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION (AZAPO), HELD AT PRETORIA TECHNIKON FROM 3RD JULY - 4TH JULY 1998

RESOLUTION 01/1998: RESOLUTION ON THE ROLE OF TRADITIONAL LEADERS

This Congress noting:

1. That there is an existence of two competing forms of democracy in our country, one based on elected representation and thus more western and the other on traditional considerations and heredity;

Realising that:

- (a) harmonising these two forms of democracy is impossible under current legislation and policy framework;
- (b) the institution itself is being systematically emptied of its power, dignity and historical force; and
- (c) the negotiations process that purported to be democratic overlooked critical issues relating to rural areas.

Therefore, resolves:

- to constitute, as a matter of urgency, a task team on traditional authorities, which should be aligned to the Secretariat on Local Government within the organisation to research and investigate the issue which will include a study of how countries in a similar position have handled it and make necessary recommendations to the Organisation;
- let **AZAPO** advocate the need for negotiations on local government and put the question of traditional institutions on the agenda;
- let **AZAPO** and the traditional leaders table proposals on the rationale of such negotiations;
- make it clear to the public and the traditional leaders that in the light of the Organisation's commitment to socialism, the institution and role of traditional leaders will be respected and observed during the interim phase of transition and that it is important for traditional leaders to accept that the institution will have to undergo gradual but careful transformation.

RESOLUTION 02/1998: RESOLUTION ON ARMED FORMATIONS AND THE CIVIL SERVICE

This congress of **AZAPO** noting:

1. That whereas armed formations and the civil service are expected to be politically neutral and carry out directives of the government of the day;
2. That before the all-inclusive elections of 1994, organs of state advanced the interests of the white settler minority at the expense of the majority of the citizens;

Further noting:

- (a) That the coalition government is making attempts to make the staffing of the state organs more representative; and because these state organs are a discordant, non-professional mix of political ideologies and philosophies, it is therefore conceivable that if a more militant political party takes office in this country and implements policies that ruffle feathers of the white community, the white dominant organs of the state might become restive and pose a threat to stability;

Therefore, resolves:

- 1) that the organs of state as presently constituted be viewed with mistrust
- 2) that although the majority of **AZANLA** cadres are not part of the integration process, they must be urged to do so as a group like other liberation movements have done
- 3) that the political composition of the armed organs of the state be played to our advantage and
- 4) that measures be undertaken as soon as possible to transform the organs of state, especially the armed sections, in the right direction.

RESOLUTION 03/1998: RESOLUTION ON AZAPO AS A PARTY

This congress of **AZAPO** realising:

1. that ideology, policies and practice give parties their character and identity, and that people identify with parties on the basis of such character and policies; and

Further realising:

- (a) that the unique aspects of **AZAPO** are Black Consciousness and socialism that have to be used to counter the impossibility of pulling Azania out of the legacy of racism, economic exploitation and social degradation through market forces;

Therefore, resolves:

- that socialism remains the only effective vehicle to advance the cause of our people;

- that change from liberatory and extra-parliamentary politics to election politics must be achieved without tampering with the key ideological positions of Black Consciousness and socialism; and
- that **AZAPO** must therefore embark on a programme that will encompass the following:
 - 1) **Economic opportunity:**
Open as many avenues as possible for Black economic ownership and control.
 - 2) **Security:**
Free our society from crime, violence and fear because political freedom and economic advancement cannot exist in a violent and crime-ridden society
 - 3) **Opportunity to participate:**
Empower Blacks, through a better education system, to play a bigger role in the economy of their country.
 - 4) **Racial Justice:**
Restore the dignity and worth of Black people as a matter of urgency by bringing to an end the physical assaults against Blacks by white farmers and push for legislation to enforce anti-racism.
 - 5) **Democracy:**
Work hard for an open participatory democracy by ensuring that some of the cultural traits of Blacks are incorporated in the democratic processes.

RESOLUTION 04/1998: RESOLUTION ON THE ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY

This national congress of **AZAPO** noting:

1. That every citizen has a right to a healthy environment, and that this environment is threatened by hyper-expansionist tendency that shows no regard for conservation of resources;
2. that environmental issues - protection and conservation of existing natural elements and natural resources - were and still are overshadowed by the national question in the struggle for liberation; and

Further noting:

- (a) that Black people have been largely uninvolved in major conservation projects in the country.

