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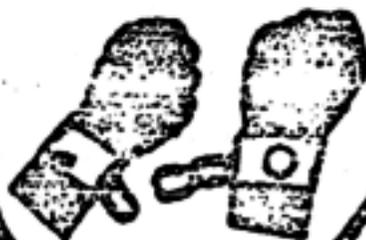
12/16/75

**BLACK PEOPLES CONVENTION**

MINUTES OF THE  
FOURTH  
NATIONAL CONGRESS

HELD  
AT  
KINGWILLIAMSTOWN

DECEMBER  
1975



BLACK PEOPLE'S CONVENTION

FOURTH NATIONAL CONGRESS MINUTES :

HELD AT: Ginsberg Angilacan Church Hall.  
King Williams-Town.

DATE: 13th - 16th December 1975.

AGENDA

SATURDAY: 13/12/75.

1. Registration.
2. Welcome Address by Rev J. Gawe.
3. Presidential Address.
4. Work Papers - Interim Executive Sitting.

SUNDAY: 1 / 12 / 75.

1. Interim Executive Report.
2. Basic Policy - Commissions sitting and Report
  - a) Black Consciousness.
  - b) Black Communalism.
  - c) Relation - National & Interantional.
  - d) Government Created Platforms.
3. Evening : Address by guest speaker:-  
Mr D.K.J.. Tjongarero.

MONDAY: 15/12/75.

1. Commission - Projection: Future State.
2. Structure. Commission Report.
3. General Policy - Current Issues:-
  - a) Detente.
  - b) Independence of Bantustans.
  - c) Sport.
4. Evening : Symposium.  
Speakers: D.J.K. Tjongoreo  
Zolile Keke.
5. Election of Executive.
6. Amendments to the constitution.
7. Vote of Executive.

EXECUTIVE (Interim)

President : Tshweuwani Farisani  
Secretary General: Hlaku Rachidi.  
Regional Directors : T. Mazibuko (Natal)  
G. Marolen (Rand)  
M. Mvovo ( E. Cape)

BRANCHES:

1. Johannesburg: G. Wauchop.  
A. Mokoena.  
N. Serache.

2. Pietermaritzburg: S. Mkhize.  
C. Ngcobo.

3. Qonce: A. Ntuli.  
T. Mbanjwa  
Dr. M. Ramphele.

4. Port Elizabeth : D. Pitjane.  
T. Mbengashe.  
M. Cekisani.

5. Cape Town M. Mulligan.  
D. Lagigwe  
P. Jones.

6. Daveyton: J. Rapeswa.

REPRESENTATIVES:

1. SASO - President : D. Mji.  
Vice President: A. Torres.  
Publication -  
Directors: N. Dubazane.  
TVL Secretary J. Kgokong

2. NAYO sent apologies

APPOLOGIES: Many other branches failed to send delegates because they had been crippled by the arrests and detentions of either the branch executive or members. Branches affected by this are: Springs, Krugersdorp, Mapumulo New Castle, Pretoria, Durban, Pietersburg and Mara.

SITTINGS:

SATURDAY EVENING:

1. The hosting priest Rev James Gawe gave a welcoming address after he had made a short prayer. He indicated his joy at BPC having its conference at Ginsberg, King Williams Town, amidst Bantustan confusion. He said that he believed that the conference would leave a mark in the community
2. PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: The president Mr T. Farisani delivered his official address after giving a short introductory address which started with the singing of "unzima Lomtwalo" and clenched fists we raised in honour of all those that died and those who were and / or are victimised in the struggle. Thereafter the president read a poem "Azania shall be free" before he could proceed with his address. Again he closed his address with a poem entitled "Commitment". (see presidential address)

SUNDAY

The session was resumed at 0800 hrs. The acting secretary general read the interim executive report which was then adopted (see interim executive report). After the interim executive was read congress broke into five commissions.

Basic policy on:

1. Black Consciousness.
2. Black Communalism.
3. Relations : National and International.
4. Projection : Future State.
5. Government Created Platforms.

1. The report on Black Consciousness was adopted as presented.
2. This report on Black Communalism was adopted with the proviso that the National Executive forms itself into a permanent commission on Black communalism which could undertake scientific research on the subject.
3. The report on Relations was adopted with the proviso that the International relation shall be a sole prerogative of the National Executive.

EVENING:

The guest speaker Mr D.Kaova Tjongorero the publicity secretary of the Namibian National Convention, addressed congress. He showed the similarity between the Namibian struggle and the Azanian one.

The Secretary General then read a letter from all Africa Council of Churches written by its general secretary accepting an invitation to address congress. He however, failed to turn up for reasons unknown to the convention.

MONDAY 15/12/75.

AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION

A new structure of the convention was proposed and accepted. This structure was to regionalise the work of a permanent organiser. Accordingly section six of the constitution was amended. (see constitution) In accordance with the policy on the future state section 2 (c) was amended to read To formulate and implement a National Educational System which shall be relevant to the Nation.

Section 9 (i) was amended thus: for National Organiser Substitute Regional Director, subsection viii D & E deleted, Instead we have Head of Subcommittee

SYNPOSIUM:

An open symposium was arranged for the benefit of the local people. This was done after demand from the people who wanted to know more about the Black People's Convention and who wanted to offer their services to the convention. Close to five hundred people attended this symposium. The speakers were Mr D.J.K.Tjongorero, Mr Zolile Keke and Mr T. Farisani.

ELECTIONS

Mr D.Tjongorero acted as our electoral officer with the assistance of Rev. Mkhatswa. According to the new structure office bearers are selected from Regional Directors.

