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1. The people living in the urban townships are treated like foreigners, like temporary sojourners. But every person has a right to a home, to live in security with his family.
2. The locations are far from the towns and cities where the location swellers work; they are surrounded by high fences and guarded by armed police and white administrators.
3. The locations can be turned into hives of resistance which disrupt the white man's administration and confronts every sign and aspect of his repression and terror.
4. Unity and solidarity is the key : secret organisation is the weapon.
5. Informers who endanger the movement towards freedom must be publicly exposed, humiliated and, if necessary, ~~put out of action~~ ^{eliminated} (destroyed?).
6. Secret committees can be formed in the townships and can decide how to tackle the daily problems of the township people. Secret committees can organise the people to fight both secretly and publicly for their rights and for the end of white domination in every sphere.
7. When workers in the town decide to strike, township secret committees can organise the people against the attempts of the army, the police, the government to intimidate them. [Secret committees can organise that the people march out of the ghetto locations and into the white towns and cities. They can march to the factories, to the prisons where the workers are and demonstrate their solidarity with them.]
8. Township secret committees can organise the people to defend themselves if the army, the police, the government move in with their sten guns and armoured vehicles to intimidate the people. They can organise the people to stand together in the face of terror.
9. Secret committees can organise ~~xxxxx~~ attacks on administrative buildings and vicious administrators.
10. In the past the anger of people who see the police arresting their friends their neighbours, has erupted into spontaneous stoning of the police and turning over their vans.
11. Every Black man, woman and child has the right to be defended by his fellows against police harassment and brutality. No act of harassment⁺, humiliation or brutality by the SAP, the municipal police or any white official should go unchallenged and unpunished.
- 12.

12. Township secret committees can organise the people to defend themselves against dawn raids by Blackjacks, against pass raids on their homes or in the streets.

Issues.

13. They can organise a system of warning - by banging dustbin lids, by whistle blowing, by chanting - so that raids take place amid a continuous noise and wakefulness by the people who are standing together in the face of the enemy - and the Blackjacks or SAP feel the solidarity of the people against them.
14. When people are evicted from their homes, when homes are bulldozed down, when ~~and~~ widows, do divorcees and other husbandless women are thrown out of their homes, there must be secret committees which organise their neighbours and friends to stand by them, to defend them, and to attack those who attack their homes.
15. In the hostels where thousands of adult people with families are living like school children, secret committees can turn these half-prisons into schools for liberation.
16. In the hostels liberation propaganda can be secretly distributed, alarms can be secretly dismantles, small groups can secretly meet to learn political ideas from ~~xxx~~ one another.
17. In the hostels pass raids can be disrupted and resisted.
18. Also in the hostels, people can openly stand together and demand proper amenities, they can demand visits by their wives, their husbands, their children, their friends in their rooms without being watched.
19. They can demand to live like adults without rules and continuous supervision.
20. Township secret committees can also organise public campaigning by the township people. Through legal bodies they can encourage people to enter the struggle as a conscious force and to use the many opportunities to present united demands and to challenge all areas of ~~injust~~ injustice.
21. Through Residents' Associations, rising rents, rising bus and rail fares, the lack of pavements and street lights, the lack of proper sanitation, and all the other problems of living township people encounter can be ~~xxx~~ challenged, attacked.
22. Through Women's Groups decent health service and facilities, more schools, more teachers, more school facilities can be demanded; free compulsory education, school feeding schemes, an end to malnutrition and gastro-enteritis which kills their children must be fought for.
23. A Voters' Association can demand executive powers and backbone for the

Urban Bantu Councils.

24. A The building of municipal beerhalls instead of health clinics, schools and homes can be publicly attacked.
25. A An end to rail crashes can be fought for; and an end to curfews and "white-by-night" towns demanded.
26. A Domestic workers can stand together and demand the right to ~~enter~~^{have} their husbands and wives in their rooms at night.
- **** (see below for insert)
27. Above all there must be continuous fighting against the splitting up of townships dwellers into tribal groupings. The unity of the Black people must be maintained and the "ethnic" divisions of townships, of medical and other services, of schools and school boards, of voting for Urban Bantu Councillors, etc. etc. must be fought because the government is trying to recreate tribal barriers which have been breaking down under urban life.
28. African national consciousness must grow and form links with Black minorities so that together the oppressed people of South Africa can act to end white domination in all spheres of life, so that together the oppressed people can channel their protests and actions into one mighty river of revolution against white minority dictatorship.

