

SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENT MOVEMENT.  
MINUTE OF THE  
FOURTH GENERAL STUDENTS COUNCIL

Venue :- ST. Ansgars Conference Centre, Roodepoort.  
Date :- 4th July 1977.  
Theme :- Student now, towards liberation.

PROGRAMME

4th 7. 1977.

1. Registration.
2. Open Address by Sibonile Mthembu.
3. Presidential Speech by Mzuvukile Mgqethuka.

5th 7. 1977.

1. All Regional Branches Progress Reports presented with exception of the Eastern Transvaal and Western Cape branches. All the Reports were adopted.
2. Paper read on "Factors Determining Liberation in South Africa - The Socio Economic aspect", written by Mr. Mafika Qwala, read by Zwelinzima Sizani.

6th 7. 1977.

1. First Commission Sitting:
  - (i). Communication.
  - (ii). Relations.
  - (iii). Sports.
2. Second Commission Sitting:
  - (i) Culture
  - (ii) Relations
  - (iii) Community Development.
3. Paper read on "Introductory Remarks on "Education and outline of a suggested Education Policy" written by Mr. Zinjiva Nkondo, read by Zwelinzima Sizane.

7th 7. 1977.

1. Third Commission Sitting:-
  - (i) Education.
  - (ii) Policy.
  - (iii) Constitution.
2. The elections of the National Executive. The outgoing President (Mzuvukile Mgqethuka) being electoral officer. The following were elected.

PRESIDENT :- Tembane Budeli ( from Sibasa)  
Vice President :- Sandile Masibuko (from Soweto)  
General Sec.:- Sibongile Nthembu. ( " " )  
Organizing Sec.:- Zwelinsim Sizane. ( " " )  
Publication Direc. + Desmond Padynchee (from Lenasia)

3. The incoming President delivered the Presidential Speech and the votes of thanks.
4. "Nkosi Sikelela i Africa" was sung in closure of the 4th G.S.C. of SASM.

## A G E N D A

### NATIONAL EXECUTIVE

President : Mzuvukile Maqethuka  
General Secretary : Letlacha Tsetetsi  
Organising Secretary : Zwelinsima Sisani  
Publications Director : Simile Mabheka.

### Sittings

#### 4th July 1977

The President Mzuvukile Maqethuka formally opened the G.S.C. and read his Presidential address (refer : Presidential Address)

#### 5th July, 1977

The whole of this day progress reports were presented to the G.S.C. from regional branches as written in the programme with the exception of the Eastern Transvaal and the Western Cape branches which were not presented. All progress reports were adopted.

A paper on Factors Determining Liberation in South Africa- The Socio-economic aspect, was read to the house by the Organising Sec. This paper was written by Mr. Mafika Gwala.

#### 6th July, 1977

G.S.C. broke into three commissions to discuss the following:-

- (i) Communication
- (ii) Relations
- (iii) Sports

The reports of all these commissions were adopted (See attached papers Communication, Relations and Sports).

Again G.S.C. was divided into three commissions as follows :-

- (i) Culture
- (ii) Religion
- (iii) Community Development.

All these commissions' reports were adopted (see attached papers)

In the evening a paper on Introductory Remark on "Education and an outline of a suggested Education policy" was read the Organising Secretary. This paper was written by Mr. Zinjiva Nkende.

#### 7th July, 1977

G.S.C. broke into three commissions to discuss the following :-

- (i) Education.

7th July, 1977

(iii) Constitution.

Reports of the commissions on Education Constitution and Policy were adopted (see papers on Education, Constitution and Policy).

The outgoing President was the electoral officer during elections and the following were elected into the National Executive

President	Allen Tembani Budeli
Vice President	: Seth Sandile Masibuke
General Sec.	: Sibengile Mthembu
Organising Sec.	A Zvelinsima Sisani
Publication Director	: Desmond Padyachee

"Mkosi Sikelela I Africa" was sang in closing the Fourth General Student Council of SASW.

## PROGRESS REPORT

The Zoutpansberg Students' Organisation (ZOSO) was launched at a meeting held at Sibasa on Sept. 6 - 1976 attended by delegates from Phwevha, Mphaphuli, Finyazwanda Training College, Venda Colledge of Education phiriphiri and Rammbida. The draft Constitution was presented before the meeting and was accepted unanimously. In it, the following portofolios were provided for:

- (i) Presdiency (ii) Vice-Presidency (iii) Secretary-General
- (iv) Permanent Organiser (v) Publicity Secretary (Public Relations office) (vi) Treasurer and (vii) Two Assistant officers secondly to Permanent Organiser and Secretary general pectivemently.

The founder members namely Mr. Allen BUDELI, Ben RAMAPHOSA and Emmanuel RAMASHIA held Presidenly Publicity Secretary/ Public Relations officer and Tresurer portofolios respectively. This means the Executive Committee was as follows:

Mr. A.N. BUDELI - President.

Mr. M.M. MANDAUHA - Vice-President.