- (b) that such projects have been under the control and influence of white people who turned them into money spinners and exclusive preserves of wealthy Europeans;

Therefore, resolves:

- to protect and conserve existing natural elements and resources, such as land, water, minerals, air, animals, plants, wild life and marine life.
- monitor the disposal of industrial waste and encourage research into how best this can be done;
- ensure that industries and industrial plants provide resources which will be allocated for such research.
- encourage the use of recyclable materials.
- motivate Black people into participating in environmental issues.
- investigate, research and establish alternative and more environmentally friendly methods of providing fuel, coal and oil with the aim of reducing pollution.
- to develop an environmentally friendly path to industrialization and human development.

RESOLUTION 05/1998: RESOLUTION ON LEGAL STATUS OF PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

This Congress noting:

1. The existence of nine provinces with their own provincial governments and the resultant cost to the taxpayers;

Further noting:

- (a) that this has brought about the existence of as many bureaucracies and bottle-necks; and

Believing that:

There is no need for increasing the proliferation of separate entities of government;

Therefore, resolves:

- 1) to abolish the provincial governments as presently constituted and consolidate the country into fewer provinces;

- 2) to change the provincial governments into administrative structures headed by a government appointee and ensure that provincial structures play the role of carrying out government policy and not formulate it;
- 3) to ensure that central government administers the country uniformly as a unitary state and is answerable for all deeds/actions in its name.

RESOLUTION 06/1998: RESOLUTION ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

This congress of **AZAPO** noting:

1. The decline of the socialist block influence and the resultant predominance of the capitalist block in all spheres; and

Further noting:

- (a) That revolutionary forces are on the retreat; and

Realising that:

- (i) That Azania cannot survive as an island in a hostile world;

Therefore, resolves to:

- 1) establish diplomatic relations with all friendly countries, irrespective of their political systems on the basis of mutual respect and non-interference in the internal affairs of each other;
- 2) recognise the equality of all nations, big, or small;
- 3) recognise the right of all nations to self-determination and in this respect, co-operate with all progressive countries, organisations and international agencies to advance the course of freedom and independence for all the oppressed of the world;
- 4) strive for unity and advancement of the African people throughout the continent;
- 5) co-operate with all countries and organisations fighting against racism, zionism, colonialism, imperialism, super-power domination and interference.
- 6) strengthen ties with forces that are committed to socialism.

RESOLUTION 07/1998: RESOLUTION ON AZAPO AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DAY

This Congress of **AZAPO** noting:

1. The need for a powerful organisation to continue the representative role of the Black people's struggle outside and inside as well as that of government;

Further noting:

- (a) the need for the party to continue control over leadership in all government structures;

Therefore, resolves:

1. that **AZAPO** be not synonymous with government but must be vigilant and direct the affairs of the government;
2. to establish alliances including coalitions where possible and desirable at all levels with other parties closest in their policies to ours and negotiate pacts beneficial to Black people and **AZAPO**;
3. to continue the existence of a separate and distinct political party and to direct the affairs of government with all its functionaries retaining links with Branches, REC's and Congress.

RESOLUTION 08/1998: RESOLUTION ON DISABILITY

That this 14th congress of **AZAPO**, noting:

- 1) The generally backward attitude of society towards the people with disabilities and its almost total disregard of their special needs;
- 2) And that this attitude emanates primarily from the prevailing relations among people as generated by the capitalist mode of existence, and from the general lack of understanding of and misconceptions about issues on disability;
- 3) And further noting that it is the women and the children with disabilities who receive additional and special mistreatment from society;

Therefore, resolves:

- 1) To work together with the people with disabilities or their associations to change this backward attitude of society by, among other means:
 - a) Fighting against all forms of discrimination against the people with disabilities;
 - b) Fighting for the provision for the special needs of the people with disabilities;and

- c) Promoting and undertaking awareness campaigns to better the understanding of society and raise its awareness on matters relating to disability and all facets of life.
- 2) To hold hands with all individuals or associations or organisations, nationally and internationally, which are striving for the total elimination of the conditions that disadvantage people with disabilities.
- 3) To involve the people with disabilities in all fora relevant to issues pertaining to disability, especially for the formulation of policies and programmes, as well as legislation aimed at redressing the past and present iniquities against them.

