

SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENT MOVEMENT

MINUTES

OF THE

THIRD GENERAL STUDENTS COUNCIL.

Venue : St. Ansgars Conference Centre, Roodepoort.

Date : 28th - 30th May, 1976.

Theme : Reconstruction towards Self-determination

PROGRAMME

28th MAY, 1976

1. Registration
2. Opening Address
3. Presidential Speech
4. Symposium on Campus Militancy
5. Executive Report
6. 1st Commission Sitting:
 - a. Education
 - b. Policy
 - c. Constitution
7. Late Registration
8. Symposium on Black Theology

29th MAY, 1976

SATURDAY

1. Speaker on Black Consciousness
2. Second Commission Sitting:
 - a. Sport
 - b. Culture
 - c. Community Development
3. Role of a Student Movement in the struggle for National Liberation.

30th MAY, 1976

SUNDAY

1. Third Commission Sitting
2.
 - a. Relations
 - b. Operation and Communication

2. History of the struggle
3. Planning Commission
4. Elections.

A G E N D A

Interim Executive

President : Vusi TSHABALALA
Vice President : Siphe Ciko MBATHA
Sec. General : Nkululeko XELITHOLE
Organising Sec.: Zwelinzima SIZANI
Additional
Members : Themba MAJOKA
Kabelo MOFOKENG
Lesedi B. MASETHLA

Sittings:

28th May, 1976

The President, Vusi TSHABALALA, opened the G.S.C. formally and led the house in singing "Unzima Lomthwalo".

He then delivered his official Presidential Address (refer: Presidential address).

Nadikoe T. MANTHATA led G.S.C. in a symposium on Campus Militancy.

The Organising Secretary read the Executive Report and was adopted. (refer: Executive Report)

G.S.C. broke into three commissions :

- a. Education
- b. Policy
- c. Constitution

- a. The Report on Education was adopted & presented
- b. The Commission on Policy presented the Black Students Manifesto of SASO as its reports, which was adopted.
- c. A new structure of the Executive Committee was proposed and accepted. A new portfolio that of Director of Publications was introduced and number five under "Powers and Duties of the National Executive Committee" was scrapped off.

In a symposium on Black Theology a paper was read by Puso K. KHUTSOANE.

29th May, 1976

G.S.C. sat to listen to a speech on Black Consciousness by Aubrey MOKOENA thereafter the house broke into three commissions:

- a. Sport
- b. Culture
- c. Community Development

- 1a. The report on Sport was adopted as presented
- b. The report of this commission was in the form of a motion which was adopted.

the publication of newsletters and reading of poetry.

Newsletters should:

- (i) Criticise all racial segregated sport bodies.
- (ii) Criticise government created bodies like bantustans, crc, saic.
- (iii) Criticise and discourage foreign investments.
- (iv) Bear clarity on the back ground of culture and education of the Blackman.
- (d) Promote seminars.
- (e) Organise and comemorate eventful days such as Heroes Day.

The student can organise community projects such as:-

- (i) Giving clthing to needy individuals.
- (ii) Organise soup feeding schemes.
- (iii) Organise literacy projects
- (iv) Initiate Black Theology

Draw up in constitutional laguage the aims of a national student mo vement consisted with the goals mentioned above.

For the liberation of a Blackman, the national student movement shall

- 1. Heighten the sense of awareness.
- 2. Promote the spirit of fraternity, self-reliance and communalism.
- 3. Spread its tenacles by means of periodical Newletters wich should reflect everything written under heading "Newsletters should"
- 4. Organise seminars.
- 5. Organise and observe eventful days in the struggle of a Blackman in Azania.
- 6. Organise community projects.

AIMS:

- (a) To help encourage the students to understand their work by organising study groups.
- (b) To promote mutual understanding and discussions and activities about the liberation of a Blackman.
- (c) To promote fluid communication between students and the staff where applicable.
- (d) To instill the spirit of sharing hardships and happiness with parents
- (e) To instil the spirit of belonging in students.
- (f) To conduct research in the cultural background of a Blackman.

GOALS:

- (a) Developement of character and objectivity.

MOTIONS

The following motions on current issues were tabled and were unanimously adopted by G.S.C.