Mr. B.M. RAMAPHOSA - Public Relations Officer.

Mr. E.R. RAMUDZULI - Treasurer and Urban Spokisman

Mr. A. MPHEPHU - Secretary General.

Mr. O. NNDWELENI - Additional members/Assistant officers.

Our immediate concent was to get in touch with other schools in the Zoutpansberg Areas - a task we accomplished as fine went on. In November 1976 we faced an educational dillema until the Executive circulating pamphlets throughout. The afore said boycott was almost a failure due to various conditions prevailing at the school concemed. Ultimately a rough division appeared in the ranks of the students, subbsequently those from Tshivlase High decided to use force to that effect. This led to the arrest of Some of the student leaders who are 37 in number. The necessary arrangements were made to secure legal advice (N.B. This case is still on ever since then due to lack of substantial eveidence by the state against the accused) Meanwhile we tried very hard to open contacts with either SSRC. SASM or both.

Fortunately enough we secured contacts with Sandile Seth MAZIBUKO who introduced us to the Urban community. As a follow-up were held talks with the current SASM Organiser, S.S. MABIBUKO, company. The following steps were, inter alia, agreed upon.

- (i) Affiliation of ZOSO to SASM.
- (ii) Financial backing to be provided for ZOSO.

Three Brances have so far been established. We succeeded in organising Commeeriorative Services at almost every secondary and high schools. More important, almost all business centres closed in solidarity with the 1st Anniversary of our liberation struggles Major Offensive.

### Future Strategy.

We are aiming at stregthening some more branched at Rambuda High, Thengive High, MPhephu, Phiriphiri, Lwenshe and secondary schools.

2. We are intent on directing all our energies and conscious attention at the hardline Rshisimani Training College under the tight grip of apartheid - inspired agents. We are assessing the fate that has befallen our brother was trying actively to motivated.
3. We are decided committed to and intent on sabotaging the Boerish Independence to be imposed on the innocent people of Venda or anywhere in the people's Republic to be of Azania.

### Problems

1. Finance to facilitate our plans.
2. Disorganised parents such that they are in no position to support us either morally, financially and or otherwise
3. lack of news media to give prominence and publicity to malpractices.

B.MS-RAMAPHOSA  
M.L. RAMABULANA

1977-06-04

### Agricultural problems.

There are similar problems too concernine agriculture. Migrant "Widows" find it extremely difficult to span oxen.

One woman complained of about a fence around her garden. Her husband has left for Johannesburg long ago. He neither writes nor send money. She resorted to gardening.

Many migrant workers come home during Xmas to make babies for they believe that their wives will misbehave should they stay for a year without infants. As such "migrant widows" find it difficult to concentrate on faming, compensation.

Many divorced wives and "migrant widows" keep themselves busy through knitting jerseys and selling beers. At Isandlwana I found their headman getting up from the bed being drunk when I asked the type of beer they brew, I was told that it is NCAKAZA and MABENYENYE.

Many women are organising themselves into associations. They form their committees and collect articles e.g. mats, mavovo, claypots, etc. and sell them to Kupukani. As such they know that they will get something at the end of every month, though the marketing is still at its low ebb.

Those who cannot do craft sell themselves to men who give them money. That is the root of conenbinage.

There was one malified lady teacher who complained about her six months old baby. She wanted to be employed at a nearby school but there was no vacant. Her husband is working but he does not send he money.

Social support.

Usually, women of similar problem walk together. Those whose husbands are working in Johannesburg share their doubts and courage together:

The striking feature similar to that of Lesotho students is that many young women prefer old mothers instead of their counterparts. One woman at Nondweni said: "My friend is this one pointing to an old mother". She knows life and she is not selfish". Asked why she can't befriend her counterparts she thought and did not reply.

FACTORS DETERMINING LIBERATION IN S.A. - THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC ASPECT.

While in the seventies Africa enters the liberatory phase of ~~defied~~ change white political dominance in Azania is moving towards imperialist-supported "kragdadigheid" along the following lines :-

1. South Africa has become a typical example of fascist rule in the implementation of its domestic policies.
2. The deviant security laws of this country place it at the level of undeclared state of emergency through mass detentions, mass banning, prohibition of public meeting, etc.
3. This country's preponderant defence budget clearly indicates that white rule is preparing for eventual confrontation with Black Africa.
4. The speeding up of the Bantustan programme is reactionary effort to keep hold of 87% of the land so as to justify white political and socio-economic domination.
5. South Africa has an important role to play in fostering imperialist resistance on the continent and in promoting neo-colonialism in the economies of independent African states.

In the face of such threatening situation it is imperative that the Blacks, particularly the youth, should as pressing necessity seek a definite method of socio-economic analysis and political orientation.

Our <sup>an</sup> history since 1652 is not something special and isolated. It is an essential component of our relation to the whole apartheid reality and especially oppressed society in the whole world.

