

## BLACK PEOPLES' CONVENTION



"The winds of liberation which have been sweeping the face of Africa have reached our very borders. There is no more doubt about the inevitability of change—the only questions now remaining are how and when?"

B. STEVE BIKO  
(1946-1977)

# SOLIDARITY

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## EDITORIAL

SOLIDARITY is the voice of the BPC external office.

Its purpose is to highlight the struggle of the Azanian peoples from the BPC party perspective. It is designed to articulate BPC's aspirations and present BPC's polemics against recalcitrant ideas that seek to submerge the Convention's role in the prosecution of the struggle. It shall endeavour at all times to give due to our rightful heroes of the struggle.

As this is the first issue of SOLIDARITY we believe it is necessary to present the views of the Black Consciousness Movement in certain specific areas. Therefore some of the articles which appear in this issue have previously appeared in publications in South Africa.

A newsletter of this nature can only grow if relevant and positive contributions, in the form of letters, articles, etc., are submitted by the readers themselves. It is hoped that such response will be forthcoming.

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## TOWARDS AUTHENTIC COMMUNALISM

Africanism is an ideology which holds that the entire African Continent belongs exclusively to the Africans. This view has been described by some authors as extreme Africanism. On the other hand, a moderate brand of Africanism holds that Africa is habitable by those who would like to adapt to the African way of life. Historically speaking, Africanism has always been a political struggle for the total elimination of the oppressive structures of imperialism and colonialism. It is an unequivocal rejection of the imposition of an alien power structure together with its socio-cultural practices. Put simply Africanism is a necessary ideological springboard towards the restoration of Africanness.

Africanness is the fact of being uniquely African. This means that the personal history of the individual begins and continues within a material and existential situation which is African in character. In this way the individual's history becomes an integral part of the history of a people. It is important to observe that both Africanism and Africanness are inspired by a deep sense of nationalism.

In the context of history this article shall confine itself to African culture with particular reference to traditional economic and political systems in Africa. These two aspects shall lead to a third aspect, viz., social organisation. By pursuing this scheme the present article hopes to elucidate the meaning of what was earlier referred to as the Africa character. Owing to the depth and breadth of the subject observations made in this article should be understood within the context of the South African situation. Finally, the author is fully aware that the transformations envisaged by the quest for the full restoration of Africanness do imply somewhat radical modifications and innovations within the projected social structure because of the advance in the human as well as in the natural sciences. In a sense, therefore, we are about to tread beyond the realm of fact and argument where we shall be confronted with preferences, convictions and evaluations into which we cannot enter. But the risk will be taken.

The arrival of the white settlers on South African soil is an unfortunate historical event in so far as this is cojoined with a sustained and systematic deracination of the African culture and personality. It introduced forcefully the alien and unpalatable maxim of selfish and egocentric individualism.

It brought the death of humanism and collectivism in South Africa. It reduced the human person to a mere datum in the profit-making game. In short, the dignity of the human person together with the organisation of interpersonal relations culminate in the inherently inhuman ideology of Capitalism. Apart from scientific skills in the field of technology, this—capitalism—is the golden heritage of Western civilisation which we Africans are called to preserve and protect in the name of humanity.

This call comes not only as an affront to the African intelligence but is totally objectionable. It is objectionable because of its flagrant inhumanity. Traditional African society is firmly based on humanism. This means that the dignity of the person has always been placed at the highest esteem. Mutual respect and co-operation have always characterised this brand of humanism.