<u>REGION</u>	<u>DIRECTOR</u>
EAST RAND	G R Mokolen.
WEST RAND	K H Rachidi.
NATAL	T M Mazibuko.
N. TRANSVAAL	T Farisani.
E CAPE	M Mvovo.
W CAPE	M Landingwe.

OFFICE BEARERS:

President :	K H Rachidi.
Vice President :	M Mvovo.

GENERAL SECRETARY : T M Mazibuko.

PUBLICITY SECRETARY: G R Marolen.

Congress closed its deliberations by singing the National Anthem "Nkosi-sikele'li Africa". Rev Mayathula gave a vote of thanks and sincerely thanked the community, the host branch and the commendable members who attended the conference.

#### GENERAL POLICY - CURRENT ISSUES

Six motions on Current issues were tabled and unanimously adopted by congress.

#### DETENTE 1/75.

That this Congress noting the motives behind the detente policy of Vorster as being the following :-

1. To buy time for the white South African racist regime to maintain their present hold on the indigenous majority whilst making the rest of the world believe that they are genuinely involved in the process of finding a solution to the complex problems of race and political power that apply to the South African situation.
2. That South Africa under Vorster's minority white regime is taking advantage of the period of unsettlement to entrench its economic ties with as many states as possible in Africa by increasing their quota of Exports and Imports into and from Africa such that the level of dependence by Africa on South Africa is such as to dilute the attitude of Africa to South Africa in times of problems.
3. That the detente exercise of Vorster in this present form is designed to result in a split of Africa and its organ, the OAU.
4. That South Africa by "selling out" Zimbabwe and Namibia is hoping to "divert" Africa and the rest of the world from interfering in the internal policy of South Africa "apartheid" by claiming to be a legitimate African Government comparable to any other government in Africa.
5. That the detente policy should not be seen in isolation from the imperialist conspiracy which seeks to retain its economic and military stranglehold on Azania by posing Vorster as the defender of Western interests.

Therefore

a) Totally ~~rejects~~ <sup>rejects</sup> Vorster's hypocritical detente or outward looking policy as a move calculated to entrench the position of oppressors in this country at the expense of the oppressed majority.

b) Resolves to communicate the contents of this resolution to:-

i. OAU

ii. UNO

iii. Any country which is or does become involved in any manner whatsoever in the furtherance of this nefarious and deceptive detente exercise,

c) Calls upon all the members of the Black Community to heed the above and abide by the dictates of their Black aspirations, truth and convictions.

Mover: A. Ntuli.

Seconder: D. Landiswe.

ZIMBABWE 2/75.

That this Congress noting :-

1. The Kaunda - Vorster Detente manoeuvres that culminated in the constitutional talks held on the Victoria Falls,
2. That these talks eventually broke down because of the reluctance of Smith to allow the talks to reach a logical conclusion of majority rule,
3. The redherring attempts by Joshua Nkomo at assuming the so-called leadership of the African National Council and thereby throwing the future course of the talks into confusion,
4. The overwhelming support demonstrated by the people of Zimbabwe for the proper ANC and its leader Bishop Muzorewa,
5. The further confusion resulting from united moves by South Africa and Zambia to back the sectional approach of the sellout faction led by Nkomo.
6. That the standpoint adopted by the ANC is that majority rule as a factor in the talks is not negotiable,

Thereafter

a) To commend and encourage Bishop Muzorewa and the ANC to maintain the principled stand which represents the true wishes and aspirations of the majority of people of Zimbabwe,

- b) To urge the ANC to continually make overtures to the white Rhodesian minority government for resumption of legitimate constitutional talks until it becomes absolutely clear that the latter is not interested in the talks,
- c) That if and when the talks fail the ANC reserves right to determine for the people of Zimbabwe how best to work towards the realisation of their aspirations,
- d) To urge Nkomo in the interest of Justice, fairplay and avoidance of more bloodshed to cease creating confusion and further deviding the Black people of Zimbabwe by publicly apologising and rejoining and subjecting himself to the authority of the proper ANC.

Mover: A MOKCENA.  
 Seconder: M SERACHE.

TRANSKEI INDEPENDENCE

That this Congress noting:-

1. The sudden proposed so-called independence of the Transkei in Oct. 1976,
2. That this is a cunning manourvre by the racist regime give national and international credibility to the abhorrent policy of apartheid, precisely at a time when the process of liberation has shown itself to be inevitable in Africa and also at a time when the sub-continent has dramatically changed in favour of the struggle for national liberation.
3. That the so-called independence is nothing but yet another manouvre to "legalise" the alienation of the people of the Transkei from the rest of Azania which is their motherland, so as to give the denial of their rights in Azania a legal and constitutional backing.
4. That as the Transkei is preparing for the so-called independence it is virtually in a state of emergence through laws like Proclamation 400 and the second Bantu Laws Ammendment Bill such that only those movements and individuals who operate within the framework of the abhorrent policy of apartheid are allowed to influence public opinion, <sup>vis-a-vis</sup> the so-called independence.
5. And further noting that Azania is a one and indivisible country, Transkei included, that the illegitimate Vorster's regime has no right whether moral, constitutional or therwise of fragmenting the territo-

6. That people like Kaiser Matanzima and Knowledge Guzana and <sup>all those</sup> who participate in the leadership of these so-called homelands are nothing more than Vorster's prefects and cannot therefore claim to be the authentic voices of the oppressed black majority.

Therefore resolves

1. To reject unequivocally the proposed independence of the Transkei,
2. To pledge ourselves to working harder towards the solidarity of all people of Azania towards the liberation of one indivisible Azania.
3. To inform the world of black peoples attitude towards the so-called "independence" of the Transkei.
4. To communicate the contents of this resolution to all parties concerned namely, the Transkei Government, Republic of South Africa and the massmedia.

Mover : G. Wauchop.