When the students of the various tribal ~~universities~~ came together and formed their own Black students organisation, ~~and~~, they were following the dictates of historical analysis and political orientation within the apartheid reality. It has become another of the many ironies of this country's history that an organisation that sprang out of tribal campuses was to reject completely the reality of separate education and the Bantustan programme. At first many so-called authorities on

student politics expressed the opinion that the South African Students ~~Organization~~ was a confirmation of the separate platforms approach. This has been proved false. The emergence of SASO proved to be a negation of the apartheid reality.

You, as youth, are the barometer of this country's political development. Your political behaviour will have a symptomatic value. For a barometer does not create the weather; but it is confined to recording it. You do not choose to be on tribal campuses. Yet you are confined to evaluating their role on our Black community as such. It is at the same time important to remark upon that as students you do not by yourselves form a class of your own, with separate class interests. You merely function as representatives of one of the two colour/class groups . i.e. the dominant white minority on one side and the oppressed black majority on the other, the emerging collaboratorist middle class black, often with BIC leanings, or the impoverished and exploited black masses. Your social position therefore is largely based on your socio-economic function in the apartheid reality. Therefore whatever change we effect, that change will have to come about in accordance with economic laws. I want to now and then stress the economic factor because the internal tendency of opportunism tends to paralyze the genuine political aspirations of struggle away from the economic context by pushing the liberation tendencies into tribal paths so as to dilute the true aspirations and expectations of the people. Let us not be bluffed. And we shall not be bluffed. The political kingdom alone does not constitute freedom from economic and therefore political exploitation and freedom from want.

It has been proved beyond doubt that cutting statements such as, "students are irresponsible" or "it's always the case with students", when students question vital economic issues like foreign investment, are not only based on hackneyed conclusions but also come from persons who wish to disarm scientific initiative in our youth. No student is irresponsible to his outlook - whether the outlook be positive or negative. One can't be irresponsible to one's self but to one's class interests. That is why students with the correct orientation will not allow

themselves to be paternalized in the sharing of ideas. Because the politics of paternalism ended with Sharpeville. Those who want to revive paternalism whether they be tribal leaders, white liberals or non-white academics are only going to burn their fingers. This is why I come to saying that we have to clearly mark out the socio-economic factors that will influence our liberation struggle, the liberation of Azania's peoples and Azania's resources from apartheid oppression and imperialist exploitation.

### 1. South Africa's Economy :-

As I have said earlier that South Africa is a typical example of fascist rule, let us go further and say that the economic and militarist character of apartheid go hand in hand. One can't divorce one from the other. To talk puerely in terms of colour is not only inadequate, it is also gravely misleading. One has reason to suspect that when the "liberal" press started talking of petty apartheid after all these gruelling years of "Kaffer ken sy plek" and "kiagdadigheid" the hidden intention was to draw our attention away from the flooding investments by overseas companies and the resultant socio-economic implications. Also, South Africa was gearing herself for what one may term a "war-economy"; and for this she needs co-operation from any quarter whether it be the U.S.A., Japan, West Germany or even Brazil. For South Africa is relentlessly committing foreign capitalist investors to the maintenance of apartheid society and the exploitation of black labour. On the other hand South Africa is trying to stitch together a group of capitalist inclined countries in Africa, including the former protectorates, in an effort to promote the emergence of a chain of client states in Africa, so that the Rand, with the backing of foreign currencies will be able to soak up the new currencies of African countries.

Further, South Africa is busily seeking marriage with imperialism in a vain bid to survive against the forces of African liberation. That is why we find that the Afrikaner regime (with its lackeys) is doing the following :-

- a) It has forcibly and painfully tried to crush Black resistance so that the Stock Exchanges may not panic e.g. the police terror after Sharpeville and the state of seige existing since the Pretoria Rally:

- b) It is painstakingly seeking ties with fascist regimes, military juntas and anti-liberation countries e.g. the Vorster visit to Paraguay, the courting of Brazil's friendship to which we are not blind, the recent Vorster visit to Israel, etc.
- c) It is detaining numerous persons) opposed to apartheid in a bid to throw fear and silence, opposition;
- d) It has busily engaged itself in heavy machinery manufacture and chemical industrialization for self sufficiency so as to oppress us more efficiently;
- e) It is seeking more economic development through militarism and technological sophistication in economic development so as to inevitably become cosmopolitan and more readily gain full support of advanced capitalist countries through stepped up investment and economic commitment.

The common talk on local content for example is nothing more than asking foreign manufacturing companies to base themselves within South Africa instead of selling from abroad.

South Africa is even seeking nuclear power devices and development with the tacit approval of imperialist investors. Indeed South Africa is able to boast in militarist fashion that she has reached self sufficiency in munitions supply through her growing defence industries.

As it is a consumer-urbanisation is being imposed through the building of family compounds euphemistically called townships whereby the oppressed blacks are to be perpetually at the mercy of South Africa's economy. That is why foreign investors and S.A.'s capitalist exploiters needed border industries for cheap and abundant labour; for tax concessions through the Industrial Development Council; for steady orders stimulated by governmental preferences and projects and export privileges.

