

—Ref.:

COMMISSIONS FOR G.S.C.

Your attention is drawn to the fact that there will be new commissions sitting for this year's GSC at St Peter's Seminary, Hammanskraal. Our field is rapidly expanding and we had to broaden our scope and outlook as accordingly.

Commission leaders and alternates are requested to look into their respective fields under their specific terms of reference, and then try and prepare comprehensive input material for their commissions and GSC. We need to look in-depth into the various aspects of our involvement as members of the Black Community, first and secondly as students. The organisation has arrived at this point and we need to take stock of the past and work out new strategies and direction. The success of our struggle depends largely on the amount of ground-work we do, and this cannot be over-emphasised.

Each Commission leader and alternate will therefore, be required to research into their fields, look at previous reports and from there draw up input material which will be the foundation upon which the commissions are going to base their findings. Commission leaders shall report to GSC and present whatever motions they wish to table for GSC.

Should there be any points needing clarification, please do not hesitate to ask me.

COMMISSION -- terms of reference

1. EDUCATION -- K. Khutsoane (Mafso)
M. Kleinschmidt (Wast-Cape)

Last years GSC brought to the forefront a critical analysis of education system for Blacks in this country. It is our duty therefore, to review even more critically some aspects of education taking into cognisance their practical implications and the success and failure of the implementation over the past year and further make suggestions for their future development.

-- Education for development and liberation.

-- Higher education -- Black Universities

-- teacher training

-- technical

-- student-staff administration relations

-- Black Students' Manifesto

-- Free University and College Scheme: --Black studies

--Free University Charter

--Black Journalism, etc.,

2/ --Informal

- SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS ORGANISATION
- Informal Education - Literacy Project
 - Continuation/ Home Education.

SPORT: Thro Mootsho
Salby Danya.

There is absolute confusion in the Black sporting world, and sports bodies do not seem to know what stand to take vis-a-vis their relationship to the whole struggle for self-reliance, determination and definition. Sport has always been a cultural outlet for Blacks in this country and this has satisfied the creative urge in Blacks. This commission shall therefore have to examine the following:

- Multi racial bodies
- Non racial (e.g. SACOS)
- Racial bodies - e.g. African, Indian, Coloured.
- Multi-nationalism.

Further the commission will have to seek means whereby sporting bodies can be unified under the banner of Black Consciousness.

Points for consideration are:

- Consolidation
- Incentive
- Sponsorship
- Facilities.

PLANNING.

Planning will have to be considered in the light of the recent happenings. New direction must be found as regards security and strategy.

- Administration:
- staff appointments, areas of expansion,
 - training of staff in office administration, programming and organisational abilities with a view to a specific symposium / seminar on human-relations,
 - efficiency and productivity etc.
 - Progress on transfers - of Literacy Project from UCM.

- Organisation:
- Expansion of City branches
 - Co-ordination of Local branches.
 - Regional Offices
 - Head office

- Finance
- Review of staff salaries
 - Affiliation fees
 - Fund-raising by local branches with regards to projects, Relief and Legal Aid Fund; Proboat and other projects.
 - Budgeting for 1973-74.

3/ Future of SASO.....

Future of SASO --Nationally, qm Campus, and city branches.

PUBLICATIONS: Asha Ramlully (Dun West)

Administration -- Advertising, circulation, Director of Publications, Editor,
Publications Boards, Editorial policy.

Publicity and Press- Relationships: -Role of Pressman in the Black World.
-Union of Black Journalists-its scope and
outlook

Review of Black Press Commission-
P.R.O. for SASO.

Detailed Planning of 73/74 Publications taking into account real practical
difficulties.

CULTURE: Ilva Mackey (W Cape)
Nana Langa (Unizul)

Black Culture as a catalyst for group identity and social change.

-re-orientation of Black Culture with regards to Black Solidarity
and Black communalism.

-the study of Black Cultures and their contribution to re-orientation.

-Present social manifestations of Black Culture and the possibility
of setting up programmes for:

- (a) Black Poetry and Literature (Plays and Prose) writing and reading work-
shops with reference to literary styles and positivity of writings.
- (b) Music -- rhythm, styles,--direction of Black talent and appreciation of va-
lue in indigenous music and possibilities of promotion.
- (c) Fine Art- reflection on the Black experience with a view to inculcating
consciousness, pride, dignity and respect. Practical possibilities of
promotion.

Black Drama -- Value of movement, styles, of speech, creative dcor in simple
Black experience, simplicity of language humour.

Film and Tape -- Celluloid value to the Black Community, Creation of under-
standing among Black groups.

Activities and Resources Centre: -Review of Culcom
-Review of Creativity and Black Develop-
ment.
-Possibilities of further publications;
-Administration and Structure of Activi-
ties and Resources Centre.
-Material for Resources and Activities Centre.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT: Diliza Mji
Hamilton Dandala.