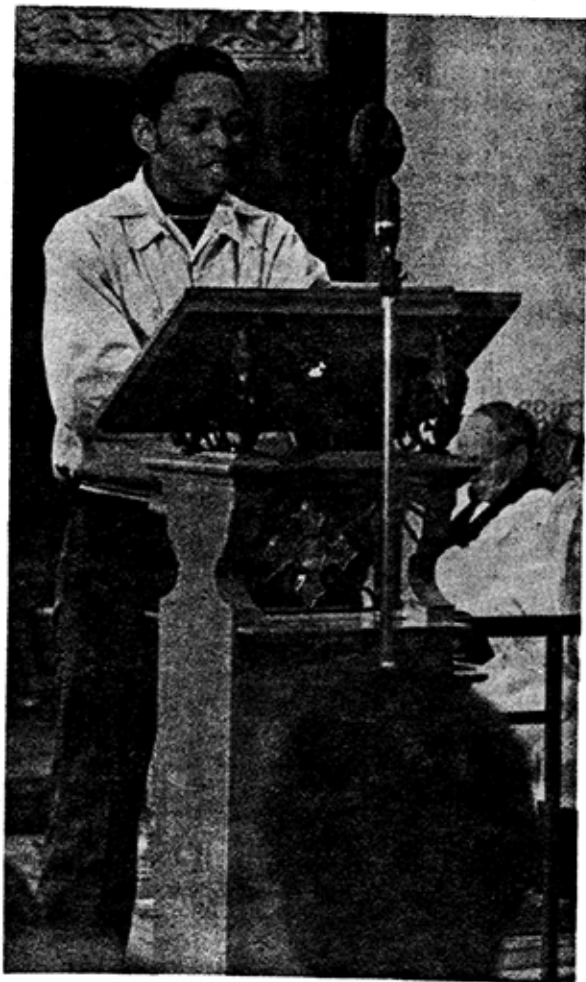
In the field of economics sharing was the determining factor. The concept of sharing should be understood against the background of the main motive in capitalistic economics, viz., profit-making. Clearly, this motive encourages unbridled selfishness, greedy aggrandisement of wealth into personal coffers and occasional "charitable" appropriations accruing from excessive profits. This is perhaps the only time when wealth is allocated to the exploited. Through co-operation and collective enterprise the products of labour were shared in accordance with the needs of the individual. The actual sharing was administered by a central authority. Private property was allowed and this would still be allowed. However, private ownership in no way influenced the manner of sharing in the central authority. It seems the situation would have been different if the profit-making motive were a factor in traditional economics. The lack of the profit-making motive emphasised more strongly the idea of individual and collective responsibility. The individual was not only responsible for his own well-being but also for the well-being of others. This may not be understood as mere welfarism personified in the central authority. Political and social organisation were the logic consequence of the economic infra-structure.

Traditional economic system facilitated the process of politico-social organisation mainly for two reasons. First, because within that kind of economic system the individual could not suffer any sense of economic insecurity, and second, this opened the possibility for leisure. The political system was by no means an insignificant pastime. However, one may define democracy it remains true that political participation in traditional society occurred at the highest level with the greatest number involved. In this sense power was vested in the people. Social life was characterised by an interchange between hard work and leisure.

The above brief analysis reveals the African utopia. This utopia consists mainly of three elements, viz., Humanism, Collectivism and a popular democracy. Translated into contemporary jargon, it may be stated that traditional society was socialistic in character. If "by socialist society we shall designate an institutional pattern in which the control over the means of production and over production itself is vested with a central authority—or, as we may say, in which, as a matter of principle the economic affairs of society belong to the public and not to the private sphere", it appears that such a definition presupposes that purely economic considerations are essential in the construction of a socialist society. While this may be true of some socialist societies, it certainly is not the case with traditional social organisation. The paramount consideration is the dignity of the human person which ipso facto, makes economic considerations secondary. It is therefore important to add to the already cited definition that "the object of African socialism is man in his totality, not simply economic man."

In consideration of its humanistic basis; collectivism and centralised planning and distribution of economic goods, and, finally, in view of the political dimensions of a popular democracy, the term best suited to describe the kind of society that Black South Africans would readily opt for seems to be Communalism.

"Freedom is not a reward or a decoration that is celebrated with champagne. Nor yet a gift, a box of dainties designed to make you lick your chops. Oh no! it's a chore . . . and a long distance race . . ."  
camus' jean-baptiste



**CHRIS MATEBANE:** the BPC/SASO REP. in London: delivering his address at the **STEVE BIKO MEMORIAL SERVICE** held at St. Paul's Cathedral on the 20th September 1977.

Excerpts from . . .

## THE S.A.S.O. POLICY MANIFESTO

(adopted at the 2nd General Students Council in July, 1971)

"SASO believes that . . .

3. (a) South Africa is a country in which both black and white live and shall continue to live together;
- (b) that the white man must be made aware one is either part of the solution or part of the problem;
- (c) that, in this context, because of the privileges accorded to them by legislation and because of their continual maintenance of an oppressive regime, whites have defined themselves as part of the problem;
- (d) that, therefore, we believe that in all matters relating to the struggle towards realising our aspirations, whites must be excluded.
- (e) that this attitude must not be interpreted by blacks to imply "anti-whitism" but merely as a more positive way of attaining a normal situation in South Africa.
- (f) that in pursuit of this direction, therefore, personal contact with whites, though it should not be legislated against, must be discouraged, especially where it tends to militate against the belief we hold dear.
4. (a) SASO upholds the concept of Black Consciousness and the drive towards black awareness as the most logical and significant means of ridding ourselves of the shackles that bind us to perpetual servitude.
- (c) SASO accepts the premise that before the black people should join the open society, they should first close their ranks, to form themselves into a solid group to oppose the definite racism that is meted out by the white society, to work out their direction clearly and bargain from a position of strength. SASO BELIEVES that a truly open society can only be achieved by blacks.
5. SASO believes that the concept of integration cannot be realised in an atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust. Integration does not mean assimilation of blacks into an already established set of norms drawn up and motivated by white society. Integration implies free participation by individuals in a given society and proportionate contribution to the joint culture of the society by all constituent groups. Following this definition therefore, SASO believes that integration does not need to be enforced or worked for. Integration follows automatically when the doors to prejudice are closed through the attainment of a just and free society.
6. SASO believes that all groups allegedly working for "integration" in South Africa . . . and here we note in particular the Progressive Party and other liberal institutions . . . are not working for the kind of integration that would be acceptable to the black man. Their attempts are directed merely at relaxing certain oppressive legislations and to allow blacks into a white-type society.

