

M E M O R A N D U M

SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS MOVEMENT (SASM)

1.

Gedurende die begin van 1971 het South African Students Organisation (SASO) in sy jaarverslag gemeld dat dié organisasie deur die bestuur van African Students Movement (ASM) genooi is om hulle te adviseer oor organisasiewerk en prioriteite van swart skoliere. SASO-jaarverslag meld o.a.:-

"ASM is a comparatively young group formed by young school children who became concerned about the gap between high school and university in our educational system. They also noted that the bulk of black students left school in matric and some even earlier. They realise that this dropout rate has to be curbed. They hope to organise debates, public speaking lectures and seminars on black universities, how they are constituted, how they function, student administration and their role in the black community. They have eyes on unity - in the school ranks, competitive spirit in sport and classroom, cultural and social events and generally aiding students with their problems. They need our whole support and encouragement in their small beginnings. They have expressed a keen interest in SASO and its programmes and would like to be contacted about planned community development schemes and would be pleased to be involved in such ventures. They shall be asking us to help them realise their objects. All this is a very encouraging event and calls for our support. What more do we want!"

ASM het in Soweto, Johannesburg bestaan onder leiding van Thomas MANTHATA en Peter LENKOE.

2.

Gedurende die einde van September 1971 het Peter LENKOE skoliere aan "Wright School of Religion", Vereeniging toegesprek en gesê dat ASM 'n nutgestigte organisasie is

wat daarop gemik is om studente en leerkragte aan te spoor om hulle stemme teen die regering te laat hoor; lede van hierdie organisasie eise aan die regering moet stel vir o.a. beter geriewe op onderwysgebied, gelyke besoldiging vir gelyke werk en op baie ander terreine waar die nie-blankes by die blankes agter is; Witwatersrandse Universiteit= studente by wyse van demonstrasies ens. optree en die regering niks aan hulle kan doen nie; ASM 'n uitvloeisel is van SASO maar ASM 'n outonome politieke organisasie is; studiebeurse word in die vooruitsig gestel, maar waar fondse vandaan sal kom is nog 'n geheim.

3.

1/6/72: Matthews MODISE, onder-voorsitter van ASM, Orlando-Oos Hoërskool het vergaderings gehou en by het vorm V skoliere meegedeel dat geleerde Bantoes niks doen vir die bevryding van die swart onderdrukte nie en dat dit die plig is van ASM om die swartman te bevry.

4.

Junie 1972: Justin FANTISI, onderwyser aan Jordan Bantu Hoërskool, distrik Vereeniging het aan leerlinge by die betrokke skool gesê dat ASM deur SASO tot stand gebring is en dat dit die rol van SASO op hoërskoolvlak moet vervul.

5.

30/3/73: B. LENKOE het 'n persverklaring vrygestel m.b.t. die aard en oogmerke van SASM waarin hy o.a. gesê het:

"SASM is a High School, organisation attempting at increasing the role of responsibility amongst black high school students. The main purpose of why SASM was formed is to bring black high school students together and to orientate them to hard, discipline school work which they have come for in schools. Presently SASM is intending to conduct a winter school project for its matric students during the school vacation in Soweto. Although SASM is still operating within Soweto high school, one of its endeavours is to spread nationalism within high schools."

6.

22/4/73: 'n Bespreking het plaasgevind in die YWCA-saal, Dube, Johannesburg, oor die vorm van 'n kenteken vir SASM op T/hempies. Die voorstel is gemaak dat drie swart koppe wat Indiër, Bantoe en Kleurling uitbeeld op 'n swart liggaam waarvan beide arms met kettings vasgeboei is en die middelste skakel gebreek is, as kenteken op die hempies sal verskyn met die woorde "Solidarity" daaronder. Aan die agterkant van die T/hempie sal 'n kaart van Suid-Afrika met 'n brandende fakkel in die middel en bokant die kaart, die woorde "SASM", verskyn.

7.

20/6/73: SASM het 1 200 eksemplare van SASM - April '73 tydskrif laat druk wat teen 20c per eksemplaar aan skoliere te koop aangebied was. In hierdie dokument word die doel en oogmerke van SASM soos volg uiteengesit:

"AIMS AND OBJECTS:

1. To confer with the principals in their principals' council on matters affecting students.
2. To raise funds for educational purposes.
3. To appeal for assistance from the Community for education.
4. To encourage and promote love of education.
5. To relieve the shortage of schools and teachers.
6. To organise additional tuition for students during school days and vacations.
7. To give assistance and recommendations where schools are under construction or to be renovated.
8. To encourage youth to be an asset to the community.
9. To organise work campaigns.
10. To work jointly with other student bodies/movements or Black Organisations/Associations who are in sympathy with the aims and objects of SASM.
11. To promote a sense of unity and awareness among Black students."

