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EDITORIAL

SOUTHERN AFRICA SCENE

The year 1975 is approaching its end. By any means no one will disagree that this has been and still is an eventful year.

On the Southern part of Africa words like detente came to the fore. But as history and reality will always bear the truth out, this exercise of detente, coined for some peoples' convenience, crumbled though we are aware that some die-hards still talk about it as if its an existing exercise.

Angola today is topical in the mouths of every nation in the world. The whole hysteria arises from the divisions among the nationalist movements in Angola. One wonders whether this hysteria does not arise from the whole question of which power is behind which nationalist movement. The Western powers are giving moral and material support to the FNLA-UNITA coalition because of certain vested interests among which are the wealth of Angola with its concomitant foreign investments, the sea-route and their last bastion in the African continent, South Africa. On the other hand Dr Agastino Neto's MPLA is supported by Socialist countries like Russia and Cuba amongst others.

The basic question now arises, who has the interests of Angolan people at heart between these two broad groups.

Are the people of Angola interested in continuing foreign economic domination by the capitalist West in the way of foreign investments or are they happy about white minority domination in S.A.? Nobody can refute the fact that the West can never represent the Angolan peoples' interests despite the proclaimed defence of the so-called free world.

On the other hand a letter to the editor of Africa Magazine No. 53, clearly elucidates the fuss of the West about Russian-Cuban presence in Angola where it says :

"Russia and many other socialist countries have been Africa's dear friends in the fight against oppression and have contributed a lot to the achievement of independence from colonialism."

This indeed is a true statement especially when one turns to history to examine whether the oppressors in Africa have been capitalistic or socialistic.

From the above account it is clear that the problem is simple - let the O.A.U. countries follow the example set by Nigeria and Tanzania in recognising "Dr Neto as the undisputed servant of the Angolan peasants and workers and the MPLA as the genuine peoples' own army." (Africa Magazine No. 53.)

Apartheid

AND THE Anti-Imperialist Struggle

In the attempts to check and eventually resist Black national aspirations the System is proliferating a new empty-bellied "elite" with the intentioned expediency of creating a false sense of history that justifies white settler dominance in Southern Africa. The factor that favours the apparent "acceptance" of separatism is the opening of false opportunities to those blacks who aspire to bourgeois ambitions. Until the falsity of these negative opportunities has revealed itself to the eyes of the mass of Black people, the fascist lie of "development" in separatist apartheid will appear to be true.

Another factor that favours the collaboration of certain privilege-inclined blacks is the half-heartedness with which groups in the resistance against apartheid have interpreted the class context of the Blackmans' liberatory struggle. Particularly those political organisations that have not determinately taught the average Black how far a common, united front can be effected against the onslaught of apartheid. And how any dilution of the struggle can be challenged against those whose immediate pre-occupation is reform and political gradualism instead of defined change.

The first condition we should accept is that the tribal leadership is a powerless elite. Both weak and parasitic. All its political resources come from the fascist economy or from imperialist investment. And in both these controlling interests it is the common Black people who contribute predominantly. This weak "elite" has to wait for crumbs from the fascist and imperialist tables. Which makes tribal leaders to be at the service of the fascist and imperialist interests; and merely act on any agency basis. All arguments to the contrary merit no further consideration. Apartheid has been judged by the world. All that is needed now is an executioner. And gravediggers.

In the absence of an escape alternative for these collaborationist leaders, their attachment to the system has reached the absolute. There can be no escape from apartheid commitments and sell-out justifications of their reactionary role. These so-called leaders are fixed on becoming part of a ruling class in their bundu "states" - As socio-political parasites. The fate of white sovereignty now hangs above the heads of the Gatsha Buthelezis, the Matanzimas, the Mangopes, the Phatudis. We know them for what they are : collaborators with the oppressor.

Though there is ample evidence against Voster's "bundu leaders" the factor determining the damage they mete out against the oppressed Blacks is their level of articulation.

The intensity of the damage is expressed by how articulate each "leader" is in support of apartheid. The more articulate and apologist the "leader" is, the more dangerous he is. Because as their tutelage power goes on the increase so does their justification of collaboration grow. What is worst of their articulation is how this new "stan" elite avoids self-criticism as poison of the mind. Instead they choose pseudo-classical compromise with the apartheid philosophy; and seek concessions that uplift their social status above all else. This in the midst of a doggedly degraded Black community.

In the final analysis the real, substantial, advance of the Blacks economic position can only come after major political and economic change. We have all witnessed how the seeking of the political kingdom alone has left the independence of most African countries in social chaos. Why seek repetition of the fiasco?

The separatist petty elite is oblivious of the political expectations and social needs of the vast urban and rural masses.

An example of this has recently been demonstrated by the about-turn of the Coloured Labour Party. Despite an overwhelming majority in the CRC and campaign pledges made to the Blacks which indicates that some of the Coloured elite, claiming to be Brown Afrikaners, may have turned against Africans. But they dare not deny Africans, too loudly. For to deny Africa is to deny the Swartiness of their skins. And to deny that is to be a traitor to the great force that drives oppressed Blacks of all races together in their resistance to white "baaskap". The Coloured elite is caught between white superiority and African liberation on the continent; wishing to deny both but able to deny neither. Further, the idea of Brown Afrikaner originated in the Cape. What if Natal's Coloureds decide to call themselves Brown English? The CRC chickens shall have come home to roost.

In the face of this growing elitism we must now come to terms with the fact that the separate political institutions and the various 'stan' acts are products of the existing economic conditions. It is therefore impossible to understand their origin and development apart from the economic basis.

Bantustan leaders deliberately, and some with criminal intention of personal power, use the mystifications of territorial independence, industrialization of the so-called homelands and political power to dupe the suffering Black

masses who are everywhere involved in the harshness of the repressive reality. We know that not the acceptance or rejection of apartheid is today the criterion of change; but the affirmation or negation of the apartheid reality.

Yet people like Chief Kaizer Matanzima are already talking the language of total administration of the Bantustans. Whereas the Prime Minister of white South Africa will remain the executive director in this exercise of fascist counter-strategy.

The explanation of a chief Matanzima does not truly and positively identify apartheid and its function within the socio-economic dimension of the anti-imperialist struggle and Black liberation. Socio-economic discourse is the key to the apartheid discourse. And the containment of objective - and therefore true, factors is bound to prove tragic even to those claiming opposition against the status quo.

It is our awareness of the mutilation of true facts that gives Black Consciousness a full meaning. It is an awareness of the existant oppression.

Taking homelands investment as example of the mutilation of true facts, we find that this variation of South Africa's domestic colonialism has assumed a negative pattern from the onset. It is self-evident that investors are out to exploit Black labour, which is cheap. And they also want to stabilise the parent companies both within South Africa and abroad by expanding production to the limit.

This form of mixed investment is the most dangerous form of neo-colonialist penetration by foreign investors. By associating investment capital with the private or public capital in the so-called homelands (or Indian or Coloured areas), capital from the local "elite" is denationalized and extracted out, away from the public benefit of the Blacks. This will in turn create heavy burden on the balance of payments of any of these so-called "stans"; in the process drawing away the greater part of the transferred profits from these so-called homelands.

