

# SASO

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# CONFERENCE ISSUE



- \* BLACK CONFERENCES
- \* IDI AMIN
- \* ALL AFRICA CONFERENCE

- \* BANTUSTANS
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# editorial

This year's "Conference Issue" comes after a long delay as a result of financial problems and genuine perplexity as to which topic is of greatest priority in the Black Community.

The expulsion of Temba Sono; the Idi Amin affair; Bantustans; police harrasement; the many Black Conferences and a host of important issues presented themselves and the problem was sorting out the best ones until it was decided "to try and squeeze everything into the newsletter".

Perhaps the Black conferences and Idi Amin need special mention from the editor's desk. It is becoming abundantly clear that Blacks are beginning to organise themselves and are seeing the value of commitment to liberation as a supreme pre-requisite before any effective action can be embarked upon.

Black Social workers are beginning to realise that they are not agents of "hand-out" clubs and black ministers see themselves not as fire and brimstone, heaven and hell preachers but as dedicated men serving the people in their search for liberation and truth.

The Black youth and the blackman generally have come to a common understanding of the problem that faces us. When a black student at a conference stands up to call for the expulsion of the white press and a black bus conductor at a protest meeting in Chatsworth calls for the expulsion of a whiteman from their meeting then there must be some common platform for the students and the black community to operate from. And that platform is solidarity. Solidarity is not just the racial mixing of black groups—African, Indian and Coloured—it is the operation of all peoples who have the same suffering, the same principles and the same solutions to a common problem—Racism. The believers of Black Consciousness are not racists it is the Rajabs—who prevent "BANTU" from entering their cinemas—it is the Amins—who expel "ASIANS" from a country who are the real Black racists and are as guilty as the whiteman in South Africa.

Perhaps the follies of the Rajabs and the Amins are a lesson to all Black people that we must begin to communicate such more intimately with each other. The lack of understanding and the wedge of suspicion that exists in the Black community must be broken down now. It is imperative for the future well being and harmonious co-existence of Black people that we define the attitudes, the differences and the common areas of involvement so that we see ourselves first as Black people fighting a common enemy and then look to the superficial differences only insofar as they benefit the greater community for the greater good of the entire human race.



# BLACK CONFERENCES: 1972

The editorial in last year's "Conference Issue" of the SASO Newsletter predicted a growing move towards the acceptance of the philosophy of Black Consciousness. At various conferences of Black organisations, this year there was a positive statement and move towards this vibrant awakening of the black community.

It goes without saying that SASO at its conference forged further ahead in defining, extending and enunciating its philosophy and programmes with much more insight and clarity.

What is most surprising is the whole ideology of Black Consciousness has to a large extent influenced and opened the eyes of many black organisations. What was previously referred to as the "South African Bantu Social Workers' Association" moved unanimously to change the name to the "South African Black Social Workers' Association". In the motivation to change the name the delegates made it clear that in their definition of Black they meant all those people who are socially, economically and politically discriminated against either by tradition or by law in South Africa.

Mr. Bennie A. Khoapa, director of Black Community Programmes, who spoke at the conference on "The role of the Social Worker in the Black Community" laid the ground for much of what followed in the search for new direction in the Social Workers' commitment to the Black Community.

At the inaugural conference of the Black Peoples' Convention the draft constitution was unanimously adopted. The constitution states quite clearly its commitment to Black Consciousness, Black Solidarity and Black Communalism. This new phase in the development of directions for the Black Community proves quite adequately that Black people have stirred from their long sleep, to the sound of the consciousness clarion-call.

The formation of the South African Black Theatre Union (SABTU) has filled a long overdue chasm in the world of theatrical arts for Black people. The affiliation of individual "predominantly" Black theatre companies to a mother body like SABTU can only augur well for the future of Black Theatre in South Africa. This field of activity in the Black world can play an important role in the spread of Black Consciousness and Black Solidarity

in the entire South African spectrum. For too long now has there been a condescending involvement of whites in the direction and the decision-making insofar as Black Theatre is concerned.

The inter-denominational African Minister's Association of Southern Africa (IDAMASA) held its annual conference from the 22nd – 25th September, at Umtata. The most refreshing news that comes from IDAMASA is the definite trend she has taken to examine the relevance of theology in the Blackman's experience in South Africa. There was a serious re-examination of the role of the Black minister in South Africa and, in fact, IDAMASA's role in the development of the Black Community. From the Director's report presented to the 1972 Conference it is quite clear that IDAMASA is involved in developing a sense of self-reliance through practical community projects throughout the country.

At its recent congress the youth wing of the Labour Party clearly indicated their support for the growing Black philosophy. Their decision to open their ranks to all Black Youth and their willingness to hear and understand what Black Consciousness is all about must surely be applauded. Perhaps, the youth wing may trigger off and open the eyes of the older diehards of the Labour Party to redefine their platform method and area of operation as a political force.

The directions of all these Black organisations are obvious. The constituencies of these organisations are visible. The effect of the movement towards blackness must of necessity stir the constituency. Now is the time to consolidate and co-ordinate the efforts of all these organisations so that there will flow a harmonious co-existence and a cohesive solidarity. When Black organisations begin to operate from a similar premise – i.e. black emancipation – then it is important to forge links. Perhaps Bennie A. Khoapa in his "The New Black" sums up this beautifully, "A philosophy of Liberation requires unity. Black Unity in turn requires black organisation. We need more, not fewer, black organisations, we need black-oriented or black-based youth camps, centres, colleges, welfare organisations etc." (Black Viewpoint; editor B.S. Biko; Publisher Black Community Programmes; B.A. Khoapa: The New Black; page 67).



# News in Brief

## SASO AND INTIMIDATION

For sometime now the white government has been intimidating and harrasing black students who are SASO members at various campuses. The campaign came to a head when security police in the Western Cape area began taking in most of the SASO members of the Western Cape branch for questioning. A press release was issued by the executive of SASO condemning the actions of the Security Branch, pledging support for our brothers and sisters in the Western Cape and challenging the White Government "to lay their hands off our members or ban us".

With the presence of our President, Jerry Modisane, on the University of Western Cape campus police attempted to arrest Jerry for "trespassing". Students at Western Cape openly protected Jerry from the police who only managed to arrest Jerry when he was leaving for the Eastern Cape. Arrested at the Bellville station, Jerry was then charged for "trespassing" and was allowed to pay an "admission of guilt" of R50-00. Black brothers and sisters at Western Cape quickly mustered together their forces and paid in the fine, thus allowing Jerry to continue his presidential tour.

Following Jerry's departure from the Western Cape agents of the White government moved in and began picking up SASO members. Henry Isaacs, the SASO vice-president, was picked up together with 14 other SASO members and interrogated at great length. These agents have issued blatant threats to our members and open accusations all levelled at intimidating and frightening us from our resolve.

At the University of Durban-Westville authorities have officially "banned" SASO from the campus. In its press release SASO said, "The determination of the authorities at Durban-Westville and Western Cape is an attempt to break solidarity within the Black ranks. The manifestations of unity and brotherhood initiated by the black students appears too ominous for them to ignore. Yet SASO has proved that black people are one, and all our efforts at liberation must radiate from the fact of our oppression".

Ranwedzi Nengwekhulu, Permanent Organiser for SASO, was "picked up" by police accompanied by a "security branch" officer – who came to identify him – for being a "lazy and indolent bantu". Despite the fact that Ranwedzi was employed and was operating from an office the police found it necessary to arrest him. Yet the presence of security police was rather strange and Ranwedzi was subjected to interrogation by

the security police. Subsequently the charge against Ranwedzi for being in Johannesburg area "illegally" was withdrawn.

## REFUSAL OF PASSPORTS:

During May of this year both Nyameko Pityana, Secretary-General of SASO, and Strini Moodley, immediate past Publications Director were invited by the United States Information Service to tour the United States as part of the Department of State's Educational Travel Programme from June 28 through August 12, 1972.

Nyameko was nominated the principal candidate and Strini as an alternate. Under the grant Nyameko or Strini were to have joined "a group of four to five other young people in the United States who will follow a pre-planned itinerary" said the invitation letter from the Embassy of the United States of America. The other people that they would have travelled with would include black students from other parts of Africa. The theme of the study group would be the American Economic System.

The grant included all domestic and international travel expenses as well as personal incidental expenses while they were on tour.

Promptly both Nyameko and Strini applied for their passports. Nyameko was refused a passport altogether while Strini is still waiting as "Pretoria has not yet given word to the passport offices in Durban".

