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Ref.:

REPORT

on Proceedings
at the

NATIONAL FORMATION SCHOOL

held at the

NEUSEM



(11th - 13th May, 1973)

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PROGRAMMEFRIDAY - MAY 11th

Morning	-	REGISTRATION
Afternoon	-	2.00 p.m.	Opening Remarks (H.E. Isaac (Acting President))
		2.30-3.30	Intergroup Relations (Donald Kleinschmidt)
		3.30-3.45	Ten
		3.45-4.30	Group Discussions
		4.30-6.30	Plenary
		6.30-7.00	Supper
		7.00-7.30	Evaluation of First Day
		7.30-	SYMPOSIUM: EDUCATION FOR SELF-RELIANCE

SATURDAY - MAY 12th

		7.30-8.00	Breakfast
		8.00-10.00	Plenary
		10.00-10.15	Ten
		10.15-1.00	Group Discussions
		1.00-2.00	Lunch
		2.00-4.00	Plenary
		4.00-4.30	Student Counselling (Marvyn Josie)
		4.30-4.45	Ten
		4.45-6.30	Plenary
		6.30-7.30	Supper
		7.30-9.00	Plenary
		9.00-11.00	Exercise in Participation and Group Relations

SUNDAY:

		8.00-9.00	BREAKFAST
		9.00-10.00	PLENARY
		10.00-1.00	GROUP DISCUSSIONS -- BLACK POWER
		1.00-2.00	LUNCH
		2.00-4.30	PLENARY
		4.30-5.00	EVALUATIONS
		5.00-5.30	SEMINAR ROUND-UP
		5.30-	CLOSURE

The Formation School was opened by the Acting-President, Henry E. Isaac, who briefly outlined the nature and purpose of this important formation school. He emphasised the need among delegates for full participation in group discussions and also at plenary sessions. Having welcomed everybody he called on Mr Kleinschmidt to read his input paper on inter-group relations. (See Annexure)

This paper, though not comprehensive, opened up a wide scope for discussion and exploration. He mentioned communication, programming and involvement in his exposition of inter-group relations. From his paper there arose three questions with which the groups had to deal in-depth.

QUESTIONS:

- 1) How best can Black students effect involvement in the Black Community
 - (a) Among themselves

- (b) Between themselves
 - (c) The Black Community as a whole.
- (2) What is the role of Black groups as agencies in socio-political change?
 - (3) Suggest in detail the type of programmes in which Black groups should involve themselves in pursuit of the Black man's aspirations.

The various groups dealt in depth with the tasks before them though plenty expressed dissatisfaction with two groups and requested that they be sent back to re-consider their findings. Group 2 was invited and herein to report on their findings and recommendations.

Question: What is the role of Black groups (or students) as Agencies in Socio-Cultural change.

The topic appeared to be too vast and could be tackled from several angles. This group, therefore, selected Education, Economy and Arts as points to be looked into thoroughly. To act as agencies it was felt that there can be two approaches, viz.

- 1) The type of society envisaged
- 2) That liberation can be the point of departure

The commission agreed unanimously that socio-cultural change should be geared towards the type of society envisaged, i.e. a society based on self-reliance in which liberation is understood.

Education

Education can never be neutral in the sense that education is either for liberation or domestication. In line with the earlier definition education for Blacks in South Africa must be for self-reliance. The Commission spelt out the need for a definition of the educational system that would result in self-reliance. In providing a definition of education for this realisation the method adopted by SASO and improvised in the Literacy Project explains the education which is needed, i.e. education for self-reliance.

Suggested involvement:

- 1) Students and pupils to be trained as co-ordinators for literacy.
- 2) Students qualifying at training colleges should be conscientised and encouraged to join teacher associations.
- 3) Theological students should receive the same attention as other prospective teachers.

Primary School Situation

This situation was looked at in the light of the importance of the church especially the Sunday School, situation.

Recommendations: 1) Representations to the Black Theology Agency for the simplification of Black Theology and to present this in the form of seminars to Sunday School teachers and lay preachers.

2) For schemes of scrutinizing and heightening the awareness of youngsters songs, stickers and slogans are proposed.

Economics

Education of the workers of their rights was emphasized. This way the employee begins to see the relationship between himself and the employer on the one hand, and his fellow employees on the other.