**** 26.a.

Mothers and wives can stand together against the spiralling rise in food prices. Campaigns to boycott specific food have ~~been made~~ made and impact in the ~~past~~ past. Children starve because the price of milk, meat and other protein food is more than meagre pay packets can afford. The people of the townships must fight for the right to eat and to give their families decent, wholesome food.

- withheld Revts.

THE ROLE OF STUDENTS IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN REVOLUTION.

In this paper will be discussed the role of students in the South Africa Revolution - the problems and tasks of the students, and suggestions as to how some of the problems could be solved and the duties be executed. The paper will be divided into two sections - one dealing with our work externally and the other with the work at home.

Before going into ^{the} discussion of the paper, the London Branch of the Youth and Students Section of the ANC, wishes to express its profound support of the ANC decision to call a conference with the view to throwing into open discussion a whole range of subjects pertaining to our revolutionary struggle for independence. This move in our view, reflects the maturity and open-mindedness of the Movement. Besides affording opportunity for democratic participation, this move poses a challenge to all freedom-loving people in the Movement to sound their views on the various aspects of our work.

EXTERNAL MISSION.Politico-Structural Situation.

The external mission of the ANC established a Department of the Youth and Students Section whose main function was to concern itself with the organisation of our youth and students in the different parts of the world where there were ANC youth and students, and to engage in international solidarity work among the youth and students the world over.

Two organisational structures were in operation for some time. In the socialist countries our students were ~~organised~~ to be organised ~~in~~ under the banner of African Students Association (whose branches have since been dissolved) whilst in Western Europe, and specifically London, Britain, a Youth and Students Section of the ANC comprising the student and youth racial groups that are members of the Congress Alliance, was the organ under which the youth and students were and are organised.

The structure obtaining in Britain was devised to meet the multi-racial content of the youth and students in London. It was primarily aimed at bringing into active participation all the South African youth and students members of the Congress Alliance. Therefore all youth and students who are members of the Congress Alliance fell under one organ - the ANC. The committee which admi-

nisters and guides the general membership of the ANC Youth and Students Section is made up of appointees made by the Movement and sends reports to the Director of the Department of Youth and Students and also Headquarters.

In this structure, it is important to note, there is a 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 membership. Work undertaken by Youth and Students Section 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 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 youth and students will be organised. The structure evolved for ~~the~~ London could, by and large, form the basis of organisation of our youth and students in other parts of the world. The Section should be under the Director of Youth and Students who will co-ordinate with the different branches. The Director should concern himself with the organisation of youth and students at home and abroad. His task and energies should not be dissipated ~~xxxx~~ on the one hand by carrying out the work of the Movement in Algeria (as is the case at present) and the same time as Director of Youth and Students! One of the reasons ~~xxxx~~ for the absence of organised contact with our students at home may be that people who are directly concerned with the youth and students had also other kinds of work to do.

The London model, not excluding modifications when and if necessary, would help to eliminate some of the student problems that have plagued the Movement. An anomalous situation where students flout directives and question the authority of the 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 identifications and affiliation ~~xxx~~ of the youth and students to the ANC. The persons designated to positions of leadership should be appointees ^{made by the} ~~xxxxxxx~~ Movement so that they recognise and unequivocally accept ~~xxx~~ its leadership. Of course, the Movement will and should ~~xxxxxxx~~ guard against the usurpation of the powers it bestows on its appointees.

Generally the Youth and Section in this area had made notable advances in the solidarity work. This can be illustrated by the

number of meetings it has addressed, the holding of top executive positions in some of the organisations, e.g. we are chairman of the Co-ordinating Committee of Overseas Students, and culturally it has made a name for the ANC by performing in concerts where artists of international fame were also performing. The latter activity has had political impact in Britain - the ANC has also become known even in social circles.

