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COMMENTS BY S.A.I.C. GROUP
ON ISSUES TO BE DISCUSSED BY THE ANC CONFERENCE

The SAIC Group welcomes the decision of the ANC to invite comments and contributions from various units and organs of the liberation movement for consideration by the forthcoming conference of the ANC. In pursuance of this invitation we have met and considered the Directive issued by the Secretary-General.

On a number of aspects raised it is difficult for our members to make a collective contribution because in the very nature of things much of the information which would enable us to form a useful judgment is unavailable. This applies to topics such as the intensification of the armed struggle and so on. Our contribution is therefore limited and we have tried to concentrate on those special aspects which relate to the Indian people and our national organisation. At the same time the discussion ranged over a number of important questions of a more general nature and we will refer briefly to some of the views expressed in the course of the discussion, on these matters.

1) Nothing which has occurred in the recent past alters the fact that the Indian people - an oppressed and humiliated group in South Africa - are part of those forces whose long-term and short-term interests place them objectively on the side of the revolution. Properly led and mobilised they will, as a community, continue to maintain their historic record of militant struggle against white supremacy in unity with the other oppressed Non-White people, and, in the first place, with their African brothers.

2) In line with its policy of attempting to divide the people and to win collaborators amongst all oppressed groups the Government has busied itself with the Indian people as well. Apartheid is being applied fully and comprehensively. This involves not only further physical separation from the other groups, but the creation of semi-administrative stooge bodies such as the SA Indian Council. The regime attempts to force acceptance of this sort of fake representation and to dull the hostility of our people to it by a variety of techniques. These techniques include the delegation of certain aspects of local affairs such as education and welfare to the Council. Because some of these matters can only be channelled through the Council as an intermediary, people are being forced to deal with it and thus to clothe it with a certain amount of standing. In the ghetto areas the mock "Indian Administration" created by apartheid provides opportunities for a few stooges in our community to acquire facilities and a status which they use in their own personal interests to lessen resistance against apartheid.

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- 3) These efforts to weaken the pro-liberation position of the Indian people are made easier by the legal and administrative barriers which have been erected to prevent the organisation from providing the people with the necessary education and political leadership. A study of the impact of these developments and the changes they have wrought will make possible the more effective mobilisation of the Indian community in our common struggle.
- 4) Above all, these emerging problems emphasise the need for revolutionary political leadership of the Indian people and we are confident that such leadership will find a ready response, not only inside the country but also amongst the Indian students and others who find themselves abroad. It is of special importance to deal with the slanders and distortions which the racist regime hypocritically spreads about the objectives of the liberation movement in the course of which they encourage the Indian people to feel isolated and to doubt their future in a People's South Africa. This task of distortion has been made easier for them by the absence of organised expression of the alliance in the last few years. 5) It is therefore vital that an organ be created to give expression to our revolutionary front which must be seen to cater for all the people. One of the important steps in this process is to establish machinery in which the various groups can have voice at the decision and policy making level.

Amongst the tasks of such an organ would be the effective co-ordination of the organisations which comprise the Alliance, the full mobilisation of all groups inside South Africa to further our political and military tasks including internal reconstruction and the integration at every level of all revolutionaries i.e. those who are ready and willing to respond to the existing standards demanded by our revolutionary tasks and put themselves completely at the disposal of the leading organs for any military or political duties. Facilities must be created for such personnel from our organisation to be given training in both military and political skills.

- 6) Reference was also made in our discussion to an aspect which has a bearing on the movement as a whole - the problem of the continuous strengthening and renewal of our leadership in the circumstances in which we find ourselves in the course of our separation from the mass of our supporters. We have no specific recommendations on this point other than to emphasise the importance of the continuous injection into positions of responsibility of militant young cadres. We are convinced that such a process would both safeguard and strengthen revolutionary leadership.

- 7) The ZAPU-ANC Alliance was also discussed and a few of the comrades were of the opinion that there were certain negative features of this alliance and our engagement in the fighting in Zimbabwe. There was no general consensus on this question but it was felt that the basis of some of these reservations may well be the lack of full information and clarification of the circumstances and policy considerations surrounding these events.
- 8) Concerning international solidarity work the group felt that it is necessary to evaluate and to strike a balance between this and the requirements of work inside South Africa. With the intensification of the armed struggle and the consequent need for more intensive political mobilisation, it may well be necessary to relieve some amongst the senior leadership of their commitment to solidarity work so that their ability, experience and skill is used to a maximum degree in the most important sphere of internal work. We do not believe that solidarity work will suffer from such a step because there are adequate and able personnel who are not being fully used at the present time who could take over some of these responsibilities.
- 9) The issues to be considered at the conference are undoubtedly of the first importance. They touch on fundamental questions of political strategy, organisation and many of the problems of the South African revolution. They are of vital interest to all sections of the South African movement.. We therefore consider it necessary that the ANC should, at an appropriate stage, mount organised consultation with all the constituent bodies of the liberation movement with a view to discussing the conclusions of the conference, to bringing about mutual understanding and common positions of the issues involved and to move forward to the implementation of these agreed policies.