Review of projects undertaken - Need for progress reports in success and failures at local and national level.

Progress Analysis:- Youth Programmes with a view of handing these over to Black Community Programmes- Workers' and, Literacy programmes at local level.

Detailed planning of 73/74 projects.

RELATIONS:P

(1) Internal - Punzila Majeka

Re-assessment and analysis of the major Black organizations and those undefined which operate in the Black Community with a view to co-operation etc: Associa, Idemasa, Black Community Programmes, Teacher Associations, Y.M./W.C.A, Woman's Federation, Youth Organizations, Black Theology Agency, Student organizations.

Political institutions: CPC., Labour Party, NIC, CRC, SAIC, Bantustans, UDC, etc.

(II) International: Lindiswa Mabandla.

Relations with student unions: Africa, Asia, Europe, Americas, Australia and New Zealand.

Relations with other international groups - WUS, IUEF, Pax Romana, WSCF, UNESCO, Black groups in USA, Scandinavian countries, YCSA etc.

Desirability or otherwise of international involvement
-review of world issues concerning Blacks, e.g. UNO, NAMIBIA, ZIMBABWE, Foreign Investments in this country.

BLACK THEOLOGY: Hamilton Dandala
Dobby Deptiste-Meris.

Today the church has become increasingly the focal point in social change. We therefore, need to examine theological perspectives with reference to its relevance to Black liberation:

Points to reflect on are:

- The Black Church as a catalyst for social change
- Biblical interpretation with reference to Black.
- Formation of relevant forms of worship in Black Churches.
- Black theological perspectives in Africa, USA AND Asia.
- A thorough discussion of Black religions and Philosophy
- Re-examination of Black Churches in this country and the possibility of
5/ wresting them

wresting them from the control of irrelevant people and the possibilities of a United Black Church.

- The formation of Black Theology agencies and co-operation with existing ones.
- Strategy for developing Black caucuses in the existing church.
- the need to consolidate efforts towards Black Christian Education and Youth Programmes.

YOUTH PROGRAMMES: Johnny Isreal,
Simon Reddie,
Mackinn Mbata.

- Review of Youth leadership training programmes over the past year.
- Consideration of the levels which SASO shall co-operate with Youth and student organisations the likes of NAYO, SASM and SACSA.
- Examination of possibility and advisability of handing youth programmes over to DCP, and SASO operate as a resource centre for youth activity.

Z BLACK WORKERS: Tabogo Mafola
Sidana Mathi'ala.

- Review of the Black Worker's Project.
- Existing and future relations with Black trade Unions in view of the fact that SASO is a student organisation and further that the nature of the DNV is more in keeping with the ambit of operation of D.P.C. Examining the possibilities of handing project over to DPC and SASO operate as a research unit.
- Possibility of setting up the Black Worker's Council.

COMMUNICATIONS: Dabs N. Matshoba (Free University)
Kassia N. Moorley (Don West)

The Black movement can ill afford to neglect this aspect. Need for greater sophistication in organisational work makes it necessary for us to consider the implications of communication.

Points to consider are:-

- Human Relationships,
- Student Counselling
- Mass Media and the Black Community
- Black Journalism
- Communicative aids in our projects.

(D)
FREE UNIVERSITY TRUST COMMITTEE

P.O. Box 2346

DURBAN

Phone 31-7275

(ADDRESS ALL CORRESPONDENCE TO THE SECRETARY)

26th February 1973.

Dear Mr./Mrs/Miss

re: FREE UNIVERSITY LOANS

We are pleased to inform you that your application for financial assistance was successful and the Committee grants you R100 (for registration & 3 courses) towards your studies through UNISA. We shall in due course expect you to sign an Acknowledgment of Debt form. So as to constitute a binding agreement between yourself and the Trust Fund. All fees are directly payable to the University. As part of the scheme it is expected that you will make yourself available for the following seminars:-

April 20-23: SOCIALISATION OF THE UNIVERSITY

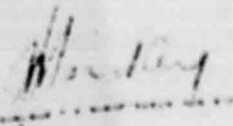
May 31 - June 2: HUMANITIES IN THE BLACK PERSPECTIVE

Aug 30 - Sep. 3: NATURAL SCIENCE AND ITS ROLE IN DEVELOPMENT

We expect leading experts in the various fields to deliver lectures during these seminars.

If you require tutorial assistance or a book service please indicate what courses you are studying and what are the most important books you require. How often can you attend tutorials organised in Durban and Johannesburg? All this information will help us make this scheme a success.

