

**AZAPO**

**BCMA**

**PAC**

**RESOLUTIONS**

**of**

**KADOMA CONSULTATION**

**9 and 10 August 1991**

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## JOINT AZAPO, BCMA, PAC PRESS COMMUNIQUE

The consultation meeting of Joint Executives of AZAPO, BCMA and PAC held in Kadoma, Zimbabwe on 9 and 10 August 1991 reviewed major aspects of the struggle and reached consensus on the way forward to eradicate the racist colonial system. The meeting was conducted in a cordial and comradely atmosphere.

### 1. PATRIOTIC FRONT AND CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

The executives highlighted the common desire of our people for unity and resolved to work towards the establishment of a broad-based principled Patriotic Front. It was agreed that all organisations of the oppressed that accept the democratic Constituent Assembly formula be invited to participate in the conference to launch the Patriotic Front. The conference will take place in September.

The meeting rejected talks about talks as not being substantive. The Kadoma Consultation re-iterated that the only mechanism that can genuinely democratise the system in our country is the Constituent Assembly elected on a one person, one vote basis with all Azanians over the age of 18 voting on a common voters roll in a unitary state.

The meeting further resolved that the only kind of negotiations that the AZAPO, BCMA and PAC will be amenable to is to discuss the transfer of power from the minority to the majority through an elected Constituent Assembly. Such a meeting must take place at a neutral venue under an impartial chairperson. The consultation meeting agreed that all forms of struggle, including armed struggle, will be maintained.

### 2. VIOLENCE

The Kadoma Consultation viewed with great concern the unprecedented escalation of violence in the country, conceived and sponsored by

the racist regime through its security agencies. In particular, the Consultation demanded the immediate expulsion of all mercenary forces in the country, eg Buffalo Battalion 32, Koevoet and the RENAMO bandits. It also called for the immediate disbandment of other hit squads of the regime. Whilst acknowledging that the principal cause of violence is the regime, the Consultation, however, called for free unhindered political activity among the oppressed. It denounced hegemonistic tendencies and called for the democratisation of all civic bodies.

### 3. SANCTIONS

The Consultation re-iterated its call for the maintenance and intensification of sanctions on all fronts until the adoption of a new, <sup>non-racial</sup> anti-racist, democratic Constitution is in place, in keeping with the United Nations' Consensus Declaration of December 1989. We view with concern attempts at the premature uplifting of sanctions by some western and eastern allies of the regime. We condemn those who spearheaded the removal of the sports sanctions because there can be no normal sport in an abnormal society. We commend those countries, states, cities and groups who are maintaining sanctions and encourage them in their efforts. We shall continue to demand for the imposition of comprehensive, mandatory sanctions. We do not think the racist regime deserves to be rewarded.

### 4. JOINT CAMPAIGNS

The participants committed to undertake a programme of joint campaigns, to consult regularly, to exchange information and to lobby jointly, internally and internationally, for their common positions.

### 5. POLITICAL PRISONERS AND EXILES

The organisations maintained that this illegitimate regime, in the first place had no right to imprison or to exile our people.

Those in prison or in exile were motivated by the highest human ideals of resisting inhuman repression. The meeting confirmed that many political prisoners are still held in the dungeons of apartheid, despite the regime's denial. The meeting resolved to demand an unconditional general amnesty.

6. NYANGA BUS DISASTER

The meeting expressed condolences to the families, ZANU-PF Party and the Government of Zimbabwe on the tragic loss of life in the recent Nyanga bus disaster.

7. NOTE OF APPRECIATION

The participants expressed their profound gratitude to the ZANU-PF Party, the Government and the people of Republic of Zimbabwe as well as the Gold Comfort Farm Trust for facilitating this important consultation meeting. It acknowledged that this stemmed from the commitment to the total liberation of the African continent from colonialism.

PANDELANI NEFOLOVHODWE  
President  
Azanian People's Organisation

MOSIBUDI MANGENA  
Chairman  
Black Consciousness Movement of Azania

JOHNSON MLAMBO  
First Deputy President & Chairman  
Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)

Attached for your benefit are the resolutions taken at the Kadoma Consultation and the Joint Communique.

