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# **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.**

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"And so long as men laboured, and other men took and used the fruit of those who laboured, the name of Spartacus would be remembered, whispered sometimes and shouted loud and clear at other times."

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"When I use a word," Humpty Dumpty said in a rather scornful tone, "it means just what I choose it to mean, neither more nor less."

"The question is," said Alice, "whether you can make words mean so many different things."

"The question is," said Humpty Dumpty, "who is to be m a s t e r, that's all."

Alice in Wonderland.

# Editorial

Where do we start?

Where do we begin to tell?

It seems a long way. When Black students decided once more to cherish dreams, to plan for the Black future and to build hope for themselves as the future leaders of this broken country that desperately needs mending.

Students all over the country in different tribal universities and high schools realised the dire need for them to be on their own; for them to initiate a basic stand in terms of the fast changing reality before them.

The need for communication between individuals and between groups of Black students has had to be seen as of major priority. It is in the method through which Blacks communicate that a positive identity of Blacks, seeing themselves in their own image as Blacks, can develop and help us channel proper perspectives on issues affecting the Black community and the Black Student in the tribal university.

There have been setbacks on many fronts. Bannings. Arrests. Detention without trial.

Yet in our love for our beloved country, a love that is for a liberated and undivided South Africa, the understanding of this love shall be an act of survival in itself. Our survival. We the sons and daughters of the soil.

By asserting our Black identity we shall be reinforcing our refusal to be judged by those whose analyses of our quest for identity have denied us our human will.

What greater human will is there besides freedom?

We have put it explicitly before : we refuse to be called students - i.e. to be in a quest for knowledge; and yet be confined to intellectual, socio-economic and political subjection in matters affecting our own Black community. What led the Black American poet, Claude McKay to express (below) also applies to our particular situation:

"If we must die let it not  
be like hogs,  
hunted and penned in an  
unglorious spot,  
while round us, bark the  
mad and hungry dogs,  
making their mock at our  
accursed lot."

(Claude Mackay: "If we must die")

It is in the news that one of our brothers standing trial for the Frelimo Rally suddenly collapsed. We should also not forgot those Turfloop students who are now behind bars because they dared show out that on these tribal campuses nothing really happens except the brainwashing on the curriculum. These students are part of our hopes. And we are a part of that part, through our common brotherhood in Black solidarity.



## THE WRATH OF OUR PRESENT

by Scene Watcher

During Christmas many Blacks die on the roads, in the trains, in the streets of their ghettos. Even in the bare privacy of their ghetto-shacks. One is often tempted to answer what the Christmas season's excitement is all about.

One goes down a South African City street and looks at the furniture and family-wear shops. Those patronised by Blacks. Especially Blacks trapped in the claws of hire purchase. These shops, they will have a Black Father Christmas. Not the white one with a snow white beard; the one we see in Christmas cards and Christmas wraps. No, a Black Father Christmas.

White commercial banality has gone mad. So has the social tempo. The Black man cannot be left out of this madness. The white enslavement culture wants to go down with him. Which makes one want to ask: do we really have reason to celebrate during the "festive" season?

Does Christmas mood not begin with the Day of the Covenant?

December 16 is a national holiday. As a white instituted day it affects all the Blacks of this country. Through the Voortrekker significations and the implications of conquest that are openly expressed.

On "Black Nationalism in South Africa" Peter Walshe says that African 'Chiefs and Kings were not above the law. Shaka and Dingane

were exception, not the norm to parliament; through the traditional council systems. Yet until this day sixty-five years later, Blacks are still in the political wilderness. The traditional council system has been rigged and disorientated for the more effective oppression of Blacks.

And one is forced to pose the Question: Were Shaka and Dingane above the law?

How does Walshe and those who share his views account for the influence of Mpande and Mkhabayi, sister to Senzangakhona?

The historic situation that was partly brought about by December 16, bars communication between individual Blacks and groups of Blacks. The mass media add to this confused state of conditions. That is how we come to have a Black Father Christmas.

Within our past as history we know that our fore-fathers were robbed of their land and their wealth. They were culturally deprived and socially emasculated. On the other hand December 16 stands for our present as history. A history of oppression. That is why we the protagonists of Black consciousness, in the vanguard role that the youth of all oppressed nations play, have decided to break the myth of white-race superiority. And to shape a Black Consciousness whose future of social awareness is without the prevailing race or class distinctions that mar our present. We must bridge the gap between yesterday and today by destroying lethargy amongst Bl-

acks. In this way we shall be creating the much needed stimuli for the national galvanization of Black national aspirations.

The expected outcome of our defined consciousness, a consciousness freed from a white-anted decaying culture, is the emergence of identity in our national quest. The national quest of Black consciousness leads us to the international quest for third world solidarity .

As early back as 1929 it had become apparent that only the Blacks themselves could bring about social change in this Country. This, despite attempts made by some whites at throwing the blame on "communists" and "Marcus Garveyists" Black leaders continued to mould their from in opposition against white domination. Then as now the white sector tried two things:

- (1) Then as now they made frantic attacks against certain "extremist elements" in Black leadership. This was a deliberate plan to dilute Black opposition and thus weaken the Black struggle. It is this approach which accounted largely for the internal dissensions that finally saw the collapse of the I.C.U. after 1926; when certain Blacks had to be expelled for 'holding communist ideology'.
- (2) Then as now liberal whites took great pains to re-educate white conservatives and to channel white opinion; what is today called "verligtheid!" Whites were being taught to be more tolerant to Blacks.

Everywhere liberal whites tried to befriend Blacks. This is the crucial stage when some Black leaders were bought over by the white sector and were used in the introduction of the Native Representative Council and the Coloured Representative Council respectively. History is being forced to repeat itself. Today more and more "non-whites" and Separatist leaders are being called to address whites.

In 1943, the Secretary for the then Native Affairs Department in the then United Party led parliament, Dr. Smit, went to the extent of calling the policy of Separate Development an illusion!

Yet today more than 30 years later there are those in our midst who are busily chanting against petty apartheid as some precondition for detente. In the same manner that Vorster does not want apartheid to be petty.

When the Blacks decide to stress Black identity and Black awareness it is also to thwart the degenerate tendencies of certain elements in the Black sector! We are against those who lose their identity and assume the negative role of advancing white anti-Black ideas within the Black ranks.

The seeming social influence of white liberals on Blacks has begun to weaken and is now being replaced by a more complex and therefore more dangerous pattern of white "verlig" domination. White domination has not therefore, changed its basic character. It has only adopted more subtle methods of exploi-

tation.