POWER & SOLIDARITY,



(SECRETARY)

S. MOODY

(E)

" WHY CLEMENCY ? "

THE CASE FOR GENERAL CLEMENCY
FOR SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS

Presented By Neva Ramgobin

Monday 15th March, 1971

in Beattie Theatre

University of Cape Town

/ndt
19.3.71

" Why Clemency? "

By Nawa Ramgobin

The concept. Clemency is generally granted as an act of mercy towards an offender or an enemy. But closely related to this concept is the idea of amnesty. Amnesty denotes a general pardon, especially for political offences against a government. And it is in the conjunctive use of the two expressions that I wish to discuss the case for clemency for South Africa's political prisoners.

For me the concept of clemency is inextricably interwoven with the growth and development of government. And government, on the other hand, cannot, of necessity, be separated and viewed in isolation from the society it exists in. A sophisticated society has a sophisticated government; a primitive society has a primitive government. One of the measures of sophistication of any society or government is its willingness to extend clemency to its political opponents, who for reasons decided by the government, are invariably imprisoned.

Political Prisoners. South Africa, I believe, by its own history in respect to the concept clemency, falls within the category of a sophisticated society. That some of her rulers, today choose to disregard the use of the phrase 'political prisoner' is in fact without any foundation. To me there is such a class or category as political prisoner. The laws, for instance, of extradition generally make it clear. For the purpose of legal clarity, should not a political prisoner be simply one whose offence, however mischievous it may have been, has had a political motivation. No matter what the extent of the severity of the offence and no matter what the consequences, sophisticated states do not view such prisoners in the same moral

class as the perpetrator of violence or dishonesty for the offender's private gain. In any case no less a man than the Minister of Justice, Mr C. R. Swart on 9 September 1948 used the term 'political Prisoner' quite liberally in the South African House of Assembly. If I may quote just one sentence from the Minister's remarks, 'there are thousands and thousands of people who begged us to release the political prisoners'. (Hansard, Volume 64 and 65, column 1911; 1948)

Earlier I referred to South Africa's history in regard to clemency. What is that history? Let us assess it in the light of Mr C. R. Swart's own words - when he referred to the concept of clemency he said: 'In South Africa we must always view such events against the background of our history ... We have two races in the country and things have happened which stirred up bad blood and which caused us to take the field against each other ... Always afterwards the position was that mercy had to be shown and that things had to be done in order to calm down feelings, and it was done. One example which we were always reminded of is that of Dr Jameson and the raid into the Transvaal in 1896 ... Is there any one in South Africa who regrets that mercy was shown to him? ... Did President Kruger not put a wonderful example to South Africa that we should not bear any hatred towards each other ... Did he not set the example that we should not at the first opportunity chop each other's heads off? ... In the war of 1899 - 1902 there was a rebellion ... No less than the Honourable Leader of the Opposition (General Smuts) crossed the borders of the Cape Province and induced people to commit high treason.

He persuaded them to commit high treason against their government and against their Queen ... does anyone blame him for that today? ... In the war of 1914 - 1918 there was also high

treason in South Africa ... Men took the field with arms and there were fights between them ... Those men were convicted of high treason and put into gaol ... subsequently those men who had been convicted of high treason sat with the present Prime Minister (Dr Malan) on these benches - sat with him in the same cabinet ... Did he and his government regret that they had shown mercy? ... I mention these things to show that in our country one cannot so lightly shout that a man's head should be chopped off because he is guilty of high treason ...'

Coming closer to the history of South Africa in regard to clemency I observe that one of the first administrative acts of the new Minister of Justice in 1948, Mr C. R. Swart, with cabinet approval, was to release prisoners who had been convicted of offences in connection with subversive activities including sabotage.

High treason. 'The releases effected immediately after the present government took office concern three persons who had been convicted of the crime of high treason and two persons who had been convicted of an offence under the emergency regulations, where an innocent member of the public had lost his life', said Mr Lawrence, United Party M.P.

The case of Robey Liebrandt always comes to mind. He had been convicted of high treason by Smuts' United Party government during the 1939 - 1946 war. According to Mansard, Robey Liebrandt was a South African who found himself in Germany at the outbreak of the last world war. He fought in the German army, apparently as a German paratrooper. Subsequently he returned to South Africa with the specific purpose of incitement and his entry into the country had been made possible by the resources of the enemy, which South Africa and the people of South Africa were

combatting with all their resources.

Liebrandt came to South Africa with a set and definite purpose, and that purpose was to ferment trouble, to induce young South Africans to defy the law and train them in methods of sabotage, and his object was to do everything possible actively to subvert the war effort of the government then in power. The cases of Van Blerk and Visser, two men who joined subversive organisations during the war, come to mind. They had illegally used explosives and with reckless disregard of the consequences had acted in such a manner that an innocent third person lost his life. All three were tried in South African courts and all three were found guilty and sentenced to death. However, the United Party government, of the day exercised a measure of clemency and decided that the death sentence should not be carried out, even though in the case of Liebrandt the Appeal Court had confirmed both the conviction and the sentence.