Internationally, we must concentrate our attacks on the weakest link in the world-wide chain of capitalism .

The S.A.C.P. should take the lead in mobilizing (organising) practical support, through the medium of personal contacts followed, if possible, by the establishment of more permanent and institutionalised committees with the task of co-operating in planning and organising joint action. There could be one "watch-dog" committee for each area.

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There is growing support for socialism in the capitalist countries . The grandeur of the new concepts agitating humanity should be highlighted for all to see. This provides a wonderful theme for our poets, writers and playwrights.

.....

SOUTH AFRICA

During the last decade the Nationalist Government has done everything in its power to 'balkanize' South Africa by 'encouraging' the growth of separate economies and separate nationalisms in the Bantustans. The nationalists have also, by means of legislation favoured by many chiefs, and by ~~using the~~ the use of terror, made it virtually impossible for the ANC to operate or to put forward its policy of country-wide unity and country-wide resistance to White domination.

This is the problem which faced, and still faces, us. We could not call for unity amongst the members of the various ~~kingdoms~~ 'governments' in the Bantustans, since many of them are no better than paid servants of the Nationalist government.

Some of the leaders, however, are militantly opposed to the policy of white domination, and so are many rank & file members of the opposition in a number of the 'legislative Assemblies'.

We must try to create some type of machinery whereby these militants in the different 'legislatures' will be able to utilise their 'privileges' to consult and plan together, to present joint demands which would represent the needs of the people throughout South Africa, thus advancing the policy of the ANC while the ANC is unable to function openly.

The demands should be formulated in such a fashion that (a) reactionary leaders would find it difficult to oppose them (e.g. demands for civil rights, for the right to own land in the urban areas, for the abolition of passes, for higher wages . and (b) the demands could lead to militant and nation-wide action.

(The demands should include the demand for the removal of the ban on the ANC and the release of national leaders, These demands to be made through the 'legislatures'.)

.....

The fight for freedom in Southern Africa is indivisible. The achievement of Freedom Charter objectives is enormously handicapped unless there is co-operation by all neighbouring states.

Similarly, the independence of the neighbouring states is constantly threatened while South Africa with its embryo imperialism remains intact. It will, unless defeated, swallow up the 'independence' of all adjacent and nearby territories.

The fight must therefore be carried on jointly, as indeed it has been so shaping (e.g. the joint action in Zimbabwe.)

If the joint struggle results in the emergence of a socialist South Africa, with its enormous industrial and technical potential, the whole of Southern Africa would be assured of a powerful base for ~~real~~ real aid to all and real respect for their independence. The basis would be laid for true socialist freedom throughout Southern Africa and even further afield. The southern half of the African continent would then be dominated by the liberated colonies and their allies.

Correct tactics should be adopted immediately. There should be no threat or hint of unity by domination. Unity must grow out of ~~ja~~ a joint struggle, out of complete and self-sacrificing co-operation, through mutual aid, by means of education, persuasion and example (especially by the dedicated patriots.)

The aid given should be in marked contrast to the spurious aid offered by the enemies of freedom in South Africa.

We should set as our objective a voluntary confederation of all Southern African states.

This great perspective should not be regarded as of importance only to the Southern African states. It should be seen as important for the success of the world-wide fight ~~for democratic~~ for democratic, socialist freedoms.

Victory in Southern Africa could change the whole balance of power and therefore deserves a place in the development of ~~the~~ general strategy. The freedom of the Southern African states must be made the concern of all parties and not only the concern of the parties in Southern Africa.

Centralised control and direction (of C.P.'s) on international level long out-dated and incapable of revival. No one centre could plan successfully for all the varied circumstances in different countries.

Voluntary co-operation, ad-hoc alliances, to attack imperialism at its weak points in joint efforts is what is needed. The development of an over-all strategy, and planning in advance, is the answer.

Some of the imperialist countries would collapse if they were to lose control of their colonies or neo-colonies. The liberty of the

of the colonies might well precede and facilitate the development of liberty and socialism in the "mother countries" (e.g. Portugal).