## WHY WE DECIDED TO ESTABLISH AN EXTERNAL OFFICE

One of the major decisions taken during the annual congress of the Black People's Convention held in December, 1976, in Durban, was that of establishing an External Office under the direction of the Director of External Affairs.

This director is in turn under the direction of the Secretariat in charge of external affairs. The Secretariat, however, is based inside South Africa whereas the external office, under the supervision of the Director, is currently based in Botswana.

The resolution establishing the external office and its director, also mandates the director to establish offices throughout the world. So far the Director has established offices in the United Kingdom, Europe and West Africa and is currently in the process of establishing other offices in East Africa, North Africa and Central Africa.

It is also the intention of the External Office to establish offices in the United States, Asia, Eastern Europe and the Middle East.

Perhaps the major question which comes to some people's mind is what motivated us in the Black Consciousness Movement to establish an external office? It has to be admitted from the onset that the decision to establish an external office was not an easy one. Hence this belated move to establish an office more than four years after the founding of the B.P.C. and more than eight years after the birth of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa.

The main reason, as reflected in the resolution setting up the external office, behind the establishment of an external office is the growing number of exiles belonging to the Black Consciousness Movement. This exodus of our members from South Africa was further accelerated last year after the June 16th uprisings which resulted in a massive crackdown on the Black Consciousness Movement by the white minority regime in South Africa.

The need then arose to cater for the political, material and ideological needs of our exiled members.

The other major reason, why we decided on the establishment of an external office was the growing need to present and clarify our political outlook and ideology regarding the liberation struggle in South Africa and Southern Africa as a whole.

We realised that many people did not have a clear grasp of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa and the role that it is playing in its quest to create Azania. Thus the external office will be responsible for the distribution of all information material on the Black Consciousness Movement.

Perhaps it should be clarified that although the decision to establish an external office was taken by the Black People's Convention, the office however, will cater for the whole Black Consciousness Movement simply because we belong to one harmonious family. But it was only logical that B.P.C. should establish the external office because it is the mother body and also a political organisation.

## THE MEANING OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

The concept of Black Consciousness implies an awareness and pride in their blackness by Black people and implies that Black people should and must appreciate their value as human beings.

Black Consciousness also means that Black people should be aware of the significance and importance of their own value systems, i.e., their socio-economic, political and cultural values. Implied in this appreciation of their value systems is the need to reject those foreign alien value systems which were forced down Black people's throats as part of the oppressor's logic of maintaining and perpetrating its brutal system of exploitation and emasculation.

Thus the essence of this search for our indigenous value system is the need to redefine ourselves and our value systems which are today engulfed in the foreign and alien exploitative and oppressive values which have been imposed on us, both physically and psychologically, by our oppressors in order to make us malleable to subjugation. The challenge of Black Consciousness for any Black man in South Africa today is the need for a new and incisive redefinition, reidentification and reappraisal of the Black totality in the context of a capitalist, racist and exploitative South Africa, presided over by a self-appointed white minority acting as the missionary of international capitalism and finance capital.

Another significant aspect of Black Consciousness is the call for cohesive group solidarity, i.e., Black solidarity. Thus the quintessence of Black Consciousness is the realisation and acceptance by Blacks in South Africa that, in order to play a positive role in the struggle for liberation and emancipation, they must effectively employ the concept of group power and thereby build a strong base from which to counter the oppressor's policy of divide and rule. The philosophy of Black Consciousness therefore means group pride and determination by Black people in South Africa to rise together from the death bed of oppression and exploitation.

At the heart of Black Consciousness is also the realisation by Blacks that the most potent and effective weapon of oppression and exploitation in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed. In South Africa, the oppressor has attempted to twist and manipulate our minds to make us mentally and psychologically pliable to his exploitation and manipulation.

Black Consciousness therefore calls for a psychological revolution in the Black community; this will be a revolution which is directed towards the elimination of all stereotypes by Blacks about themselves and one which is directed towards the complete eradication of the slave-mentality and feelings of inadequacy characteristic of an oppressed and exploited society. The basic logic inherent in Black Consciousness is that no people can wage a meaningful war of liberation unless and until they have effectively eradicated their slave-mentality and accepted themselves as full human beings who have a role to play in their own salvation.