What does it all mean to us?

It means that our struggle is not going to be an easy one. When we dare stand against the apartheid reality we in effect challenge the imperialist machinery as well. But we can be assured of final victory no matter how long it takes to reach the goal of liberation. In

view of this factor the practice of liberation struggle must have a theoretical foundation based on universal values and lessons from the struggles of those peoples of the world who found themselves faced with the same task as ours.

There can be no talk of freedom in the bantustans as long as the economic position remains as it is. No amount of playing with argument will change the basic fact that the source of the whole problem is white socio-economic dominance.

The deficit budget of the Transkei, for instance, was not an accidental thing. It is the basis of Transkeian subjection to Pretoria's socio-political designs. And we all know, Matanzima had to seek foreign aid. And he's getting it.

And therefore what assurances can the bantustan elite give to the black masses of Azania that the sources and relations of production will not remain under the control of Pretoria and overseas investors? The Transkei's dependence on Pretoria can only encourage negative local development within the Transkei because the Transkei's economy is to be dependent on the priorities of Pretoria. The blacks of S.A., particularly those of a poor Transkei cannot afford the inflated standard of living that imperialist demands and South Africa's segregated economy are enforcing on them.

Taking the relevant untruthfulness of the terminology "development" one finds that this word is designed to deceive, confuse and mislead those bourgeois aspiring blacks who have class interest in capitalist norms.

Any change with human meaning will necessitate redistribution of the resources this rich country has. Until then students should take up economic issues more seriously for this will help to guide you in political orientation and common black solidarity with all the oppressed of this country.

6

Consciousness :-

In order to expose innate weakness even if we don't really like to and thus be able to enhance self-criticism our social outlook has to be positive. We must be forever aware of our class position and the economic role we are expected to play within the status quo and for the status quo. As one Frenchman has pointed out, no industrialized society can function and survive if its universities and factories are not working.

It is for us to share our aspirations with the black workers for it is they who will ultimately decide the fate of this society. That is where Black Consciousness comes in. And here let me add that Black Consciousness has been subjected to several misinterpretations. Firstly some people tended to push Black Consciousness into common path with tribal identity. There are people who have taken up a fad of over-stressing their tribal identity as if in Black awareness whereas they actually revert to tribalism. Tribal dress and too much stress on tribal element in song and dance has shown this tendency to be existing. It is bad.

Secondly Black Consciousness has been propagated as being one with ideology. We can equate ideology with national consciousness but since black awareness is only a part of national consciousness we cannot equate Black Consciousness with ideology. Black Consciousness is an ideal subject to ideological approach. It is a way of life. This way we can understand why Black Consciousness could not have been imported from America.

Thirdly Black Consciousness goes beyond culture as an aspect of social involvement. The economic context should be taken into account. This way Black Consciousness has an important value in making us stop being acquisitive in our socio-cultural habits. We must stop buying endlessly as if the shops are all burning. We must refrain from playing jazz all day as if it were a Doomsday Festival. It is of no use to pay lip service to the philosophy of Black Consciousness and yet remain affluent in socio-cultural practice.

We are getting increasingly alarmed at the growing trend of blacks shuttling to and from London and New York as if New York was within lavatory distance. Our bourgeois aspiring blacks have taken to the game of behaving as if they were born in Washington or Philadelphia. Why the sudden interest by America in South Africa's black intellectuals?

It is every students' duty to reactivate the people's awareness and also repoliticize them differently from collaborationist affluence.

### Political Alternatives :-

Our national struggle against oppression becomes meaningless unless it also becomes a social struggle against socio-economic exploitation even within the black community.

The political parties today operating on separate platforms must be viewed in serious light because they have shown themselves to be suffering from rabid leadership complexes. It does not matter how harshly they speak against apartheid. Apart from the acute sensitiveness of some of the separatist leaders there is indicative proof that our enemy is not just white oppression but also the transference of political oppression from the white system into black hands.

There is no reason to believe that the separate platform of the emerging bourgeoisie (which is very reliant on imperialism and white baaskap) will not resort to fascist tribal hysteria wherever its interests and comforts are at stake. This is no postulation. This is drawn from lessons in the history of modern-day political struggle.

The fundamental issue facing us is not the existence of these collaborationist parties as such. The issue at its basis is their political backwardness, their forestalling tactics against a heightened national consciousness and their lack of ideological grounding against white supremacy and tribalism.

This characterizes all the parties operating on separate platforms at varying levels. Instead of heightening national consciousness they spearhead forestalling devices. Instead of ideological grounding they lack sheet anchor in basic strategy and perspective. Instead of confronting white supremacy and renouncing tribal platforms they use white installed parliamentary, provincial and local statutes to defend their collaboration and allow sectional politics in their leadership ranks.

They preach equal right in the bundustan; when they mean unequal right for unequal labour. When we know that bundustan right can never be higher than the economic structure of bundustans - and that their cultural development will be decided by this factor.