Though it seems as if Keynesian contentions were correct for the advanced countries (if only these countries were taken into consideration- the picture changes when the under-developed countries are included in the calculations.

In those countries there had been little industrial development, a falling standard of living and constant and rapidly growing unemployment. The outstanding characteristic of the capitalist system was its failure to create employment for the millions whose numbers were growing each year. The capitalist system was also incapable of shaking off its inherent structure by "nations". Contradictions and competition among them exist and continue to grow stronger.

There is no basic ~~contradiction~~ contradiction among those who have escaped from the capitalist system, though they too still retain a "nation" structure. They are all interested in the defeat of capitalism elsewhere.

If individual C.P.'s appreciated where the ^{weak} ~~weak~~ links of capitalism internationally, they could operate militantly even if national circumstances do not provide the basis for militancy. Militancy exists particularly where the struggle for national freedom co-incides with the struggle against capitalism.

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EXTERNAL MISSION.

Politico-Structural Situation.

The external mission of the ANC established a dept. of y & s whose ^{main}~~sole~~ function was to concern itself with the organisation of our youth and students in the different parts of the world where there were ANC y & s, and to engage in international solidarity work among the youth and students of the world over.

Two organisational structures were in operation for some time. In the socialist countries our students were to be organised under the banner of ASA (whose branches have now since been dissolved) whilst in the Western countries, specifically London, Britain, a Y & SS of the ANC comprising the different ~~xx~~ student & y racial groups that are members of the Cong. All., was the organ under which our y & s were and are organised.

The structure obtaining in Br. was devised to meet the multi-racial content of the y & s in London.

It was primarily aimed at bringing into active participation all SA y & s members of the CA. Therefore all y & s who are members of the CA fell under one organ - the ANC. The committee which administers and guides the general membership of the Y & SS is made up of appointees made ^{by} the Movt. and sends reports to the Director of Y & S. and also Headquarters.

In this structure, it is important to note, there is clearly

defined political identification and affiliation to the ANC . May we state that , in our General Meeting of 19 January, 1969, the present structure was endorsed by the members. Work undertaken by the Y & SS is done in consultation with the leadership that runs the London office of the ANC. and they in turn pass to the section directives which require implementation. Such a relationship with the office has always been harmonious.

While we welcome the dissolution of ASA branches in the socialist countries for reasons that need no elaboration, we still need an organisation or structure around which our y & s will be organised. The structure evolved for London could, by and large, form the basis of organisation of our y & s in other parts of the world. The Section should be under the Director of Y & SS who will co-ordinate with the different branches. The Director should concern himself with the organisation of the y & s at home and abroad. His task and energies should not be dissipated on the one hand by carrying out the work of the Movt., in Algeria(as is the case ^{at present} ~~now~~) and at the same time as Director of y & s. One of the reasons for the absence of organised contact with our students at home ^{may be} ~~is~~ that people who are directly concerned with the y & s work had also to do other kinds of work.

The London model, not excluding modifications when and if necessary, would help eliminate some of the student problems that have plagued the Movt. An anomalous situation where students flout directives and question the authority of the

We ~~are~~^{are} in this area in constant touch with the progressive ~~and left wing~~^{& left wing} y & s. Such projects as the Southern Africa Appeal Fund launched in mid-1968, a solidarity fund for raising material aid to ZAPU and ANC fighters, run by the British Radical Students Alliance[†], ~~the Y & SS was instrumental in its fou-~~^{was as a result of our section's agitation} ~~nding~~^{among the B.S. students}. Similar funds are still in their infant stages in some of the local universities e.g. the Sussex University Southern Africa Appeal Fund. However these funds are not as widespread as one would wish them to be, and also recognising the volatility of students, especially those in the Western countries, we need to keep constant contact with them and as far as possible sustain interest in the Southern Africa Revolution.

We have ^{not} been able to achieve much success in our propaganda ^{Campaign} in the Continental European countries. Our experience in the World Youth Festival 1968 convinced ^{us} that that the amount of ignorance ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ about our struggle, even among the progressive students, is phenomenal. Hence we need to launch a full-scale propaganda campaign directed to these countries.

WESTERN EUROPE
We should exploit
the present upsurge of student rebellion which is challenging authoritarian & reactionary systems in the diff. countries & link these student struggles with our struggle: This is made even more important by the fact that it is these western countries that are propping up our enemies, financially, militarily & economically

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tries.