Die SASM-tydskrif is vanaf SASO-kantore te nr. 608 Pharmacy Huis, Jorrisenstrat, Johannesburg, die hoofkantoor van die Christelike Instituut, versprei.

8.

28/8/72: LENKOE het die S.A. Raad van Kerke om fondse gevra vir die hou van 'n SASM-vergadering te Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre, Roodepoort, onder die dekmantel van SASO, vanaf 1 - 4/9/72. As rede vir die hou van die vergadering het hy gesê:

"The basis for calling this seminar is to determine some type of student unity amongst High and Secondary School pupils, or to determine an ad-hoc committee elected here and to report back at some time about possibilities of this very union of High and Secondary School pupils.

Reason for this situation perhaps has been there through lack of constant communication within Black High and Secondary Clubs, etc., or it may be through lack of money that one comes not to carry for a longer time or it may be as said above 'complacency in one's little kingdom'.

Compiled by: SEEISO LENKOE
organiser of SASM
Oukgopotse TIRO
organiser of SASO."

9.

8/8/73: John REES, algemene sekretaris van die S.A. Raad van Kerke, het 'n donasie van R400 aan SASM gestuur vir die hou van 'n vergadering vanaf 1 - 4/9/72.

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SASM Archives for
African Studies
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10.

Die Association for Social, Scientific, Educational and Cultural Advancement (ASSECA) het as borg opgetree vir SASM na 'n skenking van R500 deur die Anglo American Corporation aan SASM op 29/1/74.

11.

26/4/74: M.G. PHOKOJOE, streeksekretaris van SASO, Johannesburg, het gemeld dat SASO jeugorganisasies soos Sharpeville Youth Club, Transvaal African Youth Organisation (TRAYO) en ook SASM adviseer.

12.

Aan die einde van 1974 het SASM-lede in Hoërskole in Soweto gewerf en stig geheime selle.

13.

10/5/75: Harry NENGWEKULU het R2 000 vanaf Botswana aan Steven Bantu BIKO in King William's Town gestuur vir "SASM boys as indicated before" (Nengwekulu is gewese nasionale organiseerder van SASO en BIKO gewese president van SASO en stigterslid van BPC asook organiseerder van BCP.)

14.

21 - 23/5/75: Leerlinge van die Themba Labantu-Hoërskool, Zwelitsha het gepoog om die gesag van hulle skoolhoof en personeel te ondermyn. Leerlinge het onwettige vergaderings op die skoolterrein gehou en geweier om klasse by te woon. Nadat die polisie ontbied was, is hulle (polisie) met klippe bestook. SASM wat verantwoordelik is vir die opstokery, verkoop sy kwartaalblad aan skoliere teen 20c. Op bladsy een verskyn die woorde:

"Last year three Themba Labantu students were expelled by the Ciskei wing of the oppressive system. The principal of the school aiding the so-called Ciskei Cabinet expelled these students for contributing in a simple newsletter of SASM. It is up to the Black students to come together and dig a grave to white racism and fascism. Let us not sit down and wait for a Black Messiah to come down and liberate us. We are our own liberators. People still want to be passengers in their own liberation. Let us not think of liberation in terms of years but seconds. Let us heed to the prophetic cry by black students 'Black man you are on your own'. Our own salvation lies in us. The black man shall yet win the struggle for liberation."

Op bladsy 2 verskyn "Black Student Manifesto" wat soos volg lees:

"BLACK STUDENT MANIFESTO

We the Black Students of S.A. believing that the Black man can no longer allow defimations that have been imposed upon him by an arrogant white world concerning his being

and his destiny and that the Black Students has a moral obligation to articulate the needs and aspirations of the Black community hereby declare that:

A. We Black Students are:

1. An integral part of the Black oppressed community before we are students coming out of and studying under the oppressive restrictions of a racist education.
2. Committed to a more disciplined involvement in the intellectual and physical work and to the consistent search of the Black truth.
3. Committed to work towards the building of our people and to the winning of the struggle for liberation and guided by the central purpose of service to the Black Community on every technical and social level.

B. We therefore, reject the whole sphere of racist education and commit ourselves to:

1. The intellectual and physical development of our community and to the realisation of the liberation for the Black people of South Africa.
2. The definition that education in South Africa is unashamed political and we therefore, believe that Black education is tied to the liberation of the Black people of the world.