The sweeping poverty and dehumanizing social conditions in most Latin American countries to cite an example (those controlled by imperialism), will be the natural order of separate freedoms in Southern Africa. Foreign investment is for "the perpetuation of the imperialist division of labour". It is "wrapped in a fog of hypocrisy and paternalism."

Patterns of production can no longer be ignored.

No matter how eloquent the arguments of a Chief Buthezi or a Dr Phatudi, the truth remains : Separate leadership is a negative response to apartheid South Africa's

"kragdadigheid". As consequence tribal leaders align themselves with imperialism. For this they have to make trips to Europe and America to seek foreign investment.

There will be no end to exploitation and under-development within the framework of the imperialist system . Foreign investors extract as it is, more and more basic materials, minerals, primary and secondary products, cheap labour and social comfort out of this country. And in return they are paying less and less. Whilst on the other hand the South African economy suffers inflation; and impoverished Blacks pay more and more for manufactured goods. South Africa's toiling masses are in a socio-economic quagmire. There is no getting out. Except through Black liberation.

There can be no social forgiveness to be expected by the tribal leadership out of political irresponsibility. The fringe benefits being received by the Black elite are there to make it servile to western capitalist irregularities. To make black community leaders who attach themselves to foreign investments and foreign funds for "homelands" projects lazy, armchair politicians. To render them "cultured" and comfortable. So that they may develop properly consciousness and worry about their newly acquired class comforts instead of worrying about communal commitments.

Officialdom has planned this set-up almost to precision. The flooding of the gold Rand into the public market by Dr Diederichs was political expediency. Because South Africa has her firm reasons for encouraging foreign investment.

Foreign investment in South Africa and within the "Stans" is encouraged for the following obvious reasons :-

- (1) to find foreign investment for the further commitment of overseas economics in South Africa's domestic policies against social change;
- (2) to expand the development of South African Defence industries e.g. jet-planes, naval defence, tankers, etc.;
- (3) to concentrate state resources to other economic fields e.g. power and energy through dams and SASOL, sugar, fruit and fresh produce farming in the Transvaal Lowveld;
- (4) to check the economic power of the investing sector (foreign and local) by distributing effectively state resources in other industries whilst blocking the political power of the investors - whereby Afrikanerdom can be represented everywhere;
- (5) to curb the power potential of the predominant Black workers in nationalised industries such as S.A.R. where maintenance companies are engaged on contract thus effecting categorization of the

massive Black Railways work force.

Foreign investment is not a blessing to Blacks. Certainly not at this stage of struggle. It is white political expediency.

It is through this fascist-type expediency that in the Bantustans we find it :-

- (a) that there is public waste of communal funds;
- (b) that a deliberated miscalculation of economic benefit to the black community is involved; and
- (c) that there is political pretence over the economic viability of the proposed "pocket states".

It is politically criminal and morally unjustifiable to continue with "Separate Development" when its socio-economic failure has become so conclusive. The immediacies of these unbearable conditions focus greater significance to the analyses of action, to the methods of approach, to the realization of Black political aspirations, to the perspectives of our liberatory struggle and the common strategy to be adopted.

As legitimate conclusion it is appropriate to ask if South Africa is not taking a course akin to that taken by the Israeli state after 1948 over the Palestinian peoples' rights — until the present Middle East Crisis, or the Belgian and imperialist policies that led to the Katanga secession.

The answer is South Africa's Whites want to claim a negative national existence of exclusive rights as Israel is doing to the Palestinian Arabs. At the same time the imperialist heritage of Britain is responsible for both the Union of South Africa Act and the later establishment of a white-ruled republic under Dr Verwoerd. Rhodesia's UDI was no historic accident but part of the process of decolonisation and imperialist "refusal to quit without a fight". For that matter Vietnam was no exception to the rule.

It would be the most disastrous of national self deceptions to isolate apartheid from imperialism. The success of the PAIGC in Guinea-Bissau and FRELIMO in Mozambique

is a heritage of all Blacks who desire meaningful change on this continent. The FRELIMO Rally arrests were negative confirmation of this.

Black students everywhere realized that the defeat of a progressive political process, or its initiation, is a lesser evil than a retreat from a position held by the people. For the people or their leadership to shun militant action at a crucial moment is to surrender, is to invite destruction. By 1963, the mass of oppressed people in this country held a basic position as to the variant political alternatives in their struggle. For this some of them are languishing in prisons or living the isolation of house arrests and bannings.

When the Black Consciousness Movement gained momentum it could not be left out of the totalitarian stifling by the System. For the State feared that the national urge of the sixties had returned. This return no longer rejected characteristic movement from negative to positive recess. This return no longer accommodated negative criticism and blind eye to the very essential open polemics. This return no longer accepted armchair swings in criticism. Students and the youth got involved in community projects to revive self-reliance and communication amongst Blacks. And for this came the mass bannings.

But there shall have to be an end to it all. The end of exploitation shall mean the creation of a society in which the organised mass of the people will have say in their labour and their labour product; where they can decide on aims of social production; where they can have a major say in the decision of the national product.

Unless our interests, common as they are, are brought together in Black solidarity, we cannot expect any unity of common purpose, - let alone that of communal action. This is where Black Consciousness comes to play a major role.

We Blacks of this country have a long and hardened experience with the contractions and extensions of the divide-and-rule dictum. Whatever its genesis, the philosophy of white supremacy - and its imperialist exploitation, must be removed from the face of the African continent.

NEWS IN BRIEF

ON BLACK PRESS

The idea of a Black newspaper which was introduced in 1972 seems to be nearing its fruitful realisation as depicted by a meeting held on the 18/10/75, at Edendale Lay Ecumenical Centre in Pietermaritzburg.

From the deliberations of this meeting it can be agreed that a lot of ground has been covered. Here the policy of

the paper was thrashed out and finalised after some fierce debate as one would have expected. All in all it was agreed that the paper shall seek to project the image and aspirations of the Black man in this country, that the paper shall stand for a one and undivided Azania; that those elements seeking to militate against the integrity of the motherland and stand for or participate in the fragmenta-

tion of the motherland shall be refused shares in the company; that the word Black shall be used in its correct meaning and shall not be synonymous with the word "African" but shall mean also those who are socially, economically, politically or otherwise discriminated against in South Africa on the basis of their colour, race, or creed; that shareholding shall be open only to Black People.

Shares were also discussed and a Board of directors elected. We therefore can safely say what is left is to see the paper on the street in the near future. This type of move is greatly commendable at this time in our plight and quest for freedom. We sincerely hope it is going to add

positively in shortening the period of the attainment of our liberation.

FREE UNIVERSITY SCHEME

The Free University Scheme (FUS) which offered bursaries to students has been suspended. This is due to a number of reasons, one being that, students did not fulfil demands which were set up by the director of the scheme. These included attendance of the regional seminars and involvement of these students in work camps during the holidays. A committee has been set up to evaluate the scheme, and to come out with a more workable structure.