The Black youth is aware. We are aware of those who are perverting the basic issues affecting Blacks and the common aims being made by Blacks towards the achieving of national liberation. Our so-called under-development or backwardness, cannot be done away with, within the exploitative spectrum of capitalism. To believe that the flow of private capital into "homeland" economic development and finance is "aid", is fantasy gone amok. The Separatists won't learn their figures straight. The people who pour monies into the "homelands" do so for the enrichment of their own pockets. This calls forth the following reasons for standing against "homelands" investments:-

- (i) We must weigh the political strings attached;
- (ii) We must measure the public benefit gain for the Black Community, and make comparisons with other methods of giving "aid";
- (iii) We must bear in mind that homeland investment is basically political, operating according to terms dictated by the Industrial Development Council and designs of white domination.

Most of the objections some people have expressed against Black Consciousness are based on the absurd presumption that Black Consciousness is contradictory to the quest for a non-racial society. We thrashed this out long ago. And in that we have been more honest than those who criticise us in the pursuance of non-racist aims. But we

did not in the first place create the racial context within which we are being forced to operate. Further, those who are suspicious of the connotations of Black Consciousness should not seek to oppose us outside the racial context which is the existent reality in this country.

It is easy for some to ignore this reality round us; as easy as flying in one's sleep. We must forever be aware of the Southern African variation of context in the Black struggle for liberation. The future is Black. There is no doubting this. But we shall have to decide who qualifies for Black before the term has worn itself out. Let us not underline our common situation with our Black American brothers to the level where we seem to ignore our own folks. This cannot be called true identity. Let us take jazz for illustration of this point. When I am being judged I am not judged by Gene Ammons or Sonny Stitt. I am judged by Mankunku Ngozi or Barney Rachabane. I am not judged by Kenny Burrell or the late Montgomery, I am judged by Phillip Tabane or the late Cyril "Dembese" Magubane. I won't be judged by Idris Muhammad or Max Roach. I'll be judged by Julian Bahula or Lefifi Tladi.

We share a common philosophical base with our Afro-American brethren. BUT a method of operation is not the same as the philosophical base upon which it is modelled. The method of operation if firmly attached to its philosophical base will be the strategy upon which final victory can be gauged.

Once it was advisable to stress the importance of psychological liberation. Until people started asking, "Okay, I'm Black - What about it?"

On the other hand we should not run the risk of making the need for psychic liberation irrelevant by ignoring the different aspects of change.

With the fascists murder of our brothers, Mthuli ka Shezi and Onkgopotse Tiro many things changed. Both these brothers were illustrious in the Black cause. Both died through physical violence. Both were non-violent individuals whose only crime was to speak out and tell it like it is. Both suffered brutal death.

What does it mean to us? to our parents. To our brothers who do not yet see the way? What does it spell for our children?

The prevailing violence in white methods of oppression was further exemplified when the fascist system set police dogs upon a peaceful "Frelimo Rally" whose aim was

to register solidarity, with our brothers in Mozambique. At the end of the score we conclude that it is the forces of Black Consciousness alone at this stage that can help towards the bringing about of true self-determination and national consciousness. This conclusion brings out the essential characters of Black Consciousness as being:-

- (1) A common identity based on Black self-definition;
- (2) Re-orientation of perspectives towards identification with the third world context of struggle;
- (3) Ability to communicate, within the identification process as Blacks faced with a common situation;
- (4) Solidarity in action based on true assessment of methods most effective towards Black liberation.



## THE MOVEMENT IN RELATION TO THE BLACK COMMUNITY

by Black Student Leader

This paper sets out to review the position of any movement borne - in the Black community, with the objective of being relevant to the needs of the Black community. In terms of its role obligations. And, also, factors which are conducive to it be-

ing accepted and supported by the community, and thus its insured, continued, existence.

First, it is important for us to accept the fact that any meaningful change in this country's social, political and economic

situation, shall be brought about by the proletariat - the people who really feel the pinch of white domination, exploitation and oppression. They possess the power to effect radical changes because they are at the base, and thus shoulder the whole weight of all social, economic and political pyramids of this country.

The Black people of this country are not only suffering from dominance by a foreign minority white race, whose advent in this country marked the beginning of an era of persecution for black people, but they suffer repression and exploitation from capitalism and the various forms of imperialism. All this militates against the communalistic basis of our society and our beliefs in the fundamental dignity, and equality of man. Thus our struggle is not only a struggle to get back our land; but it is also an ideological one:- i.e. an attack and elimination of capitalism and imperialism and all social systems, that promote exploitation and dehumanisation of Black people. Ours is a struggle to restore our stolen land and also, a struggle to restore the dignity of man and our traditional attitude towards man. We quest for socialism and denounce capitalism.

Our main task is to organise the masses of our people into one cohesive force to confront oppression. This will mean total identification with the working-class. And in the process will instil self-reliance and national consciousness. A will to stand up to the enemy; to defend black values

and dignity. It is this mental, physical and spiritual readiness, that shall decide the day of reckoning with the forces of the negative darkness.

For a long time now we have been expounding the philosophy of Black Consciousness, Black solidarity, etc.

The social, economic and political situation of this country has been analysed from various angles a great deal. This subject is dangerously bordering on being a pastime for Black liberals and intellectual exercise for the fast emerging Black cultural activists. This paper shall attempt at showing certain ways through which we can bring the struggle from the table to the people. This process of taking the message to the people is not possible unless we first rid ourselves of certain misconceptions and attitude towards ourselves and the Black Community at large.

The Black intellectual finds himself alienated from the rest of the Black community by his educational background, the attainment of certain "refined" manners. Which is why most educated people find it hard to communicate with fellow Black people in a train, who are uneducated. The educated person, to escape this persistent emptiness in his being, usually seeks refuge in a copy of the "Daily News", or a book. Thus the Black intellectual finds himself saddled with "message" he can only pass on to another intellectual. The frustration here is that the Black intellectual is all the time aware that the "message" should be tak-

en to the man in the street. The "HOW" is the problem.

To solve this problem of communication, the Black intellectual must first review all the factors which alienate him from the rest of the Black community; sincerely and realistically. He must radically adjust himself to the community and totally intergrate his whole personality to the accepted value-norms, beliefs and prejudice of his community. He must get off from the high black pedestal from which he addresses the community and get to work with and among the people, rather than pull them or drag behind them.

Communication is a vital aspect of the revolutionary process. For communication to be meaningful and healthy, there should prevail throughout the process a spirit of sharing of ideas, rather than the condescending-ascending mood. The attitude of the Black leader is thus very crucial. He must always be aware that on "taking the message to the people", he is not telling them anything new-something they neither know nor understand. But he is merely articulating their everyday feelings and aspiration. He must allow, throughout the process of communication, for communication to be two-way. We have a lot to say to the masses as we have analysed the problem, but there is a world of things we have to learn from our people. For instance, our traditional culture, our history, our past and everyday experiences and perspection of the

situation. This would broaden our whole outlook and approach towards the problem at hand.