Seconder: J. Rapheswa.

Sonny Leon 4/75

That this Congress noting

1. The refusal of Sonny Leon to sign the Coloured Representative Council budget handed to him by the Minister of Coloured Affairs, Mr Van der Merwe,
2. The subsequent action by the Minister of firing Mr Leon from his position as Executive Chairman of CRC,

That the South African Government had already armed themselves with legislation to run the affairs of Coloured people without co-operation of the CRC if necessary,

4. That the South African Government had already replaced Mr Leon with another chairman not elected even through the limited machinery of the CRC who is willing to bend down to all the wishes of the Minister of Coloured Affairs,

Therefore resolved to express the following sentiment:-

1. That the Black Peoples' Convention has long been telling black people in Azania that no matter how well meaning a person may be he becomes easily swallowed by the machinery of oppression and gets quickly discarded when he does not follow the dictates of his bosses,

2. That Mr Sonny Leon commendable though his stand may have been, has only himself to blame for having allowed his name to be soiled by participating in the CRC,
3. That at this particular stage it behoves the Labour Party to disband completely and join forces with all the oppressed people under the banner of the Black People's Convention,

We further resolve:

- i) To call upon the people of Azania to reiterate their principled rejection of all institutions of apparent political activity which are nevertheless calculated to frustrate their real aspiration towards liberation and,
- ii) To warn the Black people from accepting the so-called "Black Alliance" that these opportunist collaborators are conspiring to organise.

Mover : M.J.Kgokong.

Seconder : M.T.Manthata.

NAMIBIA 5/75.

This Congress noting that :-

1. The continued illegal occupation of the international territory of Namibia by the white minority South African regime in the face of UNO and OAU resolution and the World court opinion of 1971 terminating South African mandate to administer the territory and also in the face of continued objection to same by authentic voice of the Namibian people,
2. The continued fragmentation of the territory of Namibia into the so-called homelands in pursuance of the abhorrent policy of apartheid even against the will of the people of Namibia,
3. That it is an inalienable right of the people of Namibia to shape their destiny without interference of the Vorster regime or any other country,
4. That it is sheer greed and expansionism that drives Vorster's regime to cling to the territory at all costs,

That the ethnically oriented constitutional talks are nothing but a farce and an attempt to create a state in Namibia which shall be a ~~constituted~~ <sup>SATELITE</sup> of South Africa guaranteeing the continued exploitation of the natural resources by South African monopolies and their Western allies,

Their illegal arrest, detentions, banishments, bannings, imprisonment, tortures, convictions and general harassment of those who struggle for a unitary liberated state of Namibia are inhuman,

8. That the liberation of Namibia is in fact one more step towards the liberation of Azania and of the African continent as a whole,

Therefore resolves:

1. To categorically condemn the continued illegal occupation of Namibia by whites facists South African regime,
2. To declare our solidarity with the Namibian people in their struggle for national liberation and further remind them that their victory is our victory and that of the African continent as a whole,
3. That this resolution be conveyed to UNO, OAU and all relevant bodies.

#### ANGOLA 6/75.

That the Congress noting:-

1. The internicine warfare that has eruted<sup>p</sup> in Angola in the wake of the withdrawal from that former colony by Protugal.
2. That the civil war going on in Angola is essentially a domestic affair amongst the indigenous people in Angola who are anxious to establish a government best suited for themselves,
3. The intervantion of certain foreign powers in Angola, thereby compounding the problem,
4. That presently there is a debate in South Africa amongst white political parties about the wisdom or otherwise of involvment in the affairs of Angola.

Therefore

- a) Condemns this unwarranted international interference in the affairs of an essentially African country,
- b) Calls upon the OAU and UNC to insist on immedate withdrawal from Angola by all countries involved,
- c) Strongly warns the white South African Government of the dangerous consequences that may accoe from the involvement in the affairs of an essentia-

11.

d) Recognise the Luanda-based government of the MPLA as the legitimate government of Angola whose sole prerogative it shall be to come to terms with other liberation movements operating in Angola and to steer the country to eventual unity and prosperity.

And further resolve to:-

Communicate these sentiments to OAU and the UNO.

Mover : M. Mulligan.

Seconder : Dr M. Ramphele.

1. Registration
2. Welcome address by Rev J. Gawe
3. Presidential address
4. Work Papers- Interim Executive sitting.

SUNDAY 14/12/75

5. Interim Executive Report
6. Basic Policy- Commissions sitting & Reports:
  - (a) Black Consciousness
  - (b) Black Communalism
  - (c) Relations- National & International
  - (d) Government Created Platforms
7. Evening:

Address by guest speaker: Mr D.J.K. Tjongarero

MONDAY 15/12/75

8. Commission-- Projection: Future State
9. Structure - Commission report
10. General Policy:- Current Issues:
  - Detente
  - Independence of East Asians
  - Sport
11. Motions:-
  - Detente
  - Zimbabwe
  - Transkei Independence
  - Sonny Leon
  - Namibia

12. Evening-Symposium: Speakers- D.J.K. Tjongarero  
Zolile Keke

13. Amendments to Constitution
14. Elections

1.  
MINUTES OF THE FOURTH BLACK PEOPLE'S CONVENTION NATIONAL  
CONGRESS HELD AT K.W.T. ON 13/12/75

1. Announcements (i) Registration

2. Roll Call - Delegates present:

1. Johannesburg: G. Wauchop  
A. Mokoena  
N. Serache
2. Maritzburg : S. Mkhize  
C. Ngcobo
3. Qonce (K.W.T): A. Ntuli  
T. Mbanjwa  
M. Ramphele
4. P. Elizabeth : D. Pityana  
T. Mbengashe  
M. Gekisani
5. Cape Town : M. Mullingan  
D. Landingwe  
P. Jones
6. Daveyton : J. Rapheswa