CAMPUS

U.Z. — Formation of a Branch

After a period of dormancy a branch was revived at this campus. The survival of the branch is quite promising because its membership is well over 100; though some members have not yet paid their affiliation fee. The local branch wishes to express solidarity and gratitude with the members of the Head Office, especially the Permanent Organiser who from time to time assisted us in the re-institution of our local branch. This has greatly encouraged students hence the promising members the branch has. The local branch is presently not in a position to embark on projects this year seeing that it was revived late in the year when the exams were just round the corner.

A symposium between students and Black lecturers was held wherein the student-lecturer-relationship was fully discussed, and our lecturers promised that they will in the future support students whenever possible.

Due to unforeseen circumstances the Chairman of the local branch could not attend the N.E.C. held in Pietermaritzburg, therefore he delegated Vusi Mncube and B.E. Nkabinde to attend on his behalf.

Richards Bay Issue

The local drama society undertook a drive to Richards Bay for picnic purposes on Saturday 18th October, 1975. The picnic went on fine, until some policemen started harrasing students there. They alleged that the students were causing some public disturbance. The police assaulted the students as they usually do, thereafter the said students, who were 62, were arrested and charged with public disturbance. Male and female students were locked in for a night and they were released the following day at about 10.00 a.m. On Monday a press statement was issued by some general of the police force wherein he

TIT-BITS

alleged that the students were swimming in nudity, which thing is a blatant lie.

The arrest took place simply because these were Black students, otherwise it was uncalled for. The case was scheduled for the 22nd October, 1975, at Empangeni Court. To illustrate that this was simply a feud between Blacks and Whites, before the trial commenced on the very day the prosecutor started referring to some students who were present at the court as "bobbejane". During the trial it was abundantly clear that the presiding officer himself was taking sides. He kept on feeding the state witnesses with what they had to say and generally harrasing the accused students. The trial went on half-way and was later remanded to the 25th November, 1975. Presently the accused students are contemplating instructing an attorney to conduct the defence since the court is involving itself in many irregularities.

The struggle between the U.Z. students and the local police is a long existent feud, since the food issue strikes, so the police are just nursing a grudge. The spirit of the accused students and sympathisers is highly unified and we hope that it will continue till the end. What happened is in fact the everyday way of life of the Black man. So the occurrence of such atrocious acts on this campus will bring to the attention of the students the realisation that they are first Black and thereafter students; further that there are no exceptions we are all involved and committed. In fact the scandalous allegations which were made against this campus some time back have not yet ceased, this is just a continuation of the very scandals.

Recently, on the 23rd October, 1975, the students have taken a resolution to instruct an Attorney to appear on their behalf, the cost will be borne by students' funds.

Upheavels and the Aftermath

Turfloop is going through a moment of reassessment and resuscitation. This, as a result of the after effects of heated student activism and subsequent enemy reprisals against the leadership.

The intention of the authorities is that we should not have any continuity, be disorganised and lack the desire to plan for the future. This is evident from other Black Universities where the leadership is blatantly refused re-admission or victimized in some other form.

We have learned a big lesson from the 1974 campus upheavels: The authorities grapple to disrupt the continuity of student activism. We also lack the foresight to plan beyond our acts of protest. We tend to throw everything we have into these acts of protest and lapse into dormance thereafter.

What the white man is building in Turfloop is sure to result into yet another, violent reaction.

N.S. Tloubatla
(Vice-Chairman
Turf-Saso Local)

focus



THE CRC & THE LABOUR PARTY

The latest developments in the Coloured Persons Representative Council are very interesting. The take-over of the CRC by the Labour Party seem to have added more confusion to an already confused body. The Labour Party is well known for its "radical" stand in CRC affairs. One recalls the famous motion that was passed by the Labour Party during the session held last year, the motion that led the prorogation of the CRC. In the session the Labour Party successfully tabled a motion of no confidence in all the institutions of separate development and called for the closure of this useless body. It will be remembered that when the motion was tabled, Mr Jack Rabie, the Transvaal leader of the Federal Party introduced an amendment that "the institutions be retained until Coloureds on separate roll obtain direct representation in Parliament. What Mr Rabie was in fact saying was that the Coloured community should continue using the CRC to fight for what they wanted and, of course, typical of a person talking from a "Coloureds Only" compartment, the aspirations to be represented directly in parliament w a s

Umpumulo

S.A.S.O.'s resurgence of Umpumulo was effected when students "hotheadedly" declared that it must resurrect or there is no S.A.S.O. at all.

In the past S.A.S.O. has been a talk of the college but there came a time when it was lulled to sleep and eventually hibernated due to wintry intimidations. Its objectives were "confined within the magisterial area" of individualism. To go in or not to go in, opinions were divided, and made the branch's chronicle a dull reading.

This year it is likely to speak with a popular voice and command respect amongst the students. Though not yet officiated, S.R.C. - wise, every college citizen is very much aware of its image.

It has never had a brush with the college authorities. They are presently glaring at it with indifference if not with indirect approval. The next fall, things will be flourishing. This is the self-evident hope we hold to ourselves. For guys around here are not only vehement but also zealous campaigners of literacy. So far we had fruitful gatherings at the college.

for coloureds only.

One also recalls the election promise that was given by officials of the Labour Party to the Coloured electorate. It was stated that the results of the election would be used as a referendum to decide about the whole question of government created institutions. It was openly stated that a vote for the Labour Party would be regarded as a vote in favour of a total boycott of all government created institutions and a mandate for the Labour Party to close down the CRC. The Labour Party won the elections with a comfortable majority and came to the point where it had to give back to Vorster his "brainchild". The Labour Party had come to a point where, if it was sincere, it had to do what SASO had always advised them to do, i.e. opt out of the CRC and consolidate its force outside government created platforms and alongside other black groups operating.

Having won the elections we have seen the Labour Party doing pick and choose from the very system they wanted

to see destroyed. We have seen Sonny Leon accepting chairmanship of the CRC while refusing to live in the luxurious house made available to him by virtue of his being chairman of the CRC. In rejecting the state house Leon stated that he cannot afford to live in such a luxurious house when thousands of Coloureds live in slums. We saw him accepting the high salary while refusing to sign the R158 million budget tabled before him by the Republican Government. In view of this pick and choose one cannot appreciate the fuss about the budget that led to the sacking of Sonny Leon as chairman of the CRC. By accepting chairmanship of this stooge body Sonny Leon had undertaken to do the duties laid down for him by the government. Leon clearly understood that the body was created by the oppressor and that Vorster alone pulls the strings in this game, so that whoever accepts the Chairmanship of the CRC makes an undertaking to dance to the music of the MASTER.

Now that Sonny Leon has been sacked from the CRC we are hearing a lot of irresponsible statements which indicate not a turnabout from the original stance adopted by Leon, as some people would believe, but the coming to the surface of the fraudulence of the Labour Party which has for so long been carefully and cunningly hidden by the "militant talking".

- Sonny Leon has stated that he will not leave the CRC because of fear of banning by the government;
- The Labour Party is quoted as saying that the Coloured would settle for nothing other than equality with whites;
- It has been stated by the leaders of the Labour Party that the government, by closing the doors to the knocking Coloured community is pushing the Coloureds into an alliance with blacks.