The equality we must seek is one that extends to the social and economic spheres. Without losing sight of the fact that apartheid has its own internal and external contradictions, let us not only differ on the conclusions reached as to how the struggle is to be carried but we should stand on a different plane on which the discussion is conducted in clear effort to force alternatives more substantial and more positive than those being offered by the collaborationists.

This way you shall be keeping pace with your historical task in your role as students.

In conclusion let me say that it is of paramount duty that we lay stress on the principle that methods of struggle always vary. And because of this those methods must be reassessed dialectically from time to time.

## RELATIONS.

SASM should maintain its rejection of government created platforms. No sharing of platforms with these lackey institutions should be tolerated for it gives CRC and related institutions opportunities to gain international attention, at the least. Children of immorality like Inkatha, Black Unity Front are purely tribal organizations and the latter is a confederation of different bantustans and other collaborating organizations masquerading as a "Unity Front".

Seeing that most students are ignorant on trade unionism the national executive should open relations with trade unions in order to acquaint students with trade union work for students are a still growing labour reserve force.

Relations with organisations like B.P.C SASO etc. should be kept as healthy as they are for we all share one philosophy-Black Consciousness, and cannot push the wheel of liberation without the help of the other.

Since we have confidence in our leadership the question of international relations will be left to them to decide.

## S P O R T S

South Africa is trying its level best to clutch at the slippery international sports bodies by introducing fraudulent sports policies such as multi-racialism at the same time disregarding the question of non-racialism which the international community believes in.

Our feeling is that of assisting organizations which are striving for political power for it is in normal times that the sports policy can be normalized. By so saying we do not mean to disregard sports, for by isolating the Pretoria Government in sport they are minus one channel of gaining publicity and acceptance world-wide.

We should strive towards educating our sports players and officials so that they should be aware of the implications of accepting the window-dressing springbok tours.

MOTION

J.L. deW. Luit  
19/5/1977  
505 Letten House  
25(2)

That this G.S.C.

noting:

.....  
That Mr. Vincent Tshabalala, by his trip to the French  
Tournament, and his pseudo friendship to Gary Player,  
has just offered himself to be used as a puppet  
towards the achievement of the white goals in the  
recognition as Multi-racial ~~.....~~ path of the  
country internationally.....

(ii) He went overseas not with the view or an object  
to represent the Black people of Azania but to  
represent Player and his Family.....

~~.....~~  
~~(i) There is no difference between his position~~  
~~and all other operating under the system.....~~

(iii) Furthermore his pioneering of West Randi Bantu Golfers  
Union also indicates his appreciation and support  
of the Government policy of separate sports bodies.....

..... Therefore Reactive.....  
(ii) There is no difference between him and Bantu  
players <sup>all</sup> other operating under the system.....

..... We shall reject in toto all other people  
who shall allow themselves to be used in the  
same way as against the presentation of the real  
South African equal separate development policy.....

~~(iii) We further recommend~~  
~~.....~~  
~~.....~~

(iv) We recommend and support the non-racial bodies  
call for boycott of South African sports internationally  
until racism is dropped from sport unconditionally.....

MOVER : Mrs. Tshabalala  
SECONDER: Jeseph. MATOPANYANE.....

CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY  
DEFEATED .....

Trinis G.S.C noting that

1. The new sports policy of this country is in fact along what they term multi-nationalism.
2. The ruling group is trying to buy the international sports bodies by ~~pre~~ selling this decadent and confused policy.
3. The Federation sports bodies are internationally <sup>recognized</sup> for their non-racial stance

Therefore resolves

1. To reject intorto their new sports policy
2. To influence Black teams, especially the African teams, to join forces with the non-racial sports bodies

Mover : Zweli Sizani  
 Secanclar : Salim Vally

Against : 2  
 Abstain : 1  
 For : 31

J. Chum Luit  
 19/10/1977  
 505 Letter House  
 26(19)

## INTRODUCTORY REMARKS ON EDUCATION AND AN OUTLINE

### OF A SUGGESTED EDUCATIONAL POLICY.

by Zimjiva Nkondo

I cannot see myself talking about education in general terms without defining to myself the word 'general'. To me "general terms" means "particular terms" used to embrace a broad outline of the particular. General terms, therefore, are only general in so far as they are meant to be applied generally to the particular.

What is particular about my general terms is that I want to relate them to this country - Azania. I want to suggest to the people here what I think "education" should be like in this country if it has to be meaningful at all.

This immediately poses a few problems to a person like myself, who belongs to an oppressed section of the nation, who rightly believes in and is dedicated to the liberation of his people. The liberation referred to here is embodied in the policy statement of Black Consciousness.

Why I take the policy statement which embodies my beliefs is because I do not want to talk out of context of myself. I do not want to trap myself in the context of other people because if I do that, I'll over-hear myself painfully arguing to remove dead cells from a dead donkey in order to ressurect it.