Representatives:

1. SASO- D. Mji; A. Torres; N. Dubazana;  
J. Kgokong
2. NAYO- Sent apologies
3. SASA- Z. Sizani

Interim Executive Committee:

- President- Tshweuwani Farisani  
Secretary General (Acting)- Hlaku Rachidi  
Regional Directors- Tizzah Mazibuko (Natal)  
-George Marolen (Rand)  
-Mxolisi Mvovo (Eastern Cape)

3. The hosting priest Rev. James Gawe gave a welcoming speech after he had made a short prayer. He indicated his joy at BPC having its Conference at Ginsberg, Kingwilliamstown amidst the Bantustan confusion. He said that he believed that the conference would leave a mark in the community. We should work together as brothers and sisters' to highlight the truth that would set us free.

Presidential Address-

The president Mr T. Farisani made his official address after giving a short introductory address which started with the singing of "Unzima Lomthwalo" and a power sign was raised in honour of all those who died and those who are/ were victimised in the struggle by the powers-that-be.

The president read out a poem entitled 'Azania shall be free'. Before he could commence with his formal address he also read out a poem 'Commitment'

Vote of thanks was given by the President of SASO Mr Diliza Mji.

Sunday(14/12/75)

INTERIM EXECUTIVE REPORT FOR CONGRESS

This Interim Executive Report is tabled collectively outlining the specifics that were experienced by the Convétion. The report rules out individual and departmental reports which must of necessity be compiled for Conference. An attempt is made to outline this report in periodical sequence.

(i) Period between September 1974-December 1974

The Executive successfully arranged a Semi-Con which was held in Hammanskraal during the long weekend of September. The Semi-Con was fundamentally an open invitation to the Black Community to participate in BPC and generally contribute in reviving the spirit of the Convétion as well as an eyeopener to new approaches. While the National Council sat separately to deal with on hand issues, three Commissions were sitting tackling three broad aspects namely:

- Student worker relations
- Education for development and education for liberation

Recommendations from these commissions were thouroughly discussed by attendants. Tentative dicisions were referred to the National Council for further discussions. Unfortunately, the Interim Committee cannot give a full report on the Semi-Con because our head office was broken into and the executive detained.

A fortnight after holding the Semi-Con, a symposium was arranged in Durban. It was a booming success.

(ii) Viva- Frelimo Rallies

The Colonial Regime in Mozambique felt that the strain from the barrels of the determined Frelimo's and Portugal declared to end its rule in that colony. Mozambique's transitional government was destined to take over on the 25th of September 1974. The spirit of the victory by Frelimo's urged BPC to organise rallies in solidarity with the felloe strugglers. The rallies were destined to be nationwide. Unfortunately, the rallies were banned after a White citizen categorically put it to the powers-that-be that the rallies were not in the inerest of Whites(National interest)

These rallies were well advertised and hungry Blacks were eager and anxious to attend them and be 'addressed by Frelimo speakers'. About 4,000 people converged at Curries Fountain Stadium where they were

dispersed by police dogs. There also followed a countrywide swoop where about 100 BPC members were raided and searched. Initially those detained were charged under Riotous Assemblies Act and ultimately about 40 senior members of the Black Consciousness Movements were held incommunicado under the Terrorism Act (Section Six).

When the detainees were charged at the end of January 1975, the case which is still running in Pretoria, it became crystal clear that Black Consciousness- the living philosophy is on trial. We are convinced that BPC members are watching the trial with keen interests.

It is not amazing that at the very same time when BPC organised rallies, the Portuguese organised one in Johannesburg with full support of the power-that-be. This protest rally was not banned. It was glorified instead.

The sudden apathy and indifference resulted in a semi-lull. Nevertheless, the organization got the best of publicity ever. Those charged are a symbol of determination depicted in their stand and principles. They are an inspiration to the Black masses.

It was during this period that our head office was burgled and due to lack of funds it was closed to date. We here present and the large Black masses are an encouragement, a source of pride, firmness, and solidarity to the families of the detained, accused and banned. This is the time for the display of Black valour - the living ideology of Black Consciousness- the Victor.

(ii) Period between January 1975-July 1975

It was during this period that a desperate need for Black people to stand closer together became necessary. The President had just arrived from overseas and after meeting members a Working Committee was formed. The first important assignment undertaken by this Committee was to rally around the country with a view to call up a National Council. A successful National Council meeting was held. Hammanskraal in July 1975.

About seven regional branches attended this Council meeting. Representatives from other fledging branches also attended as observers. Unfortunately, Natal failed to show up. The working Committee was

mandated to continue as members of the Interim Executive with the inclusion of the Regional Directors. Of prime importance, the Council decided to put 'on trial basis' a structure that regionised the whole country. As a specific committee is working on this aspect, this will not be detailed in this report.

(iii) Period between July 1975- November 1975

Despite seeing BPC moving forward, the Interim Executive became very much concerned about the Natal region. After conscientious attempts to involve this powerful region a successful regional meeting was arranged and held in Pietermaritzburg early in October. Representatives from Pietermaritzburg, Maphumulo, and observers from Kwa Mashu attended. The Natal Region was revived. A regional director was elected there and then. Attempts were then made to organise a branch at Mafeking and a conscientious revival in the Orange Free State. These attempts are in an embryonic stage. A branch in Krugersdorp is budding up, whilst the Johannesburg Central branch needs to be divided into more than three branches.

CONFERENCE THEME-PERSISTENCE AND FORTITUDE

It goes without saying that much as we can choose and enlist numerous themes for this conference, this is one amongst the many themes relevant to this situation. This theme can be divided into many perspectives but what remains distinctly stuck to it is that BPC has gone through thick and thin. Since the inaugural conference in July 1972, the Convention has suffered extensively from the "hands of the system".