Afrikaans Strikes

That this G.S.C. noting:

1. The recent strikes by schools against the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction is a sign of demonstration against schools' systematized producing of "good industrial boys" for the powers that be
2. The national, implications of these strikes

Therefore resolve:

1. To totally reject the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction
2. To fully support the students who took a stand in the rejection of this dialect
3. Also to condemn the racially Separated Educational system

MOVER: MOTAPANYANE T.
SECONDER: HLATSHWAYO T.

Transkei

That this G.S.C. noting,

1. the "independence" of the Transkei is "given" so as to "frustrate" and "divert" our struggle for national liberation.
2. the Transkei "independence" is a show case to the world by the Pretoria regim to serve its interest of catalyst ideology

Therefore resolve;

To totally reject the independence of the Transkei and any other thing pertaining to it.

MOVER: MWALE G.
SECONDER: THEMBISA M.

Leslie SEHUME:

That this G.S.C. noting,

1. the "famous flying object of Sport", Leslie SEHUME, will undertake his treacherous adventures in New Zealand.
2. the warm "exposing" article in the Vaderland-, "Ons stuur Swartman na N-Seëland" on the 30/5/76.

Therefore resolve,

1. to condemn inorte his mission as Anti-Black cause actions
2. to inform him that his Judas Iscariot's actions won't in any way deter the struggle

MOVER : SIZANI Z.
SECONDER: MATSHI S.

Culture:

That this G.S.C. noting,

1. our culture has been good to meet our needs all the times,
2. our culture has been polluted by Western Culture

Therefore resolves,

1. to organise rural camps wherein urban students will have to live with rural families,
2. to encourage people to wear African garbos.

MOVER : NGEMA V.
SECONDER: HLATSHWAYO T.

Internal Security Bill;

That this G.S.C. noting,

1. the provision of the I.S. Bill and the likes are mere intimidatory laws planned by the powers that be to maintain the status quo.
2. Black people of Azania have been victims of these draconian laws from time immemorial.

Therefore resolve,

1. to totally reject all such draconian laws
2. to maintain blacks dignity and convictions irrespective of what the Pretoria regime legislates

MOVER : MOTAPANYANE T.
SECONDER : WAQETHUKA M.

Presidential Speech

Black Brothers and sisters of Azania. Rightful owners of the fertile soil. Our issue at hand is one of the greatest of its nature. If not the greatest in the whole world. This means that we are the people mostly directed to the issue as opposed to other people. We are second to none towards changing South Africa into Azania. If we are second to none change won't come unless brought by us.

Again, Brothers and Sisters; though we are directly involved in this cause Black people: WE are much more involved as students. By so saying I am trying to pinpoint the slight difference of the level of engineering change as students and as laymen. The student has all the capacity to build and after to lead our cause with all the necessary diplomatic strategies at hand.

So, we are here today as a student, not to come and question or to come and ask the Executive of SASM about what is to be done; but to fulfill the obligation of Azanian students by jointly contributing in our struggle towards bringing the necessary change. Let us not take this conference as most talked about social gathering where people meet one another for mere furthering of introductions or "popularity". Let us direct our thinking towards our cause as one organisation. By so saying I merely appeal to you to contribute as far as our brains can carry us.

Let us remove all the fear which might act as a stumbling block towards our obligatory task. I want to assure you that one must really fear nothing in doing the right thing. For the truth we shall stand irrespective of any bitterness encountered. For justice we shall stand irrespective of any evil spirits prevailing. For freedom we shall stand irrespective of any amount of torture involved. We shall not allow ourselves to be turned from our God who is not armed with a gun; our God who is armed with justice, truth and love; only to be incorporated to evil. We shall not allow ourselves to be separated from Him irrespective of the amount of money or partial freedom promised us by our oppressors. We shall rather die in His hands if death becomes the only alternative from sticking to the truth. Any way, death is the necessary end for human life. That is why our leaders decided to stay in Robben Island rather than coming to perform duties for Satan operating his hell at the Transkei, Kwa-Zulu, and you name them. We shall not ignore them (Leaders) in our daily struggle because they pioneered a great way for us. Leading us to freedom. Should they have decided to do nothing; they should have landed on the "safe" side; getting Honorary doctoral degrees coupled with daily trips to America, like our pseudo-leaders; Gatsha Buthelezi, Matanzima and all who try to show us that the Bantu Homelands are here to stay.