The statement that he will not leave the CRC just goes to show how insincere the man is. One fails to reconcile this statement with the original stance adopted, that the CRC has to be closed down. If he will not leave the CRC then this only comes to the same thing as what Mr Jack Rabie said when he introduced the amendment to the motion tabled by the Labour Party - fighting within the system. Secondly, one cannot accept the argument that he cannot leave the CRC for fear of banning. Does this mean that the man is now prepared to forsake a principle because he will be banned. He was not going to pull out of the CRC alone but with the people who mandated him, the whole Coloured community and it is a pure dream to imagine that the government would ban all these people. The people would have pulled out and not the individual and this would have a clear demonstration against the evil institutions of the government, and signalled the dramatic turn of events which MUST come. If fear is going to rule the Labour Party then they can just give up. The struggle is not for those who are going to cow down

to some people who have a duty to the white electorate to demonstrate a brutal show of force in order to convince them (the electorate) that they still have the upper hand over blacks.

The statement that the Coloured wants to be equal to whites must also be condemned unequivocally. We have always stated that the Black people are not aspiring to be equal to whites because this would mean that we accept that white is better. We have always stated that we accept the fact that all human beings are equal irrespective of whether they are white, black, yellow, short-nosed or long-nosed and that as God created beings, all the people should be granted their rights to realise their worth and to assert that worth. This we consider to be the fundamental right of all human beings and not a monopoly of a minority of white supremacists who have so exaggerated their personhood that they look down on other human beings. The centuries of exaggerated personhood have had the effect of making blacks define themselves in terms of whites. This is why some people aspire to be equal to whites.

Coupled with this is the fact that the government, in the process of fragmenting the Black man's resistance to the many injustices to which he is daily subjected, gives differential treatment to groups forming the oppressed community. The Coloureds have been getting a 'fair' treatment with the result that some members of the Coloured community have begun to see themselves different from other oppressed members. They are dancing to the 'amper Baas' music of the Pretoria masters. The Labour Party seems to have fallen into this trap, simply because they have continued to turn a deaf ear to the calls of bodies like SASO to pull away from the "Coloureds Only" body. Now that Sonny Leon and his men are being rejected by whites, they feel that they have to join forces with blacks. This is outright opportunism. In an article in the IMVO ZABAN-SUNDU of the 29th November, 1975, Mr Charles Nqakula stated :

"I would rather fight my battle side by side with a dedicated few rather than with the likes of Sonny Leon, who will desert me immediately the whites of the land, in the midst of the battle, offer them intergration. As long as he is joining me in the struggle on a conditional basis, then he is not an ally."

This attitude is the result of the racist statements by Sonny Leon.

SASO made the call a long time ago for Sonny Leon to pull out of the CRC and to stop participating in futile and meaningless political exercises. Sonny Leon is well aware that the CRC is a toothless bulldog that will never enable the Coloureds to attain the rights they clamour for. It is abundantly clear that the Labour Party is fast approaching a political cul de sac and in the not too distant future

we are going to see the end of Sonny Leon's futile political career.

In these days of Black Consciousness and awareness Blacks have to take up their cudgels and be prepared to be masters of their own destinies. Black people are on the move, away from values imposed on us by the oppressor group. We have reached a point in history where we are both willing and free to assert our right to self-determina-

FROM THE **President's** DESK . . .

The question of the Transkei or any of the homelands becoming "independent" has never entered people's minds as a serious consideration but rather as a political joke. This idea seemed even more distant and remote when even the watchdogs of the White tribe have rung their alarms quite loud against the genocidal move (in their thinking) of giving "independence" to the Transkei. Hence new clichés and words like "multi-stan" were coined and used by people like Paul Malherbe in his book: "MULTISTAN: A way out of the South African Dilemma", a title which sounds quite sceptical about the whole manoeuvre of separate freedoms but which is in itself nothing new, but the United Party, Progressive Reform Party federation policy in disguise. But the crux of P. Malherbe's caution to his tribe is to be found in the final paragraph of his book in which he says, "But if the euphoria of White South Africans is not dispelled, it could well become too late to reverse the trend which at this moment is carrying us closer to disaster." In short, P. Malherbe in his book advocates that separate development cannot succeed. A more important factor in the shelving of the independence issue as a serious matter has been the deceptive, "I want to crush it from within" utterances of the government appointed so-called homeland-leaders who now find themselves in the soup for they are expected to steer the faltering ship away from the rocks. Quite typical of them - in August 1974, when Ntsanwisi and Phatudi told a Press conference in London, that "they regarded South Africa's Bantustan Policy as a discriminatory exercise doomed to failure" (Rand Daily Mail 29/8/74). And when, on the other hand, K.D. Matanzima was given a choice between opting for the so-called "independence" of the Transkei being urged on them by the S.A. Govt. or staking a long term claim for a share in the political and economic future of South Africa as a whole - he opted for "independent"; and even then people went on saying that it would never happen, for Matanzima would never go against the solidarity of the other nine who were quoted as having said that, "they will refuse to barter their South African birth-right for the doubtful benefits of impoverished Bantustan independence; that they want a stake in the wealth and resources of the entire country" (Sunday Times 5/1/75). That they have already bartered the birth-rights of millions of Black People in this country by participating in the stooge governments is the main gist of this article. Matanzima

has created a precedent - why can they not? And if they abhor apartheid and separate development what else keeps them in the system besides materialistic and selfish ends for which peoples birth-rights are being sold?

From the abstract to the real. Worn out and frustrated politicians were drawn into the scene. Tsepo Letlaka and others, better seen as political virgins to allow themselves to be used like this, were announced for "diplomacy training" in Pretoria to be sent to various embassies after the Transkei's independence.

Now the date has been fixed - October, 23rd, 1976. The 'army' is being trained. Foreign investment is being invited left right and centre. The show is real. More practical questions are being asked: Are we going to require travel documents to move in and out of the Transkei? Pathetic questions. Why are people finding it hard to believe? Is it because they know how they are going to undo this mess? Are they perhaps going to have some delayed shock when the real thing actually materializes formally in October, 1976?

Some people are expecting the Robben Islanders to come back and take over the Independence - but they are mistaken for this is precisely why they are there - they were taken in because they refused to operate towards the balkanisation and fragmentation of the motherland into the various "stans".

Now is the time to stand up and dissociate ourselves from the evil we see amidst us for if we do not they will say our silence was golden - we opted for Transkeian independence and in the same token we shall opt for all the other stans to become independent.

The call should be one - 'The land is one and its peoples are one - they are descendants of one man - NTU'.

At this point it becomes relevant to ask ourselves these questions: What is the Transkei "army" there for? Who is in fact in charge of the army, since as far as we know there is no portfolio of Defence either before or after the so-called "independence" of the Transkei. An army is trained in times of peace to defend the country against foreign aggression and seeing that the Transkei is an is-

land surrounded by S.A. Is the Transkei perhaps preparing itself for the day when South Africa launches an attack on it or will the Transkei defend the borders of South Africa thus killing two birds with one stone, i.e. defending itself by keeping South Africa strong. This whole question of the Transkei army should be seen in its correct perspective. Having examined the situation as above we are left with one conclusion to make and that is — Black people are being used to buttress and consolidate the existing sit-

uation against the interests of Black people. The very fact that there is screening as to who goes military training and the fact that the first recruits were the sons of the chiefs whose fathers are in fact spearheading and enforcing the Bantustans down the peoples' throats with the aid of such repressive pieces of legislation as Proclamation R400 does not leave us with a free mind at all. Transkeian 'independence' spells danger ahead, this we can see.