RESOLUTION 09/1998: RESOLUTION ON SPORT

That this 14th congress of **AZAPO**, noting:

- 1) The grossly lopsided participation and distribution of our people among the sporting disciplines; and the racially prejudiced development in the sporting codes; as well as the demonstrable lack of sporting facilities in the black communities;
- 2) And further noting that this state of affairs, above, has generally succeeded in engendering a spirit of apathy towards and disinterest in sport among the black people;
- 3) And that unfettered commercialisation of sport by the monied few has developed, and, in line with the leading capitalist countries, sporting personalities have been thoroughly commodified;

Therefore, resolves:

- 1) To make sport an activity - to be participated in and enjoyed by both the old, young and the disabled of our country;
- 2) To elucidate and popularise the proper role of sport and recreation in the life of our people;
- 3) To develop and provide adequate and up-to-date facilities to encourage and enable our people to take active part in sport
- 4) To wrench the administration of sport from the commercialists and firmly place it in the hands of the people (who will be active in sport) and save sport personalities from the consuming commodification by the sport merchants.
- 5) To promote vocational and indigenous sport.

RESOLUTION 10/1998: RESOLUTION ON ALLIANCES

That this 14th congress of **AZAPO**, noting:

- 1) The failure of the present government to fulfil its election promises;
- 2) And that this failure, in large measure, is as a result of the Kempton Park Agreements;
- 3) And further that this has now led to the ever-growing groundswell of dissatisfaction and discontent with the government by the working people, the professionals, the students and the youth;
- 4) Whereas rampant corruption and unaccountability by the government officials and the civil servants is the order of the day; and
- 5) The imperialists continue to bolster this government and to play up its so-called "magic image",

Therefore, resolves:

In order to unseat this government and win the coming elections;

- 1) To make common cause with the organisations or associations of the working people;
- 2) To form alliances with the organisations or associations of the professionals, the students and the youth;
- 3) To analyse the various political parties, identify the ones with whom to enter into alliances, and determine the form or forms the alliances should take while at all times preserving the identity and political independence of **AZAPO**.
- 4) To formalise and concretise the arrangements for the action towards the coming elections with all the **BCM** formations and supporters.

RESOLUTION 11/1998: RESOLUTION ON LAND

That this 14th congress of **AZAPO**, noting:

- 1) That the conquered-conqueror relationship between the blacks and whites determined and continues to determine the ownership of land in this country;
- 2) And further noting that the alienation of the blacks from their land was without compensation or compassion, but that it was by force and legislation and political chicanery;

- 3) And further noting that the restoration of the land to its rightful owners, and by reconquest if needs be, constitutes the singles most important factor in satisfying the black people's quest for true humanity;

Therefore, resolves:

- 1) To vest the ownership of all the following in Azania in the state:
The land, including everything below its surface and the air above it; the sea around Azania, including everything in and below it as well as the air above it;
- 2) To apportion the land for farming, commercial, industrial, sporting, recreational, housing, educational, scientific, research, conservation of fauna and flora and for other purposes aimed at the social and cultural advancement and upliftment of the Azanian people as a whole;
- 3) To provide adequate and decent housing at reasonable rates and rentals for all: in urban, farming and rural areas; and to build roads to improve land as well as sea and air communication throughout the country in order to accelerate and advance both the internal and the external trade.

RESOLUTION 12/1998: RESOLUTION ON HEALTH

This 14th Congress of **AZAPO** noting:

1. that the foundation for the present crisis in the health system was laid by the apartheid regime by deliberately neglecting provision of health facilities and services to the black community; and
2. that where these were provided, they were of third grade quality which was due to the lack of equipment, medicines and poor morale amongst health workers.

Further noting:

- (a) that the costs of provision of health care have reached astronomical proportions and therefore are unaffordable to the majority, as exemplified by medical schemes and private health institutions;
- (b) that it is the responsibility of the state to provide health services to all; and

Realising that:

- it is impossible to have a successful socialist health system in a capitalist country,

Therefore, resolves:

- (a) To put all hospitals, clinics, pharmaceutical enterprises and trade in drugs under state ownership.
- (b) Build health centres in all localities and improve health services especially in the rural areas.
- (c) Put emphasis on preventive health care and cultivation of healthy living habits.
- (d) Encourage research in traditional medicine and herbs and integrate these into the national health system.
- (e) Make all medical and para-medical personnel state employees.
- (f) Provide all primary health services free of charge.
- (g) Implement a comprehensive social service scheme to adequately cater for the aged, disabled, sick and others requiring care.
- (h) Let all employed people contribute to the national welfare scheme.
- (i) Rehabilitate all drug addicts and alcoholics.