Mr Lawrence in his observations remarked: 'I believe that the clemency which was exercised was wise and that it was in the best interests of the future of the country ... That there was a very profound measure of clemency exercised in the case of the three men to whom I referred who had been sentenced to death'.

In regard to these three men and the granting of further clemency by releasing them, this is what the Honourable Minister of Justice, Mr Swart had to say: 'This government desires peace and quiet in the country and in the interests of peace and quiet it released these persons ... was it not stated at numerous meetings that we considered that the time had come for the political prisoners to be released? The people knew that when we came to power we would do it and that we would do it judiciously ... Let me state the facts ... Liebrandt had already

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served five years and three months of his sentence ... I do not approve of what Liebrandt did ... He served more than five years of his sentence ... Visser and Van Blerk served six years ... Pienaar and Straus served six months of their sentence of three years ... The Honourable Member for Salt River objects to the granting of mercy ... I admit that a section of the people felt sore about it ... but I was told for the most part, the feeling was stirred up by incitement and agitation ... Now I come to the other political prisoners ... The Honourable Member for Salt River (Mr Lawrence) admits that he himself released some of these men.

'The fact is that when we came to power, there were only six political prisoners remaining. The others were released by him and his government ... I want to mention a few instances to show that mercy was shown by him ... I will refer only to initials. W. was sentenced to seven years imprisonment on a charge of subversive activities and acts calculated to obstruct the war effort of the government. He was released after one and a half years ... the case of C. who got nine years and a half but served only two years ... Here a man is sentenced to fifteen years and another to thirteen years for subversive activities ... and after two and a half years and one and a half years they are released. When people get a life sentence it is determined how many years it should be, twelve or fifteen years ... Here you have a man who got fifteen years, but after four and a half years he is released.'

Political prisoners. Looking quickly at a copy of A Survey of Race Relations 1964, I observe that up to December 1964 and as from December 1963 the following obtained under separate headings, in respect to offences against the state.

<u>SABOTAGE</u>	<u>NO OF PERSONS</u>
Death sentence	5
Life imprisonment	9
20 years	8
15 - 19 years	10
10 - 14 years	35
Up to 10 years	51

The above, if they are not dead, are still in gaol.

RECRUITING MEN FOR MILITARY TRAINING WITH A VIEW TO FURTHERING
THE AIMS OF A BANNED ORGANISATION, OR ATTEMPTING TO UNDERGO SUCH
TRAINING

20 years	1
15 - 19 years	-
10 - 14 years	16
Up to 10 years	7

BELONGING TO AND/OR FURTHERING THE AIMS OF A BANNED ORGANISATION

5 - 7 years	19
Up to five years	283
Strokes only	1

All the above who, in present-day South Africa, have been either executed or are still in gaol have to the best of my knowledge not had the advantage of clemency under a government which did not hesitate to grant clemency as one of its first administrative acts when it came to power. And it is the same Party which is in power now. It was the Minister of Justice of the very National Party that is still very much in power who said: 'The Honourable Member for Salt River ought to know that even if a man is sentenced to imprisonment for life it is subsequently determined for how long he would have to serve, say ten or fifteen years, and I have mentioned the case of a person who got

fifteen years and was released ...'

May I, in all humility, today suggest to the present Minister of Justice that the years spent in goal, by the present political prisoners, are sufficiently adequate to justify the granting of clemency. May I suggest that the 10th Anniversary of the Republic is a good occasion to extend such clemency - because of the reasons and precedents already created by the National Party.

'But!' Minister Pelsler may say. Yes! but why? Why are these people in gaol? I may ask why were Liebrandt, Visser and Van Dierk sentenced to death and subsequently kept in gaol? Let us find out. What better way to do so than to refer to the words of the Honourable the Minister of Justice, Mr C. R. Swart himself and a few other National Party M.P.'s of the 1948 period.

Mr Swart said: 'I want also to state very clearly here that these men did things during the past war which were wrong ... but now I want to ask in all seriousness whether the Government of the party opposite (United Party) is not to blame for the conditions which existed in the country at the time... Their persecution and oppression their espionage with regard to the citizens of the country, their raids on houses and offices, their system of censorship in the postal and telephone services, was nothing less than a scandal ... It was the Honourable Member who was responsible at the time for the internments and I accuse him and his government of acting in a manner which caused conditions in the country which precipitated these things. They acted injudiciously ... They acted cruelly towards members of this side and towards the public ... I say that we cannot absolve those members and their government from blame for the unrest and disturbances in the country ... I do not condone the things these people did ... My accusation is that the government of the party opposite drove people to desperation.'

Mr Van den Berg, a National Party M.P. during the same debate said: 'Time and again I have stood up here and begged the government not to treat political prisoners as criminals ... In those days people were driven to grave acts for the sake of their convictions, but once the fight was over one frequently comes to the conclusion that such a person was very far from being a criminal and in those days I made an appeal to chivalry.'