What is most surprising is that both Nyameko and Strini were to have been guests of the American government and if the white government here refuses to allow either of our brothers to go as guests to the United States then it is plainly an insult to the United States government – tantamount to a slap in the face. One would have expected the United States government to react sharply to the insult but as yet no word has come from the United States as to how she would react. Her apparent silence in the matter leads one to suspect that she was not really keen to have either Nyameko or Strini go to America and only invited them so as to maintain a semblance of credibility with SASO.

Rubin Phillip, immediate past Vice-President, also applied for a passport so that he could attend the All-Africa students conference in Kumasi, Ghana but to date Rubin has had no word from the passport offices.



In the meantime, Strini has received another invitation from the California State University's Department of Anthropology. The department's Committee on Current Issues of the African Studies Association (A.S.A.) is holding a special panel on Organisational Initiatives at the next annual meeting of the African Studies Association and Strini has been invited to sit on the panel.

In a letter from Dr. Maxwell Owusu, Associate Professor at California State University, Strini has been asked to be in Philadelphia from November 8-11, 1972 to "answer questions about organisational activities and meet interested members of the ASA".

Strini has already written to accept the invitation but has stressed in his letter the problem that the white government present in the form of passport refusals. "The white government of this country seems to be bent on muffling our voices on the international scene", is the comment in his letter to Dr. Owusu.

That the government will refuse Strini a passport will not come as a shock but merely prove that the truth we speak is something this government is absolutely terrified of, so much so that they find it necessary to block us from going out and relevant people whom we invite from coming in.

## **TOWARDS BLACK EDUCATION**

The SASO National Formation School is scheduled for the 4th to 8th December, 1972. The theme that has been chosen for this formation school is:

### **"Towards Black Education".**

With the recent student unrest at the various Black campuses it becomes necessary to focus attention on the meaning, the direction and the functions of Black Education.

It is apparent that the education for Black people as is presently meted out does not suffice and merely serves to entrench the policies of racist South Africa.

Black students throughout the country came out strongly against the entire structure and because of their studenthood laid emphasis on education. The results of the strikes, protests and walk-outs has left the student much more aware and very dissatisfied. SASO saw the need to initiate a structure that would at least give the student some leeway for expression and the opportunity to examine without any prejudice the subjects of his choice. Thus the idea of the "FREE UNIVERSITY" was born.

The FREE UNIVERSITY SCHEME it is hoped will lay the basis for a truly BLACK University. The Formation School in December will need to

examine the curricula and syllabus of the Free University. Subjects like African Studies, Oriental Studies, History, Literature and Drama will be looked into so that the present focus on these subjects can be re-directed to meet the needs of a developing community.

But the whole structural rottenness of Education for Blacks does not begin in the University and thus it becomes necessary to delve into the primary and secondary education for Blacks so that Black children can be given the opportunity to look afresh at the definition of themselves and their environment. It is at this level that our children are taught to see the whitemen as superior and to in fact accept our "slave roles" in the racist society. The role of the teacher at this level is of prime importance and the formation school will investigate in great detail the whole area of primary and secondary education.

The venue for the Formation School will be the Edendale Lay Ecumenical Centre, Edendale, Pietermaritzburg. Participants in the formation School are expected to arrive at the Centre on the evening of the 3rd December which is a Sunday. The Formation School is open to all those who are interested and will not be restricted to SASO members only.

It is hoped that in-put papers will be delivered by leading black Educationalists in the country. A detailed agenda of intended proceedings at the Formation School will be circulated as soon as affirmative replies have been received from the various speakers.

## **SABTU – PLANNING CONFERENCE AND FESTIVAL**

The South African Black Theatre Union (SABTU) was born at a National theatre convention held in conjunction with the TECON festival, during July of this year. Representing some twelve theatre groups from various parts of the country SABTU will endeavour to act as a trade union and co-ordinating body so that the theatrical efforts of Black people can become much more organised and purposeful.

To this end SABTU is preparing for a planning conference and festival in December. At a recent executive meeting of SABTU plans were launched to encourage as many theatre groups to join SABTU so that the festival and Planning Conference will come off successfully. The venue for the festival and Planning Conference, it is hoped, will be Cape Town but this has not been confirmed as yet.

It is hoped that the planning Conference will lay out detailed plans for activity of affiliated theatre groups and investigate possibilities of touring on a nation-wide scale for all theatre groups, for the year 1973.



## PAC AND POQO ACCUSATIONS

The retiring Secretary to the Chief Minister of the Transkei in the Department of Finance, Mr. J.H.T. Mills in a speech reported in the Rand Daily Mail, the Daily Dispatch and over SABC made some ugly reference to the “youthful and immature protagonists” of Black Consciousness.

In a speech he gave at his farewell function he is reported to have said that the “youthful and immature protagonists of Black Consciousness” were merely PAC and POQO rearing its ugly head.

The imputations of this statement as far as SASO is concerned are obvious. SASO regards the statement as being highly defamatory as she is a youthful protagonist of Black Consciousness and the references to banned organisations like PAC and POQO is openly geared at placing SASO in an extremely precarious situation.

SASO is clear that she will not rest until this kind of vitriolic attack stops and she has instructed her legal advisers to investigate the matter.

## SASO SKIPPER BANNED:

The popular SASO skipper with the clenched Black fist and SASO written under it has been banned by the Board of Censors. What prompted this action is far from being either logical or intelligent but it is not surprising, when one takes into account the “grasshopper” mentality that is so prevalent in this department.

The Publications Department of SASO is considering the action taken by the Board of Censors and it is anticipated that legal advice will be sought in the matter.

Looked at in conjunction with the intimidation of SASO members by Security Police, refusal of passports and the blatant accusation by J.H.T. Mills it becomes apparent that there is a concerted effort on the part of the white government to intimidate blacks and to give SASO a bad name and thereby discourage black people from involving themselves with SASO.

The whole intimidation campaign being conducted by white South Africa comes at a time when SASO and the Black Consciousness movement is sweeping the country. All attempts to kill the movement cannot succeed with any degree of success. Black people are coming out of their trance and the philosophy of BLACKNESS cannot be intimidated.

## CHATSWORTH BUS DISPUTE:

Sunday 24th September, 1972 at the Chatsworth Bus Protest meeting must go down as a statement that echoes the hurt, anger and frustrations of 19 million Black people in South Africa.

At a mass protest meeting called by the Chatsworth Bus Protesters Action Committee Black people voiced their disgust at the back-peddling and begging tactics that were being adopted by the Action Committee Members. Made up of members of the SAIC, LAC and NIC the Action Committee clearly displayed its determination to frustrate the will of the people.

Amid chants of “We want buses” and “We want walk” the Action Committee attempted to get people to agree to both the “trains” and “buses”. But the people of Chatsworth were adamant that they wanted buses and would walk to work rather than travel by train.

The presence of whitemen like Arthur Grobbelaar sent people in Chatsworth into a rage as they felt that their dignity was being affronted. “Why bring a whiteman from Johannesburg to tell us what to do?” “We know what we must do”. “The whiteman, is the problem”. These were some of the comments from disgusted commuters.

A strong demand from the people called for the removal of A.M. Rajab and J.N. Reddy – both members of the South African Indian Council.

The meeting which intended to have six speakers was forced to abandon four of the speakers, and Mr. Grobbelaar had to discontinue his speech in the face of overwhelming opposition to him speaking. The only speaker who managed to say anything was Dr. Jerry Coovadia – and even his words were drowned by the angry chanting which came in bursts from various parts of the crowd.

Because of the chairman’s arrogance in his attitude towards the people, the break down of the public address System, and the threatening rain the meeting was stopped.

That there were “mischief-makers” at the meeting is wholly untrue. One thing is certain – there were angry and impatient people who have a right to be angry because they are the affected ones. Members of the NIC, SAIC and LAC should refrain from imposing their unwanted will on the people. And if they consider themselves “leaders” then they must prove that they do have leadership qualities by doing what is right; what is positive; and that which would be of benefit to the people – compromising to reach solutions is not what Black people want. Black people are well aware of the sickness of white society and they are fed up with tactics of “wait and see”. They want to demand; they want to stand up and be counted as having committed themselves to positive action.

A motion that was drawn up by the residents of Chatsworth was prevented from being tabled. The motion read as follows:



**“That we, the residents of Chatsworth, condemn in the strongest possible terms the Bus Banning and demand that our bus service be restored fully and that our rights be not removed further, and we call on the Bus Owners’ Association to provide alternate and free modes of transport for the residents of Chatsworth if the bus permits are not renewed after the extension date of the 31st October”.**

It is obvious that the motivation behind this motion was geared at collective, effective action on the part of the residents and the bus owners to render the train services ineffective in the event of the Bus Owners’ appeal failing. If the Action Committee, the Bus Owners’ and the residents of Chatsworth unite to oppose the bus ban and look at the possibilities of the suggestion above then there is every chance of the Black people gaining a major Victory in the fight against white racism.