Our propaganda shows some marked deficiency in terms of the

publications published and produced by the ANC, ^{excluding} ~~to the exclu-~~

sion of SECHABA, ^{VI} ~~MAI~~BUYE and SPOTLIGHT. Here we are referring

to pamphlets of ^{the ANC} and by the ANC. The bulk of propaganda and

† This organisation has now become defunct although to our knowledge it has not completely ^{been} disbanded. The money raised up till now will ~~be~~ handed to the ANC and ZAPU

factual material on SA is produced and published by solidarity organisations like the Anti-Apartheid Movt., Xiah Action & International Defence & Aid or by individual writers., The Movt., specifically its Research & Publicity Dept., should set itself the task of rectifying this situation. The students who have completed their studies and whom the Movt. has not been able to use in specific ^{tasks} ~~tasks~~, could be utilized into doing research on some aspects of SA. Thoroughly researched pamphlets would not only serve the short-term end of propaganda but could be useful material for a free SA.

1. Barring the above ^{concern} and considering the deep involvement of some of our y & s, ^{with the prosecution of the struggle} it would be in keeping with our revolutionary duties, if the Movt. could devise some scheme whereby some of our genuine students are groomed into a state of preparedness for the arduous tasks in the prosecution of our struggle. Some of our students should be given some form of crash training. ^{I this could be done over the long summer vac. which lasts about 3 months.} This should ^{not} be dramatically conceived in terms of military training etc. but there are certain basic techniques which our people should have at their disposal whatever role they are going to play in the future: 1. to drive a vehicle 2. basic firstaid 3. basic communications knowledge, how to operate a morse-code, how to operate a wireless transmitter to take and receive messages. The Movt. would then be creating ^{for itself} a pool of reserves ~~from which it~~ could tap.

Our propaganda ^{work} should not be confined to non-SAfricans but also ^{to} the large SAfrican community in Britain. and Canada,

some of whom support the Movt. The y & s could help in the mobilisation of these people into the anti-apartheid struggle. We need to find more about these people, get them active and committed, not in the sense that they become members of our organisation but in the sense that our literature gets to them and they participate in the AAM activities. The many talented^{SA}/musicians and artists could be asked to render their services by raising funds for the Movt.

To intensify our work internationally we also need to have closer co-ordination and contact with our youth and students in other parts of the world. Wherever there is a concentration of SA students, they should be urged to ~~xxxxxxx~~ publicise the cause of liberation. E.g., the few students (ANC) in Continental Europe could be activated into doing something - the circulation of SECHABA.

*Yes
Bulletin* The contact between the students need not be physical. It could be through the publication of a y & s bulletin or news - published monthly or quarterly letter. Such a bulletin would be the mouthpiece of the ANC y & s covering such subjects as the Non-White student struggles[†] in SA, the problems of Bantu education etc.

[†] The London branch of the Y & SS is contemplating as part of its study group programme to do some research on the student struggles at home with the view to putting these in their correct political perspective.

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You find a situation, let's take a particular case, let's take a situation like, say, Ngoye, a university where there ^{are} ~~a~~ quite a number of African students whom I think would be instrumental in our struggle. But people out there just don't know what is happening. They do not know whether the organisation still exists and the amount of information which is available to them at home is ~~such~~ ^{one} that it is highly derogatory. He is faced for instance with newspapers which he reads continually giving the picture of an organisation which is highly corrupt. Now that kind of thing has got to be put straight and I can't see who can do it much better than the organisation itself. Obviously we need somebody to carry this kind of thing out actively. And who are the best people to do that but the people who have contact with both sides? That can only be established if we have the kind of organisation which is going to tell everybody where to fit in.

Charles :

Just a point about passport holders - I think that the organisation should clarify the position. I think passport holders who are intended to be used again back home should be kept out from the main stream and they should be pushed into the background, otherwise they will become involved and their names will become known by the Special Branch and it wouldn't really serve any purpose. But I agree that passport holders are very important and they should be used.

Fred : It would become very difficult for this organisation (ASA) to operate above ground. At places like Ngoye for instance, we have had young chaps who were members of ASA when

ASA WAS STILL in existence and they are still doing some good work but without any direction. What lacks in the main is information about what is going on. If an organisation like ASA started in a different sort of a pattern than it was at the beginning, that is to take a new look now, that is the look of the present situation, it could be a good ~~sort~~ source through which more information could reach the student. There is no doubt about the fact that the African student at home on the main is a better man insofar as politics is concerned. He knows the situation, he understands the situation, he may because of lack of information sometimes act as those chaps in Fort Hare. Which means now there should be a way by which the correct line should be brought to the understanding of the students. But as for the propaganda and its seeping through, it would seem at least from the information which I have had last July from the students even Ngoye, that they are not taken in by this information. But this of course means nothing other than that we have good ground on which to work. It means nothing more than this.