ADVERTISEMENTS

AS AFFECTING

Black People

There has been a good deal of speculation about advertisements. Various sectors of the community react differently to the whole question of advertisements. It is asserted by advertisers (capitalists) that advertisements benefit both advertisers and consumers. It has also been claimed by certain sectors of the community that advertisements only serve to maximise the profits of the manufacturer concerned.

In a capitalistic society advertisements are used to influence consumers. The consumers are manipulated by advertisers into buying superfluous commodities. The advertisements encourage the buying and consumption of false, and unwanted needs. Note should be taken that invariably these unwanted needs can only be bought at inflated prices. Advertisements usually highlight the "gross material pleasures of life". A man wearing a certain manufacturer's suit is one of the advertisements used. This advertisement presupposes that if the consumer buys the suit, he will immediately be identified as an affluent "business" man. This type of advertisement creates decadent, bourgeois values in the minds of the people. Secondly, the poor and exploited sector of the consumer public are hoaxed into spending their last money on irrelevant goods. Numerous reasons are offered by advertisers to support their assumption that advertisements are necessary. One reason usually extended by these advertisers is that the consumer public should be informed about the commodities on the market. In the majority of cases, the people are misled, and find that they have bought goods of inferior quality. By the time the consumers discover this act of banditry, the manufacturer has already made a comfortable profit. This manifestation of robbery constitutes a grave problem to gullible consumers.

At present we are more keenly aware of the propaganda and the sinister use it can be put to. The commercial advertiser wields a potent instrument of socio-economic influence. In a racist and capitalistic society, such as S.A., advertisements are used to reinforce the exploitation and

and oppression of black people. In retrospect, we can clearly see that capitalism is also responsible for racial discrimination in S.A. Therefore we find a situation, where black people are super-exploited, and their cheap labour helps increase the profit of the white capitalist. All newspapers in S.A. are owned by the ruling class. Thus, all advertisements, and even articles reflect the opinion of these people. Advertisements in newspapers, and magazines (such as Drum) which are directed at Black people place emphasis on social and economic status. The social and economic status of a person is ascribed to the advertised product. In most cases the advertised products are skin lightening, and hair straightening creams. We therefore find that in their (Black consumers) aspirations to acquire a social status, they endeavour to change their physical appearance. This instils an inferiority complex into the Black man. By this act, he concedes that the atrocious treatment meted by the whiteman is justifiable. Certain clothes which are advertised, are made especially for blacks. In many instances manufacturers claim that these clothes have been made in America or other imperialist state: Thus fooling the people. These advertisements also create an individualistic attitude in the black man. This results in the black man no longer concerning himself with returning his human dignity, but rather with bettering of his material situation even at the expense of other Blacks.

The iniquitous system whereby profits from beer sales are to subsidize local amenities for black people in their own areas throughout the country is another aspect of this deplorable socio-economic situation in this country. The press and radio advertisements propagate and indoctrinate the people into believing that the consumption of liquor proves the "manliness" of a person. This is further encouraged by the fact that only by consuming more liquor will it be able to build schools and other facilities for the people. Those wine farmers (ardent supporters of the Nationalist Govt.) make big profits from this system. This degradation and moral destruction is further manifested by the "tot-system" in the Cape. The black farm work-

ers are given daily rations of cheap wine as part of their wages. These are a few of the atrocious crimes perpetrated by the capitalist.

In the light of the above information, it is evident that advertisements play an important part in perpetuating the

myth that black people are inferior to whites. The meagre wage that the black man earns is then wasted on buying goods that make him a slave to the white man. It is therefore of paramount importance that the Black man should ask himself certain question relating to advertisements, the products advertised. We should thus categorically reject this imposition of cultural imperialism.

Letter to the Editor

On the 12th September, 1975, during an interview held by officials of the organisation and the rector of the University of Fort Hare, Prof. J.M. de Wet, I was handed a letter by this rector, contents of which are quoted hereunder :

"It is the outspoken policy of SASO to destroy the university for Blacks. In view of this and in view of your participation in the 1973 unrest at this university and that you are prohibited from entering the Fort Hare campus without my express permission."

Black people all over the country have long expressed their rejection of these tribal institutions and that they badly need renovation or overhauling. One would expect the reasons for this rejection to have been clearly understood by now by even the kragdadig exponent of separate development. Blacks in this country hanker for education — education not for domestication but education that aims at making the millions of down-trodden blacks self-reliant and free from the oppressive strains perpetrated by the racist government of South Africa. Defined this way I believe that education can no longer be limited to the classroom activities. It goes further than that. It means getting into a classroom and being equipped and then coming out of that classroom to use the equipment to alleviate the condition of our people. In other words it is education that liberates by seeking ways and means of throwing away oppression. And since Blacks live in such horrible conditions because of the political set-up of this country one cannot but define education in this country as unashamedly political. I believe, as many Blacks do, that a university is a place for searching for truth and I earnestly believe that no one should be allowed to place any limits in that search for truth. If the Vorster government is immoral, or unethical or inhuman or unjust then one should be able to say this without intimidation or harrassment. The search for truth must go on. Furthermore one cannot apologise if the findings in this search for truth clash with the selfish interests of some people.

One must state also here that we believe that we are Black students and not black STUDENTS. This in simple terms means that we are aware that we are Black members

of the community before we are students. As members of the Black oppressed community we have a duty to that community.

The tribal universities do not satisfy any of the aspirations black people aspire for. These institutions are said to be for Blacks yet they are manned by whites some of whom hold very high ranks in Broderbond circles. We are told that these whites are there to uplift the black people. We are told that the reason why there are few Blacks in these campuses is because there are not enough blacks who can take up these positions. This is an obvious lie. There are many Blacks here and elsewhere who can take up positions in these institutions. The problem with the authorities of these universities is that they are busy looking for some uncle toms that they can manipulate from a distance so that these tribal universities can continue educating Blacks along Afrikaner Nationalist lines. The curricula of these universities are not for the interest of the Black student. They are meant to domesticate the Black student so that he can be a better tool for use by the white minority. Lecturers openly state it in the lecture rooms that the students must equip themselves so that they can be of use to their respective homelands. These whites are well aware that these homelands were created by them (whites) and for their interests. The whites "educate" Blacks in these institutions not because they want them to be masters of their own destinies but because they see in them sophisticated extensions of their machines.