### **BLACK COMMUNITY PROGRAMMES: ACADEMIC SEMINAR**

On the 9th and 10th December, 1972 the Black Community Programmes of SPROCAS will hold an Academic Seminar at the Edendale Lay Ecumenical Centre, Edendale, Pietermaritzburg.

The Academic Seminar is geared at investigating with greater perspective and much more insight, from the Blackman’s viewpoint, many areas of the Black experience that have thus far not been looked into by Black people in this country. The stress is on Black people in South Africa and the topics cover “Black Politics”, “Education and Culture”, “The Blackman and Economic Development”, “The Blackman in South Africa’s History” and “Theology and the Blackman”.

It is the intention of Black Community Programmes to publish the papers delivered at this seminar in the form of a book one or two months after the seminar.

Rev. S. Gqubule will deal with “Theology and the Blackman”. Rev. Gqubule is a well-known theologian and educationist who has contributed to this newsletter in the past. “The Blackman in South Africa’s history” will be handled by Mr. L. Makalima. Mr. Makalima is a history teacher at the Lovedale High School in Alice.

The paper on “Education and Culture of the Blackman in South Africa” will be read by Mr. W. Zondo who is head of the Management Committee of the YMCA and is also a Social Science graduate. Perhaps, the paper on “The Blackman and Economic Development in South Africa” will present some interesting viewpoint as it is one area that has not been examined in S. Africa. This paper will be read by M. Mphahlele who is an “Accounts Executive” for a large advertising agency and is a

Social Science graduate from the University of Cape Town. Mr. C.M.C. Ndamse, who was formerly Minister of Education for Chief Matanzima’s Transkei Territorial Authority will deliver the paper on “Black Politics – from 1910 to 1970”.

Black people interested in attending the Academic Seminar should get in touch with Mr. Bennie A. Khoapa, Black Community Programmes, 86 Beatrice Street, Durban, or phone 67558.

### **STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE COUNCIL AND STAFF OF THE FEDERAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, ALICE, C.P.**

We, the Council and Staff of the Federal Theological Seminary, are gravely disturbed by the request of the University of Fort Hare to purchase our land and buildings, in view of the fact that universities have the legal right to expropriate land required for development. We are convinced, after thorough investigation that the request is both unreasonable and unjustified.

We welcome the growth of Fort Hare, and recognise that the position of the Seminary on the boundary of the Fort Hare campus makes it a convenient direction for the expansion of the University. But there are other facts to be taken into consideration.

The Seminary is not the only direction in which expansion might take place. Fort Hare already possesses considerable land. The present campus is approximately 180 ha and (Honeydale Farm which Fort Hare already owns) about 582 ha. We believe that the University is also negotiating for the purchase of about 184 ha from the Bantu Presbyterian Church and 158 ha of Lovedale Mission land. This totals nearly 1104 ha (about 1289 morgen of 2729 acres), and would make Fort Hare adjacent to Bantu Trust territory, some of which could surely be made available. In the light of these facts the 94 ha of the Seminary is not a very significant amount. Moreover, the cost of purchasing the developed Seminary land and buildings would absorb a great deal of money which we believe could be better spent. For example, it might go towards the establishment of a university branch in the Transkei, which has already been asked for in official quarters.

Against the convenience to Fort Hare of taking over the Federal Seminary must be set the considerable damage to the Seminary itself and the Churches which it serves. It is less than ten years since the Seminary opened its doors. Before this its Colleges suffered a number of removals caused in each case by government legislation, and were involved in a long search for a suitable site. The present site was selected and its development undertaken only after assurance of security of tenure had been received from the Secretary of Bantu Administration and Development in the



presence of the Ministers of Bantu Administration and Development and of Bantu Education. Further removal at this stage would involve not only the abandonment of buildings and grounds developed with care over a decade, but also the disruption of a community which, for all its short-comings, has great value for Church and people in South Africa. It would destroy what confidence there may be in the worth of government assurances, and would thus do further harm to the Church-State relationship in this country.

It should not be forgotten that the land on which the Seminary is built was given by the Church of Scotland, and forms part of the area granted by the Xhosa Chief Tyhali, son of Ngqika, and in 1885 was set aside for the work of the Christian Church. With the ending of the missionary era at Lovedale Training College, it is more than ever appropriate that a small portion of Tyhali's gift should continue to be used for this purpose.

The Fort Hare authorities have stated that they are only interested in purchasing the total area of land specified in the third paragraph. They have provided no adequate explanation why the small portion owned by the Seminary is considered essential. In the absence of such an explanation we may be excused for suspecting that other factors than the need for expansion have influenced the decision. Is it, in fact, the case that the Seminary must be moved because its non-racial community is an embarrassment to our neighbour?

We acknowledge that there have been misunderstandings between Fort Hare and the Federal Seminary. This should not obscure the advantages

of our being next to one another. Throughout the world theological seminaries are being placed close to universities. We at this Seminary have enjoyed contact with an ecumenical community. It is of great importance that future clergy should be in touch with the young intellectuals who are the leaders of tomorrow, and equally that these leaders should develop their thinking in association with future Christian ministers. The loss of such mutual benefits must be set against the material convenience of taking over a neighbouring piece of land.

The Fort Hare authorities have claimed that the purchase would be in the interests of the Xhosa people. The expansion of university facilities would certainly be in their interests, but this is not the same thing as the removal of the Seminary. The Federal Seminary serves the interests of the whole South African people: Xhosa, Zulu, Tswana, Sotho, Tsonga, Venda, Pedi, Coloured and Indian are among its students, and most of the participating Churches also have white members. We believe that the training of the Christian ministry is of paramount importance to this country and that unnecessary interference with it should be avoided.

We are not convinced that Fort Hare needs to purchase the Federal Seminary. We profoundly regret that the request to purchase was ever made, and we deplore the veiled hints that "other means" are available should a negotiated settlement prove impossible. These are already leading to unnecessary tension and resentment. Abandonment of the request would be to the ultimate benefit of all concerned.

## focus



### UGANDIAN ASIANS AND THE LESSON FOR US

The problems currently faced by the so called "Ugandian Asians" have caused the entire world to issue out statements of condemnation against Idi Amin and his government. In the moment of heat, the complexity of the situation has been lost to political observers and above all the important lesson for Indian people in Africa is not being sufficiently stressed.

There is reason to believe that Amin is far from being the only guilty party in this whole fiasco. In fact the two other parties involved, namely Asians themselves and Britain, are even guiltier. It is because of his antics and blatant stupidity that Amin has clouded the issue and made himself the scape goat in a situation so basic to proper race relations in Africa. Perhaps a brief glance at history will illustrate just why the Asian population in Uganda

got alienated from the native population.

There were in Uganda, prior to the present expulsion about 80,000 Asians, out of a total population of 9½ million. The main Asian immigration into Uganda came about towards the end of the last century as a result of the British colonial administration policy which attracted indentured labour to assist in the building of the Uganda-Kenya railway. Accompanying this main group were a number of "passenger Indians" of the middle cast merchant class, mainly of the Gujerat stock. This lot came for business purposes and quickly established a network of trading stores throughout Uganda and along the railway.

As the colonial secretariat expanded in Uganda, a number of Asians were employed in the lower strata, working directly under the white colonialists



and in a lot of ways indentifying themselves with the colonialists.

The Asians had skills and education which the Africans did not have. Moreover the Asians were wealthy enough to send their children for studies abroad and these on return swelled the ranks of the professional personnel in Uganda. As time went on, the "contribution" to, or control by the Asian group of trade, professions and civil service was completely out of proportion to their members. Then also the Asians refused to see themselves as part of the soil of Africa. Although they tried hard, they could not really filter through into the upper echelons in Uganda which at the time were a monopoly of the white colonialists. In a sense, therefore, the Asians became middle men who continually saw themselves as a minority and by their practice of exploitation of the Africans through money-lending at inflated interest rates, through the practice of bargaining, through the absence of price controls, they contributed to the growth of animosity between themselves and the Africans who saw them as a hostile exploitative minority.

When independence came in 1962, the Asians were given a choice of citizenship through provisions in the Uganda Constitution. Most of them preferred to retain British citizenship as against Ugandan citizenship. Hence, as the Africanisation process stepped up, Ugandans replaced foreigners in most fields and trading licences were preferably given to citizens of Uganda. It was at this point that the Asians started feeling robbed.