I do not want to bestow a better name for "Bantu Aducation", I want a relevant Azanian Education. I'll accordingly refrain from pinning for Africanization of tribal educational institutions and universities if I have to deliberately fail to see the cancer philosophy behind the establishment of same. I'll avail myself to any discussion and planning of an educational policy for my people, for I believe that policy is and must be the cornerstone of any educational system.

I believe that to talk policy is godly. To talk policy is to relate and to create the future: it is to take care of the dying past in the present and to nourish the birth of the future. It is because of this belief that I am convinced that a meaningful policy of our educational system should provide and accommodate change. Our educational policy should be in line with the envisaged overall changes in the society - granted that our schools alone cannot alter attitudes completely or revolutionalize whole districts, nevertheless they can be used as major institutions of political socialization, attitude change, and as supporting the entire programme of national transformation.

I deem it necessary here, before I embark on the sacred task of suggesting a policy for education, to remark that educational systems stem from policies that are fashioned to maintain the status quo - from policies that are geared to protect the social, economic and political systems of particular countries and nations. I do not only believe that this is true in our country, I also know that it is so - Bantu Education with its sordid bee-sting of social, economic and political inferiority is as bad as the famous white National Education with its hoodoo of social, economic and selfish political superiority - both are hatched by a foreign hen that believes in the superiority of the colour of its feathers and usually the superiority of its insatiable deep appetite.

I am not going to burden you with the details of the appetite of this "freaky" hen least I be accused of inciting chicken appetite hostility, I'll leave such exercise to experienced frivolous tribal chefs.

I believe in the human philosophy of sharing - I believe that I should work to bring into existence a society that shares its wealth equally, a society that shares its hardships and livelihoods, a society that shares knowledge. I can therefore, only embrace that educational system that is modeled to help establish such a society for my people. My general proposals, therefore, should be seen in the light of this belief and dedication.

#### THE GENERAL PROPOSALS OF AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY:

In suggesting the following policy of education, I wish to point out certain fundamental beliefs which are important in considering a progressive educational policy for any nation like Azania.

- Education should be made an instrument for national unity.
- Education should be geared towards raising the cultural, social, economic and intellectual level of all citizens.
- The general content of education should be geared towards the promotion of self-reliance, a high level of critical awareness, understanding of the community and its problems and a sense of positive self-identity.
- Education should be geared toward the destruction of all racist, tribalist and sectionalist notions.

Emphasis should be based on school-based education, although a general programme of rapid elimination of illiteracy involving adults should be designed and implemented. Schools should be based in the communities and school activities should relate to the needs of these communities. Education should be free and compulsory for all from the beginning to the age of sixteen, as well as free but not compulsory up to junior degree. The system of school-fees enables only those children from wealthier families to remain at school for a longer period - this will result in such children getting more education than the others and so reinforce social inequalities which a country based on the philosophy of communalism cannot afford. Furthermore, education in senior degrees should be subsidised through government controlled scholarships. Student and pupils should however be made to see the process of education which is offered them free of charge as an important process of equipping them for a meaningful contribution in the development of a prosperous nation, and therefore, refrain from misusing the valuable time. Any educational institution anywhere in the country should be open to any student from anywhere provided that only resident nationals shall be subsidised by the state. I want to emphasise here that, educational facilities should be open to all citizens without racial, tribal or any other sectional restriction.

The responsibility of the state towards its citizens with regard to education should start at a very early age. This therefore brings us to the question of pre-school education. With regard to this level of education I have the following points to make:

1. All children should be admitted to nursery schools from the minimum age of two years to the maximum age of five years. The details of the content of nursery education should be left to qualified nursery-education planners. However, broadly speaking, the rhymes, verses and lessons prepared should be in keeping with the fundamental beliefs pointed out above.
2. The running of nursery schools should be left to an exclusive staff of elderly and motherly ladies who need to undertake supplementary studies not only in child psychology and sociology, but also in elementary community development and understanding.

With regard to primary and secondary education I propose the following:

1. The state should strive to have a complete school with all standards from class one to standard ten for every 5 000 people and keep the pupil/teacher ratio at a maximum of 30:1. This would serve to put an end to the double sessions and platoon systems that so regrettably abound in schools meant for Blacks.
2. Like in the case of nursery schools, elderly and motherly ladies are recommended to handle the first two sub-standards classes in primary education.
3. Children should be admitted to class one at the age of five and should continue with general education for ten years up to standard eight. The last two years of secondary education, standard nine and ten, should be specialised years in preparation for university work. In the case of technical and vocational fields, specialization should start from standard seven.
4. General education from standard one to standard eight should broadly cover the following areas:
  - Elementary technical education should include electricity, electronics, motor mechanics and engineering.
  - Environmental studies touching on geography, history, politics and constitutional structures mainly of our country, but also as compared to other states in Africa and others throughout the world.
  - Humanities to include anthropology, sociology and elementary community development.
  - The basic sciences to include arithmetic, mathematics, elementary physics and chemistry and comparative economic systems.
  - Extra curricular studies to include sport, music, arts and crafts and other related cultural studies.
5. Teachers should be trained to specialise in various fields of education such that a teacher can handle one or two related subjects in several classes. In this case there would be no question of one teacher dealing with all seven or eight various subjects taught in one class.