**PANDELANI NEFOLOVHODWE**  
President  
Azanian People's Organisation

**MOSIBUDI MANGENA**  
Chairman  
Black Consciousness Movement of Azania

**JOHNSON MLAMBO**  
First Deputy president & Chairman  
Pan Africanist Congress of Azania

TO: THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE  
ZANU-PF PARTY  
COLD COMFORT FARM TRUST

FROM: THE AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION  
THE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT OF AZANIA  
THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA

The National Executives of the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA), and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) Consultation at Kadoma on 9 and 10 August 1991 wish to express their most sincere thanks to the ZANU-PF Party, the Government and the people of Zimbabwe and the Cold Comfort Farm Trust for making this consultation possible.

We are particularly grateful that we have been given this opportunity to discuss the urgent problems of the day in our troubled country - occupied Azania.

This has been a historic consultation to discuss the all pressing necessity for unity and we have arrived at some salient and critical decisions which we hope will go a long way towards the resolution of the conflict in our country.

We are pleased that the ZANU-PF Party, the Government and people of Zimbabwe and the Cold Comfort Farm Trust continue to take a keen interest in the affairs of our people because continued strife and instability in Azania inevitably affects the people of Zimbabwe and indeed all Africa adversely.

**ON THE INYANGA BUS DISASTER**

The National Executives of the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) extend their sincere condolences to the families and relatives, the people and Government of Zimbabwe and ZANU-PF Party on the loss of young lives in the recent tragic Inyanga bus disaster.

It is to be regretted that this nation should lose such young lives whose contributions to your growing country was still to be made.

We join you in your bereavement and are confident that the people of Zimbabwe will overcome this great tragedy and face the future with courage.

**PANDELANI NEFOLOVHODWE**  
President  
Azanian People's Organisation

**MOSIBUDI MANGENA**  
Chairman  
Black Consciousness Movement of Azania

**JOHNSON MLAMBO**  
First Deputy President & Chairman  
Pan Africanist Congress of Azania



**RESOLUTION ON THE PATRIOTIC FRONT**

This consultation of the Joint Executives of the AZAPO, BCMA and PAC noting

1. That the strength of our struggle and the liberation movement lies in unity.
2. That the overall strategy of the regime is to divide the liberation movement and to divide our people.
3. That in the present phase the regime is attempting to exchange us in bi-lateral negotiations.
4. That the insistent cry of our people on the ground, in the villages, in the townships is for the liberation movements to come together.
5. That the liberation movements have more in common with each other than differences among them.
6. That differences among them are of a non-antagonistic nature.

Therefore resolves

- (a) To call for a conference for the establishment of a Patriotic Front whose tasks will be the following:
  - (i) To mobilise our people on the basis of a minimum programme of action to overthrow the white minority racist regime.
  - (ii) To propogate and campaign for an elected constituent assembly

(iii) The liberation movements should be the prime movers of the Patriotic Front. Organisations of the oppressed with a national character should be invited.

(b) That the following should form the basis of participation in the Patriotic Front

- commitment to a Constituent Assembly as a democratic means of transference of power
- commitment to one person one vote on a common voters role in a unitary country
- commitment to the destruction of all apartheid structures
- commitment to the unity of our people
- commitment to mass organisation and mass mobilisation
- commitment to a programme of action based on these principles
- commitment from the participants to respect the principles of the Patriotic Front
- commitment to a code of conduct

PANDELANI NEFOLOVHODWE  
President  
Azanian People's Organisation

MOSIBUDI MANGENA  
Chairperson  
Black Consciousness Movement of Azania

JOHNSON MLAMBO  
First Deputy President & Chairman  
Pan Africanist Congress of Azania

**RESOLUTION ON THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY**

This consultation of the Joint Executives of AZAPO, BCMA and PAC noting

1. That the present conflict in our country is as a result of the undemocratic and non-representative system of government imposed upon us by the white settler colonial regime.
2. That the solutions offered by this regime are undemocratic and therefore cannot result in a democratic solution.
3. That a democratic solution to the problems of our country can only be found through a democratic process that will involve all the people in our land. Such a solution cannot be found by hand picked individuals or parties.