Amongst the Ad Hoc Committee members Mthuli ka Shezi lost his life protecting the dignity of our mothers in Germiston station against the terrorist attitude of those who claim eternal superiority. Brother Shezi went down in honour as the first BPC martyr. He was then busy organising the first conference of BPC. We cannot afford to forget him. "osibudi Mangena was the next victim. Charged on a fabricated "terroristic" charge he is serving five years in Robben Island. Bannings restrictions were imposed on Drake Koka (the first Secretary General), Saths Cooper (the first Public Relations Officer), Sipho Buthelezi (Second Secretary General), Chris Mokoditso (Second Vice President). Today Zithulele Gindi (3rd Secretary General), Nkwenkwe Nkomo (3rd National Organiser) and Saths Cooper are facing charges under draconian terrorism Act. The

enumerated victims mentioned above are the only national office bearers. A number of members have fallen victims of the repressive laws because of their involvement. BPC does not also forget her courageous sons and students who are standing for their liberation. Alongside her in SASO, SASM, NAYO etc the noble rest.

The trend followed by the powers-that-be has been to cut off the heads and rest in the belief that nothing will bud. The Conviction is proudly going on and the living philosophy of Black Consciousness our goal to liberation is on sight. Surely, it requires courage, boldness and persistence to follow this our path. BPC has done just that.

Now it has come to a point where we have to look back and reconstruct ourselves in correcting what adversely hindered our progress. This is not a reactionary attitude but an initiative outlook. We need to clarify ourselves most explicitly for what we stand for in a philosophical approach. Our ideology is not foreign and it suffers from no foreign influence, hence we need to defend it factually, vehemently and convincingly- this our innate ideology.

Hence this conference will follow an entirely different trend. It will go in Black history as a formative kind of conference with serious and constructive ideals put together to mend loopholes. We are here to specify our stand in specific and certain terms, for our ideology to be the "people's meal", we need to relate our philosophical stand with bread and butter issues. We need to relate our philosophical outlook with what affects man in the street the Black oppressed rural worker. Our pronouncements must be simple logical and down to earth.

#### The Press and related Mass Media

The Conviction has and still depends on the White Press to outline its philosophy and stand. Very few newspapers accept our press statements released basically on current issues as related to Black. Nevertheless the statements are always and often edited to a point where a distorted interpretation is publicised. It is, however inevitable that this kind of attitude is displayed. The Union of Black Journalists deserves a pat on the back for their efforts to have views publicised, whilst we must take cognisance of the

## PROJECTION: FUTURE STATE

We, the black people of Azania, under the guidance and leadership of the Black People's Convention, recognise the need to radically change the Azania society to be in keeping with the wishes, aspirations, hopes, interests, ideas and ideals, of the majority of the people of our country.

We therefore are striving and working towards the establishment of a society in which:

1. All sane adult persons who are citizens of our country are accorded the practise irrespective of colour, race, religion, status in life or any other ~~distruction~~ <sup>shall be</sup> of that nature;  
All sane adult person participate in the making of the laws under which they live through our people's National Assembly which shall be a body constituted of duly elected representatives of our people;
- \* 3. All people are equal in the eyes of the law irrespective of colour, race, religion, status in life or any other such ~~distruction~~ <sup>shall</sup>;
4. All citizens of our country, form united nation irrespective of ethnic origin, language differences, skin colour or any other such ~~distruction~~;
- \* 5. All citizens shall be protected each from ~~exploitaton~~ <sup>exploitation</sup> by the other; ~~each person~~.

### LAND:

6. Ownership of all the land, sea and air space shall be vested in the state;
7. All citizens with reasonable need for land on which to have a home shall be allocated proportionate land for their purpose;
8. Distribution of land to organised groups be it for sporting, religions, farming, industrial, trading, commercail or any other such purposes shall be done in accordance with a central national plans;

### EDUCATION

9. A programme of rapid elimination of illiteracy is designed and implemented;
10. Education is free and compulsory for all citizens

that this conference must of necessity embark upon. Honourable members, Black Consciousness is posing a challenge and we must accept the challenge.

Report of the Interim Executive Committee  
Adopted after discussions and amendments.

6. Breaking up into Commissions to discuss Basic Policy:

- (a) Black Consciousness
- (b) Black Communalism
- (c) Government Created Platforms
- (d) Relations: National & International

8

POLICY ON BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

We congregated here at this 4th Congress of the Black People's Convention, do hereby accept the following as our common policy on the philosophy of Black Consciousness:

(i) We define the term Black to include all those who are discriminated against by law and tradition, that is, politically, economically, and socially and who truly adhere to sentiments as expressed below.

(ii) We recognise the essence of Black Consciousness as ,  
- The realisation by Blacks of their liberation and to operate as a group to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude.

- The determination to expose the myth that Black is an aberration from the normal which is white.

- The reconstruction by Blacks of their own Black value system and the attempts by Blacks to see themselves as defined by themselves and not as defined by others.

- The rejection of value systems that seek to make the Black man a foreigner in the country of his birth and dehumanise him.

- The attempt by Blacks to rid themselves of negative notions resulting in an inferiority complex and to infuse within the Black community pride in themselves, their efforts, their value system, their culture, their religion, and their outlook towards life.

(iii) The philosophy of Black consciousness seeks to strive for a totality of involvement by all Black people in the process of re-examination, re-orientation and we recognise it as an inherent duty of all Blacks to develop a proper awareness of their situation and to be constantly involved in the process of finding solutions to their problems.