Black Consciousness therefore forces Black people to see themselves as full human beings, complete, full and total in themselves, and not as extensions of others.

Some people have accused proponents of Black Consciousness of rejecting and spurning a coalition between white liberals and the Blacks. However, assessment of the history of the involvement of the white liberal establishment

in the Black struggle has convinced us that white liberals have indeed been criminally responsible for arresting and aborting them by playing the role of a bulwark, a kind of buffer zone between the Blacks and the white system which has been oppressing us for centuries. In fact, to us, the white liberal establishment is part and parcel of the white system; indeed the driving force behind the white liberal establishment's involvement in the Black struggle is its desire to kill the revolutionary zeal of the Black masses by promising them a "controlled" change which will result in some mystical "mosaic" multi-racialism. This multi-racialism is never defined precisely lest it reveal to Blacks that it is nothing but a polished and sophisticated version of the racist system which has been responsible for the dehumanisation of Blacks in South Africa.

## THE ROLE OF WESTERN CAPITALIST INVESTMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

By R. Nengwekhulu (Director External Office—BPC)

South Africa, with its vast reservoir of minerals, cheap labour and other raw materials, has always been the main attraction for Western investments in Africa. In fact, it was massive Western investments in the South African economy that ignited and fed the economic and industrial boom and development in South Africa. D. H. Houghton, observes that: "There is no doubt that the large foreign investment greatly accelerated the economic development of the country and enabled a rate of growth which otherwise would have been quite impossible." Even now, South Africa still relies on the Western capitalist countries for her development because it is the Western capitalist countries which provide the "risk capital" to be invested into major development projects that South African capital alone cannot tackle.

Initially, Western capital was mainly invested in the mining industry, now it is moving into the manufacturing industry. Today, foreign investments in South Africa are about 15%, but this figure is somewhat misleading as it only reflects the book value of foreign investments. It does not include the massive profits which are reinvested into the South African economy, nor does it include any appreciable increase in the value of the original investments.

The biggest foreign investor in South Africa is Great Britain, mainly composed of direct investments. The bulk of British investments is in the manufacturing industry, some into the distributive industry, banking and insurance and, also, into the mining industry. Indirect investments, in the form of purchases of South African mining shares, account for almost 30% of total British investments in South Africa. A breakdown of total British private foreign investments in South Africa, sector by sector, reveals that, in 1969, the mining industry absorbed 28%; manufacturing 29%; distributive trade 13%; other financial institutions 20%, and, other industries about 10%.

American investments in South Africa follow the British in terms of quantitative value for about 200 million Rands. But what is significant about U.S. investments in South Africa is their qualitative value and the fact that they are invested in crucial industries for the development of a modern economy. U.S. investments are mainly in innovative areas which provide the essential technological know-how in crucial secondary industries and, indeed, South Africa regards these investments in her manufacturing industry as being a significant part of her policy of trying to modify her peripheral status. The importance of the automobile industry lies in the fact that it stimulates economic growth by its generation of related industries, such as gas, oil, petrol, rubber, steel products, etc. U.S. investments are also found in the computer industry, mainly associated with the armaments industry.

West Germany is involved mainly in the uranium and nuclear industry, in collaboration with South Africa, through Siemens and Krupp, and these two companies are involved in the development of a nuclear reactor at Pelindaba in South Africa.

French investments in South Africa are still minimal, but its investments are crucial because they are in oil exploration and the armaments industry.



**DRAKE KOKA:** Secretary-General of B.A.W.U. and founder member of BPC.

Japan, the newcomer, is mainly in the automobile industry and her trade and investment relations with South Africa are becoming firmer.

The above analysis reveals to us the extent and degree of Western economic interests in South Africa and this helps to explain Western capitalist countries' policies towards South Africa and Africa as a whole. The rate of profit returns of Western investments in South Africa averages approximately 20% and repatriated dividends and profits on direct investments in South Africa have always exceeded the rate of profit returns from their own local or home investments.

In the South African periphery it is difficult to determine the exact amount of non-South African investments. Some people estimate that there is a total of approximately 700 million Rands non-South African investments in the region. However, it must be appreciated that, in most cases, South African and Western capital go into the region together. What is significant about the character of Western investments in the region, excluding South Africa, is that the bulk of these investments is predominantly in the extractive industry, especially mining.

Thus, in Botswana, the main concentration of these investments is in the mining of diamonds, copper and nickel and the major companies involved are De Beers, Bamangwato Concessions Ltd. (a subsidiary of the Roan Selection which is a mixed company, 30% being South African and 44% belonging to American Metal Climax).

In Lesotho, the main foreign activity is diamond prospecting by Bethlehem Steel Corporation of South Africa (a subsidiary of the American firm), together with British Rio Tinto-Zinc Corporation.