The threat to rid Uganda of the exploitative non-citizenship ranks which had been in control of trade and industry in Uganda came as far back as 1970 when President Obote announced in his opening address to the Uganda Parliament that all U.K. passport holders would have to leave Uganda. The issue was further picked up by General Idi Amin in January this year.

To the average Ugandan, the Asian departure will present no loss. This is sad to say about a group of people being unfairly treated. A number of people in Uganda including the powerful student group in Makerere University have condemned the action of Idi Amin and called upon him to come and address them on the question. On that day he referred to the Asians as leeches upon the Ugandan economy. In a sense in Africa too the reaction has been sharp as shown by Tanzania and Uganda. But what prompts this reaction in these quarters is more the deliberate cruelty and immaturity with which the whole question has been handled. No one wants to question the basic existence of the animosity between the two groups and the fact that there is reason for this.

In terms of the overall international world, what has further compounded the whole issue has been the hue and cry raised by Britain about what they call "Ugandan Asians" who are in fact British citizens. With the kind of racists overtones implicit in the British immigration policy, the Heath government together with its so called opposition just could not face the prospect of admitting into Britain 40,000 brown skinned British citizens. It was therefore imperative to try and paint Amin and Uganda as the real culprits in the whole thing so that if Britain does in fact have to take her responsibility of housing her own citizens she would appear as the benevolent helper of a destitute homeless Asian population.

This of course is nonsense taken with the background that Britain has played in the colonisation of Africa; where Britain has been active in setting one dark race against another so as to create a powerful buffer zone between herself and the local African races; where Britain has for years enjoyed the fruits of exploitation of Africans by Indians who were banking and investing all their monies in British business; where Britain was happy to plant their citizens throughout Africa so as to create an easily accessible market for her products and also control industry and commerce in the former colonies through major well guarded investment in these countries. Now that the Asians have served their purpose Britain has no use for them and is trying very hard to "get the Ugandan Asians absorbed by friendly countries". When we view the hesitation by Britain to take in her Black citizens against the fact that since the 1971 Immigration Act was passed, a potential 10 million white immigrants from the Commonwealth countries are permitted to enter under the "patrial" clause, then we begin to see that colour plays an important role in validating or invalidating one's British citizenship. Britain is echoing what most English people throughout the world are saying that "there shall always be an England" except that they forget to add, "only for whites".

It must of course be pointed out that in spite of all this, nobody sanctions Amin's actions. In a world where Black people are moving fast into a formidable alliance to protect their interests, Amin's actions have cast an unfortunate shadow across Africa. The British Asians in Uganda may have renounced their claim to normal Black brotherhood through their exploitative actions; they may even have tainted the image of the 30,000 remaining Ugandan citizens but this still does not give Amin any moral grounds to treat Ugandan citizens as if they have no equal right to belong to Uganda.

The lesson for us is a complex one. White South Africa as usual, is busy laughing at Amin's antics and seeing him as a crazed being. In the process they







Of course, heroes are not SASO's short or long-term priorities. At the same time one may readily add the meekness of "cold feet" are not characteristic either. Nor, is there conclusive evidence that radical hot-heads have gained control. To militate against oppression and agitate for total liberation does not necessarily mean violent confrontation. All what SASO is doing, to my mind is to create hard and fast psychological counter-responses.

It is interesting, though, to follow Sono's political trajectory. His sudden committal in defence of collaboration further reduces him to so base and shameful a level of even using escapist connotations such as "leftist", pragmatic and such like derisive phrases. Could this be a case of sour grapes? You can never be pragmatic when your wife becomes "legally", DISQUALIFIED to live with you. It is also incomprehensible to accept Temba Sono's premises when 20th century South Africa's Poverty datum-line continues to leap towards squalor; neither is it logical for any Black Person to reconcile his attitude towards a vicious status quo which encourages B.O.S.S., the S.B., its informers and all those privileged few to ride roughshod on the feelings of 18 million of their fellow-countrymen. Perhaps enlightenment is unnecessary but, surely, Sono is confusing Abstract Realisms with Political Escapism.

A cursory glance over SASO's POLICY MANIFESTO – refer Newsletter: August 1971 – with special reference to Clause 3, sub-clauses b-f, convinces me that SASO's direction is irrevocably towards consolidation and solidarity of all BLACK AND THEREFORE OPPRESSED South Africans. Temba Sono's inference is therefore a tongue-in-cheek echo of His Master's Voice. I have had the pleasure, too, of reading Adam Small's "Blackness vs Nihilism". Amongst others, this August article entirely refutes Sono's evaluation whereby he vainly implies that lively Self-Consciousness is unhealthy and therefore some form of dormant racial inferno. I believe that non-violent extremity, in defence or pursuit of Freedom, is not a vice because silence, in defence of privilege, is not virtue.

For too long have most of his type clung to the miserable and belated belief that the Nats' values, morality (political) and potential would eventually

solve the problem. Yes, a great many are being hoodwinked into the "politics of compromise" to the utter dismay and detriment of our otherwise cohesive might and action for an all-embracing change. SASO is, surely, matured enough to have noted with conscious concern the follies and dangers of the many present-day quasi-political groupings. They have realised that a good general does not allow his opponent to choose weapons with which he may be opposed. Accordingly, SASO is beginning to re-adjust! I think it is a prostitution of reason as well as of truth to state that you reject separation and yet still propagate the acceptance of and participation in race-motivated institutions. For the immediate past President of SASO to betray such an inner and narrow outlook (perhaps thought-provoking epithets of some intellectual profundity? God forbid!) is not only reprehensible; it borders on the brink of political insanity . . . . it is suicidal.

No, Mr. Sono, the shoe is on the other foot. It is you and your school of thought who must, of necessity, weigh, consider and openly welcome the importance of Black Solidarity. Change will come about only when we can bargain from a position of strength. Stop mixing your metaphors – it does not profit any man to gain "official popularity" whilst having chains around his neck. Let SASO do the spade work of rejecting and eliminating self-rejection which has permeated our conditional lives through Constitutional, Legal and Traditional prejudices.

Upon your return, there will still be broken homes, police harrassments, group areas act's heartbreaks, mass frustration and social dislocation through a host of almost 200 taboos in the Statute Book. For, never before has there been so much harm, so much heartlessness and so much horror being done unto so many by so few in so short a time. Alas, Mr. Sono even some of our genuine efforts to bridge racial gulfs have been met with pretentious "toenaderings". A compromise with this arrogant rule of the mule, this dynasty of the nazi obstinacy is something which any sane Black Person can do without.

Long Live SASO !

KEN. A. WILLIAMS  
Midway, Transvaal.



## From The President's Desk

### LEADERSHIP ON BLACK CAMPUSES:

The student protest had its achievements and set-backs. There is no point in belabouring the

achievements because these are easily discernible. There is reason, however, to analyse the prevailing circumstances because only in the thorough knowledge of these can we reconstruct, sustain what we



have and develop. This is the attitude that I adopted when I started my tour around the campuses.

A close look at the structure of our organisation reveals that the sum total of the national effort is entirely dependent upon the efficacy and organisation of the individual local committees. The recent national crisis and its aftermath demonstrated this fact vividly. Furthermore, the need for man-power and the extent and nature of our community development projects substantiate this. Moreover, the close of the protest ushered in another type of local organisation, viz, the city branch. Let me go on to relate these to my findings during the tour.

## CAMPUSES:

### **The S.R.C. Constitutional Instability:**

Quite a number of affiliated centres of our organisation has unstable S.R.C.'s. The reason for this rather depressing situation lies for the better part with the white administrations. However, it needs to be stated that the remaining part of the reason lies with the unawareness of the bulk of the student population for the necessity to be organised into a body corporate. This is shown by the shady voting at the polls.

Student Representative Councils on Black campuses never really had any amount of praiseworthy power. It is disconcerting indeed to discover that the various white administrations have, in some cases, minimised the meagre power, or are busy with the endeavour to do so. Nevertheless, they have succeeded to cripple our Student Representative Councils quite substantially so far. Quotable cases in this regard are the University of the North, Transvaal College of Education and probably the University of the Western Cape.

The in-thing with the white administrations seems to be the suspension or non-recognition of an S.R.C. and thus an automatic suspension or non-recognition of all sub-committees of such S.R.C., or an amendment to a draft constitution (where an S.R.C. is being formed) or an existing constitution to minimise the power of the S.R.C. These actions seem to take root from the fear for Black Consciousness by the white authorities.