(iv) We reject all negative names like , non-white etc. as derogatory and resolve that no blacks shall use or accept usage of such names against themselves.

(v) In a plural society where Blacks constitute the deprived and denigrated component of the total, we recognise black solidarity as an important and integral part of Black consciousness. We define Black solidarity as:

- The coming together of blacks for the specific purpose of solving a particular problem occurring in time using their numbers and their blackness in building up a strong power base.

- The rejecting of the overplayed importance of sectional tribal or religious differences so often exploited by the believers of divide and rule policy.

- We see solidarity as only relevant whilst Blacks, who constitute a numerical majority, are still a political and economical minority i.e. whereas Black consciousness is an ongoing and all embracing philosophy reflecting on all aspects of the Black community's life, Black solidarity is a means to an end relevant only in the course of working towards liberation.

(vi) We reject the equation of Black consciousness with Black Power. We believe that Black Power is applicable in an already open society where Blacks constitute a minority and can only impinge their wishes on the dominant groups through total harnessing of their numbers. We believe that in Azania no open society exists and that this can only be created by Blacks once the Government is rightfully elected by the majority.

(vii) We recognise the promotion and preservation of authentic Black culture as an important aspect of black consciousness. We believe that a true set of value system for Blacks can be extracted

from the historical evolution of the culture of the Black people and can be used in whatever innovations Blacks make in modernising their culture. We reject the derogatory conception that a call for Black culture implies a "return to the bush" demand.

(viii) We note with dismay that corruption and dilution of Black values have resulted through Blacks attempting to emulate whites because of their dominant cultural position. Whilst not rejecting all that is white, we however, contempt the escalation of the decent subculture so common in Black urban areas as a result of economic conditions and Blacks aspiring to be white.

(ix) We believe that authentic Black culture can be successfully projected through art forms, theatre, literature, music, sculpture etc.

(x) We reject the imprisoning notions implanted in the minds of Black children about themselves and their society through a twisted educational system that is entirely based on white values. We believe that education is a process of inculcating and transmitting a cultural heritage, acquiring knowledge and ideals and developing critical awareness in an individual.

(xi) We reject the distortion of history that Black people have to learn at school and deliberately misleading implications that before 1652 Blacks had no history.

(xii) We proudly declare that it is only through a black consciousness that the inferiority complexes of Blacks and superiority of whites can be eradicated. We believe that a truly open society in Azania all people can live harmoniously.

(xiii) We refuse to accept the given impression that Azania is a European island in the continent of Africa when Blacks are allowed to suffer peacefully.

(xiv) Black Consciousness shall strive to achieve the following goals:-

- To inculcate amongst blacks a sense of pride in themselves and a desire and eagerness to analyse their problems and offer solutions.
- To break the stranglehold that white society has on privileges, wealth and opportunity and to create a truly open plural society in which all persons shall be treated as equal before the law.
- To eradicate racial prejudice in all its forms and to promote proper understanding amongst the various peoples in the open society to be established.

### Commission report on Black Consciousness

Unanimously adopted by Congress after amendments were effected.

(2) Commission on Black Communalism presented its report and after some deliberations Congress adopted the report in principle. However Congress instructed the Executive to form itself into a permanent Committee on Black Communalism which would make further study and give more details on Black Communalism.

The report was as follows:-

## REPORT ON BLACK COMMUNALISM

The world today is enmeshed in a vicious economic dilemma in which, while today there is enough wealth in the world, side by side with this enormous wealth and comfort for sections of the people, millions around the world live in want and misery.

The reason is not far to seek; and it is that the economics of the world today re-motivated by materialistic systems which are committed to and idealise personal wealth and successes, and not the welfare of the people.

The only answer we can see is a policy based on Black Communalism, which is the antithesis to the exploitative systems by which the masses of the people's labour is exploited for the enrichment of a few and give them power to manipulate in a grip that is relentless, at will.

Black Communalism, the philosophy of our fathers is based on the basic respect of the Black man for the sacred value of the human individual as the basis for the existence of the communities and governments.

The political philosophy of the black man can be termed 'freedom and responsibility', which emphasises responsibility of every member of the group as well as for the group as a whole.

The Black man is an individual who 'belongs'. He does not exist in isolation. He does not speak in terms of 'my' but in terms of 'our'.

He says "Yikithi laphaya" (that is our home) not "that is my house".

The basic structure of his society is the family and the extended family which extends beyond the consanguinal extended family, to embrace the tribe, the nation and the society.

It is evident that in such a philosophy everyman is your brother and cannot be used for private gain of another. On the contrary everyone and society itself is under obligation to ensure that every member shall be provided for.

In this society there are no slaves and lords. It is a free society which gives man every opportunity to develop their talents and their means to the fullest but constrains them to exploit others.

If a man by his basic industry has accumulated more wealth than he and his immediate family need automatically shares his substances for the benefit of the needy e.g. through the 'aisa' 'mafisa' custom.

In the exploitative systems such individuals would not only strive for monopoly but would be assisted by the system and able to enslave others.

### Basic Tenets Inherent in Black Communalism

1. The state belongs to the people—all the people and every individual is the estegorical father and mother of every member and inhabitant.
2. The Government exists for the welfare of all its people. It is an indictment on the government if any of its members—the people—shall be in want and when the Government fails to provide for all its people either by design or incompetence, it earns itself the right to be dismissed.
3. Land, as the basic factor of production and sustenance belongs to the

as a whole and may not be alienated. It is held in trust for the people by the Government, which has the duty to see that its use is profitably and equitably distributed among productive members of the community for the welfare of the individuals, families and the community as a whole.

While individual members deserve the fruits of their industry and ingenuity in the use of their land which they owe to the state in the community for its use, consequent of this provision, no individual may use his personal wealth for the enslavement of his fellows but is a steward of the community.