Therefore resolves

- (a) That while chances exist for a peaceful resolution of the conflict the Constituent Assembly is the only democratic mechanism through which our society can be transformed.
- (b) That elections of the representatives of the people to the Constituent Assembly should be on the basis of one person one vote on a common voters role in a unitary state.
- (c) Representation in the Constituent Assembly will be proportionate to the total number of votes secured by each political party.

PANDELANI NEFOLOVHODWE  
President  
AZAPO

MOSIBUDI MANGENA  
Chairperson  
BCMA

JOHNSON MLAMBO  
First Deputy President  
& Chairman  
PAC

**RESOLUTION ON CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE**

This consultation of the Joint Executives of AZAPO, BCMA and PAC noting

1. The absolute importance of a Patriotic Front at this stage of our struggle and the need to ensure its success.
2. That the goal of unity has eluded us over the years.

Therefore resolves

- (a) That a Consultative Conference of the liberation movements be convened to lay the ground work and elaborate on the principles of a Patriotic Front.
- (b) That the format of this Consultative Conference be a small working group involving senior executives of the various movements.

**PANDELANI NEFOLOVHODWE**  
President  
Azanian People's Organisation

**MOSIBUDI MANGENA**  
Chairperson  
Black Consciousness Movement of Azania

**JOHNSON MLAMBO**  
First Deputy President & Chairman  
Pan Africanist Congress of Azania

**RESOLUTION OF NEGOTIATIONS**

This consultation of the Joint Executives of AZAPO, BCMA and PAC noting

1. That the present talks about talks are not substantive as they do not address the core of the problem, namely, the transfer of power to the majority.
2. That they are divisive.

Therefore resolves

- (i) That the only negotiations that AZAPO, BCMA and the PAC would be amenable to is to discuss the transfer of power from the minority to the majority through a democratically elected Constituent Assembly.
- (ii) That such negotiations must be at a neutral venue under an impartial mediator.

**PANDELANI NEFOLOVHODWE**  
President  
Azanian People's Organisation

**MOSIBUDI MANGENA**  
Chairperson  
Black Consciousness Movement of Azania

**JOHNSON MLAMBO**  
First Deputy President & Chairman  
Pan Africanist Congress of Azania

**RESOLUTION ON VIOLENCE**

This consultation of the Joint Executives of AZAPO, BCMA and PAC noting

1. The unprecedented escalation of violence affecting the oppressed communities in our country conceived and sponsored by the racist regime through its army, police and auxillary forces such as CCB, Koevoet, Battalion 32 and others.
2. That the violence is intended to crush the liberation movement and to eliminate political activists.
3. It is also intended to destabilise our communities and render them politically fatigued so that they are unable to participate in any meaningful democratic process.
4. It is meant to prepare the masses of our people to accept any political dispensation irrespective of whether it benefits them or not.
5. The violence is also intended to promote reactionary leadership which is aligned to the regime and western imperialism.

The meeting resolved:

- (a) To condemn the regime in the strongest terms possible and demand its immediate resignation.
- (b) To mobilise the masses, expose the regime in its hedious activities and call for the verifiable disbandment and expulsion of its agencies of violence and mercenary forces.

The meeting further noted the existence of a phenomenon of inter-organisational violence and resolved as follows:

- (i) Organisations of the oppressed should identify and speedily discipline and isolate those amongst their membership who indulge in attacks on supporters of other liberation movements and potential parties of the oppressed, with a view to preventing the regime and any of its agencies from exploiting for their own ends such tensions as exist.
- (ii) All organisations should desist from making hegemonistic claims on the territory of residential areas, townships or educational institutions.
- (iii) All organisations should encourage and develop free and unhindered political activity and democratic practice amongst the oppressed.
- (iv) In the event of inter-organisational violence in any area the leadership on the ground, regional executives and the NEC's should become involved in order to resolve the problems and arbitrate the differences that have arisen.
- (v) No person(s) should be forced to participate in political campaigns through coercion.
- (vi) The civics and other grassroots structures should be democratised and strengthened by making them fully representative of the community.