Suggestions:

- 1) The establishment of Advisory Bureau
 - students to be incorporated to make studies of laws affecting the Black worker.
- 11) Hand-to-hand implementation of the Advice Bureau
 - going from hand to hand to complete, for instance, tax forms.
- 111) Use of the Black Workers' Benefit Fund to add to workers co-ordination.

ART:

- Because of a lack of relevant scripts the commission suggested that workshops be held to produce scripts which would serve liberation through the theatre.
- Secondly the group recommended the extension of SACTU on a stronger regional basis.
- Another recommendation is the regional extension of GULCDB.
- People in SASO who are gifted in writing should be motivated to write relevant literature.

In answer to the first question: How best can Black students affect involvement in the Community.

- a) Between themselves
- b) Among themselves
- c) Black Community as a whole
- a) Individual

Communication was seen as a vital factor in social inter-action. The individuals should start off with a basic understanding and acceptance of Black Consciousness, and must realise that involvement is for the group and not individuals. Should instances of personality clashes arise these must be tackled with frankness and openness. At no stage should any member feel guilty of outward reactions which may be harmful to the organisation.

Commitment should come freely, but with a little motivation from members there must be seen results. Different committees to compile reports - and focus must be made on certain individuals as this would help in the selection of new leaders at GSC and at other levels. There must be diversification of leadership.

(b) Relationship with other groups.

Approach -

Agreement

Apathetic

Disagreement

Collaboration

Conscientize

Conflict

A

D

C

These groups would need scrutinizing of their policy and actions.

A. - Work together and help where necessary

- Exchange what is going on in each group.

D - Conscientize

i) By means of seminars

ii) By indirect means which can be by social gatherings

- fundraising

- exchange of view

iii) Invite groups to participate in projects which we are running and those that they are running.

iv) Interest them in Probrat, Culson, etc.

v) Members of other branches must know fully what is happening in other branches.

At branch level these projects must be established and maintained.

vi) Hostile organisations must be 'infiltrated' and worked upon from inside.

c - Relationships with other Organisations

- Do gooders must be tolerated but physical projects must be engaged in as mentioned above so that do gooder organisations could be removed from the Community.

Relation with other Organisations

- Surveys must be undertaken in the Community

- Encourage physical projects (actions are louder than words)

- Encourage and implement the Home Education Scheme

- Self help projects in which the Community is going to derive pride and dignity in their participation.

On the third question the group listed a number of things that could be done to pursue the aspirations of the Black man

1) Co-operation-

- with groups working for change co-operation on issues like Black Consciousness, Home Education Scheme, Agricultural Programmes, and other self-help projects

- whilst working with these groups - conscientize and make them accept independence from white paternalism.

- teachers associations more interested in Voluntary work in the educational field.

2) Infiltration

Infiltration formed at two levels - inside and outside.

(a) From inside:

- post man into group to conscientize and organize group

(b) From outside:

- select members of group and influence them from a distance, interesting them in particular programmes, urging them to stand for influential positions.
- when elections come - discussing and canvassing must be engaged in

3) Persuasion and Confrontation

- applicable to group not hostile to general aspirations but has hang-ups about certain issues.
- befriend these people as a group or individuals and try and persuade them to see your point of view
- if after all this and nothing happens, then you place cards on the table and confront the group. Explain your goal and ask them to define their stand explicitly.

4) Absorption

- Group thoroughly conscientized - a relevant man in a position of influence.
- Group now completely under control and has been re-directed- therefore, members of this group are absorbed into the stable body.

After a lengthy discussion of these reports on the first day the members were asked to do an evaluation of the first days work. Typical comments were:

- 1) Lack of participation by certain people.
- 2) Little time recorded group discussions.
- 3) Attitude of members not open-minded, but defensive and somewhat inhibiting.
- 4) Questions vague and confusing at times.

It was at this point that we adjourned for the symposium jointly arranged by Fort Hare SASO Local and the Federal Theological Seminary, the topic of which was "Education for Self-Reliance". Speaking at this symposium which had a capacity crowd were:-

- Hamilton Dandala (Fadson)
- G.A. Tiro (Head Office - Acting Permanent Organiser)
- Pumilo Majeka (Chairman SASO Local Fort Hare)
- Don J. Long (Head office - Acting Secretary-General)

Saturday 12th

On Saturday the session was led by Tiro in the temporary absence of the Acting President. The two groups that had been sent back to reconsider their findings reported back. Mac Kleinschmidt then made a round-up of this session.