In Swaziland, the main foreign concentration is in iron ore and the companies involved are Commonwealth Development Corporation, the British company Guest Keen and Nettlefords, and the South African Anglo-American Corporation.

In Namibia, the union between Western and South African capital has become complete. This is illustrated by the fact that, at Tsumeb, American Metal Climax (29%) and Newmont Mining Corporation (29%) have entered into partnership with the De Beers Company of South Africa (2% to 5%) and with the British Roan Selection Trust, to exploit mineral deposits. Also, at Oamites, the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa, a State-owned company, has joined with the Canadian Falconbridge for the exploration of copper deposits in the area. The big oil companies, Shell, British Petroleum and Caltex, are busy prospecting for oil in the territory. Rio Tinto-Zinc, a British company, is in partnership with the Afrikaner General Mining and Industrial Development Corporation in the exploitation of the world's largest opencast uranium mine at Rossing, near Swakopmund.

In Mozambique, Gulf Oil has invested in the oil pipeline connecting Smith's Rhodesia with Beira in Mozambique. Lonrho owns 62.5% of the pipeline. Anglo-American Corporation owns 50% of the cashew nut industry and 45% of Mozambique's fishery industry.

In Zambia, the bulk of foreign investment is in the copper mining industry which, at the time of the nationalisation, Anglo-American Corporation, through Zamanglo, owned almost Rands 300 million of the total investment in the industry.

Thus, there is an intertwining of Western and South African investments in the Southern African region. What is also significant is the fact that South

Africa's penetration of the periphery always goes hand in hand with Western capital. Indeed, most Western companies are beginning to use South Africa as their springboard for their imperialist ventures into the periphery and the rest of the continent of Africa. It is clear, therefore, that because of their vested economic interests in South Africa and the periphery as a whole, Western imperialist powers are bound to encourage, if not actively promote, South Africa's sub-imperialist forage into the periphery. In fact, the promotion of South Africa's sub-imperialism makes sound economic sense because it reduces the costs involved in exporting to Africa manufactured goods from Europe or the United States and the import costs of raw materials from the periphery. It also enables Western capitalist countries to meet the challenge being posed by Japan in its drive to open-up markets in Africa, particularly Southern Africa.

However, the most significant aspect of Western investments in the peripheral areas of Southern Africa is, like the South African investments, they are geared towards the maintenance of the under-development of the areas and thus reinforce poverty and starvation in these areas. In fact, in most cases, if not all, Western and South African investments discourage the setting-up of manufacturing and other secondary industries in the area because these would offer competition to the manufactured goods being imported from South Africa and West. The perpetuation of this pattern of investment in the area is leading to an increasing and permanent dependence, by the peripheral areas, on South Africa for manufactured goods and other industrial and commercial products.

One can, therefore, understand why, as Theotonio Dos Santos observes, these areas are "developing within the framework of a process of dependent production and reproduction" which results in the active and deliberate prevention and distortion of local economies and makes any industrial "development" completely dependent upon the existence of an "export sector which brings in the foreign currency that makes it possible to buy inputs by the industrial sector". The inevitable consequence of this dependence is the insatiable need to preserve the traditional export sector and this, in turn, economically limits the development and expansion of the internal market—essential for rapid development—by the preservation of backward modes of production.

This is exactly what is happening in the Southern African periphery and Western and South African investments in the area reinforcing this dependence status. Indeed, as Tama's Szentos observes, ". . . foreign capital not only (distorts) the economic structure of the under-developed countries with its investments, but within the boundary of its operation it also (builds) into it, at the same time, the elements of the capitalist mode of production. It (suppresses), at least (limits) to certain fields, the rise and development of the local national capital and (occupies) the leading sector of the economy and its most important potential sources. At the same time, it (puts) these sources into the service of its activity and (makes) use of them in the process of profit making." It is in this way that foreign capital is solidifying the foundations of permanent economic dependence and income drain from peripheral, underdeveloped countries of Southern Africa and making these countries easy victims for South Africa's sub-imperialism in the region, in the same way that Latin America became the playground for Brazilian sub-imperialism. In fact, South Africa has become the operating base for Western investments

in the region and, hence, the promotion of South Africa's dialogue and detente policy in Africa by Western capitalist countries, because they see the policy as an essential vehicle for the opening up of markets in the periphery and in Africa as a whole.

Ruth First, et al, observes that "South Africa's growing export potential has not escaped the attention of far-sighted foreign profit-seekers. . . . Satisfied with the 'stability' which the Western stake has helped to create in South Africa, some firms are now beginning to use the Republic as a base for expanding elsewhere in Africa. Inevitably, this gives them a vested interest in supporting South Africa's foreign policy." Thus, it is clear why Western foreign capital is subsidising South Africa's sub-imperialism in the region: the acquisition of new markets and the expansion of old ones.