It is also very important in communication to take into account the level of consciousness of the people. The Black leader should guard intimidating the people by ultra-radical ideas. This is not to mean that we should discard ideas on the basis that they are radical, but what is important here is how that idea is presented. To get an idea across one has to present it in such a way that the person he is communicating with shall be able to understand it and relate it to his situation and also enable him to interpret that idea his own way in his situation, using his own models. He must see that idea as his own, so as to cherish and defend it.

One other important aspect of communication is the character of the person himself. As a proponent of Black liberation, Black dignity, pride and consciousness of self, the Black leader should totally integrate with the people and behave in accordance with the accepted value-norms and culture of the people. That is, "do what you preach, and preach what you do." The leader must always remember that the people expect the impossible from him - they expect that he be the symbol of their nation in its most progressive and highest stage of development. By one's personality one can win the acceptance and support by the people, one can even preach through one's character. An easy character is conducive to fruitful communication whilst a repugnant one can

render the best of the ideas ineffective. In rejecting the person, people tend to reject his ideas also and all that he stands for. Bad morals of one member of an organisation can seriously prejudice and, in fact, damage the organisation he supports

We have stated earlier in this paper that change in this country shall be brought about by the oppressed masses. This means that

the Black intelligentsia should get to the brass tacks and move with and among the people. And sections of our community have to be mobilised and this requires total commitment from all those working for radical change. Whenever one is, he must do what he preaches and organise all those around him. This is the only way the struggle can be a struggle of the people, for the people and by the people.

\* \*

### BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS AND THE BLACK COMMUNITY

by Bhekie Langa

(official of the National Youth Organisation)

For those Black people in this country, who wish to pursue certain ambitions in life, there is always a solid wall of repressive legislation and other non-statutory measures, that deny him the prospect of realising his set goals. There is a network of social, economic and political pitfalls and landmines spread all over his way to check and ennumb Black creativity and development. As this is aimed at keeping the Blackman merely on the threshold of manhood and complete beingness, those being essential requirements for keeping him chained and doomed to white serfdom. This is aimed at killing the sense of self-reliance and dignity in the Black community and reduce resistance to manipulation to a minimum.

This frustration is felt in almost all levels of the Black experience. The sphere of education, sports, arts, science, religion, etc. are

heavily permeated with the formula that is designed at keeping the Black man, so to say, "at his place, which is, of course, the bottom. These savage slaughters on the Blackmans' dignity and pride are from day to day, month to month and year to year recorded on his mind. These are the realities that threaten and influence his culture, for he has to order his responses to these forces in such a manner that his sovereignty over them is maintained. The Black man feels the pinch and thus must do one of three things - try and ignore the pain by deluding himself one way or the other; or rationalise over the situation accrediting all his miseries to the will of God and accept his fate as his natural heritage as a Black man; or, finally, he is going to confront whatever causes him the suffering and thus reject oppression and white domination.

The white man is aware of the three above-mentioned interpretations by the Blackman of his existential situation, for he is well aware of the fact that his continued stay at the position he occupies now, depends heavily on the nature and level of consciousness of the Black masses. Of the three above-mentioned mental conditions, the first two are his life assurance and the third, most decidedly, a cancer-like enemy. So to maintain his position of superiority he has to arrange conditions such that the third group of Black people, those who contend his position - diminishes, if not perish. At this juncture it will be necessary to look closely into the three states of consciousness and try and pinpoint certain factors leading them, because a true understanding of them may solve this mammoth problem facing the Black Consciousness movement.

The first group comprises of people who, are well aware of the situation (for no-one is not) but for some reason or the other refuse to involve themselves in the struggle. They expect things to change somehow but they cannot see themselves participating actively in the process of changing things. This regiment of our community would like to lead a life of total non-commitment and non-involvement by reducing the more crucial issues in life and the harder facts of reality into a mere background to their own self-centred pursuits. We have said that these are people who are aware of the situation and this means that they have to justify their non-involvement somehow and, so to say, seek a scapegoat

Amongst this group you also find people who are ever postponing their involvement in the struggle for instance it is common to hear people cautioning others who are involved in the struggle to "get your degree first and then you can stand on your head and shout as much as you like". This is obviously nonsense because as soon as this person acquires his educational degree, there will be other responsibilities in store for him - for instance - getting married, rearing a family, acquiring property, getting a good job, etc. In fact, there is no end to this list which makes nonsense of postponing commitment to the struggle. Liberation is first priority and this means at no stage of one's life, should one subordinate it to anything, for oppression does not affect you at a few specific stages of your existence but the minute one is formed. (That is, for Black people) one is subject to persecution and repression from the forces of darkness. In this group you also find the Black cultural activists who apologise for their non-involvement by occasionally raising Black power fists, wear dashiki's and talk "Black" and revolutionary when they are among people for the struggle. But as soon as they put into action their beliefs and preachings. They are at a loss. It is important that we note how the people in this category are conscious of the situation as it obtains in this country, in spite of their non-involvement. And their non-involvement stems from a number of subjective and objective factors. The nature of this country's laws and the law of the law-enforcement

units prove too much for the weak. The extent of the white domination and oppression exercised in this-country has very few equals throughout the history of mankind. This causes those without a deep insight into the problem to conclude that nothing can outdo the white man. Those who lack direction, conviction and faith may easily recede into the background and wait for a miracle to happen.

Now we come to the second group of people - those who have lost all hope and have accepted their predicament as the will of God. This is the most dangerous mental state that one usually observes from the elder section of the community. Because of so many years of indoctrination and psychological terrorism meted out by the white power structure a number of Black people lose hope and start burying themselves even before they are dead. Police intimidation, military might and various other forms of repression dissuade most people from attempting anything towards liberating themselves. Indoctrination through the wide dissemination of propaganda and poisonous education and failure to put things in their correct perspective, convince many a weak Black mind that nothing can be done about the situation.

Then there is the third and last group in our list. Those that reject white domination and oppression. In this group you find people who believe in the principal of the fundamental equality of man - the right of every human being regardless of race, colour or creed for fullest participation

in society. Because of this strong belief, and the assurance that truth always thrives in the end, commit themselves to the struggle for the liberation of the Black community. It is this reaction of our community that is articulating the ideology of our oppressed community. Ideology being a pointer to the goals, aspirations, beliefs and ideas of a community. This may be expressed explicitly or implicitly. But the truth is: in every community there is always an ideology. It is the militant section of our community that proposes solutions to the Blackman's problems in this country. The Black Consciousness movement plays an important part in this sphere. Black Consciousness as an ideology is not something floating in the air in the minds of intellectuals; but it comes from the community, the people who suffer. And it finds articulation and refinement from progressive students, youth, intellectuals and workers. The ideology itself is shaped by the problems and frustrations of the people, their goals, aspirations, beliefs and ideas. Hence, Black Consciousness is thus an attitude of mind and a way of life. Black consciousness is integrative and solidarist in intent; and thus it aims to unite all Black people; on the basis of common suffering, to join the struggle for liberation.