Linda ?: There is this point about the students at home. There are those students who are now serving, when they come out something can be organised for them to come over, scholarships. But there should be students, at least who are at home, even those who have been in jail who should remain at home - to communicate with. Because it is obvious that when they come out they will still be tortured, they'll still be raided by the cops. But there should be other students who should be brought over. What does the organisation think of those people because it can't be that each and every student who comes out of jail should

leadership cannot be tenable in the present phase of struggle in which our militants have made incommensurate sacrifices. Therefore, there should ~~be~~ clearly defined political identification and affiliation of the y & s to the ANC. The persons designated to positions of leadership should be appointees made ^{by} the Movt. so that they recognise and unequivocally accept its leadership. Of course, the Movt should guard against the usurpation of the powers it bestows on its appointees.

Generally the Y & SS in this area has made notable advances in solidarity work. This can be illustrated by the number of meetings it has addressed, the holding of top executive positions in some organisations, e.g. we are chairman of CCOSO, and culturally it has made a name for the ANC by performing in concerts where artists of international fame ^{were} ~~are~~ also performing. The latter activity has had a political impact in Britain - the ANC has become known even in social circles.

The most notable political campaign in which the Y & SS was involved in organising and bringing to success was ^{the} ~~last year's~~ 1968 Oxford Conference on the "The Revolution in Southern Africa" where the late Dr. Mondlane and R. Resha spoke. This conference was the biggest ever organised ~~thxx~~ by students in this country, and its success can be attributed to the role that our students played in ~~thxx~~ its organisation.

leave South Africa. All of them. The organisation should at least say what they should do, choose which people to leave and which people should stay behind.

Sylvia : I think that one of the things which will come out of this conference, and that is why I welcome it, is that far too much emphasis has been put on the work of the ANC, far too much emphasis has been put on the armed struggle and not nearly sufficient work and thinking has been done about the work of the other national groups, Indians, Coloureds and whites. So I think that when we think of the structure of our organisation we should always bear this in mind and not have a structure which is going to leave out these sections from the active part in the struggle. That is why I think it is terribly important for the Indian Congress to get reorganised back home and for them to organise Indian students; for the CPC to get reorganised back home and for them to organise, amongst other Coloured people, the students; and for the whites to get reorganised and for them to organise among other white groups the white students. This must not eliminate contact between an African students organisation for instance, and a white student organisation and so on. I think that must go on as well but I think it is terribly important. The white students have been active - their trouble is that they tend to go the wind blows. But if they are given information, if they feel that there is an African organisation, and other non-white organisations, with a strong voice which knows where it is going, these are the sort of people who are going to come over. They are the sort of people who at certain points in the struggle can play a very

important part¹. Vorster has made it clear that he is terrified of what students, and of what white students, could do. One of the things we must do is get propaganda to them, get them propaganda particularly about the armed struggle. Tell them what is going on in Rhodesia, tell them what the aims of the armed struggle is, tell them how we see their role within the armed struggle. I think that far too much emphasis has been put on the organisation of guerrillas and in the South African revolution inevitably because we have a situation where S.A. is not a peasant underdeveloped economy, we are going to see that all the other groups are going to play a very important role. Because ~~xxxxx~~ we can't arm every single man in S.A., we cannot even arm every African in South Africa and that is why it is terribly important that we think of the role of African students using their own methods, not just to be recruited into MK, but using their own methods as students within the revolution; the same goes for African workers; the same goes for white students. Each will speak to the people within their own groups as well, recognise that they have a special situation within the South African society and that they will play a role within it. This doesn't eliminate our recruiting also from these people to play their role in MK. So I think that it is very important that we get propaganda to them - this newsletter that Essop was talking about, I think it would be a good idea if we not only gear it to other students outside South Africa but that we also try to get it to students within South Africa, specifically directed to students. I think that the white students want to receive information from an ANC youth organisation

Another problem of structure which I think will come up - I don't think we've been very specific about 'youth' and 'students' - we have got a proliferation of organisations in S.A. One of the reasons is that it is such a complex situation with the national groups and so on, so we have got CPC, SAIC, C.P., ANC and so on, in addition to Mk and this does create enormous problems of organisation. People start acting on their own because they are not sure whether they are attached to MK or whether they are attached to CPC and so on so that organisations which should be developed are not being developed. So we do not want to get another organisation going. The students are in a particular situation in S.A. and there is a mass group there to which we can direct propaganda so I think that we should concentrate on students and not on youth. I think that for the ANC to start a youth organisation in S.A. outside the students, would just complicate matters further.