Principally the economic welfare of the community is basically the responsibility of the state itself. It shall be incumbent on the state to be the initiator of industry and to use the factors and means of production provided that individuals may individually or corporately undertake such industry or production as they may profitably undertake, without initiating the common welfare- basic motive to the philosophy of communalism.

While it will be the duty of the state to secure opportunity for all its members to engage in productive efforts on their own behalf, it shall also be the duty of the state to see to it that every one of its members shall have the necessary training such that they are able to contribute to production and making a living for their personal and national good.

This means that education and training shall be compulsory and free, so that the community according

Labour is the means whereby men earn a livelihood and it is a responsibility and duty of every member of society. While men shall be trained as of right and according to their talents for work and shall be free to sell their labour suitably. No man shall be exploited for the good of another. Labour policies and laws shall ensure that every man shall earn a wage that enables him to make a decent living for himself and his dependents as an independent member of the society and not as an appendage of boss or a company.

Business and industry exist for the welfare of the community to supply services and goods to the best advantage of the community and should subservient that purpose consciously and as legal and social obligation at par with legal and social.

It is obvious that the system in which we live today is not inspired by the motivations implied in this philosophy of life we espouse and even our own communities are losing effective allegiances to it. The value of man in the current society is measured by the material possessions rather than the integrity of a person and his own value to himself and the community.

8. It is incumbent on the Black People's Convention to undertake a formulation of these basic values of Black Communalism, which have been the mainstay of our society from time immemorial with investigation and scientific research for these are imbedded in our cultures and folkways.

It is necessary and obligatory also to conscientise the community and its institutions as to the tenets, values and consequent practices so that our society shall be mobilised into the new motivation and to brainwash the community of the wrong and alien ways, relations and thinking which held our people in bondage and paralysis over the years.

It shall be explicit but that recognising our family bond and common obligations we shall hold our hands in implicit co-operation of a free and happy, egalitarian society as an individual and common commitment

### (3) Relations : National and International

The Black People's Convention, being a movement working for the total liberation of all Black people, has the following as its policy on relations:

#### National:

1. The movement shall maintain positive relations with all those national organisations, be they cultural, religious, student, youth or otherwise, that subscribe to the philosophy of Black Consciousness as defined and understood by the movement. Relations with these organisations by BPC shall be at the level of consultation on matters of common concern taking on invitation in their occasions or projects, helping them wherever asked by them to do so if this is possible, co-operation with them for the purpose of developing and spreading the philosophy of Black Consciousness, exchange of material for the purpose of developing and spreading the philosophy of Black Consciousness exchange of material for the purposes of information and any other activities related to the above mentioned.
2. The movement shall also maintain positive relations with all those groups who by their nature cannot be national but who nevertheless subscribe to the philosophy of Black Consciousness as defined and understood by the movement. The relations with these groups will be at the same level as for national organisations referred to above.
3. Furthermore B.P.C. shall maintain positive informal relations with those national groups that operate outside the framework of the apartheid policy but who nevertheless do not subscribe to the philosophy of Black Consciousness as defined and understood by the movement. Relations with these groups will be on the basis of expounding the philosophy of Black Consciousness to them and its relevance to the liberation of the Black People in this country. For this purpose their open meetings, conferences and projects shall be the movement's point of focus. In this way the movement will be able to keep in touch with the membership of these groups from whom it must gain not only membership but also general support.
4. Relationship with other organisations, national and international are a sole prerogative of the National Executive.
5. The movement notes the historical presence of other political movements and recognised their right of existence while not maintaining any relationship with them.
6. The movement shall relate with whatever organisations it deems fit, to relay the true feelings of Blacks in this country to the outside world.
7. This policy on relations is designed to enable the movement to have that broad base that is so essential in a movement to have, that purports to work for the liberation of my people. At the same time it is designed to maintain a sufficiently clear stance about the whole white racist <

Commission's report on Relations

Adopted unanimously.

(4) Commission on Government created platforms

Report from the commission on Government created platforms was tabled and adopted by Congress.

The report was as follows:

GOVERNMENT CREATED PLATFORMS

The Black People's Convention, a political movement working for the liberation of all Black People in the country recognises government created platforms e.g. Bantustans, Coloured Representative Council and South African Indian Council, for what they really are, namely:

1. White racists of this country, and white racists alone are the sole architects of these platforms.
2. They are created for the express purpose of diverting the energy of the Black People from the true struggle for national liberation to racialist, tribalist and generally divisive political undertaking which at best keep the real and true goal of total liberation out of immediate sight and attention by Black people and at worst serve to bolster the white racist regime of those who created them.
3. They are a built in safety valve in the balloon of Black frustration through which the steam is let out so that the balloon should not explode in the face of the oppressor.
4. They are designed to cheat the black man into participating in his own oppression because of built in safeguards that make it impossible for any Black person using them to liberate himself.
5. The creation of these separate development platforms is aimed at hoodwinking the international community into accepting the racist policy of the white regime as a sincere programme designed in the interest of the Black People and any participation in these platforms by Blacks can only give credibility to the fraudulence, to the detriment of the Black people.
6. They are designed such that those black people who participate in them are the ones who soil their hands by doing the dirty work designed and planned by white racists.

It is against this background that BPC

1. Rejects government created platforms
2. Has opted to operate as a political movement outside the framework of these institutions
3. Believes:
  - (a) That Blacks have an inalienable right to

determine their destiny.

(b) In the solidarity of all black people irrespective of ethnic origin, prescribed residential areas or religious affiliation.

It is in this solidarity that our power as oppressed people lies.

(c) The whole of Azania is the homeland of all its inhabitants and that no group has a right to partition our country to suit their own selfish motives.