What is the role of Black Consciousness in the struggle for Black liberation? We have sketched out three segments of our Black Community. The one that feels that nothing can be done to alleviate our suffering: the one that removes

itself from reality through self-delusion and the third that purports to confront the problem. The Black Consciousness movement falls into the third category and as Black consciousness is an integrative and solidarist ideology, it purports to permeate into, and engulf the first two groups through conscientisation.

We have exposed the different segments of our oppressed community in terms of level of consciousness. We have also seen how these are contributive to the present state of events: the pace of our struggle. This leads one into concluding that if our struggle has to progress it has to be a struggle of the people and not of a small vanguard. For we will never achieve total liberation if only a small segment of our community support the struggle, and the majority sit back and watch. To achieve our goal: a true democratic society, based on the acceptance of the principle of the fundamental equality of man, where each and every

individual will enjoy the fruits, of justice and social security, we will have to mobilise the efforts of the whole of our community. This means that top priority should be given at radically raising the level of political consciousness of the oppressed masses. We must be clear, though, about the content of our work and the method which we have to employ in the process of politicising the masses. Black Consciousness is not an alien ideology that needs to be forced on the people, but it is borne out of the existential situation of the Black man oppressed in his own land of birth. This means that the people have got the ideas latent in them and our main duty is invoking the latent ideas and also instil confidence in the people by showing possibilities and direction. This is how we could show the people the power they are not aware that they have. Political Consciousness is Power Consciousness.



## LETTERS

Dear Editor,

At least white chauvinism has finalised its decree on the fate of the Federal Theological Seminary. All along we were aware of the fundamental tension that would lead to the closing down of Fedsem. We were aware of the administrative conflicts, of the incompatibilities between the official white world-view and the Black identity that was fast growing through Black Theology, of the inherent contr-

adictions in the development of Black Consciousness and the State reaction to this new awareness.

However, one did not expect such sharp reaction from the Chief Minister of the Transkei against Fedsem students who have a right of protest against Separation, whether it be in the Ciskei or the Transkei or Kwa-Zulu.

If Black students cannot be allowed to freely play their role as students then they have a right to demand that right by appealing to the mass of Black people.

We can demand the right to have a say in the history of our past and present. We have the human right to choose what we must learn or accept as national truth. We have the right to decide together with the will of the people what must be done with the present scheme of things.

Those who consider Black students to be trouble-makers are themselves trouble causers against the Black struggle. What right do they, as fellow Black people, have to want to do the system's job?

I understand Black Consciousness to include conscious awareness of the third world reality prevailing in the Black Community. That is why I am for communalism. And because of this we shall forever fight for the widening of our sense of identity. If we are against the Bantustan collaborators, I take it, it is not just for their false cultural values. It is for something worse than that. I am against the Bantustan leadership for what it stands for in the life of

Blacks; and the reactionary role they play against the Black peoples' struggle for liberation.

The 'false prophets' who are satisfied with bundu freedom have gone against Black Consciousness we have said we are against racism, that we do not want white commercialism and its false consumer ethics, that we say "to Hell" with institutionalized poverty, that we cannot stand anymore state imposed unemployment, that there has been enough of organised acts of violence against Blacks and that we say "shit to white chauvinist culture".

Students or intellectuals everywhere have reason to say certain things. It is for those in authority to look into them with objective concern. To threaten students and educationists, even religious leaders, is not of democratic spirit.

For the Chief Minister to make an apologetic gesture in support of "apartheid" has hastened the process leading to the peoples' realisation of this gross illusion which can no more be justified by persons of principle.

Pati Nzimande.

# focus



In 1943 the political situation of South Africa's Blacks was in one of its most critical moods. It was becoming obvious that the dem-

ocracies were on the threshold of victory against fascism. The colonial peoples who had contributed largely to the defeat of the Axis

- Powers were demanding self determination.

But here in South Africa the "her-envolk" made it clear that Blacks were to remain without rights.

Blacks came together over this issue. And the result was the All-African Convention.

In 1972 Blacks again came together and formed the Black People's Convention.

When then the Black Renaissance Convention of December, 1974 made resolutions on the Black man's situation, it was largely a repetition of the two previous conventions which were spanned by the Freedom Charter.

The only outstanding resolution of the Black Renaissance Convention is the one that gave Black Workers those who produce the wealth of this country, deep consideration. It is on this resolution that we shall have to base our immediate engagements in the quest for Black liberation. For is it not time those who labour were brought into the mainstream of the Black struggle?

The B.R.C. Resolution went thus:

\*\*\*\*\*

### The Frelimo Rally: Arrests, Trial:

Let us think back to the 60's and remember representative Black organisations such as the Pan African Congress and the African National-Congress through which Black people expressed legally their

This Convention noting that:

- (1) the great majority of Black people are workers
- (2) besides being discriminated against the workers also suffer the most blatant forms of exploitation
- (3) the wages that workers receive are far below the bread-line and they are therefore frustrated in the attempt to use their bargaining power,

Therefore resolves that:

- (a) the Government immediately recognize African Trade Unions;
- (b) that there is need for workers to organise themselves into trade unions free from Government interference.

This soul brother was more than correct when he said, "We look around in the world today, and we look around at home right now and we see that oppression exists. We know that the workers are exploited, and that most of the people in this country are exploited, in one way or another. We know that as a people, we must seize our time."

opposition to the ideology of apartheid. These organisations, so relevant to the aspirations of the Blacks, were ruthlessly dismantled before being finally banned outright.

It is now going on to eight months since the initial group of leaders and supporters of the Black Consciousness Movement were arrested, and detained on the 25th September 1974 - and thereafter, after a proposed "Frelimo Rally" at Curries Fountain, Durban. Various, "Frelimo" Rallies were to have been staged at different centres throughout the country by the protagonists of the Black Consciousness Movement, the major representatives of which are organisations such as Saso, Bcp, Bpc, Bawu and Tecon. The State has led many cases against members of these organisations, succeeding with convictions sometimes but failing dismally in many instances. Moreover, many leaders and supporters have been forced to flee across the country's borders to increase the already swelling ranks of exiles from this country.

To date since September, 1974 about 40-50 adherents of the Black Consciousness Movement have been held, or are still being held, incommunicado initially under the Riotous Assemblies Act of 1956 under the Sections of the Terrorism Act of 1967.

We would not like to comment on the paranoia so obviously manifested in the charges and the history of the different acts.