RESOLUTION 13/1998: RESOLUTION ON BROADCASTING

That this 14th Congress of **AZAPO** noting:

1. That the psychological liberation of the Azanian masses remains the core goal in order for them to be able to gain and retain true liberation;
2. That broadcasting (by radio or by television) from its sheer spread and reach is the key to effecting and accelerating mass scale psychological liberation;

Further noting:

- as a vehicle of education, socialisation and culturisation, broadcasting is second to none;
- whereas, in the name of privatisation, the present government is shamelessly and hurriedly devouring the South African Broadcasting Corporation; and
- that this privatisation stands only to profit the monied and the few who are mostly white,

Therefore, resolves:

To vest the ownership and control of broadcasting in the state in order to:

1. effectively use it as an instrument of cultural and psychological liberation;
2. promote and champion local values and talent for the self-actualisation and realisation of the self-esteem of our people;
3. use it as a medium of education, information and entertainment.

RESOLUTION 14/1998: RESOLUTION ON THE ECONOMIC POLICY

This congress of **AZAPO** noting:

1. The globalisation of the world economy driven by rampant market forces as championed by the twin evil institutions of neo-colonialism, namely the World Bank and the International Fund (IMF);

Further noting

- (a) The uneven distribution of wealth leading to the widening of the gap between the economies of the developing and developed nations; and
- (b) That South African is a microcosmic representation of these economic divisions as characterised by a rich white minority and poverty-stricken black people who are the majority in this country; and

Realising that:

- (i) these rampant market forces have failed to ensure the equitable re-distribution of wealth and have therefore disqualified themselves as the salvation for the poor.

Therefore, resolves:

1. To found, pursue and uphold an economic policy where the objective will be the attainment of scientific socialism that is informed by the:
 - worker control of the means of production, exchange and distribution
 - collective ownership of the land, as the basic means of production, by Black people.
 - ownership by the state of strategic industries and undertaking such as mineral resources, financial institutions, forestry, farming, fisheries;

That in pursuance of the above; the economic policy and strategy of **AZAPO** government will seek to achieve the following:

- (a) increase and sustain the level of satisfaction of basic needs of the majority of the population such as housing, water supply, sanitation, education and employment.
- (b) Provide favourable and sustainable conditions for increasing employment opportunities of the masses of the people in the rural and urban areas by encouraging the use of production methods which can absorb relatively more labour than now.
- (c) Promote local (domestic) capital investment and domestic savings as well as the use of labour-intensive production methods while lessening dependency on foreign capital investment as the basic means of increased economic growth and development.
- (d) Promote economic growth with social justice by ensuring an equitable re-distribution of the benefits derived therefrom (economic growth process)
- (e) Facilitate effective transformation of agriculture and industry as well as social and economic relations, e.g. with regard to water supply and thereby provide significant improvement in the standard of living in the country-side.
- (f) Facilitate establishment of domestic, large-scale, capital intensive producer goods industries in order to supply a variety of farming and agricultural inputs (machinery and equipment, industrial tools, chemical fertilisers and pesticides by encouraging systematic application of modern science technology in the rural and agricultural economy as well as increasing total productivity and efficiency in state-owned farms and established co-operative farms.
- (g) Encourage increased production of goods for domestic consumption with emphasis on domestic demand while promoting exportation of surplus production, especially processed industrial products.
- (h) Promote state-control and ownership of all the basic large-scale industries which satisfy the needs of the country with respect to its technical and defence capacity, and which ensure economic independence.
- (i) Promote planned development of the capital goods sector with a variety of producer goods industries (machine tools, metal work industries and encourage a process of integrating the producer goods industries with basic materials sector (iron, steel, aluminium, paper, wood, leather and industrial chemicals) in order to strengthen the development of technology and supply of the required capital goods to various economic sectors.
- (j) Implement an equitable policy for the distribution of energy supply for consumption, especially the programme of electrification of the residential areas in the rural and urban sector and industries.