PANDELANI NEFOLOVHODWE  
President  
AZAPO

MOSIBUDI MANGENA  
Chairman  
BMA

JOHNSON MLAMBO  
First Deputy President  
& Chairman  
PAC

**RESOLUTION ON ALL PARTY CONFERENCE/MULTI-PARTY CONFERENCE/TALKS**

This consultation of the Joint Executives of AZAPO, BCMA and PAC noting

1. That an all party or multi-party conference/talks cannot be a substitute for a constituent assembly because it is undemocratic.
2. That the regime aims to use such a conference/talks to legitimise parties of its own choice and to throw confusion in the entire transitional phase.
3. That a multi-party or all party conference/talks aims to undermine the Patriotic Front.

Therefore resolves

- (a) To reject an all party or multi-party conference/talks.
- (b) To also reject any such similar conference/talks.
- (c) To consider the Patriotic Front as the only legitimate vehicle towards the creation of a Constituent Assembly.

**PANDELANI NEFOLOVHODWE**  
President  
Azanian People's Organisation

**MOSIBUDI MANGENA**  
Chairperson  
Black Consciousness Movement of Azania

**JOHNSON MLAMBO**  
First Deputy President & Chairman  
Pan Africanist Congress of Azania



**RESOLUTION OF JOINT CAMPAIGNS**

This consultation of the Joint Executives of the AZAPO, BCMA and PAC noting

1. The amiable spirit of this Kadoma Consultation.
2. The closeness of the positions of the two organisations on almost every issue.
3. Especially our joint commitment to a Patriotic Front and a Constituent Assembly.

Therefore resolves

- (a) As of this minute to begin a programme of joint campaigns which will be decided from time to time.
- (b) To engage in a programme of continual exchange of information.
- (c) To hold continuous joint consultations.
- (d) To lobby jointly for our common positions internally and internationally.
- (e) To continue to respect each other and relate in the spirit of this Kadoma Consultation.

PANDELANI NEFOLOVDODWE  
President  
AZAPO

MOSIBUDI MANGENA  
Chairman  
BCMA

JOHNSON MLAMBO  
First Deputy President  
& Chairman  
PAC

## RESOLUTION ON SANCTIONS, CULTURAL AND SPORTS BOYCOTT

This consultation of the Joint Executives of the AZAPO, BCMA, and PAC noting

1. That international sanctions have contributed towards the legitimate struggle of the people of occupied Azania to eradicate oppression and exploitation.
2. That the international community had placed specific conditions for the lifting of sanctions including the maintenance of pressures until a majority constitution is in place.
3. That such a constitution has not yet been drafted and implemented.

Therefore resolves

- (a) That any premature relaxation of sanctions would gravely undermine the legitimate struggle of the people of occupied Azania.
- (b) To condemn the present scramble to lift sanctions in the economic sports, cultural and diplomatic fields.
- (c) To mount a joint campaign to isolate the racist regime and to pressurise those who deal with it.
- (d) To inform the international community that any attempt to undermine the expressed wishes of the struggling masses of occupied Azania will have dire consequences.
- (e) To commend those countries/states/cities and groups that are maintaining sanctions and we call upon them to sustain their efforts.

- (f) To call for the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist regime on all fronts.

PANDELANI NEFOLOVHODWE  
President  
AZAPO

MOSIBUDI MANGENA  
Chairman  
BCMA

JOHNSON MLAMBO  
First Deputy President  
& Chairman  
PAC

**RESOLUTION ON POLITICAL PRISONERS**

This consultation of the Joint Executives of the AZAPO, BCMA and PAC noting

1. That the racist regime never had a right to imprison or exile our people in the first place.
2. That all our people in prison or in exile were motivated by the highest human ideals to fight against an inhuman repressive regime.
3. That even when the regime decided to release political prisoners or allow exiles to return it dragged its feet and placed numerous obstacles for their release or return.
4. That there are still many political prisoners in the dungeons of apartheid despite the regimes denial of this.
5. That the system of apartheid makes it difficult to distinguish between an ordinary offence and a political offence and many political activists have been arrested under so-called criminal offences.