There is only one conclusion that Black people can draw from this reckless display of force over what was after all, simply a proposed declaration of solidarity, with the people of Mozambique at the attainment of their basic human rights.... viz, that despite

declarations to the contrary, the South African Government and its supporters fear and detest the changing pattern of events going on throughout Africa.

Before the Black Consciousness Movement organisations came into the scene there had been for some time a lull in the vocal activity in the Black Movement. This was understandable in the light of the crushing attack on the Black leadership by the racist power structure. However, the Black Movement was working quietly. Our forces and manpower were regrouped, our strategies re-defined and the necessary renovations being initiated to revive the vibrance and the fearlessness of the Black voice. In this manner, the foundations of the Movement were secured with optimum success.

Generally, the Black Consciousness organisations recognise the detentions and arrests for what they really are: an attempt to crush totally the Black Consciousness Movement and thereby any Black opposition whatsoever to the totalitarian state of affairs in this country.

In the face of this totalitarian drive by the State there has been wide reaction against the "Frelimo Rally" arrests and solitary confinements. There has been a petition from Black women. There has been appeal from members and leaders of Government-created institutions - CRC, SAIC, Bantustans. There have been picket protests. There have been appeals from a broad cross-section of churches. There has

been wide and sometimes sympathetic coverage given to the detentions and arrests by the Press. There has been International reaction in the form of declarations and demonstrations of solidarity and support for the detainees, the accused and their representative Black organisations, abroad.

Yet a Terrorism Trial has been going on since 31st January, 1975. Any person accused under the provisions of the Terrorism Act (No 83 of 1967) has to prove that his intention was not to commit terrorism. The Act carries a statutory minimum sentence of five years to the maximum sentence of life imprisonment or a death penalty.

What do we see behind the facade? Apartheid as rampant as ever, in all its manifestations. Blacks continue to be discriminated against. The charges against the thirteen accused under the Terrorism Act face any Black who refuses to be oppressed - who refuses to have this human dignity trampled on. The thirteen accused for offences under the Terrorism Act are the scapegoats chosen by the system. These scapegoats of the atrocious system are: "Saths" Cooper (Bpc) Justice Lindane Myeza (Saso), Mosioua Patrick Lekota (Saso), Nchaupe Aubrey Mokoape (Bpc), Nkwenkwe Vincent Nkomo (Bpc), Pandelani Nefolovhodwe (Saso), Gilbert Kaborane Sedibe (Bpc), Rubin Hare (Saso), Strinivasa Moodley (Saso), Sadeque Variava (Pet), Zithulele Cindi (Bpc) Ahmed "Solly" Ismail (Bpc), Sivlingam Moodley (Tecon).

Let us not forget all those still

being held in confinement, whose fate has not come to light.

It would seem that the odds are all against us..... but are they? In the face of all this intimidation and harassment what do we do?

Perhaps we can take a clue from the accused themselves..... and from those people who were released lately. Far from being broken people, they came out of their cells literally bursting over with resistance. And herein lies our answer: resistance.

We are all seeking a solution. Even those working within the system claim they are seeking a solution. Let those who take lightly the Black students effort take note. We mean those who point out "infantilism", those who talk of "youth adventurism", those who chide about "students" irrationality", those who seek out "communist influence". They live with us. And we live amongst them.

The rallies were merely to call upon Black people to share and join with Frelimo in celebrating their well-earned freedom. There was nothing underhand about, nor was there any ulterior motive for having the planned rallies. Surely, if whites in this country could publicly demonstrate their support for the terrorist "Movement for Free Mozambique (MFM)" without any interference from the State, what was wrong with Blacks supporting FRELIMO?

Definitely there must be a solution. There must be a solution to white arbitrary thinking. But what if we get up one day to find that



possibilities within our Black frame of reference.

Then it can rightfully be stated that consciousness has assumed the character of power under the following conditions:-

- (1) when consciousness moves beyond Blackness, into the social and political duties of Blacks;
- (2) when consciousness moves into permanent challenge against white political morality and capitalist norms of life;
- (3) when consciousness goes beyond Black discourse to Black brotherhood and Black Solidarity-in-Action;
- (4) when consciousness embraces resolutions for solidarity-in-Action within the permanent challenge.

Those who choose to draw lines between Consciousness and Power do so for the simple reason that they have one foot in blackness and the other foot in the politics of white domination. No amount of cajoling with words is going to hide the historic truth that Black Consciousness has, within the racist socio-political set-up, become a historical force. It is the fear of Black Consciousness as a historical force that has led to the arrests and bannings of Black students. But no amount of intimidation is going to deter us from enhancing the historic truth.

**Power to the People!!**

## Courage

If loyalty gives courage  
Then belief goes beyond loyalty;  
Like believing in your people  
and things natural,  
is where the spirit of humanity  
lives on Courage.  
The earth and the sky  
never meet;  
Because the sky is  
What lets us see the world  
go round.  
But the current of the sea  
does meet the current of the sky;  
In storm and thunder,  
Then the oceans flood.  
In my journey through the  
broad streets  
Of Durban's Grey Street-Complex  
I see many an acid-belly face  
of the morning-after;  
Then there's a hangover,  
What I wish to see still  
is a hangover from the  
mass rallies of the nineteen six-  
ties.  
The current that should  
flash, flush, rush  
is the current of change,  
Change. Against the deceiving  
comfort  
of Castle beer, Wimpy Bars and  
Kentucky Chicken.

M. Pascal Gwala

—oOo—

A remainder: that project .....

Saso Projects though apparently at low ebb, have not been closed .... Saso has not dropped its aims in wanting to offer help where there is need for it and to stimulate basic self-reliance in the Black community and amongst students.

Saso still has intentions on the Free University Scheme to boost Black adult education.

Saso still wishes to establish the Black Educational Advancement Trust Fund to help students from post-primary to university level.

Saso still aims to promote literacy through the Home Education Scheme to stimulate Black literacy skills.

Saso still finds need for the continuation of the Self Help Projects to encourage self-reliance amongst our people!

Do not lose hope, Black student. Your hand is still needed. Take to the task. We shall overcome!

ANOTHER POEM

into the dark

a ghetto sundown  
south africa coughs dust  
into the streets of alexandra  
cough with a smell of blood  
blood stained from whitepolicy  
murders

at langa  
sharpeville  
nyanga  
carletonville  
i wait for the dark  
embrace the shadows  
guerilla into the darkness of hope  
confer with the nightfall  
for the dark hastens positively,  
the dark  
where the futile  
but very big efforts  
to keep the city white  
by night  
have shown the city lights  
to be very scared by night  
i confer with this dark  
the dark tunnel to liberation  
where no pet dogs enjoy a bark

M. PASCAL GWALA



Whereby the Senate asked Batiatus,  
"Were there no signs of conspiracy  
discontent, plotting?"