C. We thereby commit ourselves to:

1. The belief that Black Students should maintain a spirit of fraternity amongst themselves, free from the prejudice of White fallacies by virtue of the common oppression.
2. The assertion, manifestation and development of sense of awareness politically, socially, and economically among the Black Community.
3. Attempting to break away from the traditional order of subordination to White in education and to refuse to be educated for them.

4. Encourage and promote Black literature relevant to our struggle.
5. Ensure that our education will further the preservation and promotion of what measure in our culture and our historical experience."

Op bladsy 3 verskyn die volgende onder die opskrif "Black Consciousness":

"The White regime is experiencing troubled waters. The advent of Black Consciousness is being hailed by many of the people. Black people are beginning to adopt Black Consciousness not only as a philosophy but also as a way of life. Black people are the people who are socially, economically and politically discriminated in the South African Society. Black people are those people who will stand their heads high in their fight for the liberation of the Black man. In the Black Community there are people who curse God for creating them Black and would like to be White, but the colour of their skin makes this impossible. We idolize Black Consciousness. It is our only defence against a corrosive system, a system that corrodes ones spirit. It kills the pride you are naturally born with.

Our history is history of plunder of land and cattle by European invaders, decimations and devastations of people. This really shows the sad story of the rape of our land. Black Consciousness removes the consent of the fear in the Black community. The so-called Bureau for State Security with its large network of informers, police and spies have to a certain extent succeeded in casting fear in the Black Community. They are harmless and should be ignored. Truth will ultimately triumph over evil in the end.

Indians, Africans and Coloureds should unite, due to the common oppression that the experience at the hands of these ruthless and brutal oppressors. Let us cling to each other with a tenacity that must shock the perpetrators of evil. People still want to see a whole white army running them down before they can commit themselves. As the late TIRO

once said: 'There can never be a struggle without casualties'. The watchwords are the three SS service, sacrifice and suffer. Liberation is with our fingertips. The price of oppressing Black people is 'Too ghastly to contemplate'. Power to the people. Power and solidarity to the people."

Op bladsy 4 en 5 verskyn 'n gedig "Message from our Forefathers" waarvan verse 3 - 5 aangehaal word:

"Wake up sons of Africa
We fought the rapists
We struggled to repossess our birthright
We fought to save our land from the rapists

Go sons of Africa and have no fear
Start where we left and continue
Don't rest till your birthright is repossessed

Our sons, sons of Africa
Struggle and have no fear
We are with you in the struggle
And assure you to win
Black son of Africa."

Op bladsy 5 verskyn die volgende onder die opskrif
"Christianity Used to Oppress"

These White so called Christians are the worst oppressors. They are using Christianity as a weapon for oppression. You will find that they are fond of preaching to the Black man love and peace and nothing else. If a White man feels like preaching he must go to his Brothers and preach and warn them against the injustices of oppression.

Now let us come to the Black Christian.

Most of these Christians are misled by White Christians. They believe that oppression is a punishment from God because of their skins. The only way they see out of oppression is praying every now and then repenting. You will find that a person who claims to be a Christian is not even prepared to think for strategies while the oppressor is planning everyday.

A black man who claims to be a Christian ought to do as all Christians did. It is expected of him to fight all injustices which are our daily experience in S.A. by Whites. As Christ came on earth to liberate the oppressed, he also must be an example and struggle for the liberation of his people who are under oppression.

In all, we as Blacks must take Christianity, if at all we must accept it to suit our situation. If we claim to be followers of Christ, let us be his example. Let us not tolerate injustice and struggle for our liberation from the White oppressors 'Black son of Africa'."

Op bladsy 6 verskyn 'n aanhaling wat soos volg lees:

"The freedom train (its official name is the great Uhuru) railway in full speed towards the Cape of Good Hope and nothing will stop it."

John MALECELA
Tanzanië

"I foresee a free highway road right from C.T. to Cairo and on that free way a Black man will move free."

Martin Luther KING
Nkwame NKRUMAH

15.

20/8/75: Ondersteuners van South African Students Organisation (SASO), Black People's Convention (BPC), Black Community Programmes (BCP) en SASM te King William's Town is ten gunste van verandering in die RSA by wyse van geweld. Verandering by wyse van terrorisme is 'n algemene besprekings-
onderwerp tussen groepe.

16.

20/9/75: SASM het 'n vergadering te Evaton, Vereeniging gehou en ene Billy, 'n spreker vanaf Johannesburg het gesê dat SASM by alle skole moet infiltrer en swart bewustheid wat die hoofdoel is, by studente moet tuisbring d.m.v. gedigte en toneelopvoerings. Hy het ook gesê dat alle gedigte en opvoerings swart bewustheid moet uitbeeld.

17.