Sons and Daughters of the soil; we are not here because we volunteered for the struggle to freedom; but because we are obliged by the thirst or need to struggle. The word itself (struggle) shows that no one must expect

tortureless nursing or luxury like our pseudo-leaders. We have seen people getting paid for their traitorship; we have seen people being turned into dogs to bark and bite their own nations. That is why we (students) are daily barked at or threatened that we shall lose our Bantu education and rot in prisons if we involve ourselves in the task for liberation. Most unfortunate, some little number of students, who do not have objective and/or independent thinking minds have accepted this venom. They will thus tell you that they suspend the struggle for a while; until they complete their studies. This view is out. Every step of a Blackman is suffering. I wonder whether a student who suspends the struggle changes to the state of freedom during the period of suspension; or he still suffers, but he does not want to respond because he is in the phase of suspension; non-involvement. Our struggle is not a part time hobby.

Let our intellectual strongholds be the building pillars of the "inevitable" hotting of the struggle, without any cheating. It is undeniable that change is coming. Everyone hears the strong winds of change unless when he lacks sensory receptivity. The bells of history toll louder and louder everyday. They tell us that history will never at one stage come to a standstill. This is another emphasis of the coming of change. The Great Roman Empire fell. She thought she too strong, to an extent of not being shaken by anything. America was recently shown by Vietnam that pride comes before a fall. All these show that the advantages of change are on our side. We are fighting a winning battle, with our God on the other unseen hand.

To our long detained brothers, I would like to say stick on. To our recently detained brothers and sisters, I would like to say hold tough. To our "just to be detained brothers", I would like to say change not. We want freedom. We shall rather be 'free' in prison rather than serving evil spirits outside. To all the Black students; let us flow with the current of liberation. We are all called. Those who shall come, or who shall take an opposite direction, shall be known. What shall happen to them, is not yet revealable.

POWER!

Vusi Tshabalala

National Report

Interim Committee:

President : Vusi Tsbabalala
Vice President : Ciko Siphon Mbatha
Secretary General: Nkululeko Xelithole
Organising Sec. : Zweli Sizani
Comm. Mebers : Billy Masetlha
Kabello Mofokeng

Not much has to be expected from this committee in that they only started working together from the beginning of this year after the movements elected executive had been disturbed by the interference by special branch members through detentions, etc.

From the 1975 conference of Sasm everything seemed to be working up fine, there was really co-ordination of work within the movement. The then National Executive was:

President : Vusi Tshabalala (Vaal Complex)
Vice President : Zuzile Cindi (E.C.)
Organising Sec. : Nkosiyakhe Masondo (JHB.)
Secretary General : Billy Masetlha (JHB)

Through the everyday harrassments from the Security Police in the Eastern Cape especially on our Vice President's we found ourselves having to do without one for they had forced him into exile. All this did not deter our Executives' courageous leadership.

The remaining three seemed to be working fine in that no one was co-opted into the Vice Presidency but this indirectly broke the communication between the Executive and the Eastern Cape Branch for quite some time.

In September, our Organising Secretary was detained and some of the Jo'burg branch members were either detained or forced into exile. The detention of Nkosiyakhe completely broke down the executive in that only two executive members remained and by then most students were preparing for their examinations so then not much could have been done. And we are here today without our Organising Secretary for he is serving a five year sentence.

The two remaining executive members co-opted four members whose names and portfolios are stated in the beginning of this year. So far we have been together.

Our top most duty was to work towards a G.S.C. which it was agreed the Transvaal will have to host.

In the Vaal complex, after the President had left for Varsity together with other members, there was absolutely nothing doing in that area.

Johannesburg branch we found no student wanted to meddle with it in view of the arrests and exiles experienced there. Students turned to sympathize with SASM and through everything was done to co-ordinate them but in vain.

In Natal everything had to be started from the beginning for little or none was known of SASM and it was only in the last few months that encouraging contact was made with students in the Pietermaritzburg area.

In the Eastern Cape S.A.S.M. is met with enthusiasm by students though some tend to avoid it because of the 31 members who were detained and five of them have been charged under the famous Terrorism Act.