Mr Van Heerden, another National Party M.P. added: 'In the first place the magistrate summoned me to his office and told me that I should not take an active part in the activities of the National Party ... Shortly afterwards I made a great mistake; I let the City Hall to a movement like the Ossewabrandwag ... I had been in camp for two and a half months when I became acquainted with the ridiculous reasons for my internment ... I was then told that I could go on appeal and that my case would come before the board or before the court and that there justice would be done ... There was no such thing as a court of justice ... there was only oppression and persecution, and that was all that existed under that government ... what I do object to is that they persecuted my wife and children ... They persecuted my wife to such a degree that she was a nervous wreck when I came out of the camp.'

This is what Dr. Malan said in the House of Assembly in 1940: 'In my amendment I further say that we are dealing here with a cold-blooded attack on the liberties of the people. If there is anything in what the Prime Minister wants to make clear to everybody in the world, that we must stand up for democratic institutions and that we are fighting for democracy, then I say that it follows from that that he should regard the liberties, and especially the liberty of the individual, and of the subject, as something sacred. If that is not so, and if we and the nations from which we on both sides of the House have sprung, had not

looked upon matters in that light for years, we would not have had the freedom and, the institutions which we have today, and there would not have been such a thing as the "Habeas Corpus" which goes right back to the days of King John, under which it is laid down that no subject of the country may be deprived of his freedom unless he is given the opportunity of being tried properly and within a reasonable time, so that his guilt or otherwise may be proved. The liberty of the individual has become something sacred. But what do we find here? We find that while on the one side the Prime Minister's radio parrots are continually impressing upon us that freedom of that kind no longer exists in Germany, while they are making propaganda here about Germany's internment camps, and telling us that the liberty of the subject is continually being taken away and oppressed, here in our country under the government of the Prime Minister, a condition of affairs has come into being under which citizens of the country, whether of German descent or not, are simply deprived of their liberty, and placed in internment camps, without their being given any opportunity to defend themselves, or even of knowing what charges are against them. And I say this is not merely an attack, but a cold blooded attack on the liberty of the people.'

(Taken from House of Assembly Debates - 4th Session 29 Jan -
2nd Feb 1940. p. 527.)

Sabotage and violence. These then were the circumstances under which people like Liebrandt, Visser and Van Blerk committed acts of sabotage and violence. I am in full agreement with the three distinguished South Africans, Swart, Van Heerden and Van den Berg, that such conditions as internment, detention, persecution, oppression, raids and censorship are not tolerable in any society which has a semblance of civilisation and sophistication. These men for their conscience's sake

committed sabotage and violence. These men who believed they were persecuted as an Afrikaans speaking community by a predominantly English speaking United Party Government.

These men acted in concert and separately as individuals to assert their human dignity by using violence and sabotage as their methods. These men felt oppressed by the English for a long time. And these men were not going to take it much longer. If these men were not going to establish and entrench themselves in power in order that they would not suffer the indignities imposed by the English, constitutionally, then they were going to do so by sabotage and violence, by forming themselves into a fifth column during South Africa's war effort. They were going to assert their human dignity, regardless. With Minister Swart I condemn sabotage and violence but it would be only fair and objective for us to view and assess the circumstances under which people like Nelson Mandela, Braam Fisher and Amod Kathrada committed or influenced acts of sabotage.

Most of our political prisoners were found guilty of sabotage and other offences against the state during the period 1960 - 1964. In 1960 after Sharpville and Langa affairs, a State Emergency was declared and a number of people were detained without trial. In 1960 the African National Congress and the Pan African Congress, both resistance organisations were banned in the country on the assumption that the Spear of the Nation was said to have been associated with the African National Congress. The Spear of the Nation advocated and used sabotage. Members of the Spear were alleged to have attacked telephone installations, railway services, power lines and other objectives. The Spear of the Nation was formed after the banning of the African National Congress.

Similarly Poqo was said to have been formed by extremist members of the then banned Pan African Congress. Members of

Pogo were alleged to have been responsible for the Paarl riots, the murders and attempted murders in Langa and the Transkei.

The history. A brief history of the African National Congress.

Up to 1960, that is, until it was banned, the African National Congress followed a specific policy of non-violence. The Treason Trial of 1956 - 61 substantially proved this. These are the facts of the case. All the accused in the Treason Trial were acquitted. This trial, in my view, was one of the most thorough political trials in the history of South Africa. Everything, all documents were presented at court in Pretoria, internationally reputed authorities were summoned to present evidence, the government prosecutor went all out to prove in a five year long trial that the accused were guilty of treason. The charge failed and the accused were found not guilty. At that time the African National Congress was a broad national movement with equal political rights for all South Africans as its aim. It undoubtedly accepted support from any quarter, including the Communist Party. But before the courts found the accused not guilty in 1961, the African National Congress as such was banned. Thus any meaningful non-violent opposition to the government's policy of apartheid in respect of the black peoples of South Africa was smashed by banning the parties in 1960.