28/4/76: Jeff Duma BAQWA, direkteur van projekte, Southern African Students Movement, Botswana, het aan die sekretaris, Programme for Social Change, Jorrissenstraat 80, Braamfontein, Johannesburg die volgende gesê:

"We have been receiving the reports that you issue arrests, detentions and trials of members and supporters of SASO, BPC, BAWU, TECON and BCP from some source in Europe. We request you to furnish us with such reports.

The reasons for this request are simple. The work of SASM involves collecting, collating, compiling and distributing information relating to all activities geared towards the promotion of the interests of the struggle. We need, therefore, to keep contact with all people, institutions and agencies that are involved in the area of collecting and distributing information.

Secondly, in the situation in which you are, you are in a position to assess the progress of the struggle in its totality which means that your scope goes beyond the activities of SASO, BPC, BAWU, TECON and BCP. You are in a position to interact with the actual people involved and draw assessments of the state of affairs. We expect, therefore, that you would have a good insight into the problems and a perspective of the progress based on objective analysis.

We have no clear about the scope of your work. Therefore, if there is any information that you can provide that goes beyond the scope of our request, we would be grateful to have it. It could, for instance be things like your own assessment of the Springs bus boycott and the trouble at the Heinemann Electrical Company."

(BAQWA is 'n voormalige sekretaris-generaal van SASO wat op 19/11/74 die RSA onwettig na Botswana verlaat het. Na sy aankoms in Botswana het hy politieke asiel ontvang en is hy aangestel as "director of projects" van Southern African Students Movement. BAQWA het reeds op 6 en 7/10/73 'n Bantoelid van die veiligheidspolisie met die dood gedreig

nadat laasgenoemde navraag oor ondermynende bedrywighede te Kokstad en Umzimkulu gedoen het.)

18.

15/4/76: Sewe lede van SASM het gepoog om die RSA onwettig vanaf Soweto na Botswana te verlaat met die doel om opleiding in terrorisme in die buiteland te ondergaan, maar is te Zeerust naby die grens gearresteer.

19.

24/4/76: Drie lede van SASM het gepoog om die RSA onwettig vanaf Port Elizabeth na Botswana te verlaat met die doel om opleiding in terrorisme in die buiteland te ondergaan, maar is te Umtata gearresteer.

20.

10/5/76: Lars-Gunnar ERIKSSON van die International University Exchange Fund, Geneva, Switzerland, het die bedrag van R4 000,00 aan SASM te Leopoldstraat 15, King William's Town gestuur met die volgende boodskap:

"Dear Friends, Thank you for your letter of 22nd April and the enclosed material. We are very much aware of the harassment that you have been suffering and are therefore pleased to see that you are, nevertheless, carrying on with your important work.

Whilst we are still awaiting some form of reporting on the funds already transmitted, we are pleased to enclose with this letter, a bank draft for Rand 4 000 -- as a contribution towards the work of your organisation, particularly in relation to publications, general office maintenance and the leadership training programme.

We would be quite happy to attempt to raise further funds towards your activities in the other areas but would appreciate receiving some more clear information as to the amounts required and details as to how the programmes will be operating.

Best wishes and our solidarity in your struggle."

21.

28 - 30/5/76: Die algemene jaarvergadering van SASM is te Wilgespruit, Roodepoort, gehou en die volgende lede is op die bestuur verkies:-

President: Jeff MAQETHUKA

Vise-president: Gosebo MWANA

Sekretaris: Tebello MOTAPANYANA

Skakelbeampte: Similo MABEKA

Organiserende sekretaris: Zweli SIZANI

Die uittredende bestuur:

President: Vusi TSHABALALA

Vise-president: Zuzile CINDI

Organiserende sekretaris: Nkosiyakhe MASONDO

Algemene Sekretaris: Billy MASETLHA

Tydens die vergadering is Afrikaans as taal op skole bespreek. 'n Aksie-komitee is aangestel, onder voorsitterskap van Tsietsie Donald MASHININI om die aangeleentheid te ondersoek.

Gedurende die aand van 28/5/76 het Kingdom KHUTSWANE die aanwesiges toegesprek oor "Black Consciousness and Black Awareness" en gesê: "The Whites robbed us of our religion and we must not allow the Whites to teach us how to use our Black Consciousness."

22.

13/6/76: SASM het 'n vergadering in die DOCC-saal, Soweto gehou wat deur meer as 100 Bantoes waarvan die meerderheid kinders, bygewoon is. Die vergadering is geopen met die sing van 'n lied:

"Asikhathali Nomo Singa Botshwa,

Unzima Lo'mthwalo, Unzima Lo'mthwalo"

(We don't care even if we can be arrested, this burden is heavy, this burden is heavy.)