In this region we witness the speedy growth of branches established recently, namely, Tembalabantu (Zwelitsha), Nompandolo, Gold, Forbes, Kuyasa and Sehusha (Transkei). One of the most promising branches in the Eastern Cape is Head-Healdtown, membership is growing at a fast rate.

This region has undertaken projects jointly with the local branch of Saso, due to lack of funds. At the moment this branch is involved in developing the

SPORT COMMISSION

BACKGROUND

We blacks are aware that we can not avoid politics in our daily lives. This becomes more apparent in our Azania situation, where our daily movements are controlled by useless and ruthless discriminatory laws. That is why we reject Koornhoff (minister of sport) and his Nationalists criticism that the international community has been using politics to bar South African participation in the international Games like World Cups, etc. IN Vorsters' regime point of view, multinational sport is the answer to the South African problems. And so, and large, can enable him for time being to give the world the impression that he is committed to radical changes. He believes that the free World is going to accept this trash.

In order that we should arrive at a proper conclusion of deliberations we should examine Vorster government point of view in regard to separate development. We will have different Nations in one country, hence Multi-national sports.

1. MULTI-NATIONAL SPORTS

We as black nation we do not agree in the decisions in our country. We should totally reject the multinational sports.

2. MULTI-RACIAL SPORTS

We are aware of the fact that the present system in our country favours whites, in the sense that they have all the necessary facilities in Sport, e.g. sufficient and well cared for Tennis courts, big soccer grounds and Rugby fields. This is in contrast with our situation where we have only few soccer Stadiums, no rugby fields and very few tennis courts and not all constructed and looked after. Thus a question arises, "what should our Sport policy be like???

Sport in S.A. is characterised by discrimination. This so-called multi-racial sports soccer, in particular is designed to boost the already damaged image of the racists internationally. The rejection of the racists in the international sport is attributable to the implementation of apartheid which is manifest in discriminatory sport laws aimed at barring the talented blacks to prove themselves skillful both nationally and internationally. We believe that if the idea of multi-racialism in sport was a sincere attitude; the sport policy makers would for the establishment of multiracial teams with no strings attached to serve interest of sport in our country.

We envisage/.....

THE CIVIL SERVICE POLICY WHICH WILL INCLUDE THEM

1. Players should of all races to be free from colour bar and inferiority complex.
2. Non-sectional based boosting of the morale of sportsmen and women.
3. Sports to afford equitable privileges for all sportsmen and women.

Mr President and my young friends,

You have asked me to address you on the genesis, development and escalation of our movement for national liberation. While I wish to thank you for what is doubtless a signal honour I must hasten to state that it was not without a feeling of inadequacy that I acceded to your request, for, not having a photographic memory I could never give a faithful account of the vicissitudes and travails through which the movement passed. They are legion and without a black press to which we could refer to, verify what statements we make, however meticulous I may try to be, there are bound to be loopholes. I must consequently request you to bear with me for giving you what to all intents and purposes will be a skimpy account.

No review of the history of our liberatory struggle will be adequate, that does not open with a fleeting reference to what I prefer to call the pre-industrialisation period by which I mean the era in which the different tribes that occupied the country fought single-handed to drive off the foreigners who invaded the country and took possession of it. This was the period from the first encounter between the Almeidas sailors in 1648 and the Hottentots - a brush in which the intruders were completely routed, and the Zulu rebellion of 1906. During this period, there was a constant state of hostilities in which the white man's rapine of the country was resisted for 258 years. And this happened notwithstanding the chicanery and bribery which the invaders used to beguile and demoralise Africa chiefs and head-men. Among the black leaders of these troublous times

are peerless names such as Makana, Moshesh, Dingaan, Citywayo and Nyabela whose proud statue stands defiant on a hill in the Middleburg district. Only a poet could describe the exploits of these sons of Africa. They were defeated by the superior arms of the white men but died fighting for the sanctity of this land and the ashes of the fathers.