The most notable political campaign in which the Youth and Students Section was involved in organising and bringing to success was the 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 by students in this country, and its success owes much to the role of the ANC Youth and Students Section.

We, in this area, are in touch with the progressive and left wing/^{youth and} student organisations. ~~xxxxxx~~ Such projects as the Southern Africa Appeal Fund launched in ~~the~~ mid-1968, a solidarity fund for raising material aid to ZAPU and ANC fighters, run by British Radical Students Alliance[†], was as a result of the agitation of our Youth and Students Section among the British 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 in the Western countries, we need ~~xxxxxx~~ 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 Continental Europe. Our experience in the World Youth Festival, in Sofia, convinced us ~~xxxxxx~~ that the magnitude of ignorance about our struggle is phenomenal. Hence we need to launch a full-scale propaganda campaign directed to these countries. It is imperative that

[†] This organisation has now become defunct although to our knowledge it has not been completely disbanded. The money that they have raised till now will be handed over ~~xxx~~ to the ANC and ZAPU.

we exploit the upsurge of student rebellion which is challenging authoritarianism and reactionary systems in the different countries and link these student struggles with our struggle. This becomes more impeeling because of the fact that it is these Western countries that are propping up our enemies, financially, economically and militarily.

Our propaganda shows marked deficiency in terms of the publications published and produced by the ANC, excluding SECHABA, MAYIBUYE ENSTLIGHT ETC. Here ~~xxxx~~ we are referring to pamphlets of the ANC and by the ANC. The bulk of propaganda and factual material on South Africa is produced and published by solidarity organisations like the Anti-Apartheid Movement, Christian Action, International Defence & Aid or by individual writers. The Movement, specifically its Publicity & Research Department, should set itself the task of rectifying this situation. Some of the students who have completed their studies and whom the Movement has not been able to use in specific tasks, could be utilised into doing research on some aspects of South Africa. Thoroughly researched pamphlets would not only serve the short-term end of propaganda but could be useful material for a free South Africa.

Barring the above and considering the deep concern of some of our youth and students with the prosecution of the armed, it would be in keeping with its revolutionary duties if the Movement could devise some scheme whereby some of our genuine students are groomed into a state of preparedness for the arduous tasks that the revolution demands. Some of our students should be given some form of crash training and this could be done over the long Summer Vacation which lasts about 3 months. This is not ^{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 first aid 3. basic communications knowledge - how to operate a morse-code, how to operate a wireless transmitter to send and receive messages. The Movement would then be creating for itself a pool of reserves ~~from~~ which it could tap.

Our propaganda work should not only be confined to non-South Africans but also to the large South African communities in Britain and Canada some of whom support the Movement. The youth and students 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 Anti-Apartheid Movement's activities. The many talented South African musicians and artists could be asked to render their services by raising funds for the Movement.

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 South African students, they should be urged to publicise the cause of liberation. For example, the few ANC students in Continental Europe could be activated into doing something - the circulation of SECHABA.

The contact between our students need not be physical. It could be through the publication of a youth and students bulletin or newsletter, published monthly or quarterly. Such a bulletin would be the mouthpiece of the ANC Youth and Students covering such subjects as: The Non-White student struggles in South Africa[†], the problems of Bantu Education etc.

ORGANISATION AT HOME.

The student movement inside South Africa, particularly the Africans, has suffered heavy blows at the hands of the South African Government. The situation, as one reads it today, is one of frustration, passivity and even open collaboration (per spies in the schools and university campuses) by the students with the apartheid authorities. The African Students Association, as an organisation which was geared to the mobilisation of the African students generally, has been subjected to the same terror methods that the South African Government has and is using against the Liberation Movement activists - bannings, gaolings etc. Already there is evidence of student intimidation into submission. Even under such harsh and stringent conditions, student revolts are still the norm of African educational institutions, though some of these lack political perspective and direction. This situation can be explained by the fact that the African students are not organised into a viable force. They do not know what is expected of them. They are continually bombarded with propaganda by the South African Government and the reactionary South Africa press which depicts the Liberation

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

Movement as non-existent and speak derogatorily of its activities and those of the leadership. The inevitable result of such one-way propaganda will be to demoralise our students.