Mapotla and Don then posed two questions for discussion by groups.

QUESTIONS:

1. How can the various groups in the Black Community communicate efficiently and influence each other to embrace Black Solidarity in view of :

- a) The Social Distance
- b) The economic stratification
- c) The preferential political privileges accorded these groups by the system.

2. Various groups and organizations in the Black Community are not necessarily Black oriented and Black Consciousness groups must reach influence and re-direct them and make them relevant to the Black struggle for liberation. List in detail 4 ways you would employ to re-direct and influence them.

The three groups were supposed to deal with all these questions in detail. Groups referred to in question one were mainly race groups, and a solution had to be found to bridge the gap that existed in their ranks. To eradicate this distance emphasis should be laid on Black Consciousness and on Communication. Results of social distance are prejudice and animosity amongst racial groups. The system imposes physical distance which results in social and psychological distance which the people impose on themselves.

Social distance is an artificial phenomenon brought about by even tags like kaffir, coolie and hotnot, thus stifling communication and interaction. Here psychological conscientization by means of slogans, stickers like "Black is Beautiful" become relevant and effective. The groups must look into the following:-

- 1) A common cultural pull.

All resources should be pooled and brought together into a single culture eg. music, poetry, theatre and Black entertainment for the realization of self and the breakdown of slave mentality. Sports groups could come in handy in this scheme

- 2) Individual Conscientization

Businessmen and other people in positions of influence should be approached and put in the know as regards things that happen around us and must be encouraged to form single bodies that shall bind and unite them in their respective fields. In this way there is mutual benefit, understanding and co-operation.

- 3) Conscientization of other Cultural groups

Exmpl: (-) Mothers' Union

Interest them into coming together and forming one Black Union, and introduce the fact that they are worshipping one God who should be relevant to their situation.

- (b) Choirs

Arrange Black choir festivals and ask people take interest in relevant Black music.

- (c) Women's Associations

- they should be oriented towards becoming relevant in the Black Community. If they fundraise they must be fundraising

for a good cause like Literacy.

4) Social and Welfare workers

Social and welfare workers must be helped to function more efficiently and awardingly. They must be involved with Black Consciousness and must counsel people on relevant and particular problems.

5) Youth Clubs

Organise symposia and seminars for high schools and youth clubs. This allows the youth to meet physically and intellectually. Social contact where people share common experiences leads to a breaking down of social barriers and stereotypes.

In all these groups mentioned above a STABLE group must be formed to act as core of the group. The stable group will exercise influence on the members of the group and direct operations from a vantage position.

b) Economic stratification

Remarks: Because of the exploitative economic system practiced here, whites occupy the peak of the economic stratum and Africans the lowest.

Lack of financial resources renders Blacks incapable of competing in the 'open' market thus they find themselves supporting the exploitative system in one form or the other. This problem could be solved in this way:-

- i) By interesting people in communalism and plough back their finances in the Black Community.
- ii) Formation of co-operatives for both producers and consumers.

WORK SITUATION

- The system encourages division of Black ranks by making possible the payment of low salaries to Africans and higher salaries to Coloureds and Indians. This is aimed at clouding issues and confusing us, making us feel we do not have common aspirations and objectives.
- to solve this we need to look at Workers' Conditions and help them realize their commonness.
- to 'touch' workers about their rights. If unorganised, the workers must be organised.
- we need to mix with workers in all walks of life and be one with them because we are all part of the oppressed Black Community.
- encourage workers to join in Community development projects.

c) Preferential Political privileges

- The system accords to each group different political privileges which are aimed at heightening suspicion and mistrust in the Black ranks.
- Dentustone got 'land', SAIC's and arc's fight for urban residential rights.

- Therefore a systematic and thorough conscientization programme needs must be conducted to enable the various groups realize that all these privileges are but nothing, and cannot be allowed to weaken our solidarity. Groups must be made aware of the role of the system and that the system thrives on division of the oppressed Blacks.

Solutions:

- Relevant drama. Drama has many possibilities and can be used effectively to reach the people and give them direction. For instance a play like *Sins of the Fathers* impresses the picture of the dehumanized vividly and should enhance the awareness of people.

Formation of relevant political parties

For the Black people to realize their enemy who divides them and to realize that Dentekens, SAID and OIC are merely perpetuating the system, relevant political organisations like the OPC need to come to the fore.