Zanele : I expect a reaction from committee members on this question of recruitment locally which has been discussed in the past, when strong security reasons have been raised. What screening is being, or can be, used here. How are we going to feed information to the people. Are we just going to have open meetings, because in the past it has always been said that it is not our purpose to recruit people here because there are certain elements who might attach themselves for their own reasons rather than the reason of the organisation. It seems to me there has been a certain policy about this which we are not clear about and if we are to recommend open recruiting of people, or if we are to send information within the country,

they have got to specify exactly how far we should go.

Bizo : ~~Our assumption has been, although taking security~~
~~precautions,~~ and we ^{shouldn't} ~~wouldn't sort of take~~ undertake an open
 and wide recruitment of people, because the Movement is
 working underground and because we ~~are~~ here we should not
 assume that we are an open organisation as against how the
 Movement operates at home. Some trusted comrades, some
 people who hold passports, have been entrusted with certain
 work and these people do not come to the office. It depends
 on our own personal judgements on who one can trust and who
 one cannot trust. Before we can bring people into the fold,
 we cannot be 100% sure but we can involve people in certain
 aspects of our anti-apartheid work - in the Anti-Apartheid
 Movement which is a legal organisation - so that people
 get the feel of being involved in the South African struggle.
 But insofar as open recruiting into our organisation is
 concerned, I think we have got reservations.

Aziz : When I say that we should go out on a campaign to get
 new people, I didn't mean that ~~st~~ we should stop someone in
 the street and ask for a passport and if it is South African
 that we should recruit him; but I mean we should find out
 more about people, get them active, not get them into the
 organisation immediately, but see that SECHABA gets to them.
 Get them committed not in the sense that they become members
 of our organisation, but in the sense that they get our
 literature, go to A.A. things, demonstrations and so forth.
 Another thing about this, is that however ridiculous it may
 seem, the children of the seniors who have come here over the

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years, have completely fallen by the wayside. We could involve these children and they could^a be not security risk. They haven't been contacted, they haven't been mobilised; we may have tried to contact them but they haven't moved, and I think it is time we started wielding the stick at them. They think that now they are in this country they can go to school here and be happy they are settled and they forget things and I think we have to get to them.

? : I wonder if we could establish a body and try to establish the students' whole attitude and genuineness towards the Movement. Because it would seem to me that many South Africans come out here where the Movement is strong, or in India, and they get involved but once they go back they forget that the ANC exists. I have found many students here and in India who are very discontented with the present S.A. situation, and they are ready to do something, but are afraid.

? : I think it has been six seven years now that it has been suggested that there should be recruiting here and that students during their summer holidays should be subjected to some kind of training, sabotage, espionage, counter-espionage and all sorts of things. But the question which arises is how do we recruit these people, how do we screen them. And I think that they were very correct in having put this question because I know for a fact that there were some Indian students, eighteen months ago, who were recruited and returned and one of them went to an ANC meeting and suggested to them that he was very highly placed in the A.A. Movement and his name was then mentioned and no one seemed to have known anything about him.

I think that it should be borne in mind that the question which is posed again by the senior body is a very valid one and we should not push it too far. We shouldn't be disheartened by this, because I think there are many very valid points here. Then we take the question of students from Dublin. There are any number of students from Dublin who have now returned to

how do you get S.A. mostly as medics and you will not find a single chap from them involved? in SA? the Dublin group who is contributing anything to the fighting movement in S.A. In fact you will find that if they are in Dublin they will join the A.A., they will preach freedom, they will talk about the type of thing we need to do at home. But they will not do anything, in fact all they do when they get home is think in terms of £ s.d.

Students at Salisbury Island were at one time trying to get in contact with the students of Ngoye university and they came across several problems one was that they could only associate on the sporting field and once they were off the sporting fields there was no relationship between them whatsoever. This of course, poses a problem for them and for us over here. Students at S. Island have from time to time put up posters and notices which have defied the authorities and I think that we should not turn around here and say that there are no students at these universities doing anything. There are students who are doing something but they are very very few. There was also a suggestion that there should be some sort of discussion group and I think that 8 people got together to do something about it but I think there was only about a month before the examinations and the whole thing fell through.

student lack of direction

2 : About the question of passport holders - because they cannot go to demonstrations, cannot go to meetings, the burden of the work here falls on those students who are not passport holders and gives them an added responsibility. This question of passport holders has been discussed time and again and it has been felt that these students should be restrained from going out on demonstrations; they shouldn't go to the small pickets or small demonstrations but where we have very large demonstrations, 60,000 or so, although there is a security risk I feel that these members should go to these demonstrations in order to have this feeling of a demonstration and as to what is behind the demonstration...here I am referring to South African demonstrations. On the Vietnam demos etc. I don't think the question of security really arises and I think they should go to these as long as they keep in the background.