6. If we accept and recognise the very important roles played by teachers in the process of building the nation, we should then appreciate the need for them to be decently and reasonably remunerated; that might encourage them not only to take their jobs more seriously, but also to keep them from breaking off to industrial and other various jobs.
7. Courses for subjects at schools should be taught in the medium of an acceptable language chosen by the community and mainly, preferably English as an acceptable international language should be used.
8. For every district or circuit there should be a highly qualified child-psychologists, whose task should be to assess the vocational and possible carriers of pupils. They should also design IQ and aptitude tests to be conducted from time to time. These would help children to advance fast in the correct direction to avoid ending up with carriers that are frustrating and therefore, fail to serve the nation most ably.
9. In many cases, and this is predominately prevalent amongst the presently oppressed communities, living conditions tend to affect the academic and social performance of the child at school. It is therefore important for each educational institution should have attached to it, a number of social workers whose task should be to go into the background of each and every child enrolled with the school, with a view to adjusting appropriately the minds of both children and parents for better achievement of the ultimate goals of education as I see them.
10. Special schools for physically and mentally handicapped children should be spread adequately throughout the country and such children should be sent to such schools as a matter of obligation.
11. In many cases pupils and students tend to have a general phobia" for examination time at the end of the year, and to a significant extent this does affect the numbers of those that pass the examinations. I therefore wish to recommend that a person's performance right throughout the year should what decides the question of promotion; rather than most trust be left to judgement based on one single end of the year examination. The same should apply to students in institutions of higher learning.

In regard to higher education, it should be appreciated that people involved are on the brink of being regarded as fully fledged members of society in their own right. It is at this stage that the educational process should make sure that it has offered them enough opportunity to understand their environment and the types of economic and social communities that make up the Azanian nation.

I therefore wish to recommend that during the course of their stay at the institutions of higher learning, the students should be offered obligatory opportunities to broaden their communities experiences by letting those who come from urban background to spend fruitful periods of time with rural communities, and participating in their day to day activities. Similarly, those who come from rural areas should spend time with urban communities. This could be done during periods of vacations and holiday .

Secondly, I wish to recommend that students studying for certain professions be given both theoretical and practical work in those particular fields whilst still enrolled with the institutions of learning, so that by the time they leave such institutions they are ready to start work as fully qualified professional people. This would mean for example, that lawyers and accountants would serve their articles by doing professional duties while they are registered students.

Thirdly, in studies of humanities, the content should largely be relevant to the situation in our country, especially in the social sciences.

Fourthly, there must be strong meaningful student participation in the administration of the affairs of the institutions of higher learning. This, I believe, is most important to ensure harmonious student-administration relations.

Ladies and gentlemen, this is what I believe to be the correct approach to an educational system meant to promote the ideals I stand for - this is what I suggest.  
Thank you.

EDUCATION

This Commission feels that discussing about Education is something really that needs time and different ideas of Educationalists, Professionals.

But it feels that the following must be much considered about B.E.:

1. The words that were said by Dr. VERWOERD when introducing Bantu Education in 1955.
    - (i) B.E. is to put a Native in his place".
    - (ii) "A Bantu is a corner stone of South African labour, and therefore education for a Bantu should be made in a manner that he is productive".
  2. We must consider that Bantu Education was introduced to make us tools of the White man or push and back his progress.
  2. It's Commercial Subjects are based on Capitalism.
  4. Subjects like home craft, and Agriculture are there to dominate Blacks.
  5. This education promotes selfishness and individualism amongst blacks.
  6. It was introduced to promote White Superiority.
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Kind of Education that must be introduced to Blacks, it must be the kind of Education that must be as follows:

1. It must be liberatory Education.
2. That will discourage tribalism and emphasise common similarities amongst blacks.
3. That will make us to consider our culture more than the Western civilisation.
4. That will teach us to be self reliant.

The commission would like to make it clear to the house that, it rejects any kind of Education that will be impure like the White Education in a manner that it encourages racism, superiority, monopolism and capitalism.

The commission proposes that SASM should meet with other movements that is BCP, ect. to decide on the kind of Education to substitute Bantu Education.

## POLICY.

### RELIGION.

SASM feels religion has been grossly misinterpreted in this country hence there is a need for a correct interpretation of religion. Religion should accommodate and strengthen our faith in the liberation struggle. It should be emphatically related to earthly issues, since any religion preaches emancipation of the oppressed, and poor.

### WORKERS.

Having analysed the situation of the workers and their participation during the uprisings, SASM believes that students need the full support of workers in the struggle for national liberation. Workers should positively respond to progressive organisers of workers movements, who genuinely serve the interests of the workers.