"There were none," he insisted.

"And when you executed the African  
- mind you, we consider your  
action quite proper - was there  
no protest ? "

"None"

"We are particularly interested in  
whether any sort of outside help,  
foreign provocation of any sort  
could have entered into t h i s  
matter ? "

"It is impossible," said Batiatus.

"And there was no outside help or  
funds provided for the triumvi-  
rate of Spartacus, Garnicus and  
Crius?"

"Spartacus" - Novel by Howard  
Fast.

## DETENTE IN ITS TRUE PERSPECTIVE

Perhaps Chief Gatsha Buthelezi ought to be congratulated for having pointed out recently that there is little point in the Prime Minister, Mr. B.J. Vorster, desiring peace in the northern borders of Zimbabwe whilst at home, within our own borders, the situation can hardly be considered peaceful.

This is not the manner in which the Kwa-Zulu leader expressed his views. But we have the right to make interpretation of his remarks regarding change. And for this we learn that he has been reprimanded for not co-operating with the Prime Minister's efforts.

What does detente hold in view of the present conditions?

We have observed how Zambia's President Kaunda has been singled out as a Christian and a man with qualities of a statesman. On the other hand President Nyerere, the man who engineered "Ujamaa" for Tanzania's masses has been criticized for taking a radical stand in the "Rhodesia Talks".

For the Zambian leader we can say that, whilst appreciating his diplomatic moves, we can however, point out that he has no choice but to be a peaceful negotiator. The geography of his country and the economic effects of sanctions, against the Smith regime ought to be considered. Also the possible instability that would result in a Zambia that is not yet free from tribal factionalism and the grip

of imperialist investment—particularly the influence of the Lonhro group, makes it necessary for him to play a moderate role.

If Zambia chooses to stand in the imperialist camp in these detente moves then we ought to voice concern over a Black state wanting to sell the aspirations of the people's of Zimbabwe. Moreso, since the struggle in Zimbabwe has now crystallised and only the handing over the power to the rightful people can now stop the fighting. For it is not true that in every-struggle the basic question is that of state power?

Guerilla warfare is not only the military method of obtaining change. It is a political, economic and social movement as well. This we can learn from the Frelimo example. Guerilla warfare in Zimbabwe has, likewise, not replaced mass actions within the country or the peace initiatives of leaders such as the Bishop Muzorewa. Without isolating themselves from the urban Blacks those engaged in armed struggle have, with their stimulation of resistance in the rural areas, combined the internal and external efforts to effect change.

The leadership in Zimbabwe is not a paid bureaucratized leadership as is the case with the Separatist leaders that we have here. This the Prime Minister, Mr. B.J. Vorster is very much aware of. He is also conscious of the fact that the Frelimo takeover has generated

a force against which Afrikanerdom remains vulnerable, if not impotent. Faced with a fast changing reality the South African economy is not developing, as we are constantly being led to believe. Unemployment is rising at an unprecedented rate, resulting in the worsening of general living standards. Manufacturing is at a very low ebb. There are disturbances on the mines. Whilst life has not improved for those living in the so-called homelands. And in the finance sector we have had a major bank such as the Western Bank being taken over by the Barclays National Bank.

In the international field the Arabs have their secret weapon that is no more a secret: oil. If Mr. Vorster were to make a false move now, either in Zimbabwe or Mozambique he would start a chain reaction that would mess up the capitalist world. In the same manner that Holland was forced into conceding to Arab pressure after having sided with Israel over the Middle East Crisis.

If there is any other reason for which the liberal proprietorial which can call the Prime Minister an able statesman it is for his awareness of South Africa's vulnerable position within the new situation. The tree prefers calm. The wind is not subsiding. Winds of change!

And where do the 'homeland' leaders come into this? The historic moment is one that calls for great test on them. Yes, they do criticise the existing government policies and social inequality between white and Black. But they do not explain the System and its undertones within the context of the Black man's struggle for national liberation. This is why they cannot, and shall not within the foreseeable future, master the problems that come into their way. The issue, which only yesterday was being seen as a problem, can now be simplified: when a tooth has reached decay it must be extracted. Before the issue reaches crisis point.

This the separatist leaders fail to face up to. They ignore the truth that our human rights cannot at any stage be above the existing socio-economic structure; and that our social progress and cultural stability will always be conditioned by this factor.

Against this reality detente can be seen as an essential part of negotiation, a concomitant of dialogue, whereby those favouring the status quo can be able to buy time. The preconceived notions of the African and his adjustment patterns are now being centred on the Gatshas' and the Kaundas' for reasons of counter-strategy.



## PROUD FLESH:

### WHAT THE PHILOSOPHERS SAY

What the philosophers have said is what man through the ages has deemed fit to say. Because philosophy is nothing but the synthesized knowledge of man.

"Why seek soothing words, when any test would prove the words, false?" (Sophocles.)

"Man is naturally good, and only by institutions is he made bad." (Rousseau.)

"It is for Black people for Soul people to realise the revolutionary potential in their way of life, for soul means wholeness and energy and healing." (Stephen Hendersen.)

"The use of force is but temporary. It may subdue for a moment, but it does not remove the necessity of subduing again. And a nation is not governed which perpetually has to be conquered." (Edmund Burke.)

"Justice is a tool of the strong to be used as the strong desire." (Cisero.)

"To drive away a wolf the hunter must have a rifle in his hand." (Latin American saying.)

"There are no foxes that are honest and no tigers which do not eat human flesh". (Burmese saying.)

"You can never get meat from a tiger's mouth" (Korean Proverb.)

"There are three realities inextricably woven together in the Western fabric. They are religion, tradition and imperialism; and in none of these have the Black men been taken into account. (James Baldwin)

"The idea of white supremacy is the very warp and wolf of the heritage of the West." (James Baldwin)

"The events in the Congo Vietnam, Malaya, Korea are taking place all for the same reason. The commotion, the violence, the struggles in all these areas and many more spring from one source, the evil and malign, possessive and greedy Europeans. Their abstract theories, developed over centuries of long usage, concerning economics and sociology take the form that they do because they suffer under the mistaken belief that a man can secure himself in this insecure world by ownership of great personal, private wealth." (George Jackson.)

Things Happening: to Black people.

Conscientious Objection:

In the face of the current drive for the recruiting of Blacks as soldiers in the South African Army it is worth mentioning out that the Hammanskraal Resolution on Conscientious Objection applies to Blacks as well.

The system is bidding for more powers of repression. The newspapers show this clearly. The attempts being made to set up Vigilante Committees in the Black Community tell us.

What business have Blacks to fight an unjust war that is aimed at perpetuating our enslavement?