Alan : I am very pleased that in the course of this discussion a lot of emphasis has been placed on the movement in S.A.

And I feel that this is correct and we can't place too much emphasis on this. ~~xxxx~~ Indeed, some of the discussion has taken place on the assumption that the problem is really one of communication between those of us who are outside and those who are inside S.A. I think that this is false insofar as the major task of the Movement is the reconstruction of the Movement inside S.A. And if we accept this as fundamental political priority, we can only carry this into effect if we regard each and every one of ourselves as a potential returnee to S.A. As someone who when the Movement requests it answers the call and goes back be it as doctor, as student as propagandist,

as guerrilla, as nurse etc. But this does require an attitude which [doesn't lean too heavily upon the distinction between passport holder and non-passport holders] but on a readiness to return to the struggle. So this I think is absolutely essential and needs to be the basic framework of our approach to this whole question. I don't think I can contribute much as to how this reconstruction should be carried on at home. My own experience is confined largely to white students and I don't feel that they are going to be potentially very fruitful. But work could be done amongst them but how this is to be done is best decided by those who know what the situation is at home and most of us here don't know enough.

✓ I don't think that training programmes for those of us who are stuck here should be dramatically conceived in terms of sabotage etc. but there are certain basic techniques which our people should have at their disposal whatever role they are going to play in the future : 1. to drive a vehicle 2. basic first-aid 3. basic communications knowledge, how to operate a morse-code, how to operate a wireless transmitter to take and receive messages. ✓ Now these sorts of things can be learnt in short camps over weekends, or long weekends or a week or two and combined with political instruction and I think we should make this a recommendation. At this conference a review of the needs of this movement needs to be made needs to be made by the leadership. I think it is up to us to make this possible as it is for the leadership to make a full review and to do this the committee ✓ put forward to the conference as full a picture as it can of the personnel, resources etc. of the youth section.

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falling within its jurisdiction, whether that be England, England and America or whatever. But it should state who is here and about each person it should state what stage of their studies, what their educational attainments are, their political experience summarise, their family commitments, and some indication of their readiness to serve in different aspects of the Movement. This is a lot to do in a short time.

Zanele : There is one thing about which I am still not clear.

When we talk of students going back home where we have an underground organisation, what structure do you give them.

Because I think that when we blame them for ~~not~~ just concentrating on their £sd, if a person is just left on their own it is a huge task to start moving and I want to know what clear ~~not~~ picture do we give to the organisation as a recommendation of even a starting point for this underground. And I am actually rather worried about how can it work on its own. Has it to be directly linked with the existing underground of the other organisations which could be also dangerous.

Fred : The point of the student organisation is not going to be a very difficult one in the sense that ASA although it was operating at home under the direction of the underground movement the only difference with this one will be that it will operate underground also. The contact will always be from the main body and if we followed that structure we will find that the only difference now will be that ASA in the past was operating above ground and that the new ASA will operate underground. But working along the same sort of lines and getting authority from the main body.

Compare

Zanele : I cannot see how a student organisation, as a student organisation can function with security underground because you tend to recruit more students to discuss with them and to me you are exposing the bigger organisation by working in the same lines as it did before and therefore it has to attain a new structure if it is not going to be a dangerous organisation to the main body that is existing now.

Fred : You are missing the point - ASA can no longer operate openly now for the reasons which I have already stated that most of the people who were on the ASA executives were people who were also connected directly with the Movement. So that the fact that ASA itself is not a banned organisation will not immediately bring suspicion on any member that will come up now again with ASA. So if ASA can no longer operate as it used to operate there are two things, either ASA dies completely or ASA will operate underground. The question you are now asking is how does ASA then reach the students. ? I think that ASA to reach the students it may not need to reach the students as ASA; it might form some small little organisation of the students through which some members from ASA which will be underground, could come to those sort of organisations and sort of address those sort of organisations on information without them revealing to the general that it is ASA. What has happened now at these universities is that there is not actually a single room in those universities which is not tapped; every discussion that goes on there is immediately known to the police. So an organisation like ASA can no longer effectively operate above ground.