### WAGES

It is SASM's believe that the colour of one's skin has never determined his ability and wages, as is done in South Africa. Hence workers doing the same job should be paid equally according to their standards of education, irrespective of colour and race.

### PROFESSIONALS.

Black professionals are gradually moving away from the suffering black masses, they seem to be creating a class of their own which has strong middle class leanings. It is SASM's strong feeling that professionals should relinquish their individualist tendencies and see to it that they serve the community, which happens to be oppressed and poor. Their life style should identify with that of the ordinary man.

### TRADE UNIONS.

SASM realize that there is a dire need for organized workers who are total force by themselves. Most of the trade unions which operates legally or semi-legally are conforming to the status-quo and selling workers and consolidate their bargaining power.

### FOREIGN INVESTMENT.

By investing in this country, overseas countries are directly promoting apartheid and helping to suppress black aspirations in their fight for a national identity. All foreign investors are attracted by abundant cheap labour and are directly promoting the homeland policy, which divides blacks and at the same time maintaining this concourous racial policy perpetuated by the government. For these reasons SASM is against

and abhor foreign investments, and will work endlessly to discourage foreign investments.

GOVERNMENT-CREATED BODIES,

In order to secure the perpetuation of the inhuman policy of apartheid, the notorious Pretoria Regime has embarked on massive programme of dividing the masses of South Africa and their indivisible state along ethnic lines. Whatever the argument for the division of our motherland into mini-states that are dependent completely on Pretoria for their existence, one thing remains certain, it is a well calculated ploy aimed at sabotaging our struggle for national liberation by diverting our attention from viewing South Africa as a single entity. It therefore stands to reason that in order to maintain solidarity - prelude to total liberation - S.A.S. rejects in the strongest possible terms Bantustans, C.N.C. and the SAIC.

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REPORT ON POLICY.RELIGION.

Seeing that Rel. has been misinterpreted to blacks we feel that correct interpretation should be given to our people. Rel. should accommodate and strengthen our faith in the struggle. It should be emphatically related to earthly issues, since any rel. preaches the emancipation of the oppressed, and poor people should be themselves when worshipping not imitating the white way of worship, which pacifies their spirits.

WORKERS.

Having analysed the situation of the workers and their participation during the uprisings. We feel that we need their full support and participation. Our parents as workers should actively sympathize with the struggle for National Liberation. Should positively respond to the progressive organizers of Workers Movements who are genuinely for the Liberation of our country and serves the interest of the workers.

SPORT?

Sports has never been organised on Racial basis and Sportsman should be encouraged to participate in non-racial Sports bodies.

WAGES.

It is S.A.S.M.'S. belief that the colour of one's skin should not determine his ability and wages, as it is done in S.A. Hence workers doing the same job should be paid equally according to their standard of Education irrespective of colour or race.

PROFESSIONALS: Only Black professionals.

Professionals are gradually moving away from the suffering black masses. They seem to be creating class divisions, which we are eager to get rid of! Therefore! Professionals should relinquish their individualism and see to it that they serve the community, which happens to be oppressed and poor. Their life style should identify with that of ordinary man.

TRADE UNIONS.

We realise that there is a dire need for organized workers which are a total force by themselves. Most of the trade unions which are operating legally are conforming to the status quo and selling workers aspirations to the employers. Hence Trade Unions should organize, progressively, the solidarity of workers and consolidate the bargaining power of workers.

**FOREIGN INVESTMENTS.**

By investing in this country, overseas companies are directly promoting apartheid and helping to suppress black aspirations for the liberation of their country. All foreign investors are promoting the homeland policy which divides blacks and at the same time maintain this cancerous racial policy that is preached and practised by this government.

We shall work endlessly to discourage any further foreign investments and expose the collaborationists who have already invested in this country.

**GOVERNMENT BODIES.**

In order to secure the perpetuation of the inhuman policy of apartheid, the notorious Pretoria Regime has embarked on a massive programme of dividing the masses of Azania and their indivisible state along ethnic lines. Whatever the argument for the division of our motherland into ministates that are dependent completely for their existence on Pretoria, one thing remains certain: It is a well calculated plan aimed at sabotaging our national struggle by diverting our attention from viewing Azania as a single entity. It therefore stands to reason that in order to maintain Black Solidarity - a Prelude to liberation we should reject in the strongest possible terms Bantustans, C.R.C. and the S.A.I.C.

POLICY.RELIGION.

SASM feels religion has been grossly misinterpreted in this country hence there is a need for a correct interpretation of Religion. Religion should accommodate and strengthen our faith in the liberation struggle. It should be emphatically related to earthly issues, since any religion preaches the emancipation of the emancipation of the oppressed and poor.

WORKERS.

Having analysed the situation of the workers and their participation during the uprisings, SASM believes that students need the full support of workers in the struggle for national liberation. Workers should positively respond to progressive organizers of workers movements, who genuinely serve the interests of the workers.

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GOVERNMENT CREATED BODIES.

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