It was found by Justice de Wet, the presiding judge during the Rivonia Trial that the national executive of the African National Congress had at all times retained political guidance of the Spear, had authorised its members to embark on a policy of sabotage and had permitted its secretariat and its external missions to assist the Spear. Whether one agrees with the methods of sabotage or not, it is incumbent, to my way of thinking, to view sabotage not in isolation but like the

Honourable Minister of Justice, Mr Swart within the circumstances of the time of commission. The circumstances in South Africa during the time of Poqo and Spear sabotage and violence were these: the

- Banning of legal political movements like the African National Congress and the Pan African Congress
- Banning of individuals without reasons given
- Raids on homes and offices
- Espionage by the Security Police, known as the Special Branch
- Intimidation of individuals at Schools, factories and homes
- Introduction of the 90 days and 180 days detention clauses
- Banning of newspapers and periodicals sponsoring the cause of black people
- Arrests and indefinite detention without trials
- Endorsement of Africans out of towns
- The implementation of the Group Areas Act
- The imposition of Bantu Education
- A tightening of influx control and the pass laws
- The withdrawal of passports and denial of exit permits
- Control and sabotage of open education
- Denial of free movement and political association
- Economic control and subjugation of black people by denial of African trade union
- The shootings at Sharpville and Langa.

May I with deep humility maintain with the Honourable Minister of Justice that I too disagree with sabotage and violence, but also concur with him that men took the field in violence and sabotage in desperation. I too want to ask in all seriousness, as did Mr C. R. Swart in Parliament, whether the present government, like the United Party during the war years is not to blame for all the sabotage and violence in the 1960 - 64 period?

Whether all the facts above together cannot mean and be construed as persecution and oppression with regard to the citizens of the country; that all together is nothing less than a 'scandal'; that the acts of the present government were injudicious towards the black peoples of the land; that they were and continue to be cruel towards blacks in the country? Like Mr Swart who accused the United Party government during the war, I too cannot absolve the present government from blame for all the unrest and disturbances in the country. Like Mr Swart my accusation too, is that the government of the day drove people to desperation.

Our present-day political prisoners, too, like the oppressed Afrikaans-speaking people of not so long ago believed and I think still believe that they have been persecuted by a predominantly Afrikaans National Party government. That these men on Robben Island and Pretoria gaol also acted in concert and as individuals to assert their human dignity, like the Afrikaner, by using sabotage and violence as their methods. That these men also felt oppressed and I think continue to feel oppressed by racism. And that these men too were not going to take it any longer, and that they also, like the Afrikaner, hoped to establish and entrench themselves in a common society in a common South Africa. Our Afrikaans-speaking compatriots were not denied constitutional methods to effect their desired change but still chose sabotage and violence as their methods. Our present-day black political prisoners were denied all constitutional methods to realise their objections.

It is in the light of the foregoing and in the sincere hope and belief that the present situation in South Africa calls for a high degree of tolerance and magnanimity; a very large degree of love and compassion; and even a larger degree of willingness to

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want to share South Africa, not as a piece of real estate, but as a common home for all its citizens that I through this paper, wish to draw attention of both the government in power and all the peoples of South Africa that my call for clemency has both the consideration of established principles and the strength of a moral obligation.

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SASO

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DURBAN
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Ref. *J.B. Innes*

MINUTES
of
the
National
Executive Meeting
held at the Loy Ecumenical Centre,
Pietermaritzburg
(17th March 1973)

MINUTES

Registration was supposed to have been done the previous night but because of certain hitches it was done early in the morning of the 17th. After registration the Council convened.

OPENING: The meeting was opened by the Acting President, Henry E. Isaacs, at 9.15 a.m. on the 17th March 1973. He outlined briefly the nature of this emergency National Executive Council meeting, and mentioned what it was expected to achieve.

PRESENT: Executive and Staff, Henry E. Isaacs (in the chair) Ben J. Langa Jeff Duma Benwa, Ongopotsa A. Tiro, Sona L. Reddi (Miss), Walile Nhlapo Mapetla Mohapi, J. Issel,

DELEGATES: P. Majoko (Fort Hare), H. Gombala (Fadson) Z. Jali (Unizul) M. Manthata (Rossa) S.D. Mathobula (Spriso)

OTHERS: N. J. Motata (Fort Hare), M. Nsimanga (Unizul), D. Matshobe (Dbn. Central) B. Pasiya (Spriso) K. Botsholo (Spriso) B. Khaba (Spriso) M. Njikelana (Spriso)

LATE ARRIVALS: 17th evening

M. Josia, T. Mublanzana (Miss), S.F. Duma (Miss)

ABSENT: UNB, University of the North (SASO Local activities under suspension) Kinso, Proso, Bloomsso, Kroonso, Maphumulo & Dbn. West.