What needs to be observed here is that the white administrations are likely to continue with this type of action. And here is envisioned a situation, where the majority of our Black Campuses are not going to have S.R.C.'s either because: students are not going to be forever content with a toothless S.R.C.; or an S.R.C. will be suspended and the proper local organisation delayed or muffled completely.

It will be remembered at this point, that the Council of S.R.C. Presidents was formed with the intention of buttressing the national organisation. The natural development of the present state of affairs is an obvious threat to the existence the Council of S.R.C. Presidents and consequently of SASO.

While the above is the case, there is yet another apparently threatening move by the white establishment. Before the Universities of the Western Cape and Durban Westville could affiliate centrally SASO was already banned by the rectors of these institutions. It seems that the grand idea is to debar Indians and Coloureds from SASO membership and perhaps "Bantustanise" the remaining African group so as to give material for propaganda to prove the "success" of separate development.

It does not really matter whether we have or do not have S.R.C.'s on our Campuses. What does matter is that we need to have effective local organisation. To ascertain this we need to have more leadership training seminars which will cater for training in the handling and raising of finances, matters administrative etc. Actually the Permanent Organiser is busy preparing to undertake such training sessions on all Black Campuses very soon. Students are expected to oblige.

No Black person is capable of being repelled by Black Consciousness. Where Black Consciousness has ostensibly not succeeded one discovers that it was a matter of personality clashes between the leaders, a disagreement with the manner of introducing Black Consciousness or the methodology of applying the basic tenets of Black Consciousness. It is evident, therefore, that all the Black campuses are latent wells of power which can be revived into powerpylons by affording these with proper leadership potential, sheer commitment of such leaders and ultimately there will be a positive response to the magnetism of Black Consciousness.

This part of the report would be incomplete unless I take time to congratulate the student body in general and in particular the student leadership of the Western Cape for the diligence and commitment they showed against terrifying odds of special branch intimidation, trials and tribulations from their administration and being able to defeat opposition from all other quarters. This equally holds for the students of the University of the North where all structured bodies have been suspended but the students managed to survive the greatest of difficulties without conventional leadership. I would like to encourage this student body. Remember victory is around the corner.



**T.C.E. U.D.W.**

To the students at the Transvaal College of Education and the University of Durban-Westville, I would like to say: It may be true that white authorities have the power to do what they please to Black students. It is, however, not possible for whites to suspend the Blackness from Black people. Blackness cannot be joined or associated with, like one joins a club or associates with a particular society. Blackness is the beingness that characterises oppressed people in this country. Thus one cannot be forced to resign from Blackness. This is the absurd and ridiculous task that the white power structure of tribal universities is engaged in. However, try as they may, they are bound to fail like they have to produce a 100% output in the industry of sub-human beings. Whether they suspend your S.R.C. or ban SASO on campuses, is immaterial for if you are a committed Black human being you always fight racists irrespective of the odds against you.

**CITY BRANCHES:**

As I said the close of the student protest ushered in another type of local organisation, viz the city branch. Students are here exploring uncharted oceans. Unlike a campus, the city is not a ready platform for expression of ideas. Moreover, unlike a campus, where students meet almost accidentally, or very easily, the city branch presents problems hitherto unheard of in student circles.

Instead of dealing with a university administration the city branch local executive finds itself dealing with advisory boards, UBC local authorities, municipalities etc. The red tape to get, for instance a hall for a symposium, is invariably overwhelming. The people in the ghetto are rather different from students on campuses. The highflown philosophical exposition of Black Consciousness has to be reduced to a down-to-earth medium often into vernacular.

It gave me pleasure to find the local city branches managing under quite trying circumstances. It will not be long before they master the situation completely. Some students who were either rusticated or walked off in protest are highly involved in conscientisation programmes. Needless to say quite a number still have to acclimatise themselves to being involved with the people's work in a city situation.

**ABOUT THE NAME AND PERSPECTIVE OF THE ALL AFRICAN STUDENTS UNION**

The All Africa Conference invited SASO to suggest a name, structure and objectives of an envisaged Continental Students' Organisation in Africa, which was, amongst others, an important item on the agenda of their conference this year.

The third G.S.C. unanimously accepted a motion doing the same and proposed the name: "Pan African Students' Union". An impression was subsequently created by arguments from white, non-white and even some Black circle that the term "Pan-African" has to be viewed with suspicion because it evokes memories of the Banned Pan-Africanist Congress. We are persuaded to believe that "Pan African" as a noun is the property solely and exclusively of the Pan Africanist Congress.

It has become necessary, therefore, for us to examine the relevance or irrelevance of Pan Africanism to our situation.

Simply stated the term means embracing the continent of Africa and may refer to language, culture, economics or politics.

In the political sense it signifies involvement in the continental struggle ("continent" of course referring to Africa) and the involvement of the continent in our struggle. In other words that the struggle of one part of Africa is the struggle of the whole continent and the struggle of the continent is the struggle of each and every part of the continent.

The succession of Pan Africanist Conference held at the initiative of E.W. Du Bois from the 1920's to 1945 attended by the leaders of the National Organisations in Africa as well as by African students studying abroad-prominent among them Kwame Nkrumah and Jome Kenyatta – were intended to plan the struggle against colonialism and foreign domination on the continent.

It was realized that colonialism and imperialism in Africa were continental in scope. Opposition to them too, had to be continental. It was realized that the tactics of the oppressor were to cut up the continent into tiny countries, shared out among the colonial powers so that the map of Africa looked like a multi-coloured quilt with French, English, German, Portuguese and Spanish "possessions". The tactics of the oppressed would have to be to preach the oneness of the colonialists and consequently the oneness of the struggle against them.

Thus Nkrumah was to remark at a later stage that "the freedom of Ghana is meaningless unless the whole continent is free". And Sekou Toure was to call in the independent states to unite and implement the vision of a United States of Africa because, he argued, in the same way as the colonialists had divided us to conquer us, they would continue so to divide us, setting one independent country against another, in order to perpetuate colonialism.

The goal of a United Africa is desirable not purely for sentimental desires. A United Africa is necessary for the security of the continent, as



Portuguese aggression against Guinea has so clearly demonstrated as well as the adventures of white mercenaries in Zaire. Only a United Africa can have enough resources to repulse all types of foreign aggression.

For economic reasons, particularly, a United Africa is necessary to avoid a waste of our resources by multiplication of uneconomical undertakings. For instance it has been stated that sufficient hydro-electric power can be generated in Zaire to supply the whole continent.

But because of our divisions each little country finds it necessary to have its own "independent" power supply, etc. whereas today Ghana depends almost exclusively in cocoa and Zambia in copper with the economy of each of these countries dependent on the world price for these commodities, in a United Africa, these countries would be but a part of the total products of the continent in a broadly-based economy.

Finally the people of Africa have a common geographical origin and a shared historical experience – the essential elements of nationalism. And the nationalism cannot be limited by artificial boundaries created by the oppressor such as the Limpopo and the Zambesi.

It is a fact of history that the nature and shape of the struggle of the oppressed is determined by their material conditions which conditions are defined and prescribed by the oppressor to a very large extent.

As the struggle continues and the political development of the people progresses the organisation of their struggle undergoes change. Thus in the tribal organisations such as "Imbumba yamanyama" in the Cape, for instance were replaced by national organisation within the geographical boundaries defined by the oppressor.

These national organisations in turn transcend the oppressor's confinary boundaries into a continental organisation. At the present moment we already speak of Black as going beyond even continental boundaries and embracing the whole world.

But the issues are unchanged and so are the contestants. The issues remain colonialism, imperialism and foreign domination. The contestants remain the white oppressor and the Black oppressed. There is no change – except in the theatre of battle.

### **GEN IDI AMIN AND BLACK SOLIDARITY IN SOUTH AFRICA**

A few months back Gen Idi Amin expelled some 50,000 Asians from Uganda. This action was bad and racialistic. Nobody disagrees. What is significant

to us, nevertheless, is that the enemies of the Black people immediately took this and converted it into a lethal weapon against Black Solidarity in South Africa. It was noted with no amazement that most of these enemies came from the oppressive white community.

The entire politico-economic history and present situation of Uganda was with no modification whatsoever, transplanted into the Black scene in South Africa. The white detractors, went on to predict, using this putrid transplantation as a base, that when the day of liberation comes, of the oppressed masses, the Indians in South Africa, will receive the same treatment as did the Asians in Uganda. This was a beautiful epitome of white naivete and we treated it with the contempt it deserved.