Tydens die vergadering is die volgende besluite geneem:

- (a) That an action committee be selected by themselves (Two students from each Junior Secondary and High School in Soweto).
- (b) That students do not resume classes until Afrikaans as a medium of instruction, is cancelled.
- (c) That a sit-in strike be staged.
- (d) If the Police provoke the students at such a sit-in strike, the students also provoke the Police, fighting physically to defend themselves.
- (e) The action Committee would be the medium of communication between the students and the National Executive Committee of SASM.
- (f) That the Action Committee would take the instructions from the executive committee and spread it to the schools.
- (g) That those schools which were not represented at the meeting, to be informed by the Action Committee.
- (h) That the Action Committee should draft a memorandum to be submitted at the parents' meeting which is to be held on 4 July, 1976 in Soweto.

Other resolutions were as follows:

- (a) All students in Junior Secondary Schools and High Schools should stage a sit-in strike whether they were affected by the Afrikaans as a medium of instruction or not.
- (b) That the students should unite into a solidarity as the question of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction will eventually spread all over the country.
- (c) That the sit-in strike must be a national thing, to be spread all over South Africa."

23.

Dit is vasgestel op 16/6/76 dat Steve BIKO die verdediging van die kwekeling terroriste finansier d.m.v. die Zimele Trust Fund (ZTF). Die lede van SASM het tereggestaan op 'n klagte ingevolge die Wet op Terrorisme in Grahamstad Hooggeregshof.

24.

Na die begin van die onluste te Soweto, Johannesburg op 16/6/76 wat landswyd versprei het, is 'n verteenwoordigende studenteraad (VSR) te Soweto gestig, met Donald MASHININI as die voorsitter. Die volgende eise is gestel:

- Die ontslag uit aanhouding van alle gevangenes wat aangehou word as gevolg van die huidige onluste.
- Alle opvoeding deur een liggaam landswyd beheer word. Die afskaffing van Bantoe-onderwys.
- Die heropening van alle skole in Bantoegebiede.

Die V.S.R. het ook gedreig om werkers te verhoed om na hulle werk te gaan.

25.

Sedert die begin van die onluste in Junie 1976 het honderde SASM/SSRC-lede na Botswana uitgewyk, waaronder MASHININI en sy luitenant, Selby SEMELA en Barney MOKGATLE.

11/11/76
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26.

Sedert Junie 1976 het die SSRC geheel en al die rol van SASM oorgeneem. Daar is tans meer SSRC-takke in die RSA as wat daar SASM-takke is. SSRC-takke bestaan tans in Soweto, King William's Town, Mamelodi, Atteridgeville, Mafeking, Germiston, Port Elizabeth en Ga Rankuwa.

27.

Tydens die onluste het die SSRC verskeie pamflette uitgegee waardeur die massas opgesweep is. Die volgende pamflette is gedurende die tydperk uitgegee:-

- (a) AZIKHWELWA onder die opskrif "Stay at Home: Monday 13th, Tuesday 14th and Wednesday 15th Sept. 1976.

SSRC: Once again we appeal to parents and all workers to co-operate with us.

We call upon our parents and workers to stay away from work from Monday 13th to Wednesday 15th Sept. 1976."

- (b) AZIKHWELWA. Die volgende versoeke word in die pamflet gerig:

"13, 14, 15 Sept. Ons ry nie, Ons ry nie.

We urge our parents to help us in the struggle to set free our brothers and sisters in detention.

We ask you to stay away from work so that our demands be met."

- (c) AZIKHWELWA. Die volgende eise word gestel:

"VORSTER & KRUGER

(i) Resign, you have mismanaged Azania
You have plunged the country into violence
and loss of human life.

(ii) Release all detainees.

(iii) Police, remain in your barracks and please behave.

We are determined to free ourselves from the shackles of the oppressor.

The struggle is on!

(Issued by: Soweto Students
Representative Council.) "

- (d) Pamflet met opskrif: "Soweto Students Representative Council". Die pamflet lui onder andere soos volg:
"We appeal to you to align yourselves with the struggle for your own liberation. Be involved and be united with us as it is your own son and daughter that we bury

every week-end. Death has become a common thing to us all in the townships. There is no peace, there shall be none until we are all free."

28.

Bantoeman Jeremiah SEGOE het verklaar dat hy op 2.8.1976 n vergadering by Morris ISAACSON skool bygewoon het. Tsietsi MASHININI, die voorsitter van die SSRC, het hulle toegesprek en hulle aangesê om die polisie se huise in Soweto af te brand terwyl n optog op 4.8.1976 aan die gang was.

29.