Communication

Group felt that the standard of newsletter for instance was above the grasp of the 'ordinary' man, and far too intellectual. Other members of the public must be made to contribute and make interpretations of the situation.

- Relevant reading material must be made available to people through the envisioned Resource and Activities Centre
- Papers at Seminars and conferences must be condensed and made simpler and then made available to the public.

Common Identity

- This will flow out of the removal of the social distance and political stratification.

SUNDAY 10th

After discussion of these topics the formation school moved on to discuss the theme for this year's Conference: **BLACK POWER: ITS PHILOSOPHICAL FOUNDATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS**. This topic was discussed 3 readings viz.

- a) **BLACK POWER: AS A DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL THOUGHT AMONGST BLACKS**
- b) **BLACK POWER: AS AN ECONOMIC PROGRAMME**
- c) **BLACK POWER: AS A PROGRAMME FOR LIBERATION.**

Because of the Comprehensive nature of the papers at report back session I have endeavoured to re-produce them as they are: See Annexures.

The formation school passed one resolution

NFG/1/73

That this National Formation School realising:

- 1) The heavy financial demands on the organisation
- 2) The need for deeper commitment and interaction with the Black Community.

THEREFORE RESOLVES

- 1) To commit ourselves to an extensive fundraising campaign for purposes of the Conference.
- 2) To commit ourselves to at least \$300.00 per branch before 30th June, 1973.
- 3) To go into the Community to establish a platform in and report with the Black Community.

TIRO

JOCIE

CARRIED UNAN

The formation school appears to have been a success owing from the evaluations from members/participants. What appears though, as a disturbing factor is minimal participation by delegates. It also appears some people have not learnt to accept criticism of groups without making this a personal issue and this contributed much to the formation school losing time on very unproductive argument.

It is suggested that in future before a national seminar branches/centres must groom their delegates by having discussions on the theme of the seminar, thereby acquainting their membership with what is to happen at the Seminar. For people to grasp the basics of Black Consciousness and other philosophies centre/branches must organise non-executive discussions on a weekly or so basis, thus educating their membership and arming them for confrontations with the Black Community.

The Acting President made an executive sum-up of proceedings and declared the formation school closed at 5.00 p.m.

ANNEXURE A

BLACK POWER: AS A PROGRAMME FOR LIBERATION

Definition:

Black Power is a utilization of latent power in the people and an empowerment of the people economically, socially and politically. Black Power acts as a catalyst towards change and liberation.

How can Black Power be programmed for liberation.

1) BLACK POWER & EDUCATION

The aim of the present educational system was essentially to give vocational training to Blacks who must fit into pigeon-holes set up by the system.

Various schemes need to be utilized to sensitize the people from the corrupt influences of education. This could be done by the creation of institutions which would be controlled by relevant people. Long-term schemes like the Free University should be looked into, High School student organisations must be put into the picture and made active in their educational destiny.

Private and Sunday School teachers should try and step up conscientization of their "pupils" thus educating children and the Black Community. Education is not necessarily classroom teaching but also informal.

2) BLACK POWER & THEOLOGY

As already mentioned above priests and Sunday School teachers can help in conscientization and help make theology relevant to the aspirations of the Black people. Seminars, symposia and other discussions could be organized such that the respective people gain maximum benefit from participation there. SASO members should participate actively in church activities and must lend the people to knowing that theology and liberation are constant companions. They must take active positions in fields relating to youth work. The Black Theology agency should lay emphasis on liberation, and must relay this message to the grass-roots.

3) BLACK POWER & LABOUR

Labour forms a resistance force. Workers need to be organized and formed into a cohesive units in the form of trade unions. Formation of trade unions is not illegal though Africans cannot belong to registered trade unions because they are by definition not "employees". Nevertheless, labour must be made aware of the power they wield as a group, and they must realize the dependence of management on their services and not vice versa.

Domestic servants have for a long time been kept away from the pulse of things in the Black Community, and they need to be attended to and made aware of their collective bargaining power. They must not feel they are neglected and

looked down upon because this affects their contribution to the Black Community.

Nurses have organisations like SANA (South African Nursing Association) and SANC (South African Nursing Council). These organisations, however, do not deal with problems facing the Black nurses in general. This has far-reaching effects because the nurses are always in a state of anger and are frustrated. They manifest their anger in frustration in their attitude towards patients. In the long run it is the Black Community that suffers. What needs must happen is that Nurses should be encouraged to take an active interest in the welfare of the Community, and must learn to cry out their needs, frustrations and handicaps. Because of their standing in society they can help tremendously in Black people regaining their shattered Confidence, and thus asking a new people out of us.