- (k) Facilitate the establishment of growth points in various economic sectors and regions, as well as those industries which produce by-products in order to promote employment and alleviate deficiencies in produced goods and services.
- (l) Encourage the development and financial support of the small-scale industries in order to increase provision of various economic goods and services to the community.
- (m) Create sustainable conditions for the export of industrial goods, processed consumer goods and capital goods to various countries of the world. Ensure the transformation of the current pattern of the export sector, in order to increase the export capacity of the country as well as foreign resources.

RESOLUTION 15/1998: RESOLUTION ON DEATH PENALTY

This congress noting:

1. That life is sacrosanct and should be respected and protected by all human beings and believing that those who violate the right to life deserve stringent reformatory and corrective punishment;

Further noting:

- (a) That the death penalty is final by nature and is not reversible;
- (b) That the probability of human error cannot be discounted as has been proven the world over where numerous innocent people have been erroneously executed; and

Realising:

- (i) That not even the state has a right to take life through the imposition of a death penalty.
- (ii) That the death penalty is neither a deterrent nor a humane punishment;

Therefore, resolves:

- (1) That a mandatory sentence of imprisonment of not less than twenty-five (25) years for causing the loss of human life should be imposed instead.
- (2) That the death penalty should be rejected and never be introduced again into our legal system.
- (3) That in order to curb the taking of human lives, programmes be introduced to instil a culture of respect for and preservation of life.

RESOLUTION 16/1998: RESOLUTION ON LABOUR UNIONS AND THE WORKING CLASS

This congress noting:

1. That the working class in occupied Azania has historically been divided into the Black working class and the labour aristocrat of the comprador type - white settler community;
2. That the struggle for self-determination and economic liberation is informed by the basic tenets of Black Consciousness;

Further noting:

- (a) the centrality of any working class in the struggle for economic emancipation of a nation;
- (b) That by its position in society the Black working class becomes central to the liberation struggle for land repossession and economic emancipation.

Therefore, resolves:

1. To encourage the establishment of a democratic, independent working class movement.
2. To charge an **AZAPO** government with the realisation of the need to protect the rights and standard of living of working people by creating the necessary and enabling environment through legislation (laws) to achieve the following:
 - 2.1 The right to organise and belong to a trade union of one's choice;
 - 2.2 The right to withhold labour as a way of making gains in collective agreements and any situation that may arise and necessitate this;
 - 2.3 The right to work
 - 2.4 Equal opportunities for all potential workers irrespective of sex or gender;
 - 2.5 The right to representation at work and appropriate information;
 - 2.6 The observance of a minimum age for employment
 - 2.7 Setting up a minimum wage that will be in keeping with maintaining a decent standard of living;
 - 2.8 Provision for work and job security
 - 2.9 Adequate working hours in a week so that working people may be able to attend to their social needs;
 - 2.10 Provision and maintenance of healthy and safe working conditions;
 - 2.11 Provision for state and employer-funded education and training of workers through an equitable levy system;
 - 2.12 Providing for a social wage that will ensure a reasonable standard of living on retirement; and

- 2.13. the narrowing of the wage gap between the lowest and highest paid employees.
- 2.14 the right to collective bargaining

RESOLUTION 17/1998: RESOLUTION ON EDUCATION

This congress of **AZAPO** noting:

1. That apartheid education has slowed down the development of people in occupied Azania and more particularly Black people, psychologically, economically and academically, through a deliberate inadequate provision of resources and the creation of artificial divisions in the education delivery; and

Further noting:

That even the present government of National Unity 's dispensation has done very little to redress the inadequacies mentioned above;

Realising:

1. That this type of education system has resulted in a large number of academically inclined people and less technically skilled people that can meaningfully contribute to growth of the economy; and
- (a) Affirming that education is a means of empowerment and socialisation of a human-being from formative years to the realisation of its fullest potential.

Therefore, resolves:

- (a) to work towards the implementation of education for liberation and nation-building whose main features will be the following:
 - A single ministry of education, which may be divided into lower and higher education with a high component and emphasis on scientific, technological and vocational bias.
 - Provision of free and compulsory education from pre-school to standard eight (Grade 10) or age sixteen (16) whichever comes first.
 - Have a "means test" to determine how much each parent has to pay as fees for subsequent years.
 - The right to be taught in the mother-tongue
 - Development of indigenous languages to bring them to the level where they can address matters of science and technology.