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"Being black is not merely a matter of pigmentation; being black is a reflection of a mental attitude. Merely by describing yourself as black you have started on a road towards emancipation, you have committed yourself to fight against all forces that seek to use your blackness as a stamp that marks you out as a subservient being."

STEVE BIKO

## WHERE DO BLACKS FEATURE IN THE NATIONAL ECONOMY?

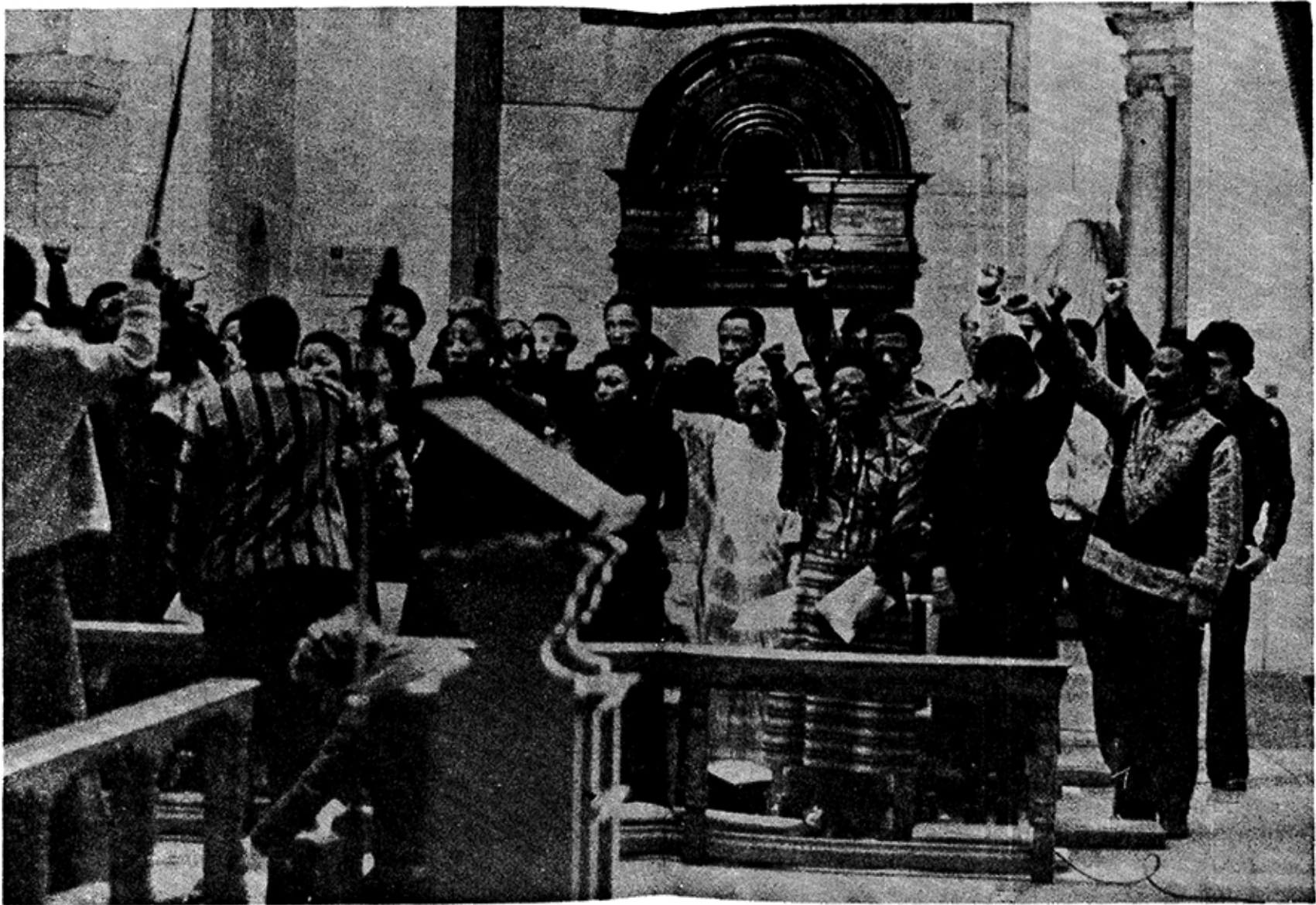
With the rising inflationary tendencies sweeping through the Western World (Capitalist monetary system), it is also high time the Black student asked himself what position the Black people hold in the economy of the repressive South African society.

It is already a widely accepted truth that it is the Blacks who carry the economy of South Africa 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 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 supermarkets 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 dominant white sector. What is even worse we Blacks today suffer from non-employment, as an oppressed community. That is, we have been made subject to a deliberate 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.





**"BPC SALUTES STEVE BIKO"**

## I WRITE WHAT I LIKE

by Frank Talk

Fear—an important determinant in South African politics.