The salaries paid out to the staff members of these universities are highly discriminatory with Blacks getting far lower salaries than their white counterparts. This happens in a supposedly Black university. Where then can one find an example of equal-pay-for-equal-work principle? Furthermore whites get more privileges and facilities than Blacks. It is this discrimination that has made Blacks refuse to take up positions in these universities. Some even prefer going to other countries where they can be regarded as human beings irrespective of colour or race. Even with this inferior education given out to Blacks one still finds that the attitude of the white lecturer is to fail Blacks as much as possible. This is part and parcel of the grand scheme to control the number of "educated" Blacks

that come out of these universities. The idea is to preserve the lie that Blacks are not progressive and show a certain amount of mental retardation.

The above named points are some of the reasons why we are opposed to these so-called universities. It is our outspoken policy that these tribal institutions do not serve the interests of the Black community. To Blacks the university student is part and parcel of the oppressed community and we find it difficult if not impossible to separate the student from the community. As a student and as a member of the suffering community it is my duty as well as the duty of other students to heighten the sense of awareness of other students and "encourage them to become involved in the political, economic and social development of the Black people." If in doing this I have trampled on the toes of a staunch Afrikaner Nationalist

then I cannot offer any apology. I will rather cling to this ideal than be at Fort Hare.

I believe that we are not being destructive but attempting to build a true university stripped of racial ties; a university with qualified and dedicated educationists and not white GENERALS; a university with policy based on the recognition of equality of all men.

Finally, one finds it strange that students from ASB and other Afrikaner student organisations are allowed free access into Fort Hare and other tribal universities when I cannot go and see my own brothers there. The only logical conclusion one can draw is that Fort Hare and these other places are meant to be extensions of Potchefstroom or Stellenbosch universities and as long as this obtains we shall continue rejecting these tribal universities.

S. Sokupa.

ARTS, BOOK REVIEWS

Egbuna's *The Minister's Daughter*

Review: Obi B. Egbuna, the fly-leaf cover of his latest novel called The Minister's Daughter will tell you, is one of the Nigeria's most promising young writers. He has written Wind Versus Polygamy, a novel which was also dramatized for television by the B.B.C., a collection of stories called Emperor of the Sea. He was one of the foremost proponents of the Black Power Movement in London and thus subsequently got into a 'little trouble with the law' over that. Oh, well, that's the way it is, as some people are wont to saying.

The story of the Minister's daughter begins in a rather startling way when a seven-year-old boy, Oye, literally answering the call of nature, stumbles upon a plot by young Army officers to overthrow the then ruling government. He is perched upon a tree and below him the officers pledge their support for insurrection and their undying allegiance to an unnamed major whose methods of eliciting allegiance are unorthodox, something like Russian roulette with a fully-loaded revolver. Unfortunately little Oye is startled by a snake and, with an ear-piercing shriek, falls on the ground to the great alarm of the plotters who were not expecting any audience. Swiftly and without remorse or compunction he is summarily executed nearby a flowing stream and thus becomes the first casualty of widespread violence.

Lack of remorse and compunction, insensitivity to other people's plight and problems — problems which should

not exist in a post independence Nigeria — is the main theme of this scorching novel. The chief perpetrator of these injustices is Minister Arima, first lieutenant of the Prime Minister. There have been many novels attacking post-independent corruption of high officials; from James Ngugi's quiet and subdued condemnation of Aluko's and Achebe's satires. Egbuna's rationale, though, seems to be the blending of satire and the use of conceit to highlight the horrifying state of being some people have been summarily assigned to. The impotence and lack of direction existing in Nigeria - all afflictions engendered by leaders who got elected to office by the use of guile and false smiles and empty promises. One Mrs Mmadunta observes wryly:

"They promised to save us from the white man...to give us a new wind so my latrine smells much fresher."

Real winds of change, however, are prophesied by the Minister's disaffected daughter, Nneka, a preternaturally beautiful girl still in a Teachers' Training College. She tells her corrupt father that people are becoming restive and if things don't change soon enough all hell will break loose. Her father scoffs all that away as the hollow howls of a gadfly. She is incensed by her father's illicit - though open — affaire l'amour with Muriel a volumptious blonde mistress currently disenchanted with her husband who has taken another woman because she (Muriel) is sterile. She

relaxes on the couch wearing a bathing costume, languidly smoking a cigarette in a long gold holder, sipping a cocktail from a movable bar - while a black servant, Boniface, is trimming her toenails.

Nneka finds love with an osu - an outcast of contemptible birth - named Goddy who has been caught urinating against one of the Minister's trees. (Apparently the writer wanted to tell us something about the hazards of passing water or moving the bowels: shitting and pissing may be hazardous to your health) Goddy is flogged, but the unspoken love he and Nneka feel is so binding that neither one of them will have peace until the flame of love has consumed them. Alas, a fire burns them but there is no consummation. A bleeding Goddy opens his heart to her and she, too, admits how she fell in love with him the first time she saw his face. This love is pure and elevated above all the filth, the corruption and, oh, the unspeakable violence surrounding them. When the two lovers come to grips with reality they find that love has no place there. They have to part. This memorable dialogue flavours the novel with pathos so desperately needed; when Goddy says, "I read an article the other day. A letter was found on the body of a Vietcong girl killed in jungle combat. Lonely for a fiancé she knew she would never see again, do you know what she had written for him in her diary?"

"What?"

"When my little lamp goes out, I hold your shadow in my arms."

"I I don't understand."

"Goodbye, Goddy."

Bessie Head's Maru

Maru, Bessie Head's second novel of great insight and power (the first one is When the Rain Clouds Gather and her third novel is A Question of Power), was first published in the African Writer's Series (AWS) in 1972.

Scratch Bessie Head and you'll invariably find deep intensity and an obsession with a truth that is rather unsettling. All her works are set in Botswana, her country of exile.

Maru, the title of the book and also the name of one of the central characters, is a rather horrifying and infinitely saddening account of a young school-mistress who was christened Margaret Cadmore after her adopted mother, wife of white missionary. Margaret - and the theme of the book finds its strength here - belongs to a race of un-touchables called the Masarwa or Bushmen. It is

"Goodbye, Nneka."

These last goodbyes are a plea for a state, a time in history, when parting will be made impossible, when prejudice and hatred will be as intolerable as pestilence. There is a coup, the servant-master role is reversed when Boniface, the Minister's personal servant, has sexual intercourse with Muriel, the Minister's mistress. It is only when the coup fails that the Minister gets ready to avenge himself on all those who spited him in the hour of weakness.

Nneka tries to answer all of the now hapless Boniface's questions - tries. But these questions will never cease being part of the unanswerable questions all oppressed people ask:

"What kind of life is this, Miss Nneka: How could God create this kind of world? Some men so rich, other so poor. How could he make the birds of heaven sing for the just and unjust alike...and yet divide the same world into those who toil in vain by the sweat of their hoes, and those who stay idle and yet belch money like bad breath? allow a handful of men more joy than is good for their sanity, and the resto of us more tears
sanity, and the rest of us more tears than we can afford rags to wipe dry? Is it fair, Miss Nneka, is it fair?"

Boniface's problem is, apparently, he does not know of God's reluctance to answer questions, more especially if they are asked by Boniface's kith and kin.

Mandlenkosi Langa.

an account, very skillfully woven, of the horror of prejudice; when people cannot see into the depths of your soul, of your human beingness, but preoccupy themselves with the colour of your skin and the 'weirdness' of your physiognomy.