The contention, however, did not leave the Black Community unscathed. It is only for this reason that we feel it necessary to explain, to the Black Community, what we expect from Black Solidarity.

We observe that Coloureds, Indians and Africans are oppressed by the same system. Moreover, oppression to varying degrees is a design to stratify us not only socially but also in terms of aspirations. Thus it is expected that if the plan of the oppressors were to succeed they must buttress it with inter-group suspicion amongst the Black ranks. Black people therefore must kill this mutual suspicion. Further they must realise the need to rally around the cause of their liberation and, together oppose the definite oppression meted out against them as a group. This is Black Solidarity.

The fear that the majority group will reject the minority groups after liberation, therefore, is unfounded in the face of Black Solidarity. Actually it is only when facing the pungent smell of death together that the majority and the minority Black groups would be welded together in such, a strong bond that thought of rejecting each other would never occur when these would in some future time, be in luxury. However, it may not be removed from the bounds of human behaviour that should any one group find itself alone in the struggle for liberation, it will be unfair to blame such a group if it were to consider any other group to belong to the oppressor camp or accuse such opportunistic group of having been a spectator of the fight for liberation thus not deserving the fruits of freedom.

We are forced to conclude, therefore, that the best way of obviating the possibility of the above happening, is not for any one Black group to stand on the fence and watch or flirt with the oppressor and when it is convenient to join the other oppressed groups. Our answer, as commonly oppressed people, lies in Black Solidarity now.



# THE 3RD GENERAL STUDENTS' COUNCIL

## —AN ASSESSMENT

### BACK GROUND:

The mood for the 1972 Conference of SASO had been fired by a number of serious incidents that had taken place in the black students rank. The Black student protests, the numerous victimisations that followed, the walk-outs and the birth of the idea of the FREE UNIVERSITY, together with the expected appearance of Prof. Robert Williams, black brother from the United States to open the SASO conference brought close onto 200 delegates and observers from all over South Africa.

The theme of the conference "Creativity and Black Development" in itself promised much more practical application and meaningful direction for the organisation and the spread of Black Consciousness and Solidarity throughout the country. SASO could rightfully claim that she had sparked off a new wave of political discussion and thinking when for the first time in many years BLACK people had begun to look at themselves and their direction in a much more positive light. Besides gaining unprecedented respect in the country she had become a viable and authoritative reference point that could represent the black community at international levels.

From the 2nd-9th July, 1972 the eyes of not just BLACK South Africa but indeed the entire world was focused on Hammanskraal, the seat of the most important occasion in SASO's calendar. Debate and in-put from executive and delegates alike was expected to be high-powered and hard-hitting. The fact that Professor Robert C. Williams, a black lecturer in the "Religion Department of Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York" and key member of the Black Caucus of the Union Theological Seminary, New York, was expected, set a cracking pace to all that would follow and heightened the interest of South Africa, so much so that on the opening night more than a dozen press reporters from different newspapers were present.

### OPENING ADDRESS:

Unfortunately, the first blow to the Conference was the refusal by the white government of South Africa to allow Professor Robert C. Williams to come into our country.

With no opening speaker the Executive Committee called upon the then President Mr.

Tembaa Sono to deliver his presidential Address as the opening address. What the entire conference expected from the address was an unflinching, unapologetic address that would place SASO in perspective and give some insight into SASO's future, and her role in society.

In her three years of existence SASO had moved from strength to strength; she had progressed; she had stood firm. Now we had to move further forward; make further progress.

And the Presidential Address was expected to do this. The chief executive officer of SASO was the most likely candidate to give SASO the direction she so urgently needed. Urgently because of the turbulent year she had experienced. A million burning questions echoed in the minds and hearts of the 200 or more delegates and observers. The Free University, the relationship between student and worker, the impact of BLACK Consciousness, SASO's future on and off the campus, new methods of Conscientization, a complete new look at the BLACK student, the need for a BLACK press, on and on students were probing, wanting to know.

And then Mr. Temba Sono dropped the bombshell. Without any consultation with the executive committee he delivered a paper that left the council shocked, dismayed and angry. Mr. Sono, after the progress, the sacrifices, the boldness with which SASO attacked the problem of white racism and its various manifestations, began to back pedal—began to preach political expediency.

The carefully designed address which quoted Aime Cesaire and Elridge Cleaver at length and yet began to reject the whole concept of BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS: began to reject the SASO Constitution in fact, gave the whole lie to Mr. Sono's stand.

It became abundantly clear that the address was designed for a purpose; designed to sell Mr. Sono's lie as SASO's new stand. The press would avidly claim that SASO, and not Mr. Sono, had decided to "talk to our enemies", "Move away from the aloof attitude of regarding Bantustans and other separate development bodies in negative light".

Mr. Sono attempted to get SASO "to coalesce our efforts and coagulate our plans even with our detractors". These utterances were unbelievable



coming from the SASO president. At a time when we needed to continue our offensive and entrench our philosophy here was someone throwing the whole basis for our existence down the drain and what was more frightening was the fact the world was listening. The press gallery was avidly taking notes preparing to sound the new bell that SASO was ringing.

Mr. Sono went on to say that SASO must "seek out people who differ with us and we have to try to convert them to our way of thinking . . . . . This includes everybody – Black and white whether they are security police, liberals, non-whites, etc". This was the final nail in the coffin to Mr. Sono's deposition.

This apparent apologetic and "sell-out" stand by Sono smacked of unsavory and suspect standards. In the light of the circumstances under which these statements were made the Council was forced to dissociate itself from the sentiments of the President's opening address, and on the same evening a resolution was unanimously carried to this effect.

When the first session closed that evening there was an uneasy and tense atmosphere prevailing. Suspicion about the President's double stand left an ugly taste in the mouths of delegates and observers. The executive committee could not see itself functioning with a man who had made such dubious utterances especially in view of the fact that he was the chief executive officer of SASO. With the uneasiness and doubt that prevailed at the conference following the "President's address" another motion was put forward the following morning.

Moved by the Publications Director and seconded by the Secretary-General the motion took note of the "grave controversy" the address had created and the fact that the President's statements made him a "security risk" to the organisation and the Black community at large. The motion called upon the President to recuse himself from the chair after having made public that his address did not represent the views and aspirations of Council. But Council took the matter further and called upon the President to resign as President and member of the Executive Committee and that he leave the conference site forthwith. The motion carried unanimously.

### THE PROCEEDINGS:

With the departure of the president, the atmosphere became relaxed and the determination of Council made all efforts to complete the work she had set herself.

Because of the deposition of the President, the Council saw SASO in the thick of newspaper reports, comments and editorials. Much of the

newspaper coverage by the white press by and large misrepresented, misreported and degraded the proceedings of Council. It thus became necessary to issue a strong warning to the press to desist from such biased reporting or be evicted from the conference. Because of the Rand Daily Mail's haughty attitude in this respect she was barred from attending the proceedings.

Council then went on to entrench many of her policies and to extend SASO's horizon of activity. A "Black Workers' Council" would be set up and the Permanent Organiser and a Field Worker were given the task of investigating the effectiveness of such a Council and to call up a National workers' seminar within six months to formally establish the Black Workers' Council.

Council also viewed that education for Blacks as presently constituted militated against the creative development of our youth and saw the need for SASO to become more actively involved in the development of youth leadership and creativity. Council agreed that SASO should also establish intergroup activity so that there can be much more viable communication.

Again the issue of the press came up and the commission on publications engineered the resolution that called for an independent BLACK PRESS COMMISSION and a seminar on "The Role of the Black Press in South Africa". It was envisaged that the Commission would examine the possibilities of setting up an independent BLACK press that would serve the needs, goals and aspirations of the Black Community.

To extend and stabilize the field of Literacy work the whole administration was revised to include a Director of Literacy and field officers. The whole motivation was to make more meaningful SASO's involvement in this sphere of her Community Development Projects.

The commission on Education submitted a BLACK STUDENT'S MANIFESTO which succinctly laid true emphasis on the meaning of the Black student and the definition of BLACK Education as Black people should see it.

In the field of International Relations Council clearly enunciated its support for the founding of an All-Africa students' movement and resolved to send positive suggestions in this regard to the All-Africa Conference at Kumasi, Ghana. Contact with the student movements of Africa, Asia and Latin America was seen as a vital necessity in the establishment of links with the rest of the Black World.

As far as national relations were concerned SASO would adopt a much more severe towards sectional "leaders" and in fact called upon these so-called leaders to withdraw from the system "in







groups which is in fact the way for the Black Man.