About these people who come here and then go home. It is difficult to know really whether these people are interested merely in money. The difficulty which I personally found when I came out of prison is that in the first place you do not know how to operate so the organisation should be such that when those people get there they should be in some way which will not endanger the organisation get in touch with those people. If that is not done those people will never on their own start any effective work. Now that does not nullify that those people who are here, like the people in Dublin and so on, could not be recruited. The problem is that after they are recruited and they get home, how do they begin to work? Do they start on their own? If they start on their own in the present situation they will of course be doomed, except if they start with the direction of the Movement at home. This is something which we cannot work out but which the Executive should so that when these people leave, they leave with a full directive of what they are going to do there when they get there.

Bizo : About this question of above-ground and under-ground, I would think myself that first of all a reassessment of the position should be made. I might agree with you about having some underground structure and after all we have got the M plan which was intended ^{to meet the hazards of underground organization} at one stage, a reassessment to see whether this plan could be reinstated ~~and whether~~ insofar as student and Movement contact are concerned. At the same time one acknowledges the point of view that it might create dangers but I think we could pose these things to the movement. Probably they know better the structure obtaining inside the country.

They could view it from both points. We needn't categorically state that we need this ^{or that} structure because we are not very conversant with the situation.

Charles : When Ismael makes the point that these people were involved with the A.A. in Dublin and when they go back home they are only involved in £sd but in my opinion it is not so much insincerity on their part but rather a failure of the Movement to channel their interest. And as for security it is not as if the people in Dublin are complete strangers to us. Many are known to many people in this room. The importance of starting youth groups elsewhere lies in this that we should get groups started wherever there is a concentration of S.A. students. When I finish my studies, others whom I know I can trust will also be finishing and we will be going back at more or less the same time - and we have already, say, five people who could form the basic structure to do work at home.

Essop : We can't dismiss lightly the problem that Zanele posed. Because it is a very real problem about the link between the different elements in our national liberatory movement who are operating in S.A. itself. It is not enough to say that ASA will operate underground; it is the whole question of what sort of information is made available to those people who are operating as ASA underground. There is the problem that we know that the SB has a tremendous amount of information. That if they are perhaps not properly trained people the chances of them breaking and giving away information is a much greater one. This is a tremendous problem that is why I posed the

question of the resuscitation of the Youth League obviously in a different way that ASA doesn't operate at home but that the ANC youth section with direct links with the Director of Youth who has direct links with the ~~NEC~~ NEC, go and operate underground and directly linked with the Movement so that people who are sent back to do work are part and parcel of the youth section and they will not be ASA. If there is perhaps the need ~~of~~ at a later stage to have a student organisation of its own then the question of ASA should arise but I think that we should be very concerned about this whole question of some form of link, of some form of information coming back to people who are outside of S.A. People should be sent back with the specific task of finding out what is happening. I think that the talent of the people who are at present outside S.A. is being wasted e.g. I think that we tend to think too much of S.A. as a national thing when we have tremendous regional problems, there are some areas which are very active, there are some areas which are completely inactive. People who come from certain areas and who know certain areas must be made to work on those areas so that the information we get is very real and knowledgeable.

I don't think that we should assume that the various organisations which operate in S.A. do not have underground structures. So I don't think that there should be a real problem for the people trained overseas who go back home. What we need is a more effective way of integrating those people who go home with the already existing structures there.

Fred : We cannot say that ASA should operate in this or that particular way because we do not know the situation. All we can say is that ASA should operate - or not even ASA but some structure which will be attending to the students.

Paul : I only have a gneral point to make and that is that students are a privileged group by an large ; who in fact is going to be liberated in South Africa and what does this mean ?

: It seems to me that everyone thinks that the only youth in S.A. are the students but the majority of youth are working youth. The first way to raise the activity level of the youth is to establish all over S.A. groups of active youth. And then we can start theinking from there how these activits could operate, in the high schools, in the factories, in the locations as such.

Issy : I would see these problems as matters of communications There are students here with passports, people here who are never going to go back, there are students from India, there are people in S.A. who can be activated . I know four or five people in a particular area and I could bring them together and get them to form a group which can then perform group activities But the problem is how do I communicate with them I cannot write to them , but if I had some means by which I could communicate with both of them I could baring both of them together, There are other means of communication which are open to us, other than the GPO, there are quite a number of good political people in the Seaman's Union; and rather than concentrate our activities in London we should concentrate them

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in Southampton. We could go to Denmark and to Belgium to try to contact the seaman to try to send things through them.

: I want to add to what Alan said : not only should we prepare something for the leadership on the personnel etc. but we should really find out in what each person is interested.