Vier verteenwoordigers van die SSRC, bestaande uit 3 mans en 1 vrou het vanaf 22.10.1976 tot 28.10.1976 besoek gebring aan sekondêre skole te Katlehong, Germiston. Tydens die besoeke was leerlinge aangehits om nie die 1976 eindeksamen af te lê nie en was gedreig dat daar met die wat wel die eksamen sou aflê, afge-reken sou word. Verdere opdragte was gegee dat dranklokale van "Shebeens" aangeval en vernietig moes word, sowel as bier-sale wat weer heropen het vir besigheid.

30.

Die SSRC het sedert Junie 1976 die toneel só oorheers dat die bedrywighede van SASM, die moederliggaam, op die agtergrond geskuif is. Nadat die landswye onrus wat gedurende Junie 1976 ontstaan het, bedaar het, het SASM weer in April 1977 op n militante wyse sy kop uitgesteek. Op 4.4.1977 is n hele aantal opruiende pamflette in n huis in n Bantoewoongebied by Port Elizabeth gevind. Die inhoud van die pamflette was opruiend van aard en het op grusame wyse die sogenaande gruweldade wat die Blanke teen die Swarte in Suidelike Afrika gepleeg het, beskryf. Die RSA se tuislandbeleid is openlik veroordeel. Hierdie pamflette was in die besit van lede van die pasgestigte SASM-tak in Port Elizabeth en identiese pamflette was reeds in Oktober 1976 in Umtata versprei.

31.

Tydens SASM se jaarvergadering wat vanaf 5 tot 7.7.1977 by Roodepoort gehou is, is daar besluit dat SASM hom steeds sal beywer vir die politieke opvoeding van die Swartes in die RSA. Hierdie opvoeding geskied ooreenkomstig die swartbewustheidsideologie. SASM sou hom voortaan veral bemoei met ~~aangeleenthede~~ rakende Bantoe-
onderwys, sport, swart arbeid en godsdienste.

32.

Etlike SASM-leiers word tans in Port Elizabeth aangehou weens die onrus wat reeds gedurende die begin van Augustus 1977 daar uitgebreek het.

Translation of Afrikaans passages in
"MEMORANDUM: SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS MOVEMENT"
(by Sebastian McKay)

PAGE ONE

During the beginning of the year 1971 the South African Students Organization SASO in its annual report noted that the organization was invited by the Executive of the African Students Movement, ASM, to advise them on organizational work, and priorities of black school children. The SASO annual report reports amongst others . . . ["ASM is a comparatively. . ."]

ASM, the African Students Movement, was established in Soweto, Johannesburg under the leadership of Thomas Manthata and Peter Lenkoe. Towards the end of September 1971 Peter Lenkoe addressed students at the Wright School of Religion [an AME seminary. Existed at least from 1960's on.] in Vereeniging and said that the ASM is a newly established organization which is aimed at encouraging students and academics to let their voices be heard by the state. Members of this organization must present demands to the state for, amongst others, better resources in education, equal pay for equal work, and on many other terrains where non-whites lag behind whites. The Witswatersrand University students through means of demonstrations, and the state could not react to them. The ASM is an extension of SASO but is also an autonomous political organization. Scholarships are being planned but the source of funds is still uncertain.

01/06/72 Mathews Modise, vice-president of the ASM Orlando East High School held meetings where he informed 12th grade students that educated blacks would bring nothing for the liberation of the black oppressed masses, and that it was the duty of the ASM to liberate the black man.

June 1972: Justin Fantisi, a teacher at the Jordan Bantu H.S. in the Vereeniging district, addressed students at the forementioned school and said that the ASM was established by SASO and that it has to fulfill the role of SASO at the high school level.

30/03/73 B.Lenkoe released a press statement which outlined the nature and objectives of SASO wherein he stated: ["SASM is a High School organisation..."]

PAGE THREE

22/4/73 - A meeting took place in the (white only) YMCA hall in Dube, Johannesburg to discuss an appropriate symbol for SASM t-shirts. It was proposed that the design should consist of three black heads which would indicate the Indian, so-called Bantu, and so-called Coloured on a black body, and also two arms which would be bound by a chain with the middle link of the chain being broken. And beneath that the word solidarity. On the back of the t-shirt would be a depiction of SA with a burning torch in the center. And above SA the word SASM. ["Aims and Objects..."]

SASM printed 1,200 copies of SASM magazine 4/73 which were sold at 20 cents a copy to students. In this addition the aims and objectives of SASM are outlined. [English aims and objectives.] The SASM magazine is distributed from the SASO offices housed in number 608 Pharmacy House, Jorrisenstraat, Johannesburg, the head office of the Christian Institute.