It is well-known fact, when people are seeking to liberate themselves, that the enemy must be located and defined. The basic tenet of the Government policy in this country is white supremacy and white domination. This supremacy and domination make oppression and enslavement of the Black Man a reality. Therefore, by definition, white man, all white men become adversaries. However, it is true that some white individuals and organisations do make overtures to Black people regarding their problem and it is true that some Blacks are swayed by this attitude.

The Blacks who are misled by white liberals fail to realise that the amiability of a white emanates from some religious belief, social ethic or sheer human sympathy and never from total identification with the Black Cause. There are whites who have been in the Black struggle and they have been taken to be committed people. It is my contention that these whites were only interested in the removal of the present system of government so that they can implement the system they subscribe to as was the case, I think, with some members of the South African Communist Party.

This, once again becomes irrelevant to the Black Man's aspiration of shaping his own destiny. It becomes clear, therefore, that whites can be motivated by different ideals altogether other than those of the Black Man.

On the other hand there are views in this book that unshamedly violate the principle behind the argument above. These views are held by men who believe, in spite of the facts, that there is scope for "alleviating human suffering" within the policies structured by whites. This is what Gatsha Buthelezi believes in. He goes on to say that he has "great admiration for what American firms like Polaroid, I.B.M. and Pepsi Cola, and Banks like Barclays Bank and Standard Bank are doing in giving equal pay for equal work regardless of race".

Gatsha Buthelezi is, in fact, Chief of a "Black Labour Reservoir – the Kwa-Zulu Bantustan. This is perhaps why he feels obliged to commend the attempt at an equitable distribution of privileges in the labour centres mentioned above. Gatsha Buthelezi knows that Black People are handicapped by legal structures-job reservation, influx control etc. Gatsha Buthelezi knows that the whole labour system is based on deliberate colonialist exploitation that debilitates the Black Man's involvement in relevant issues and makes him slave to the meagre salary he receives. In fact, this is very brilliantly put by Njabulo Ndebele in his contribution to this book when he analyses "characteristics of an advanced capitalist economy". Njabulo defines involvement in a capitalist economical structure as "a barren conformity to an impersonal acquisitive norm". He further asserts that "an acquisitive society is also characterised by its purposelessness". Gatsha Buthelezi's support for foreign investment enhances his status in his career perhaps but it is highly irrelevant to the Black Man's struggle. It is in fact highly detrimental to the struggle.

Mr. Ndamse makes a very feeble, in fact confused attempt at defining "A New Day". He alludes at Black Consciousness and warns that "wise men ignore this new development at their own peril". The philosophy that Mr. Ndamse is referring to is only relevant to Black Men and seeks to create a life-style that will channel the efforts and energy of the Black Man towards the realisation of his goals and aspirations without reference to white value

systems. But then Mr. Ndamse goes on to say that "The Black Man must be let to see and feel that he must make every effort possible in every way possible, to secure the friendship, the confidence, the co-operation of his white neighbour in South Africa". In another futile attempt to analyse the interrelated structure of Black and White he further alienates himself from the Black ideal. He contends that "the most intelligent in the University of Natal campus community has his intelligence darkened by the ignorance of fellow citizen in the backveld of Kwa-Zulu". He feels that whites "must help raise the character of the civilisation of the black man or theirs is lowered". Such debauchery from a man of Mr. Ndamse's apparent eminence is depressing. His ideas are the opposite of Ben Khoapa's analysis of the "New Black". Ben Khoapa feels that the philosophy of liberation must transcend the 'either integration or separation' dilemma which has had such a disastrous impact on white/Black policy. We are primarily concerned with the Liberation of the Black Man. All that is done will be adopted because it advances the cause of Black Liberation and all that which impedes this advancement should be rejected. We must hold all our ideas, ideals and involvement in this perspective.

The papers by Mr. Ndamse, Gatsha Buthelezi and Mr. Khoapa are essentially speaking to white people. Mr. Ndamse states that "black people are forced to labour under circumstances which are calculated not to inspire them with love and respect for labour". He goes on to say "the Black people will fight for the maintenance of their identity". What he says above is quite true. He is certainly not right when he says that "we should surely admit that we are one in this country" because here I agree with Njabulo Ndebele's assertion that a "nation presupposes a voluntary and unified political co-operation of all the social groups within a State" Mr. Ndamse solicits the white for help towards building "a great society". This is out of touch with Black aspirations of being master of his destiny.

Gatsha Buthelezi voices his misgivings about Government policy on Richards Bay quite vividly and properly. He does however make a declaration of his belief in uplifting Black people through the Homeland scheme because, he says "to me while South Africa battles in trying to make up her mind about the future, we should not forget that human lives are at stake here". This is once again a very unfortunate statement. It is not true that there is any good that Black people can reap from engaging in the sectionalist politics of this country if my assertion about all whites which, includes the government, being adversaries is true. The point here is that they can never do or offer something, that can benefit the black man in terms of his struggle towards liberation.

Mr. Khoapa makes a relatively good definition of the "New Black" for white consumption. He makes an important point for Black Solidarity in the context of white domination which rules out any scope for collusion with whites. He states that "the oppressed can only bring about a future of universal brotherhood in proportion as they feel and exhibit group solidarity among themselves and cease to feel solidarity with the enemies of human solidarity".

As I said earlier, the ideas in this book and their form almost represent two extremes, and we must be careful in choosing which of the two are right and relevant.

**JEEF DUMO BAQWA**



# ALL AFRICA STUDENTS' CONFERENCE: KUMASI

(From our International Correspondent: M. ZUMA)

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Dear Brothers,

I am back from Kumasi. Officially the Conference ended on Thursday morning, the 20th of July. It came off very well. But this should be seen only as a beginning. Some of the delegates preferred that we call it a movement rather than a Union, or an Organisation. Whatever name we gave to it, we must make a movement of this. I told the Conference that SASO was more a movement than an organisation. I hope I was right.

Our Continental Movement will be inaugurated at a Congress in Ibadan in April next year. I have asked the organisers of the Kumasi Conference to send to SASO the entire record of what transpired at the Conference. I hope that you will get it in due time. Practically every delegation was presenting a paper, and I did the same. It was entitled: "The Problem of Black People in South Africa". My brutal frontal attack on Yankee imperialism (in a short speech) did not come as bolt from the blue; it was a follow-up on what the other delegates had said.

Two main offices were set up, and 13 appendages, until Ibadan next year. The President is a Nigerian and the Secretariate will be based in Ghana (the Secretary is a Ghanaian). After our movement has been officially recognised by the O.A.U., it is hoped that the Secretariate will move to Addis Abbaba. The name adopted for is "ALL AFRICAN STUDENTS' UNION" – A.A.S.U.

One of the Appendage offices is that of "Non-African Officer" or "World Affairs Officer", whose duties is: "Shall be the spokesman for the Union on Affairs outside Africa. Shall serve as liason between the Union and other organisations outside Africa". I was invited to fill the post, for the simple reason that I am outside Africa. I accepted. Does SASO approved? I will do nothing without your approval, gentlemen.

Something very serious has happened in Ghana. There was an attempted Coup on Friday, the 15th of July, the very day we began with our Conference. Everybody was shocked, and everybody seems to be convinced that it was the work of the ousted Busia and foreign imperialist agents. The Coup would have taken place on Friday, and Busia brought back on Saturday. The plan was that, if the Ghanaian forces offered to stiff resistance, British and American troops would be brought in to crush resistance. Probably, our Conference would

also have been closed down at once, and we might even have lost our lives. The foreign Capitalist imperialists are bitterly opposed to the movement we have just initiated, and they will do all in their power to sabotage it. The plotters of the attempted Coup will be brought to trial very soon, and, most probably, they will all be executed. The entire Conference took to the street of KUMASI on Monday morning (July 18) waving scores of placards, protesting against the attempted Coup. Some of them read: "No trial, Kill them!", "Shoot them all!", "Kill or Quit!", "Down with Busia!" "Achlampong, Correct; Busia, wrong Satan!" "The Youth of Africa Condemns foreign domination of any kind!", "Skin them Alive!". We prefer true independence in poverty, to Aid with puppet regimes!" And so on and so on.