4) BLACK POWER & CULTURE

Culture can be said to be the sum total of the day to day experiences of a people. It is the expression of their feeling, experiences and aspirations and their social involvement which must be geared towards making them self-reliant and independent.

What could be done is conduct a revival service of the good of the past that has been tarnished and buried. Relevant art and other pursuits should not be apologetic but should aim at killing the myth that Blacks are incapable and are non-human. Drama, poetry and other relevant writing could be used as instruments of empowering the people.

REMARKS: That this group did not explore Black Consciousness as a programme for liberation. Not very much was said about Black Power as an instrument for liberation.

ANNEXURE 2

BLACK POWER: AS A DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL THOUGHT AMONGST BLACKS

Definition:

from James Cone: - "..... the complete emancipation of Black people from white oppression by whatever means Black people deem necessary".

Why Black Power?

Whereas the political thought which prevailed in the Black Community previously was prescribed by the white man, articulated through Black mouths resulting in complete political thought - alienation in the Black situation, the emergence of Black Power is seen as the logical consequence of the realisation by Black people to become faithful to themselves and their own situation, and to relate their political thoughts to their specific situations. To understand this alienation it becomes clear when we look at the type

of society in which Black people find themselves which in essence is a closed society to such an extent that all mechanisms operating within, the super structure are controlled by the whites. In the same way the political mechanism is in the hands of whites.

Development of political thought

Because of political starvation Blacks were becoming dissatisfied. Whites realised this and introduced a number of Bills e.g. Native Land Bill, Native Representative Bill and Native Trust Bill etc. These laws were completely contrary to what they purported to do - they left the Black people disposed and landless. Dissatisfaction resulted in the formation of Trade and Industrial Workers Union which was geared to a type of physical and not psychological liberation. Lack of political insight rendered them ineffective. After this other people began looking at their situation more analytically. This resulted in organisations like ANC and PAC, but because of multi-racial or 'ortones or totally African fringe, these groups could not bring about total liberation of the people.

The group dealt in-depth with the growth of Black political movements in this country. The period of development was divided into the:

(a) pre-union era - which was marked by common resentment of Blacks of the "non-white" franchise. Initially the different Black groups operated independently of the other and could not see themselves as part of a whole.

(b) the early years of union - During which period restrictive legislation on the Black groups intensified, particularly on the African Section. It is during these years that the South African Native Congress (later re-named African National Congress) was born. There was a lot of activity during this era.

(c) period till 1948 - through further legislation Africans were isolated in all respects. The migratory labour system was intensified. During this period means were evolved to bring about Black Unity. Many political groups were born in this period.

(d) 1948 - 1953 - Highlight of this era was the Defiance Campaign which was a campaign against pass laws, non-franchise etc, and a number of riots took place then. This campaign emphasised the fact that all Black groups were feeling the same.

(e) 1953 - 1964 - Re-actionary groups amongst Blacks became prevalent PAC was formed and banned during this period. Most of the groups were concentrating in one form or the other on physical liberation and looked like they were ignoring psychological oppression. Another thing there was no definite philosophy to which people could look to. Many organisations were banned during this period and there ensued a period of temporary lull.

(f) 1964 - Disillusionment with multi-racial organisations who to varying degrees wanted white leadership and domination. People fell into a deep lull until in 1968 when moves towards formation of SASO. In 1969, SASO was formally launched and Black Consciousness finally adopted a philosophy. After SASO has grown numerous other organisations on various places.

The Commission felt that as at present Black Power does not exist in this country. But what exist is Black Consciousness. We need to look at definitions to understand the above assertion.

(i) Black Consciousness - in a political sense is an awareness by the Black that he is oppressed politically, and this realisation must lead him to his liberation.

(ii) Black Solidarity - This is generated by Black Consciousness, the important aspect being "belongingness" of the Black races. The Blacks must realise they are oppressed as a group and must not yield to divisive measures employed against them.

(iii) Black Power - characterised by a feeling of non-collaboration with the oppressive system, this coming out of a realisation of the Black people's history and cultural heritage. Black Power projects an all or-nothing image.