AGENDA:

Friday - 16th March (8.00p.m.)

REGISTRATION

Saturday - 17th March (9.00a.m.)

MINUTES

Executive and staff reports

1. President
2. Secretariat and Publications
3. Culcom
4. Permanent Organiser and Literacy
5. Black Workers' Project

11:30 a.m.

TEA

11:45 a.m.

REGIONAL OFFICES

1. Eastern Cape
2. Western Cape
3. Transvaal

1:00 p.m.

LUNCH

2:00 p.m.

CENTRE REPORTS

1. Federal Theological Seminary
2. University of Fort Hare
3. University of Zululand
 - a) SAC
 - b) SASO Local
4. University of the Western Cape
5. Springs SASO Local
6. Reef SASO Local

4:00 p.m.

TEA

4:15 p.m.

Staff Appointments
Planning for G.S.C.
1. Conference 1973.

6:00 p.m.
7:30 p.m.

- SUPPER
- PLANNING FOR GSC (contd)
- 2. FINANCE
 - a) Staff Appointed
 - b) Fund-raising
 - c) Affiliation Fees
 - d) Publications
 - e) Culcom

SUNDAY 10th March
9:00 a.m.

- STRATEGIES
- 1. Intimidation
- 2. Darnings

11:00 a.m.
11:15 a.m.

- TEA
- 3. Campuses and Branches
- Tour Schedule for Heroes Day
- 4. Duties of Regional Secretaries
- 5. Closure

1:00 p.m.

LUNCH

(1) MINUTES OF PREVIOUS N.E.C. MEETING

Because there was only one copy of the minutes they were read from the chair.

EXECUTIVE RESOLUTIONS

1/73: That the minutes of the last National Executive Council meeting be adopted.

LANGA B.J.
NHLAPO W.A.

CARRIED UNAN

2/73: That reports be tabled.

TIRO O.A.
DANWA J.M.D.

CARRIED

3/73: That this N.E.C. accepts the President's report

LANGA
ISSEL

CARRIED

4/73: That this NEC accepts report of Secretariat and Publications

TIRO
MATHEDULA

CARRIED

5/73: That this NEC accepts report from Culcom

REDDI
MATSHODA

6/73: That this NEC accepts report of the Permanent Organiser's and Literacy Departments.

QAMDELA
MAJEKE

CARRIED

7/73: That this NEC accepts report of D.W. Project

LANGA D.J.
REDDI S.

- 8/73: That this N.E.C. accepts report of the Eastern Cape Regional office
JALI
DALWA
CARRIED
- 9/73: That this N.E.C. accepts the explanation that the report of the
Western Cape regional office is almost the same as that of the W. Cape
Branch.
Msimanga
Majake
CARRIED
- 10/73: That this NEC accepts the report of the Fort Hare Delegates
MSIMANG
MATSHODA
CARRIED
- 11/73: That this NEC accepts the report of the Fedsam delegation
MAJEKE
TIRO
CARRIED
- 12/73: That this NEC accepts the report of the UNIZUL delegation
Gambela
Manthata
CARRIED
- 13/73: That this NEC accepts the report of the Western Cape delegation
TIRO
MANTHATA
CARRIED
- 14/73: That this NEC accepts the report of the Spriso delegation
LANZA
MSIMANG
CARRIED
- 15/73: That the report tabled by Reeso be not accepted.
Matshoba
Nhlapo
CARRIED
- 16/73: That this NEC noting
1. SASO finds herself faced with the prospect of making instant and careful decisions due to the recent fascist action on our banned brothers.
 2. that these are not killed but just wounded
 3. that a dire need for Permanent Organiser is evident
- THEREFORE RESOLVES:
1. to mandate O.A. Tiro to be Acting Permanent Organiser until the next G.S.C.
 2. to stand united with our banned brothers
 3. to pledge and commit ourselves to the struggle.
- D. MATSHODA
H.L. GAMBELA
CARRIED UNAN
- 17/73: That this house noting
1. The prostitution of Heroes Day by conducting an unarranted and despicable intercourse between REESO and the UDC in particular, and other system created institutions in general.

2. The absolute confusion that would arise from such an ideological intercourse.

THEREFORE RESOLVES:

- 1) To ask Hesse to actively dissociate itself from this marriage by cancelling the invitations to UCC members if they should by now be still standing as invited.
- 2) Also to acquaint them with the fact about dealing with Haroon Day if this should by now not reached them.

LINBA D.J.

REDDY G.L.

18/73:

That this National Executive Council meeting noting:

- 1) The recent racist action by the white fascists against the organization.
- 2) That the Exec. & Staff members occupy more than one portfolio in order to carry on the work of the Black brothers

THEREFORE RECOMMENDS THE APPOINTMENT OF:

- 1) Morlyn Josie - as V. President International; this being so because of his experience with overseas groups
- 2) Mrs S. Woodley - as assistant Publications-director since she has some experience in this field.