The present Ghanaian Government is busy rehabilitating the giant of Africa, the late President Kwame Nkrumah. Recently, he was given a massive funeral (with a Roman Catholic Archbishop Officiating:) at his home village of Nkrofula – one of the great ironies of history – and nothing but eulogy was the order of the day. Kwame Nkrumah may exercise more influence in his death than in his life. "Osagyaefo" means "President", not "Redeemer", as his enemies referred to him. To-day practically everybody in Ghana admits that everything great and massive in the country owes its existence to Kwame Nkrumah. The Civil service is comparable to the best in the world; the Ghanaians are a very proud people in a good sense), and they put everybody, whether black or white, in his place; if you want to see the place where the white man has fallen from his pedestal, then you should visit Ghana; Nobody discriminates against them, but they are treated like everybody else, the Ghanaians are really doing their own thing, the University of Science and Technology in Kumasi (the venue of our Conference) is seven square miles, and must have cost the least R20 million, and it was all built by the Osagyaefo at the end of the 50s; the same with the University of the Cape coast (the University of Legon in Accra existed before independence already). This is the sort of progress which the foreign Capitalist imperialists do not want to see the Black man make. They force themselves on Us, and think that they have a right to do the things which we want to do for ourselves. They stop at nothing in "creating" our dependence on them, and, if we allow them to do it (there are many







the Nationalist staunch line. In the process, a lot of people began to see merit in the verligte view of separate development primarily because a number of newspapers had changed their policies in an attempt to appease and encourage the verligte movement.

With this background in mind it therefore becomes necessary for us Black people to restate in very strong terms the case against the Bantustan idea. There are two views regarding Bantustans. The first one is that of total acceptance with the hope that any demands made by Blacks through peaceful negotiation will lead to granting of further concessions by the white power structure piecemeal. The second is that as a strategy, the Bantustan philosophy can be exploited towards attainment of our overall goals. Both views are dangerously short-sighted. The first one needs but little attention since it is an obvious sell out and can only be accepted by people who have already sold their souls to the whiteman. The second one leads to a lot of confusion part of which is in fact a subconscious acceptance of the Bantustan idea per se by the masses who cannot appreciate the nuances of the debate surrounding the so called strategy.

Why are we against the Bantustan idea? Black people reject this approach for so many reasons, none of which are as fundamental as the fact that it is a "solution" given to us by the same people who have created the problem. In a land rightfully ours we find people coming to tell us where to stay and what powers we shall have without even consulting us. The whole idea is made to appear as if for us, while working against our very existence. A look at some aspects of the policy shows this very clearly.

Geographically i.e. in terms of land distribution, Bantustans present a gigantic fraud that can find no moral support from any quarters. We find that 20% of the population are in control of 87% of the land while 80% "control" only 13%. To make this situation even more ridiculous, not one of the so called "Bantu nations" have an intact piece of land. All of them are scattered little bits of the most unyielding soil. In each area the more productive bits are white controlled islands on which white farms or other types of industry are situated.

Economically, the Blacks have been given a raw deal. Generally speaking the areas where Bantustans are located are the least developed in the country, often very unsuitable either for agricultural or pastoral work. Not one of the Bantustans have access to the sea and in all situations mineral rights are strictly reserved for the South African government. In other words, Bantustans only have rights extending to 6 feet below surface of the land.

Added to these observations is the fact that the

operative budgets allowed the Bantustans for development projects are kept so low. Control of industry and its growth in all the Bantustans is locked up in the hands of the Bantu Investment Corporation which though meant to be non profit making, is reputed for its exploitation of the aspirant African traders and industrialists in all the Bantustans.

The so-called border industries now beginning to mushroom at the edges of the Bantustans are orientated to exploit the labour force from within the Bantustans. Most of them are subsidised by the government and their products are tax free. In spite of such advantages, they go on to pay all-time low wages which are about 1/3 of what they would normally pay in urban areas. In addition it should be noted that these industries at border areas are often outside the geographical confines in which most Industrial Council agreements operate; and since the Black workers have no trade unions to push their case they are virtually left at the mercy of employers who are under no obligation to pay them according to rates operative elsewhere in the country.

Politically, the Bantustans are the greatest single fraud ever invented by white politicians (with the possible exception of the new United Party federal policy). The same people who are guilty of the subjugation and oppression of the Black man want us to believe that they can now design for Blacks a means of escape from that situation. The point is that this is not the intention of the policy. The actual intentions of the Bantustan practice are the following:

- to create a false sense of hope amongst the Black people so that any further attempt by Blacks to collectively enunciate their aspirations should be dampened.
- to offer a new but false direction in the struggle of the Black people. By making it difficult to get even the 13% of the land the powers that be are separating our "struggles" into eight different struggles for eight false freedoms that were prescribed long ago. This has also the overall effect of making us forget about the 87% of land that is in white hands.
- to cheat the outside world into believing that there is some validity in the multinational theory so that South Africa can now go back into international sport, trade, politics etc. with a soothed conscience.
- to boost up as much as possible the inter-tribal competition and hostility that is bound to come up so that the collective strength and resistance of the Black people can be fragmented.



- finally, if all the above achievements do not last, to delay as much as possible the moment of truth.

The question then that immediately arises is whether the Bantustan leaders do not see the barrenness and fraudulence implicit in this scheme. We have some men in these Bantustans who would make extremely fine leaders if they had not decided to throw in their lot with the oppressors. A few of them argue that they are not selling out but are carrying on with the fight from within. There is no way of ascertaining the truism of these assumptions. Perhaps it is not necessary that this should be ascertained at all especially because no matter how one views it, the ultimate truth is that participation in the Bantustan set up is dangerously misleading to the Black population. We shall concentrate here on the merits and demerits of using the system to fight the system, and forget about these Bantustan leaders who believe sincerely in the policy of apartheid. After all, as one writer once said, there is no way of stopping fools from dedicating themselves to useless causes.

There are in South Africa at the moment a number of people whose participation in Bantustan politics has led the Black people in part and political observers throughout the world to begin to take second look at Bantustans with the belief that something can be achieved through a systematic exploitation of the Bantustan approach. The argument runs that all other forms of protest, disagreement and opposition are closed to Black people and that we can call the bluff of the white government by accepting what they give and using it to get what we want. What most people miss is the fact that what we want is well known to the enemy and that the Bantustan theory was designed precisely to prevent us from getting what we want. The authors of the system know it best and they give us any concessions we may demand according to a plan prearranged by them. When they created these dummy platforms, these phoney telephones, they knew that some opportunists might want to use them to advance the Black cause and hence they made all the arrangements to be able to control such "ambitious natives".

Matanzima and Buthelezi can shout their lungs out trying to speak to Pretoria through the phoney telephone, no one is listening in Pretoria because the telephone is a toy. The real lines between Pretoria and Zululand, between Pretoria and the Transkei are very busy day and night with Torlage and Abrahams telling their system every step Matanzima and Buthelezi are likely to take 3 months hence and how best the system should respond to such stances.

Matanzima and Buthelezi can knock day and night at the doors before them. If they like, they may even break them down. This will not work because the doors are meant to lead them into a dark abyss away from where the treasure lies. The doors to the real treasure house swing willingly open to Abrahams and Torlage whenever they decide to take a breather away from the dusty dirt roads of Transkei and Zululand.

What is most painful is that Matanzima and Buthelezi are perhaps more than anybody else acutely aware of the limitations surrounding them. It may also be true that they are extremely dedicated to the upliftment of Black people and perhaps to their liberation. Many times they have manifested a fighting spirit characterising true courage and determination. But if you want to fight your enemy you do not accept from him the unloaded of his two guns and then challenge him to a dual.

Bantustan leaders are subconsciously aiding and abetting in the total subjugation of the Black people of this country. By making the kind of militant noises they are now making they have managed to confuse the Blacks sufficiently to believe that something great is about to happen. As a result Blacks are sitting on the touchlines cheering loudly whilst Matanzima and Mangope are performing. The picture is also confused by the exaggeration given by the white press to the possibilities open to these leaders. The white press knows fully well of course that it is to their advantage to misdirect the attention of the Blacks. The white press knows only too well the limitations of the Bantustan theory; that it is a far cry from what the Blacks want but goes on to build up the image of Matanzima and Buthelezi in order to harness them to the path they have already chosen and to make the non-analytic masses believe that a great victory is just about to be achieved. Also, by widely publicising the pronouncements of the Bantustan leaders and attaching extremely liberal connotations to these pronouncements, the white press has confused the outside world to think that in South Africa not only is there freedom of speech but that the Bantustan leaders are actively plotting for the ousting of the white government without the government taking any action.

Thus for white South Africa, it is extremely important to have a man like Buthelezi speaking and sounding the way he is doing. It solves so many conscience problems that South Africa has been having for so long. It has been said that the combination of Buthelezi and the white press makes up the finest ambassadors that South Africa has ever had.

For me as a Black person it is extremely painful to see a man who could easily have been my leader being so misused by the cruel and exploitative white







# **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.**