Funds and Foreign Investments:

A Poser:

Further sums of 'aid funds' have been advanced by the Trade Union Congress to the Institute for Industrial Education (IIE) and the Urban Training Project. The IIE gets a further R3 000; and the Urban Training Project gets R1 760

Since, to us, these bodies are not working for the true interests of Black workers, one wonders what the chief designs of the TUC are. Or is it their none-awareness of the true situation?

The IIE is a weak-kneed liberal anti-Black pseudo research institute. It now plays the part of

policy maker for the white run unions centred at Durban's Bolton Hall. The Urban Training Project hardly deserves mention: is this what Oppenheimer meant by Trade unions for Black workers?

If these overseas aid givers continue to ignore Black Objections to opinionised channelling, then we shall have to re-examine the TUC's concern with Black workers.

Who's Pulling Whose Legs?

It is in the news. Finance, Bantustan style. It has been reported, that apart from common shares owned by the various Bantustan Governments, 30% of all the shares in the African South African Bank, are to be owned by the industrial sector.

It is even doubtful that the industrialists hold only 30%; since they as investors with 'homeland' governments will be able gradually to gain substantial control. The African 'control' being merely, nominal.

Neo-colonialism? Don't look far.

Multinationals that aren't national.

Everybody's talking. Everybody's talking soccer. In the ghetto, that

is. What we ought to bring out of our brothers though is their realization that there is nothing 'national' about these 'multinational' tournaments in soccer, athletics, cricket, boxing.

To our witness this is all white-talk. This is tribal sport; window-dressed so as to keep apartheid South Africa in international sport. No wonder the Indian Government could not be fooled by some collaborators who flew all the way to Calcutta to take the world for a ride. To put our picture straight their's was the ride. There and back without a single match.

### What Politics?

Our policy rejects it. The whole world abhors it. Reality is in bitter struggle against it. This policy of separate political platforms.

Mockery made by the apartheid system on us was once more depicted when the Federal Party leader in Natal, Mr. E.C. Swales said that Coloured leaders should not reject "the privileges and concessions that are alternately coming" to the Coloured people (Natal Mercury 2/1/75). He further stated that Indians and Africans have their own leaders to fight for them.

"You don't hear African voices, backing our fight". A blessing that there is still a BPC and a Saso to refute these claims.

Does the CRC really fight for Black rights? The Labour Party, would not have boycotted the CRC sessions and the Vorster talks if Mr. Swales' remarks were true. We the Black oppressed of this country do not need monkey politics and any "monkey parliamentarianism".



### THE BURDEN OF COMPROMISE

The initial decision of the African, Coloured and Indian leaders to accept the political dispensation whereby the Black Community, was divided into nearly a dozen different "nations" appears now more clearly than ever before as a gross error of judgement. High hopes were then expressed of using the governments machinery to test the honesty of this government in carrying out their programme of Separate Development to its logical conclusion, viz: the granting of self-determination to Blacks.

There can be no doubt to a thinking person that a policy formulated within the white society can only be expected to serve the interests of that society. It does not seem reasonable then to imagine that this government, equipped as they are with all the resources to make and to change laws to plan and to manipulate the destiny of others, can create a system that will destroy them.

The idea of using the platforms that have been created by the gov-

ernment to articulate the aspirations of the Black people, as has been claimed by these system-created leaders, has a familiar ring. We have heard it all before. In 1935 African intellectuals were using the very same arguments to defend their participation in the Native Representative Council in the face of repeated counsels against that humiliating compromise.

Twelve years ago now the first Bantustan experiment was given form. The common belief at the time of its inception was that the Transkeian experiment as a whole has not really been imposed by Pretoria but was a development and an improvement of an older though cruder system of self-rule (The Transkeian Territorial Authority or the Bunga as it was commonly called) in which the chiefs as the traditional leaders of the people were already playing the leading part; yet who can deny the fact that as long ago as 1860 already Theophilus Shepstone had relegated Natal chiefs to nothing more than administrative puppets and that, the Bantu Authorities Act which obviously owed much to the Shepstonian system of administration finally sealed the fate of chiefs in the Black community? Nobody can pretend that they have now the same authority and power that their forbears had over their subjects. So that to argue that chiefs are in positions of leadership now as they were in the "Bunga" system is as good as to say that Pretoria's power is unchallenged. Whatever the real truth as to the actual author of the Transkeian experiment there is no denying the fact that it was formulat-

ed and planned in Pretoria.

Now the Transkei without any claims to economic viability and real political sovereignty is laden with so many negative powers over her "citizens" (Proclamation R.400, bannings without trial, the hegemony of chiefs in its political structure etc.) that any hopes of political freedom have become a mere illusion.

Much has been said about the lack of appreciation of the role that has been played by some of the Bantustan leaders in laying the ground-work for detente with the rest of Africa. The very efforts at establishing detente, in fact, seem geared at securing what is in the interests of the white minority in this country, who, realising the anomaly of their position in an African continent that has largely dispensed with the racism of Africa's former colonial master, have found it expedient to make some efforts at establishing closer ties and understanding with the rest of Africa. South Africa knows only too well that the political character of the rest of Southern Africa is changing so rapidly before their eyes that she remains the last bulwark of white minority-rule in the Continent. Scores of African leaders have unequivocally stated their disenchantment with "detente". The oddity of this situation, moreover, is shown by the fact that whilst the detente initiatives are going on South Africa's military budget for this year alone has reached the alarming figure of R980 million; which puts S.A. within the military-spending bracket of European countries. The

only conclusion that one can come to is that S.A. is merely trying to buy time with the detente moves

Mr. Vorster, moreover, has clearly indicated that Black Africa must accept S.A. on her own terms. No attempts will be made to effect significant changes in her domestic policy. The changes that have been effected in the past six months which have been hailed as indications of more changes to come by the liberal sector of the white community have been so superficial that they can in fact be regarded, as non-changes.

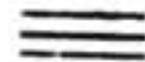
It is therefore, in passing, strange that any leader in the Black community would want to claim credit for having laid the formulations for the operation of detente. This detente has yet to be shown to have benefited the oppressed Blacks.

At another level the Coloured Labour Party has equally compromised. Their leader's recent promises of loyalty to White South Africa are rather inconsistent with the stand that the Labour Party has taken in the past. They got their majority in the C. R. C. on the basis of their promise to do away with the C. R. C. if elected. Now they are not fully participating in it but seem ready also to discard even the lip-service they used to pay to Blackness. Now, according to their leader, they are a Brown people and form a separate entity from the rest of the Black community and have now come to recognise their close affinity to the white culture and civilization.

Even people who strongly held the charitable view that the Indian, Brown and Bantustan leaders were evolving some kind of strategy must now be ready to eat their words.