The Organised liberatory movement on a national scale came about as a consequence of industrialisation with its corollary of detribalisation. Prior to this, the first conscious efforts initiated by a new kind of educated leadership were provincially orientated and arose from the peculiar circumstances of their colony. In the Cape Province where in 1854 the Africans were enfranchised and given a citizenship status, the need arose for the establishment of an organisation and a press to maintain the integrity of their rights and inform themselves generally concerning the state of things in the country. This was the beginning of an association which cut across and did not recognise ethnic affiliations for even in the Cape where the people spoke one language they had none the less been divided by loyalty to different chiefs.

The consciousness of group interests in Natal was caused by a number of forces. The emergence of the Amakholwa as a result of missionary education on the one hand, and the changable land policy following upon the conquest of the Zulus and coupled with the studied determination of the white settlers to reduce blacks to a state of vassalage were the main determinants of this

phenomenon. There was also the formation of farmers corporations and syndicates. These all pointed the way to organisations on a national scale though this was a completely new concept.

The discovery of gold and diamonds in the Transvaal and the Western Cape added to the escalation of the new ferment. As the mines could only become workable propositions when supported by the ever presence of masses of landless workers, the disinherited population saw relief from their schooled impoverishment in the opportunities for employment on the mines where they were assured of regular monetary incomes. The same forces which operated in Natal and the Cape were at work in the Transvaal. There was a land squeeze as the newcomers parcelled the best land among themselves and reduced the blacks to a state of penury. One of the results of this impoverishment was the formation in the this province of a number of presses - Motswalle by Letanka, the Native Advocate by Mr. S.M. Makgathi and Leihlo la Babatsho which was established in Pietersburg by an organisation called the Native Vigilance Association. All these associations sporadic and unconnected as they seemed were symptoms of a new awakening. But the main catalytic force for change was industrialisation. The sprouting town of Johannesburg became the focal point for the emerging class of educated Blacks and soon they had formed "The African Club", where they met to exchange their ideas and plan resistance against the laws which the South African parliament was passing every year. The refusal of the South African and Free State Republics to allow the extension of the Franchise to their provinces at the National Convention which unified the four provinces into the

Union of S. Africa now convinced, the Africans, of the need for a nationwide organisation. At this time, a further factor for national unity was the enactment of the Native Land Act of 1913. Until this law was passed through parliament hundred of black families lived as tenants on the farmers' land and the crop-sharing which a condition of their tenancy enabled them to eke out a decent and comfortable living. This was contrary to the White man's plan which he had been shaping and reshaping in order to control the development of a nation of black workers. So the Act was passed which rendered thousands of families houseless and impoverished them completely. The African National Congress was formed at this stage with John Dube as its first National President. One of its first decisions was to send a Deputation to the British Parliament to plead for the revocation of this Act, but their pleas in this connection fell on deaf ears. After this the Congress became very active and again in 1919 at the end of the First World War when the principle of self-determination as enunciated by the newly formed League of Nations, became generally accepted and raised new hopes, a deputation was dispatched to Britain and again failure was registered because South Africa had refused to be a signatory to the Charter of Human rights which it had helped to draught. After this then they experienced a period of decline and the pass strike of 1918 in the course of which a number of activists were imprisoned. A number of organisations sprang up at this period which attracted many young men to them. One of them was the Joint Council of Europeans and Africans. It gave them the false feeling that if they were not active in the national struggle, at least they were not involved. The

Joint Councils were primarily welfare organisations whose ostensible aim was to initiate welfare projects in the African community. One of the sinister albeit covert aims to exercise control over African leadership. The most negative influence which militated against the development and effectiveness of the Congress was the I.C.U. (Industrial and Commercial Workers Unions). It had a programme of action which attracted the youth away from the main political movement and there followed a lull which lasted until the early thirties when Dr. A.B.L. Xuma was invited the lead to struggle and bring the intellectuals with him.

An important factor in the early stages of the struggle was the Black press. At the same time as the congress was launched, a number of existing papers were malgamated into the Abantu Batho, a press the influence of which cannot be imagined. Edited by a succession of able and eminent leaders, it knit the liberatory forces together and fostered a strong nationalistic spirit as no other medium has done. This press however could not compete successfully against the rival paper the Umteteli wa Bantu which was initiated by the Chamber of Mines.

The rest of the struggle is still green in our memories to be recapitulated and I shall therefore conclude by saying the future of any race lies in the hands of its youth and that real freedom is earned and not given on a platter.

Mr. W. Ngakane.