Therefore resolves

- (a) To continue to demand for the unconditional release of all political prisoners.
- (b) To reserve the right to the liberation movement to define what is a political offence.

- (c) To call for the unconditional granting of general amnesty with the full participation of the UNHCR.
- (d) To call on the regime to cease all political trials and executions and to scrap all security legislation.

PANDELANI NEFOLOVHODWE  
President  
Azanian People's Organisation

MOSIBUDI MANGENA  
Chairman  
Black Consciousness Movement of Azania

JOHNSON MLAMBO  
First Deputy President & Chairman  
Pan Africanist Congress of Azania

**RESOLUTION ON THE APPRECIATION OF ASSISTANCE FROM AFRICA**

This consultation of the Joint Executives of the AZAPO, BCMA and PAC noting

1. That the material assistance and moral support we have received from the peoples and governments of Africa in our long and arduous struggle for total emancipation of occupied Azania.
2. The understanding of the peoples and governments of Africa that the struggle of the people of Azania is part and parcel of the struggle for Africa.
3. The insistent call of the governments of Africa and the OAU for our liberation movements to come together in some form of Patriotic Front.
4. A genuine and lasting resolution of the conflict in occupied Azania will unlock tremendous economic prospects for the entire Africa and restore the political dignity of our continent.

Therefore resolves

- (a) To express our most sincere gratitude for the assistance and understanding in our difficulties.
- (b) To continue to prosecute the struggle until total liberation is attained.

PANDELANI NEFOLOVHODWE  
President  
AZAPO

MOSIBUDI MANGENA  
Chairperson  
BCMA

JOHNSON MLAMBO  
First Deputy President  
& Chairman  
PAC

## RESOLUTION ON TRANSITIONAL AUTHORITY

This meeting of the Joint Executives of AZAPO, BCMA and the PAC noting

1. That a transitional authority is essential to ensure that elections for the Constituent Assembly are free and just.
2. That the regime cannot oversee the transitional period.
3. That the security forces are the military wing of the present regime that ensures its perpetuation.


Therefore resolves


a. To call for a transitional authority with the following features:

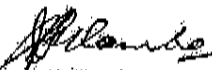
- (i) The transitional authority must have limited duration.
- (ii) The transitional authority must have its mandate clearly defined.
- (iii) In the establishment of the transitional authority it must be ensured that the national liberation movements and other organizations are not co-opted as co-managers of apartheid.
- (iv) Such a transitional authority must not implement existing apartheid legislation.

b. To call for the disarming and/or quarantining of the armed forces of the regime, including the security forces.

(c) The composition of the transitional authority must be agreed upon by the liberation movements and endorsed by the international community.

  
 PANDEANI NEFOLOVHODWE  
 President (AZAPO)

  
 MOSI BUDI MANGENA  
 Chairman (BCMA)

  
 JOHNSON MLAMFO  
 (First Deputy  
 President and Chairman)  
 PAC

## **RESOLUTION ON TRANSITIONAL AUTHORITY**

This meeting of the Joint Executives of AZAPO, BCMA and the PAC noting:

1. That a transitional authority is essential to ensure that elections for the Constituent Assembly are free and just.
2. That the regime cannot oversee the transitional period.
3. That the security forces are the military wing of the present regime that ensures its perpetuation.

Therefore resolves

- a. To call for a transitional authority with the following features:
  - i. The transitional authority must have limited duration.
  - ii. The transitional authority must have its mandate clearly defined.
  - iii. In the establishment of the transitional authority it must be ensured that the national liberation movements and other organisations are not co-opted as co-managers of apartheid.
  - iv. Such a transitional authority must not implement existing apartheid legislation.
- b. To call for the disarming and/or quarantining of the armed forces of the regime, including the security forces.
- c. The composition of the transitional authority must be agreed upon by the liberation movements and endorsed by the international community.

**PANDELANI NEFOLOVHODWE**  
President (AZAPO)

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Chairman (BCMA)

**JOHNSON MLAMBO**  
(First Deputy President  
and Chairman) PAC