It would seem that the greatest waste of time in South Africa is to try and find logic in why the White government does certain things. If anything else, the constant inroads into the freedom of the Black people illustrates a complete contempt for this section of the community.

My premise has always been that Black people should not at any stage be surprised at some of the atrocities committed by the government. This to me follows logically after their initial assumption that they, being a settler minority, can have the right to be supreme masters. If they could be cruel enough to cow the natives down with brutal force and instal themselves as perpetual rulers in a foreign land, then anything else they do to the same Black people becomes logical in terms of the initial cruelty. To expect justice from them at any stage is to be naive. They almost have a duty to themselves and their "electorate" to show that they still have the upper hand over the Black people. There is only one way of showing that upper hand—by ruthlessly breaking down the back of resistance amongst the Blacks, however petty that resistance is.

One must look at the huge security force that South Africa has in order to realise this. These men must always report something to their masters in order to justify their employment. It is not enough to report that "I have been to Pondoland and the natives are behaving well and are peaceful and content." This is not satisfactory, for the perpetrators of evil are aware of the cruelty of their system and hence do not expect the natives to be satisfied. So the security boys are sent back to Pondoland to find out who the spokesman is who claims that people are satisfied and to beat him until he admits that he is not satisfied. At that point he is either banned or brought forward to be tried under one of the many Acts. The absolutely infantile evidence upon which the State builds up its cases in some of the trials does suggest to me that they are capable of arresting a group of boys playing hide and seek and charging them with high treason.

This is the background against which one must see the many political trials that are held in this country. To them it looks as if something would be dangerously wrong if no major or political trial was held for a period of one year. It looks as if someone will be accused by his superior for not doing his work. The strangest thing is that people are hauled in for almost nothing to be tried under the most vicious of Acts—like the Terrorism Act.

Aime Cesaire once said: "When I turn on my radio, when I hear that Negroes have been lynched in America, I say we have been lied to: Hitler is not dead: when I turn on my radio and hear that in Africa, forced labour has been inaugurated and legislated, I say that we have certainly been lied to: Hitler is not dead."

Perhaps one need add only the following in order to make the picture complete:

"When I turn on my radio, when I hear that someone in the Pondoland forest was beaten and tortured, I say that we have been lied to: Hitler is not

dead: when I turn on my radio, when I hear that someone in jail slipped off a piece of soap, fell and died, I say that we have been lied to: Hitler is not dead, he is likely to be found in Pretoria."

To look for circumstances of cruelty directed at those who fall into disfavour with the security police is perhaps to look too far. One need not try to establish the truth of the claim that Black people in South Africa have to struggle for survival. It presents itself in ever so many facets of our lives. Township life alone makes it a miracle for anybody to live up to adulthood. There we see a situation of absolute want in which Black will kill Black to be able to survive. This is the basis of the vandalism, murder, rape and plunder that goes on while the real sources of the evil—White society—are suntanning on exclusive beaches or relaxing in their bourgeois homes.

While those amongst Blacks who do bother to open their mouths in feeble protest against what is going on are periodically intimidated with security visits and occasional banning orders and house arrests, the rest of the Black community lives in absolute fear of the police. No average Black man can ever at any moment be absolutely sure that he is not breaking a law. There are so many laws governing the lives and behaviour of Black people that sometimes one feels that the police only need to page at random through their statute book to be able to get a law under which to charge a victim.

The philosophy behind police action in this country seems to be "harass them! harass them!" And one needs to add that they interpret the word in a very extravagant sense. Thus even young traffic policemen, people generally known for their grace, occasionally find it proper to slap adult Black people. It sometimes looks obvious here that the great plan is to keep the Black people thoroughly intimidated and to perpetuate the "super-race" image of the White man, if not intellectually, at least in terms of force. White people, working through their vanguard—the South African Police—have come to realise the truth of the golden maxim—if you cannot make a man respect you, then make him fear you.

Clearly Black people cannot respect White people, at least not in this country. There is such an obvious aura of immorality and named cruelty in all that is done in the name of White people that no Black man, no matter how intimidated, can ever be made to respect White Society. However, in spite of their obvious contempt for the values cherished by Whites and the price at which White comfort and security is purchased, Blacks seem to me to have been successfully cowed down by the type of brutality that emanates from this section of the community.

It is this fear that erodes the soul of Black people in South Africa—a fear obviously built up deliberately by the system through a myriad of civil agents, by the post office attendants, police, C.I.D. officials, army men in uniform, security police or even the occasional trigger-happy White farmer or store owner. It is a fear so basic in the considered actions of Black people—let alone free people. From the attitude of a servant to his employer, to that of a Black man being served by a White attendant at a shop, one sees this fear

clearly showing through. How can people be prepared to put up a resistance against their overall oppression if in their individual situations, they cannot insist on the observance of their manhood? This is a question that often occurs to overseas visitors who are perceptive enough to realise that all is not well in the land of sunshine and milk.