Evidence of lack of political direction and purpose, and guidance was manifest in the trial of some Fort Hare students who had been charged for painting slogans on the buildings of the institution. One of the accused is reported to have said in court:

"At the time we were not aware of the consequences that would follow our action. It was only after our arrest that the full gravity of it hit us.

"We thought it would go no further than the school, Fort Hare. I can now see the seriousness of our action".

Such a situation will continue to exist so long as the students lack leadership and guidance. In these circumstances the task of the Movement is made much more difficult by the fact that the organisation is working underground. It should be borne in mind that the potentially militant youth and students is brought up in the difficult conditions in which there is very little or no opportunity at all for our students to get correct politicisation.

Therefore to the extent that the African people suffer disabilities as a national group, so are these disabilities reflected, in their entirety, among African students. The demands of the students are in accord with those of the mass of the people hence their participation in several strikes called by the Liberation Movement - the most notable and successful being the 1961 strike headed by Nelson Mandela. It is these student activists who are today languishing in Vorster's gaols or under restriction and whose organisation as a result has been rendered immobile. The student struggle therefore cannot be divorced from that of the mass of the people who are bent on overthrowing the white minority dictatorship.

The role of students, in alliance with the youth generally, is crucial to the successful prosecution of the struggle. These students are the reservoirs from which the Movement could recruit militants who will participate in the armed struggle. As Acting President-General O.R. Tambo puts it:

"The armed struggle will require that our young men and women prepare themselves... . This struggle will be a great challenge to the Youth, on whom the nation depends for victory in the revolution".

If the above analysis is correct, then, the Movement needs to make a complete re-appraisal of the role and participation of our students at home in the revolution. The re-organisation and the strengthening of students, as part of the general mass mobilisation of the oppressed people, should be an immediate political priority. It is from these students, as an organised force, that the youth and students externally or as part of the external mission of the ANC, will draw its strength. What happens externally is going to depend largely on what happens at home. Therefore, what role the students at home are expected to play in the present phase of the revolution? Will the ASA organisational structure meet the demands of the Movement or do we need a ~~new~~ completely new structure?

What needs to ^{be} done ~~is~~ to resuscitate ASA and how and what programme should be followed by ASA will and should depend upon a correct assessment of the situation at home. An organisation of this kind will, of necessity, cater for the needs of our students, give them guidance and direction, educationally and politically, and this will eliminate some of the problems that face our students at the moment. It could be helpful in transmitting information and politicising the students on the rapid political developments in Southern Africa. This would serve the dual purpose of bringing starkly into the focus and attention of the students the armed struggle and also counter the evil effects of the South African Government's slanderous propaganda. The initial stages of the re-organisational process need not take an immediate political slant. Students could be organised on issues other than political - cultural activities, debates etc.

The internal re-organisation at home and the establishment of organised contact between that section and the external mission would facilitate a more firmer liaison. Students from outside South Africa, when going back home, would readily and easily become integrated into such structure at home[†].

EDUCATIONAL POLICY.

The disabilities and disadvantages that our students at home experience are phenomenal compared to those of our students outside the country. Because of the demands of the revolutionary phase and those of the post-revolutionary period, and the fact

[†]See section on Indian and Coloured students.

that South Africa is a highly industrialised country, we need to increase the number of technically trained personnel, not only in the arts of war but also in the tasks that will require their services during national reconstruction. Although the latter stage has not been reached in South Africa, preparations have to be made now. It will be the task of the students to carry out the programmes decided by the popular government.

Such an education programme requires clearly defined goals. The degree and extent of such a programme will, of course, depend on what the Movement requires, whether the students will be trained inside or outside the country. An extension of the education programme will have to embrace the students at home, and its scope becomes wider when one takes into consideration the number of students who have been denied education opportunities. Also the Movement will have to consider what to do with some students who will be released from gaol after completing their prison terms.

PROPAGANDA.