(d) In a Unitary state in which all inhabitants of Azania form one unit, one nation whose affairs shall be run by the government which must be representative of the people of Azania.

#### 7. Evening:

In the evening, the Guest Speaker Mr Dan Kaova Tjongarero the Publicity Secretary of the Namibian National Convention, addressed Congress.

He was welcomed by the President Mr Farisani and introduced to the people by the Secretary-General.

A vote of thanks was given by Aubrey Mokoena.

The Secretary-General then read a letter from the All Africa Council of Churches written by its General Secretary Canon Burgess Carr accepting an invitation to be the guest speaker for Conference. He failed to show up for reasons not known to the Convention.

Monday 15/12/75

#### 8. Commission on Future State projected by BPC tabled its report.

##### Projection: Future State.

We, the Black People of Azania, under the guidance and leadership of the Black People's Convention, recognise the need to radically change the Azania society to be in keeping with the wishes, aspirations, hopes, interests, ideas and ideals of the majority of the people of our country.

We therefore are striving and working towards the establishment of a society in which:

1. All sane adults who are citizens of our country are accorded the ~~practice~~ irrespective of colour, race religion, status in life or any other consideration of that nature.

2. All sane adult persons participate in the making of the laws under which they live through our people's National Assembly which shall be a body constituted of duly elected representatives of our people.

3. All people shall be equal in the eyes of the law irrespective of colour, race, religion, status in life or any other such consideration of that nature;

4. All citizens of our country form a united nation irrespective of ethnic origin, language differences, skin colour or any other such consideration.

5. All citizens shall be protected each from exploitation by other.

#### LAND

6. Ownership of the land, sea and air space shall be vested in the state;

7. All citizens with reasonable need for land on which to have a home shall be allocated proportionate land for their purpose;

8. Distribution of land to organised groups be it for sporting, religions, farming, industrial, trading, commercial or any other such purposes shall be done in accordance with a central plans.

#### EDUCATION

9. Education shall be an instrument of national unity.

10. Education is geared towards raising the cultural social, economic and intellectual level of all citizens.

11. The general content of education shall be geared towards the promotion of self reliance, a high level of critical awareness, understanding the community and its problems, a sense of positive self identity;

12. Education shall be geared towards the destruction of imperialist, racialist, tribalistic, sectionalist, colonialist and neo-colonialist notions;

13. Emphasis in general education shall be in the following areas:

(i) With respect to languages, there should be one international language and one national vernacular language which shall be selected by the People's Political structure.

(ii) Environmental studies touching on Geography, History, Economics, Politics and constitutional structures mainly of our country, but also as compared with States in Africa and others throughout the world.

(iii) Humanities shall include social anthropology, sociology, and elementary community development.

(iv) Basic science shall include arithmetic, mathematics, elementary physics and chemistry; comparative economic systems.

14. A programme of rapid elimination of illiteracy shall be designed and implemented;

15. Elementary education shall be free and compulsory for all citizens.

17. All teachers in all standards shall be specially trained to specialise in the various fields specified above.

### RELIGION

18. There shall be religious freedom, but control shall have to be exercised over the proliferation of different churches, for this purpose a credentials council shall be set up. All ministers of religion shall be civil servants, paid by the State directly.

### HUMAN RIGHTS

19. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations shall be observed and respected;  
20. Our country is aligned neither to the West nor the East but shall see itself as part of the Third World;

### HEALTH.

21. Health services are the primary responsibility of the State;  
22. Professional medical Councils shall be recognised and the standards set by these upheld in the rendering of medical services; all medical and para-medical personnel shall be civil servants;

### DEFENCE.

23. Every sane and healthy adult person shall form part of an effective national defence force;  
24. No use of national territory by foreign forces;  
25. Peaceful collaboration with all nations of the world on the basis of principles of mutual respect, national sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-aggression and non-interference in domestic affairs, equality and reciprocity of advantages, peaceful co-existence;  
26. Development of economic and cultural relations with all nations whose governments respect the principles mentioned in 25 above;

### SOCIAL WELFARE.

27. The welfare of the handicapped shall be the primary responsibility of the state;  
28. National social welfare shall cover care for the following categories, for which there shall be state-aided societies and institutes: crippled, deaf and dumb, mentally retarded, blind, aged, orphans, people with certain specific diseases and any other deserving categories;  
29. Special emphasis shall be laid on the development of whole communities, especially in cases of disasters like floods, fires, drought, famine, earthquakes and disease epidemics;  
30. People under conditions of social aberrations like alcoholism, drug addiction and habitual prostitution shall be taken care of and be rehabilitated through the state machinery;  
31. All economically active citizens shall contribute to the welfare of the handicapped;  
32. A Social Welfare Council sets out standards for the rendering of social welfare services and help in shaping of social welfare policy;

### FARMING.

33. Farming shall be practised in a collective communal way rather than an individual way;

34. For the purpose of 33 above, rural communities are recognised such that the total land available for farming is distributed equally and evenly among them;
35. Farming shall be aimed at raising and maintaining a high level of produce for purposes of self sufficiency;

INDUSTRY, TRADE, COMMERCE.

36. Monopoly in industry, trade and commerce shall not be allowed to play a major role in our economy;
37. The principles of communalism are institutionalised into industry, trade and commerce;

LAW.

39. All citizens shall have the right to fair trial and access to legal defence and to this end the state shall:
- (i) set up legal advice bureaux with qualified lawyers who will interpret all legal matters to every citizen requesting this;
  - (ii) lawyers shall be employed as civil servants to afford all citizens equal opportunity of good legal representation :

Report on future state adopted by Congress.

5. COMMISSION REPORT ON STRUCTURE was tabled. The report was as follows:-