One cannot help being touched here as the writer, in a soul-searing authorial comment, says: "And if the white man thought that the Asians were a low, filthy nation, Asians could still smile - at least, they were not Africans. And if the white man thought Africans were a low, filthy nation, Africans in Southern Africa could still smile - at least, they were not Bushmen. They all have their monsters." Unfortunately the Bushmen, that race of artists now becoming extinct, have no monsters of their own. They 'are' at the lowest rung of the racial totem pole. The commentary, a damning account of our own insen-

sitivity, goes on: "In Botswana they say: Zebras, Lions, Buffaloes and Bushmen live in the Kalahari Desert." This of course puts in stark relief the fact that Bushmen are grouped together with animals, and, to heighten the agony and the piquant flavouring of the national joke, the Bushmen can never, on pain of death or (conversely) expulsion from the harangued tribe, say, "At least I am not a ..."

Margaret, who was taught of her worth as a human being, could not reconcile what she was herself and what the hostile population around her wanted to be. And although it is not written in black and white it must seep into our consciousness that her bewilderment and agony assumed tremendous dimensions when a young boy, one of her students in the school, asked, "Tell me. Since when is a Bushy a teacher?" and then the rest of the class took up the frenzied chant, "You are a Bushmen. You are a Bushmen."

What heightens the mystery of her being and character is that she had a faultless English accent and could have easily passed as "Coloured" — a person of mixed descent. And a "Coloured" in Botswana could at least be forgiven for the cruel mistake of his creation, but definitely not a Masarwa. She was unashamed of her being a Masarwa, and this pride — or mute acceptance of a fate she had no power to change always intimidated people who felt she was smashing popular idols.

Moleka, a village playboy — some kind of a sex-machine — is surprised when he discovers that he is in love with Margaret but he has no power of approaching her; and Maru, who cynically orders that the bed she had been issued with be taken away is heard telling his sister, Dike-

ledi, "I don't like anybody to be wiser than thou about my actions. I don't care whether she sleeps on the hard floor for the rest of her life but I am not going to marry a pampered doll." The character of Maru and Moleka are, at first, so similar, but then through the eyes of (and the mystical happenings) Margaret one sees how thoroughly dissimilar these men are. They were once friends but burning hatred is the only emotion they can dare feel now. The coming of this Masarwa woman has put a wedge between them. The novel, then, while an expose of the cruelty of prejudice, is a love story of great power, with the writer excelling herself in her consummate account of the deep and dard working of the mind; the use of supernatural powers (unemployed by the more mystic Maru who is said to be a reincarnation of the wroful god, Tiadi); and the high comic relief brought to the fore by the bunglings of Pete, the Principal, Morafe, Seth and Ranko — who was incredibly stupid.

Maru: is a novel that will stay foremost in all its readers' remembrances. It is an extended analogy of an oppressed race's ascendancy to power and heralds the annihilation of the oppressors as retribution for years of exploitation and oppression. It is a novel that makes us think here in South Africa of the life of the book the writer becomes more prophetic and poetic — the novel is anyway an extended epic poem — when she declares :

"People like the Botswana, who did not know that the wind of freedom had also reached people of the Masarwa tribe, were in for an unpleasant surprise because it would be no longer possible to treat the Masarwa people in an inhuman way without getting killed yourself."

Mandlenkosi Langa.



My understanding of Black Theology



I only want to write what I understand. If someone wants to differ, he is at liberty to do so.

Months back, my knowledge of Black Theology was as dark as the inside of a cow. But somewhere along the way, my ignorance was washed off by some personal experience, as a Black Christian, and by the thorough writings of the literati.

Boy! Being a "Christian conservative", I was shocked to

the marrow and bored stiff by the version, "If Christ were here now, there is one thing he would not be - a Christian." I wonder, now, if there was not some truth in that. It was strongly expressed by someone who felt that the church, of his own time, had lost touch with everyday realities and had wandered away from the glaring evils prevalent on earth.

A great shadow of controversy undoubtedly surrounded my logic, until the practicality of it was sketched in a

touching way by a black preacher addressing a white audience. "If we take it for granted," he said, "that Jesus was a white man and walked through the streets of Pretoria today, as a black man I would not be free to join his company." And he added, saying, "And you, white brothers, would you have had that liberty if He was a black man?" What a dilemma! Black Theology, seemingly, has a clear cut answer to this paradoxical question. It exerts its influence in this area without compromises and alibis.

The term, Black Theology, is admittedly of Negro origin. After careful research, critical analysis, thorough knowledge of the implication of the word "Salvation", and profound theological exegesis, the term found its place amidst the oppressed lot, the downtrodden, the underprivileged, the discriminated. Poor People! People whose dignity and identity have been marred by alien ideologies. Jesus had to be, though his universality is often emphasised at the expense of other aspects, particularistic, leaving no contradictions behind him. Thus, universal validity could not replace particular response, evoked by the Gospel, which is always done. This situational response is explicated in Black Theology.

This type of "new" theology, which, to my mind, hagrises many, uprooted traditional white theology, which the poor blacks accepted without qualms. It repudiated many arrogant claims and myths propounded by white theology.

Such as, 'A Black man must, of necessity, dance to his white master's tune, even at the expense of his very being; 'Blacks are the descendant of Ham'; 'Blacks have no room in heaven'. All these incredible phrases when jumbled together with theological heresies and non-Christian ideologies result into nothing more than an unfounded, heretical, ecumenical tossed salad which Black Theology wants to frustrate and combat.

Black Theology was then established under the aegis of scriptural teaching not only under pressure of Black Power aspirations. It was not the Negro alone, digesting this heart-rending, dehumanizing experience, but many contemporary pockets of the globe.

It swept ecclesiastical centres and dwelt in the midst of a black man's chronicle of man's inhumanities to man. It came to exploit this system. It met a warm welcome from liberal black clergy, abhorrence from the conservatives, it was misunderstood by evangelicals and looked at with indifference by both blacks and whites, some claimed not to understand it. In one way or another, it found its way through. Until it reached even me, the way I perceive it now.

Black Theology tries to make sense of the particular black experience of suffering and oppression, from rampant white racism, in the light of God's revelation in Jesus.

It is a theology of liberation. Theology of the oppressed. It affirms the personhood of the oppressed and asserts God's offer of salvation to them. It says that blacks need not apologise for their existence. It was no man's will that they be there, but God's. It vehemently censures phoney race relations, which only appear on the surface, between black and white, while below is full of malice, prejudice and 'dead-man's-bones'; the conception of oneness in Christ, as God's children, which has become nothing more than a mere phantasmagoria. It refutes improper religious indoctrination that hardens the heart and deadens the noble impulses of black and white people and destroys the vital qualities of their lives. It vindicates the black man as made in God's own image. It says that, in self awareness, a blackman should hear God's call within himself, a white man should have nothing to fear if he lets go what is not his. It also serves as a galvanizing agent, to inspire the black man with hope, white man with freedom from fear, arousing both into the arena of social action and meaningful change. It exhibits the way out from under crushing load of oppression and sweltering heat of racism.