PAGE FOUR

28/8/72 R. Lenkoe requested funds from the SA Council of Churches to hold a SASM conference at the Wilgespruit Fellowship Center in Roodepoorte, from the first through the fourth of September, 1972. The reason for holding this conference is stated ("The basis for calling this seminar...")

08/08/73: John Rees, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches sent a 400 rand donation to SASM to assist in hosting the conference.

-The Association for Social, Scientific, Educational, and Cultural Advancement, ASSECA, acted as a guarantor for SASM after a 500 rand presentation made to SASO by the Anglo-American Corporation on the 29th of January, 1974.

26/04/74: M.G. Phokojoe, regional secretary of SASO, Johannesburg recommended that SASO also advise youth organizations like the Sharpesville Youth Club, Transvaal African Youth Organization (TRAYO), and also the SA students movements.

PAGE FIVE

-The end of 1974 SASM members in high schools in Soweto established secret cells.

5/10/75: Harry Nengwekhulu sent 2000 rand from Botswana to Steve Biko in King Williamstown for SASM boys/goals as indicated before. Nengwekulu as a former national organizer of SASO, and Biko former president of SASO and founding member of BPC as well as an organizer BCP.

21 - 23 /5/75 Students at the Thembalabantu High School in Zwelitsha attempted to undermine the authority of the principal and staff members. Students held illegal meetings on the school property and refused to attend classes. Police were contacted; they were stoned. SASM which is responsible for this agitation sells it's quarterly news magazine to students at 20 cents a copy. On page one these words appeared last year ["Last year three Thembalabantu..."]

On page two there's a copy of the "Black Student Manifesto": ["We the Black Students of SA..."]

END OF PAGE FIVE

(MANIFESTO CONTINUES THROUGH OUT PAGE SIX, THE TOP OF PAGE SEVEN...ON PAGE THREE THE FOLLOWING APPEARS UNDER THE TITLE "BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS." TOP OF PAGE EIGHT. ON PAGES FOUR AND FIVE THERE IS A POEM "MESSAGE FROM OUR FOREFATHERS" AND VERSE THREE THROUGH FIVE ARE QUOTED. ON PAGE FIVE THE FOLLOWING APPEAR UNDER THE TITLE "CHRISTIANITY USED TO OPPRESS." END OF PAGE EIGHT. ENGLISH TOP OF PAGE NINE. ON PAGE SIX THE FOLLOWING QUOTE APPEARS. IN ENGLISH THE QUOTE STARTS: THE FREEDOM TRAIN.)

20/08/75: Members of the South African Students Organization (SASO), Black People's Convention (BPC), and Black Community Programs (BCP), and SASM in King Williamstown are in favor of violent change in SA. Change through terrorism is a general discussion piece amongst groups.

20/09/75: SASM held a meeting at Evaton, Vereeniging and a certain ~~man~~^{Billy}, a speaker from Johannesburg said that SASM has to infiltrate all schools and to develop it's chief aim-that of black consciousness. And to inculcate BC amongst students through poetry and drama. He also said that all poems and performances should depict BC.

PAGE TEN

28/04/76: Jeff Duma Baqwa, project director of the Southern African Students Movement in Botswana had this to say to the secretary of the program for social change 80 Braamfontein, Johannesburg. ["We have been receiving the reports..."]

BOTTOM OF PAGE TEN

BAQWA is the former secretary general of SASO who on the 19th of November, 1974 illegally left SA for Botswana. Upon his arrival in Botswana he received political asylum and was appointed as Director of Projects of the Southern African Students Movement. BAQWA had in the past on the 6th and 7th of 10/73 threatened a Bantu member of the security police with death after

TOP OF PAGE ELEVEN

...after the policeman made some investigations into allegations of illegal activities around Kokstad and Umzinkulu.)

15/04/76: Seven members of SASM attempted to leave the Republic of SA illegally from Soweto to go to Botswana with the intent...(interruption)...they received instruction in terrorism but were arrested at Zeerust.

24/04/76: Three members of SASM attempted to leave the Republic of SA illegally from Port Elisabeth to Botswana also to receive instruction in terrorism, but also were arrested at Umtata,

10/05/76: Lars- Gunnar Eriksson of the International University Exchange Fund from Geneva, Switzerland sent an amount of 4000 rand to SASM at 15 Leopold street King Williamstown with the following message: ("Dear Friends...")

TOP OF PAGE TWELVE

From the 28th through the 30th of May 1976 the annual general meeting of SASM was held at Wilgespruit, Roodepoort, and the following members were elected to the executive: -

President: Jeff Maqethuka, Vice-President: Gosebo Mwana, Secretary Tebello Motapanyana, (some position?) Similo Mabeka, Organizing Secretary: Zweli Sizani. The outgoing Executive was - President: Vusi Tshabalala, Vice President: Zuzile Cindi, Organizing Secretary: Nkosiyakhe, and General Secretary: Billy Masetlha.