As pointed out above, the propaganda weapon is the most appropriate instrument for publicising our cause and therefore its format should take into consideration the goals that we are aiming at. Our propaganda will be effected through some organisation inside the country, an organisation that will embrace the whole country. All education institutions, especially those that have never had a tradition of student resistance, e.g. University of the North(Turfloop), Ngoya, Salisbury Island, University College of the Western Cape(Belville) etc. should be the main targets of our propaganda. We shall thereby right the imbalance in the political development of our people in the different areas of South Africa.

The propaganda can take the form of a newsletter or bulletin covering a wide range of subjects, educational, cultural as well as political. For example, an analysis of the students' struggles could be put in correct perspective, educational problems arising out of the implementation of Bantu education, Coloured education, Indian education etc. The proposed youth and students bulletin externally could be circulated inside South Africa, with some modifications, when and if necessary.

OTHER NATIONAL GROUPS.

Whilst internationally the work of an international character is being carried out in the name of the ANC and through the ANC,

Other youth and students members of the Congress Alliance directly to the ANC, the position at home has not changed to the extent where we can talk about having one political movement which represents all of the various national groups that go to make up South Africa. The idea of national organisation is not outdated. There is still tremendous need for organisations which specifically represent the Indian, Coloured and White peoples, and most important and African organisation representing the vast masses of the African people.

The problems raised above that beset the African students are also manifest among the Indian and Coloured students - lack of information and contact, political consciousness and what to do in the present phase of struggle. Therefore because these students also form part of the oppressed people and because ~~xxx~~ some of these students and youth have provided militants, some of whom are today serving long terms of imprisonment, their position and role in the liberation struggle needs to be redefined and specified.

It therefore falls squarely on the shoulders of the leaders of our sister organisations - SAIC, ~~xxx~~ CPC, CP - to devise means and methods with the view to activate their youth and students at home. Work among these students and youth is an urgent necessity. ~~xxxxx~~ If we are going to continue the struggle in terms of the way we have continued, then the participation and the role of the other national groups will have to be heightened. If no leadership is ~~not~~ provided to these youth and students, then the potentially good talent will be lost because the guidance that it sorely desires is not forthcoming.

Some organisational structure or organised contact with the Coloured and Indian students is a dire necessity. The Indian students, many of whom leave South Africa to study abroad could serve as a valuable live communication with those inside the country since most of them have valid travel documents†

† In Dublin alone there are approximately 200 of these students.

if there does exist an organisation at home, the students from abroad will find it much more easier to integrate and inform others, and perform specific tasks that might be required of them. Should it become necessary to bring out students from home with the specific purpose of training them in the art of propaganda and other recruiting aspects of our work, this should be done through and with the collaboration of the leadership of our sister organisations.

The different structures propagated in this paper are in response to the realities of the South African political scene. Each national group is confronted with problems which tactically might require to be tackled by the respective national organisations. For example, the creation of Coloured cadets by the South African Government to be trained in para-military exercise requires the attention of the CPC to draw its community's attention to the dangerous implications involved in collaborating in such a scheme. However, there needs to be common action and strategy among the various national students groups on matters common concern.

GENERAL.

The problem of student organisation and role at home cannot be completely divorced from that of the professional persons - teachers, lecturers, nurses, doctors etc. who happen to have a special relationship with the students. This is particularly the case with teachers. They must not only be the propaganda tools of the South African Government for the mass indoctrination of the non-white students, but must help and give courage to our students. They must not be seen to stifle or help stifle the progress of students, academically or politically. Because of the "special" position and role they hold and are made to play and hold, some of them can and have done great disservice to the cause of the non-white peoples. A proliferation of the Sebonis, Ndamses, Kgwares etc. can have and has had one effect, and that is to sow confusion and disgust among our people, whilst the enemy has revelled at the so-called success of its nefarious policies.

Nurses and doctors must find a place in the liberation struggle more so that their technical skills would save the effort of having to train people to undergo training in such skills. It seems therefore that this is the general trend among the different national groups, a more organised and effective way or ways of channelling information - some organised structure within which our students could participate is a necessary prerequisite for the effective participation of our students in our revolution.