- Private or independent schools can be part of the education system but have to be funded wholly by the owners.
- Responsibility of the state for one type of school only, Public schools.
- Establishment of adequate and appropriate funding mechanism for achievement of the set goals.

RESOLUTION 18/1998: RESOLUTION ON CRIME

This congress noting:

1. That crime in the form of rape, murder, armed robbery, drug-trafficking, child-molestation, corruption, reckless and negligent driving has reached high level to the extent that South Africa leads the entire world in some;

Further noting:

- (a) that the use of fire-arms features prominently in the violent crime thus depriving South Africans citizens of the enjoyment of their well-deserved peace of mind in this new dispensation;
- (b) that the release on bail has the effect of giving an opportunity to criminals to eliminate witnesses, evade and frustrate the judicial system and the police by not attending court; and
- (c) that the taxpayer is burdened with the maintenance of society's outcasts who are imprisoned and that this constitutes an injustice on the taxpayer;

Realising:

1. That the legacy of apartheid of abject poverty and deprivation in the black communities is one of the causes thereof; and

Further realising:

- (a) that the judiciary, the police service and the military forces of the apartheid regime are still intact and lack the competency to stem this crime-rate tide;
- (b) that only drastic action can stem this crime wave

Therefore, resolves to:

- (1) redress the poverty and deprivation levels in the black communities through community development programmes.

- (2) Legislate for disarmed civilian society and ensuring that only security forces will be allowed to carry arms.
- (3) Introduce Compulsory Community Service for the youth to counter indiscipline and instil and inculcate a culture of respect for human life.
- (4) Purge the judiciary, police service and the military of all apartheid adherents and upholders where there is evidence of collusion, bribery, corruption and fraud.
- (5) Declare as serious crimes, any crime in which life is lost, rape, corruption, gross negligent and reckless driving in which a life is lost, possession and use of a fire-arm theft of state property, robbery, drug-trafficking and child-molestation.
- (6) Limit the constitutional right to bail so that bail in serious crimes be abolished.**
- (7) Ensure that convicted criminals earn their upkeep in prisons for the duration of their sentences.

RESOLUTION 19/1998: RESOLUTION ON WELFARE POLICY

This 14th Congress of **AZAPO** noting:

1. The inequalities in the pay out of pension, disability and old-age grants as a result of the apartheid legacy;
2. The general lack of care and facilities for the disabled and the old;
3. The need for training, employment and integration of such people into society

Therefore, resolves:

- to eliminate inequalities in the pay out of pension, old age and disability grants.
- to increase and improve facilities for the old and the disabled.
- to establish rehabilitation centres for the training, rehabilitation and integration of addicts, so-called street children and beggars.
- to establish care and training centres for the old and the disabled.
- to start re-orientation and training programmes for the welfare personnel.
- to provide for social benefits based on a minimum living wage for all pensioners.

RESOLUTION 20/1998: RESOLUTION ON AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

This Congress of **AZAPO** noting:

1. That the so-called affirmative action, and as it is presently pursued and advocated by its protagonists is no better than an unsatisfactory and unrealisable catch-phrase;
2. That its implementation or achievements invariably show that only a tiny section of the elite benefit from it; and
3. That it has got an inherent incapacity to encompass the grass root people in a meaningful way in its implementation; and

Further Realising:

- (a) That reparations are the only mode of bringing the deprived blacks to the level of whites in all aspects of life especially in education, housing and employment.

Therefore, resolves:

- To reject the concept of affirmative action as currently understood, and
- To accept and adopt reparations as the only mode of remedying past imbalances in the black communities;
- To charge the **AZAPO** government with the responsibility to implement reparations as the mode of restoring imbalances of the past.

RESOLUTION 21/1998: RESOLUTION ON THE UNIVERSITY OF VENDA

That this 14th Congress of **AZAPO** noting:

- (a) the strife and tensions at the University of Venda;
- (b) the detentions, beatings and shooting of students at the same university;
- (c) the destruction of property by fire and other means at UNIVEN;
- (d) the banning of AZASCO, the SRC and of student meetings at the university; and

Believing that:

- (i) contradiction should be resolved through peaceful, democratic and rational ways;
- (ii) in particular, the Chairman of the University Council, who is also Chairman of the Human Rights Council, should not be party to the draconian, repressive and undemocratic actions,

Therefore, resolves:

- (a) to call upon the University Management to unban AZASCO, the SRC and allow student meetings on campus.
- (b) to call upon the students, their Organisations, the SRC and Management to resolve their problems through negotiations as soon as possible.
- (c) to assist all parties in the resolution of the problems where necessary.