During the meeting the topic of Afrikaans as a subject in high schools was discussed. An action committee was established under the directorship Tsietsie Donald Mashinini to further investigate the shoo...(interruption)...

During the evening of the 28th of May, 1976 Kingdom Khutswana addressed those present at the gathering on BC and black awareness and said: "the whites rob us of our religion and we must ^{not} have allowed the whites to teach us how to use our black consciousness."

13/06/76: SASM had a meeting in the DOCC hall in Soweto which was attended by more than 100 Bantus; the majority of whom were children. The meeting was opened through the singing of a song: ["Asikhathali Nomo Singa Botshwa.".. "We don't care" ...].

PAGE THIRTEEN

During the meeting the following resoltuions were taken: [(a) That an action committee be selected...].

TOP OF PAGE FOURTEEN

...been established on the 16th of June, 1976 that Steve Biko was financing the defense of the budding(?) terrorists through the Zimele Trust Fund. Members of SASM are currently standing trial in the Grahamstown High Court charged under the Terrorism Act.

After the start of the riots in Soweto, Johannesburg on June 16, 1976 which spread country-wide, a student representative council was established in Soweto with Donald Mashinini as the president. The following demands were issued. 1)The release of all detainees held in connection with the current unrest, 2)the scrapping of the Bantu educational system and the

establishment of a single educational system, and 3) the reopening of all schools in Bantu areas. The students representative council also threatened to include strike action by workers.

Since the beginning of the unrest in June, 1976 hundreds of SASM and Soweto Student Council Representatives have fled to Botswana, amongst others Mashinini and the Lieutenants Selby Semela and Barney Mokgathe.

Since 6/76 the Soweto Student Representative Council has taken over the role of the SASM. There are currently more SSRC branches in the Republic of SA than there were SASM branches. SSRC branches currently exist in Soweto, King Williamstown, Mamelodi, Atteridgeville, Mafeking, Germiston, Port Elisabeth, and Ga Rankuwa.

During the armed wars the SSRC distributed several pamphlets encouraging the masses to rise up. The following pamphlets were distributed during this period.

PAGE FIFTHTEEN

(a) Azikhwelwa under the title "Stay at Home: Monday the 13th, Tuesday the 14th, and Wednesday the 15th of September 1976."

(b) Azikhwelwa . The following request were noted in the pamphlet in English. ["13, 14, 15 Sept.....we will not riot, we will not riot..."]

A pamphlet with the title Soweto Students Representative Council reads as follows -["We appeal..."]

PAGE SIXTEEN

Bantu male Jeremiah Segoe declared or stated that on 02/08/76 he attended a meeting at the Morris Isaacson School. Tsietsi Mashinini, the president of the SSRC addressed them and encouraged them to burn the houses of policemen. (interruption) A demonstration and

confrontation was occurring on the the 4th of August, 1976. Four representatives from the SSRC consisting of three men and one woman during the period the 22-28th of August, 1976 visited secondary schools in ~~Butter-hong Jamestown~~ ^{Katlehong, Germiston}. On these visits students were encouraged not to take part in the 1976 final examination, and were threatened with retaliation should they participate in the final examinations. Further orders were given that beer halls and ~~champagnes~~ ^{shebeens} should be attacked and destroyed.

The SSRC during the period June, 1976 was such a dominant organization that the activities of SASM, the mother organization, an umbrella organization was pushed into the background. After the unrest, which had spread country-wide during June, 1976 calmed down, SASM made a military reappearance in April, 1977. At the front of April, 1977 a whole batch of inflammatory pamphlets were discovered at a house in the Bantu residential area in Port Elisabeth. The content of the pamphlets were extremely inflammatory and depicted in a gruesome manner the so-called cruel misdeeds that white people in SA perpetrated against blacks.

The Republic of SA Homelands policy was openly prejudiced. (interruption) These pamphlets were in the possession of members of the newly established SASM branch in Port Elisabeth, and identical pamphlets were already distributed in October, 1976 in Umtata.

PAGE SEVENTEEN

During SASM's annual gathering from the fifth through the 7th of July, 1977 held at roodepoort it was resolved that SASM should continue in it's role and function of providing political education to blacks in SA. This education coincides with BC ideology. SASM should pay particular attention to the Bantu education system, sport, black labor, and religion.

Several SASM leaders are currently being held in Port Elisabeth in connection with the unrest that occurred in August, 1977 in that region.

END