It firmly says that it is not God's will that blacks be held down in perpetual bondage. It leaves no soul untouched and affords no guarantee of spiritual comfort to a race that keeps another race in slavery and invents all kinds of excuses. It explicitly propagates that cardinal sin of economic exploitation, political deprivation, social injustice and racial inequality will never be permissible, no matter how wonderfully dressed, in superficial promises it can be.

Somewhere along life's way I often ask, "would there be Black Theology if justice was prevailing?" I seldom get yes as an obvious answer. I would doubt if Christ would bother to identify himself with numberless classes of people, if the answer is an idle yes. He wouldn't be particularistic either. He would hardly "domesticate" us to his teaching. What a sad thing to involve God into frailties of human race. To impose chaos in God's created order. To suppress God-given human rights in the name of an ideology. Believe it or not, God intervenes in our history. He gives it meaning. He cares in his measureless love.

Black Theology strictly warns, blacks and whites, if they are serving masters other than Christ, and they deny God, they are committing political abortion, which is the sin of grossest magnitude.

It is my heart-warm, world embracing New Year hope and aspiration that Black Theology will one day fulfil what man-made-policies could not fulfil. Truth is the inherent right of this Black theology. Truth, in Black Theology, cannot be sacrificed under the cloak of proselytication and pietistic conservatism which discount complexities of cosmic forces.

POEMS

Mother of a Nation

WAKE UP!

It's time you left your pleasures alone,
It's time you forgot about girls and booze,
It's time you dropped your boys and fashions
And stood up straight like men
And resisted oppression.

It's time you shut your big mouths,
It's time you showed your sting.
It's time you ran amok
Shattering the enslavement chains into scraps of metal.

Wake up young brothers !
Wake up young sisters !

How long must you be
bullied,

Kicked
and
petted ?

How long must you be
choked,

Dragged
and
bitten ?

Wake up young brothers !
Let you not be the implements of
their AIMS !
Let you not be stooged for the sake of your
empty BELLIES !

Never forget what you are !

Wake up young sisters !
Let their money not lure you !
Let their sweet words of love not fool you !
Never forget who you are !

It's time you sang the songs of praise,
It's time you forgot the past,
It's time you waited for the future
Like the moon waiting for the sun to set.
Freedom's in your hands !

Nkathazo KaMnyayiza.

Africa

mother of children

impatient
desperate
reluctant

to be like the rivers that
meander calmy
to the seas

Africa

the voice of your children
erodes the mist-shrouded mountain
and cuts through the valleys
like the pounding rivers
that ravage and rape your fields

Africa

mother of children

destitute
dying
desperate

to prescribe themselves
free

Africa

your bosoms once offered rest to our weary heads
your arms enfolded us ensuring us of security
your hair sheltered us from our enemies.

Africa

today
your rivers no longer heal our wounds
your mountains do not silence our angry voices
your fields offer us no refuge

Africa

mother of warriors,
answering the call for justice.

Iva Mackay

PROUD FLESH

"All the rest of the world's peoples must think toward the future, toward change, because they must have it."

(Leroi Jones)

"Communication is only important because it is the broadest root of education. And all cultures communicate exactly what they have, a powerful motley of experience"

(Leroi Jones)

"To criticize the information one receives and the manner in which it is transmitted is a very important step"

(Claude Angeli)

"No modern State can exist if its factories and universities are not working."

(Andre Glucksmann)

"All attempts at dialogue between the subdued and subduer, between those placed within history and those dispersed outside, breakdown. The subdued and the subduer do not speak the same language."

(James Baldwin in 'No Name in the Street')

"There's some faith in human nature, in what a person can become no matter what time he's born in and no matter what's behind him. We have to - in every generation, every five minutes - make human life possible. That's the only importance of having a brain because it's a metaphor for stamina. And finally, it's a metaphor for love"

(James Baldwin in 'A Rapow Race')

"There is no such thing as adulthood as opposed to youth. Youth is not a stage of development, it is a state of mind. Adults have always felt the need to make the young infantile by keeping them in a state of prolonged irresponsibility. The 'instability of youth' is the symptom which the adult needs to feel well-balanced".

(Maud Mannoni)

" 'To hell with the scientific community', Frank Borman cut in. The astronauts laughed. The attitude was clear. They were not in astronautics to solve the mysteries of the moon, they were astronauts to save America."

(Norman Mailer in 'A fire on the Moon')



BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS IS:

1. an attitude of mind, a way of life;
2. its basic tenet is that the Black man must reject all value systems that seek to make him a foreigner in the country of his birth and reduce his basic human dignity;
3. it implies awareness by the Black people of the power they wield as a group, both economically and politically and hence group cohesion and solidarity are important facets of Black Consciousness;
4. The Black man must build up his own value systems, see himself as self-defined and not defined by others;

5. Black Consciousness will always be enhanced by the totality of involvement of the oppressed people, hence the message of Black Consciousness has to spread to reach all sections of the Black Community;
6. Liberation of the Blackman begins first with liberation from psychological oppression of himself through an inferiority complex and secondly from the physical one accruing out of living in a white racist society;
7. Black people are those who are by law or tradition, politically, socially and economically discriminated against as a group in the South African society of their aspirations."

It is the endeavour of SASO to make the newsletter a semi-independent organ, in regard to financial backing and expression of opinion reflected in the newsletter.

Your assistance, dear black readers, would be most welcome. Assist SASO in making the newsletter an organ that will be borne by the black community.

Articles and/or donations to be sent to . . .

**The Editor,
SASO Newsletter,
86 Beatrice Street,
Durban.**

BLACK STUDENTS' MANIFESTO

We, the Black Students of South Africa, believing that the Black Man can no longer allow definitions that have been imposed upon him by an arrogant White world concerning his Being and his destiny and that the Black Student has a moral obligation to articulate the needs and aspirations of the Black Community hereby declare that:

A. We Black Students are:

- 1. An integral part of the Black oppressed Community before we are Students coming out of and studying under the oppressive restrictions of a racist education,**
- 2. committed to a more disciplined involvement in the intellectual and physical work and to the consistent search of the Black Truth,**
- 3. committed to work towards the building of our people and to the winning of the struggle for liberation and guided by the central purpose of service to the Black Community on every technical and social level.**

B. We therefore, reject the whole sphere of racist education and commit ourselves to:

- 1. The intellectual and physical development of our community and to the realisation of liberation for Black peoples of South Africa.**
- 2. the definition that education in South Africa is unshamedly political and we therefore, believe that Black education is tied to the liberation of the Black people of the world.**

C. We hereby commit ourselves to:

- 1. the assertion, manifestation and development of a sense of awareness politically, socially and economically among the Black Community.**
- 2. the belief that Black Students should maintain a spirit of fraternity amongst themselves, free from the prejudice of white fallacies by virtue of their common oppression.**
- 3. attempting to break away from the traditional order of subordination to whites in education and to refuse to be educated for them,**
- 4. encourage and promote Black Literature relevant to our struggle,**
- 5. ensure that our education will further the preservation and promotion of what is measured in our culture and our historical experience.**