RESOLUTION 22/1998: RESOLUTION ON FUNDING

This **BCM** Youth Indaba acknowledges that:

1. **AZAPO** and the entire **BCM** do not have sufficient resources to manage and carry out all the activities and programmes of the **BCM**.
2. **AZAPO** has been crippled by a severe decline in subscriptions over the past years and has as a result incurred a number of unnecessary debts.

This **BCM** Youth Indaba believes that:

1. **AZAPO** won't be able to put up an effective election campaign with the resources it now possesses, as elections are an expensive and costly exercise.

This **BCM** Youth Indaba realises that:

1. The current Government of National Unity (GNU) has made it virtually impossible for parties entering elections for the first time to receive financial assistance.
2. **AZAPO**, because of its current policies and principles will not receive as much funding from donors and foreign governments.

This **BCM** Youth Indaba therefore resolves that:

- All members of AZASM, AZASCO and AZAYO must make a financial contribution to a Central **AZAPO** Elections Fund and such contributions should be implemented and managed by the NEC's of these formations.

This **BCM** Youth Indaba further resolves that:

- This Resolution be tabled for adoption at the 14th National Congress of Azanian People's Organisation (**AZAPO**)

RESOLUTION 23/1998: RESOLUTION ON POLITICAL PRISONERS

That this 14th Congress of **AZAPO** held on 3 - 5 July 1998 in Pretoria noting:

- the continued incarceration of **AZAPO** and **AZANLA** members, especially in the Eastern Cape Province;

Also noting:

- that **AZAPO** has engaged the Ministry of Justice to secure their unconditional release;

Further noting:

- that **AZAPO** and **AZANLA** members were injudiciously convicted by the apartheid judiciary for pursuing a just cause of liberating our country and Black people in particular from the scourge of racial discrimination and social subjugation;

Believing also:

- that the continued incarceration of **AZAPO** members and other political prisoners by the present government constitutes an erosion of the moral legitimacy and politically acceptable basis upon which they participated in the struggle against apartheid and its attendant evils;

Therefore, resolves:

1. that **AZAPO**, through its Regions, Formations, Branches and Units should mount a campaign aimed at highlighting the political plight of these Comrades to the nation at large.
2. that **AZAPO** engage the TRC and call on the present government for the immediate and unconditional release of **AZAPO** and **AZANLA** Cadres.
3. that **AZAPO** mobilise community organisation and other structures of civil society to support **AZAPO**'s call for the release of all political prisoners.

RESOLUTION 24/1998: RESOLUTION ON THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

That this 14th Congress Noting:

1. The conscientising and revolutionary effect of Black Consciousness over the past thirty (30) years in our country in shaping the political developments leading to the present dispensation; and

Further noting:

- The calculated alienation and negation of our heroes and heroines and their contributions to the struggle for our national liberation, and more particularly the contribution by the Black Consciousness Movement (**BCM**)

Therefore, resolves:

1. To work towards holding a National Rally to mark the 30 years of Black Consciousness in our country in the early part of 1999.
2. To engage in a build-up of Rallies towards the National Event starting with the September and October activities at Regional and Local level.
3. To direct the Standing Committee to establish a Committee that will be charged with the responsibility of organising memorabilia, cultural events, rallies, dinners, etc.

RESOLUTION 25/1998: RESOLUTION ON THE PROPOSED STATE FUNDING OF POLITICAL PARTIES

That this 14th Congress noting:

1. a Bill presently before parliament proposing state funding only for parties presently represented in parliament in the 1999 elections; and

Believing that:

- (a) such a proposal discriminates against parties not presently represented in parliament;
- (b) it amounts to a ganging up of parliamentary parties against extra-parliamentary parties;
- (c) such a proposal is unconstitutional, undemocratic, unfair and contrary to the notion of free and fair elections;

Therefore, resolves:

- to call upon parliament to amend the said Bill in a manner that would allow for equal funding of all established and representative political parties contesting the 1999 general elections;
- to make representations to the relevant parliamentary portfolio committee or any competent authority on our views.