The Bantustan leaders following their gradualistic approach made dramatic claims for more land not so long ago. Now that they have been given the little that they asked for one can well ask whether the whole exercise was worth anything.

History has the queer habit of repeating itself and life takes its revenge on those who wilfully forget the lessons of history.



#### ARTS & LETTERS: REVIEWS:

#### BEING BLACK in the WORLD

by N.C. Manganyi

Published by : RAVAN PRESS

Dr. Manganyi does not blah-blah about Black Consciousness. He brings it up to our immediate experience. His essays set to point out to us that, as natural prerequisite against divide and rule - and inferiority tags, Black Consciousness is nothing but "a historical necessity". Working on the premise that Black Consciousness is time-bound, a transient force, the author goes on to show how Black Consciousness in "its expression of the present it is first of all mutual knowledge about its hist-

oricity". And, further, that its concomitant, solidarity," amounts to a recognition and the desire to re-establish community feelings."

"Solidarity amongst other things means that we as a people have to share". This is the basic philosophy of communalism.

What keeps Black Consciousness and solidarity in close attachment? Dr. Manganyi is aware of this possible question. His answer is that, "one has to be thinking of a consciousness that leads to action". This way one's awareness does not become static; but becomes creative. Therefore "the creative potential of black South Africans will be measured against their action potential."

The author is deeply concerned with the experience of being black in a white dominated society. "The distance between blacks and whites is real. There is a black mood of being in-the-world. The relation between blacks and whites, though inescapable, is of a categorial nature; it is in the nature of stereotyping ("us" and "them"). Since these conclusions are true, dialogue between these two groups will remain superficial for a long time. This is understandable because there will always be two frames of reference (two existential experiences) with regard to any important issue which arises."

The book probes against the false assesment of the forces which condition the outlook of those who hold suspicions against Black Consciousness. The author gives Black Consciousness a socio-hist-

orical validity. He points out the impending doom of the West. "Now in the '70s Africa is going through its Renaissance - its own contribution to world humanism. This development is of the utmost importance since it is becoming increasingly clear that Western civilisation has gone into a veritable crisis. The civilisations of the West are now approximating the cancerous decline stage of the Roman Empire."

There is clear understanding by the author of the symbols, pseudo-philosophical arguments, political gestures through which the racist white society sustains itself. Dr. Manganyi separates myth from reality. The essay on "African Time" could easily be developed into a book.

The book does have its flaw though. Dr. Manganyi does not succeed in bringing to us the cut difference between Negritude and Black Consciousness. Indeed very few writers and Black thinkers have managed to put Black Consciousness into its own socio-historic context, as differentiated from Negritude. Since this would help us have insight into the levels of Negritude and into how some protagonists of Negritude have become apologists of the West.

This book should be read by everyone concerned with the future directives of Black Consciousness and the very much desired consistency in national consciousness.

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MAFIKA P. GWALA

## THE PARK AND OTHER STORIES

By James Matthews

Published by B L A C Publishing House, Athlone 1974.

Obtainable at R1,00 per copy.

The stories in this collection have a basic character. They are a depiction of the simple lives of Blacks. Blacks are made faceless by the social system whose pressure they cannot escape, but can only fight.

A young man is drugged by the soothing music of his portable radio. Someone is confronted by cops who suspect he is carrying banned literature. Until this victim of cop suspicion is forced to bring back to his mind what he once read from a book: that "The law is an ass!" This is just another incident in the life of a black man in South Africa.

In one short story, "Baby, That's The Way It Is!" two young men are arrested for public indecency. In their police cell-group a youth is arrested for arguing with a police man in defence of Black children selling fruit on a pavement.

Protest is closed to the South African Black. Because this young man's argument lands him behind bars. It is this embittered young man who urges one of those arrested - Jonas, a local "rough", to shout out, "Der law is shit!" All the stories have a painfully human touch. The characters are the same people we meet everyday

in the street. The same people we live with in our ghettos. If there are characters with colour pride, it is because of the self-same fallacy that makes some of us believe we are better off separated on ethnic lines. A fallacy negated by the reality portrayed in these stories. The reality that we see. In "Tribute to a Humble Man" an old man says of the late Imam Haron, "Yes, I knew Imam Haron while he was staying in Claremont. I'm not a Muslim but then Imam had a lot of friends who were not of his religion."

Whatever led to the detention of the Imam must have surely come from the State's fear of his influence in the Black Community. There are many Blacks who have been decreed to silence for their leadership qualities or humane understanding of their fellow Blacks. "Azikwelwa" is an old James Matthews story (like The Portable Radio and Park) that carries back nostalgia to those who experienced the mass rallies of the Anti-Pass Campaigns and the Bus Boycotts.

Prose can be said to be a more concrete form of expression than poetry. The prose writer has more to say in his stories. He must be prepared to face up to the task of saying the truth just like it is. For this, there is more need for artistic discipline in prose writing than in verse. It is this artistic discipline that we wish the Black writers should be prepared to adopt with more determination. To take up from where Richard Rive, Can Themba and others left off. James Matthews gives the cue.

MAFIKA P. GWAŁA.

## WHERE DO THE BLACKS FEATURE IN THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

With the rising inflationary tendencies sweeping through the Western World (Capitalist monetary system), it is also highest time the Black student asked himself what position our Black people hold in the economy of this repressive society.

It is already a widely accepted truth that it is the Blacks who carry the economy of this country on their shoulders. Further it is common truth that the super highways, the recreation parks, the high budget for National Defence (defence against what?) the skyscrapers - all these come from "undistributed wages" rightfully having to go to Blacks. Because it is Blacks, through their massive and predominant input into the gross National Product (G.N.P.) who carry the whole burden; a burden created by the white superstructure.

Let us look into these facts:

(1) Blacks pay more taxes than the whites through an indirect manner that is not proportionate to earnings. Look into our education, hut-tax, poll-tax. Yet we are subjected to the same customs and excise taxation as the whites for cigarettes, clothes, food, etc. But whites still earn more than they ought to be getting;

(2) transport costs in the Black community are exploitative;

(3) food prices in Black areas are far higher than in the sub-urban super markets and cash-and-carry shops;

(4) the system of Hire Purchase is crippling the budget and bargaining power of the average Black;

(5) unemployment has soared amongst Blacks. The economic failings lie with the white dominant sector. Which is even worse we Blacks today suffer from non-employment, as an oppressed Community. That is we have been made subject to a deliberated unemployment at a rate being constantly kept by the so-called labour market;

(6) the wage gap has widened instead of narrowing, in terms of cash increases between Blacks and Whites;

(7) there has been an intensification of labour restrictions and pass laws instead of their relaxation; despite promises made by those that decide where we should work and live.

♦ ♦ ♦

## **"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."**
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