TIRO

REDDY

CARRIED

19/73: That this N.E.C. noting

1. That the untimely death of Mthuli ka Shazi has been a handicap to D.W.P.
2. that DWP has been further partly disturbed due to the restriction of D. Mafua
3. that this project assumes immense significance in terms of effecting solidarity in the Black worker world.
4. That the attainment of this solidarity would serve the purpose of our main strategy.

and further noting

5. The urgency of replacing our brothers

THEREFORE RESOLVES

1. to appoint W. Ntsepo to the post of DWP office
2. to instruct all regional secretaries to include the organization of Black Workers in their schedule

Further instruct Regional Secretaries

3. to co-operate and work in conjunction with W. Ntsepo who shall be general co-ordinator of the Project.
4. to extend mandate for the project until July 1974
5. to make this appointment take effect from the 17th March 1973 pending ratification by GOC.

BAGWA J.M.

LANGA B.J.

CARRIED

/ S

20/73:

That this NEC noting

1. The absence of a Regional Literacy Director for Natal/ Zululand
2. The urgency of a new appointment on account of the amount of work in this region.

THEREFORE RESOLVES

1. To appoint Dabs Mathoba to this post
2. To make this appointment take effect from the 17th March 1973.

BAGWA J.M.D.

CARRIED

TJRO O.A.

21/73:

That this emergency N.E.C. meeting noting

- 1) The difficult financial position in which the Fort Hare branch has been placed as a result of the stupid and illogical action of the Fort Hare rector in refusing to give the branch the monays which he accidentally keeps
- 2) The Branch has not yet had any fund-raising campaigns and as such has no money for the purposes of travelling to and from this emergency NEC meeting.

THEREFORE RESOLVES

- 1) To give a loan of R35.00 to the Fort Hare branch to facilitate their attendance of this emergency NEC meeting.
- 2) That this money be repaid by the Fort Hare branch with the first R35.00 they get from their anticipated fund-raising campaign or any money coming into their coffers in any manner whatsoever - Date: should be paid before G.S.C.

MOHAPI M.

CARRIED

QAMDELA H.L.

22/73

That this house noting

- 1) The conditions under which our banned brothers might have to live as regards finance.
- 2) That this is a state of emergency and some resolutions might have to be waived.
- 3) That we a Black people feel morally obliged to the spirit of communalism.

THEREFORE RESOLVES

a) To maintain the families of our banned brothers as follows:-

- | | |
|--------------------|---------|
| 1. Mrs Moodloy | R110.00 |
| 2. Mrs. Pityana | R110.00 |
| 3. Mrs Nengwakhulu | R110.00 |
| 4. Mrs. Modisane | 60.00 |

pending ratification by Executive and staff in next meeting.

MATHEBGA D.

CARRIED

REDDI S.L.

/6

23/73:

That this NEC ratifies the loan of R500.00 to CULCOM

DABWA J.M.D.

REDDI L.S.

CARRIED

2. MATTERS ARISING

PRESIDENTS REPORT - (Tiro in the Chair)

The president added a verbal addendum to his report whereby he made explanation of the effects bannings had on the people. He said instead of bannings intimidating people they had reverse effects, strengthening the morale.

Chair handed over to Isaacs.

INTERNATIONAL

This report could not be tabled until later on in the meeting because Marvyn was not present then. A written report shall be circulated with other reports.

SECRETARIAT & PUBLICATIONS

- Free University - 64 bursaries had been awarded
- the meeting of the Trust Fund Committee had been postponed to the 20th April 1973 at Hammanskraal.
- Recommendations - Election of members of staff and executive should be on a "Acting" basis until G.S.C.
- Tiro should be appointed Acting-Permanent Organiser and be relieved of his duties as field worker for Black Workers' Project.

CULCOM - It was recommended that Culcom co-ordinator should try and make arrangements for meetings with music groups at times when they would be available. The proposal by WUS to open a market for Black arts and crafts overseas.

PERMANENT ORGANISER AND LITERACY - Literacy Director clarified the Zululand situation after a question from Mandla Msimang. A meeting with his contacts at Ngwalezane.

BLACK WORKERS' PROJECT

Mapotla wanted to know of contacts in his region, the Eastern Cape. He was clarified. Then Spriso brought up the question of Workers in African and other not white areas. Welile fully explained the intricacies of the project in this regard. One question that came up was the one of tutorials for workers, and a difficulty in finding a venue for this project was expressed.

CENTRE REPORT

The Fort Hare delegation complained bitterly about the administration's attitude as regards funds. They have not been allocated any funds except for local use. Another thing that came up was the absence of literacy co-ordinators on the campus, and a strong appeal went out to the literacy Director to try and see to the improving of the situation.

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State v S Cooper and 8 others.

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