Yet this is a dangerous type of fear, for it only goes skin deep. It hides underneath it an immeasurable rage that often threatens to erupt. Beneath it, lies naked hatred for a group that deserves absolutely no respect. Unlike in the rest of the French or Spanish former colonies where chances of assimilation made it not impossible for Blacks to aspire towards being White, in South Africa whiteness has always been associated with police brutality and intimidation, early morning pass raids, general harassment in and out of township and hence no Black really aspires to being White. The claim by Whites of monopoly on comfort and security has always been so exclusive that Blacks see Whites as the major obstacle in their progress towards peace, prosperity and a sane society. Through its association with all these negative aspects, whiteness has thus been soiled beyond recognition. At best therefore Blacks see whiteness as a concept that warrants being despised, hated, destroyed and replaced by an aspiration with more human content in it. At worst Blacks envy White society for the comfort it has usurped and at the centre of this envy is the wish—nay, the secret determination—in the innermost minds of most Blacks who think like this, to kick Whites off those comfortable garden chairs that one sees as he rides in a bus, out of town, and to claim them for themselves. Day by day, one gets more convinced that Aime Cesaire could not have been right when he said “no race possesses the monopoly on truth, intelligence, force and there is room for all of us at the rendezvous of victory.”

It may, perhaps, surprise some people that I should talk of Whites in a collective sense when in fact it is a particular section, i.e., the government—that carries out this unwarranted vendetta against Blacks.

There are those whites who will completely disclaim responsibility for the country's inhumanity to the Black man. These are the people who are governed by logic for 4½ years but by fear at election time. The Nationalist party has perhaps many more English votes than one imagines. All Whites collectively recognise in it a strong bastion against the highly played-up “swaart gevaar”. One must not underestimate the deeply embedded fear of the Black man so prevalent in White society. Whites know only too well what exactly they have been doing to Blacks and logically find reason for the Black man to be angry. Their state of insecurity however does not outweigh their greed for power and wealth, hence they brace themselves to react against this rage rather than to dispel it with openmindedness and fair play. This interaction between fear and reaction then sets on a vicious cycle that multiplies both the fear and the reaction. This is what makes meaningful coalitions between the Black and White totally impossible. Also this is what makes Whites act as a group and hence become culpable as a group.

In any case, even if there was a real fundamental difference in thinking amongst Whites vis-a-vis Blacks, the very fact that those disgruntled Whites

remain to enjoy the fruits of the system would alone be enough to condemn them at Nuremberg. Listen to Karl Jaspers writing on the concept of metaphysical guilt:

“There exists amongst men, because they are men, a solidarity through which each shares responsibility for every injustice and every wrong committed in the world and especially for crimes that are committed in his presence or of which he cannot be ignorant. If I do not do whatever I can to prevent them, I am an accomplice in them. If I have risked my life in order to prevent the murder of other men, if I had stood silent, I feel guilty in a sense that cannot in any adequate fashion be understood juridically or politically or morally. . . . That I am still alive after such things have been done weighs on me as a guilt that cannot be expiated.

“Somewhere in the heart of human relations, an absolute command imposes itself: in case of criminal attack or of living conditions that threaten physical being, accept life for all together or not at all.”

Thus if Whites in general do not like what is happening to Black people, they have the power in them to stop it here and now. We, on the other hand, have every reason to bundle them together and blame them jointly

One can of course say that Blacks too are to blame for allowing the situation to exist. Or to drive the point even further, one may point out that there are Black policemen and Black special branch agents. To take the last point first, I must state categorically that there is no such thing as a Black policeman. Any Black man who props the system up actively has lost the right to be considered part of the Black world: he has sold his soul for thirty pieces of silver and finds that he is in fact not acceptable to the White society he sought to join. These are colourless white lackeys who live in a marginal world of unhappiness. They are extensions of the enemy into our ranks. On the other hand, the rest of the Black world is kept in check purely because of powerlessness.

Powerlessness breeds a race of beggars who smile at the enemy and swear at him in the sanctity of their toilets; who shout “Baas” willingly during the day and call the White man a dog in their buses as they go home. Once again the concept of fear is at the heart of this two-faced behaviour on the part of the conquered Blacks.

This concept of fear has now taken a different dimension. One frequently hears people say of someone who has just been arrested or banned—“there is no smoke without fire” or if the guy was outspoken—“he asked for it, I am not surprised”. In a sense this is almost defying the security police; they cannot be wrong; if they could break the Rivonia plot, what makes them afraid of an individual to the point of banning him unless there is something—which we do not know?

This kind of logic, found to varying degrees in the Afrikaaner, the English and the Black communities, is dangerous for it completely misses the point

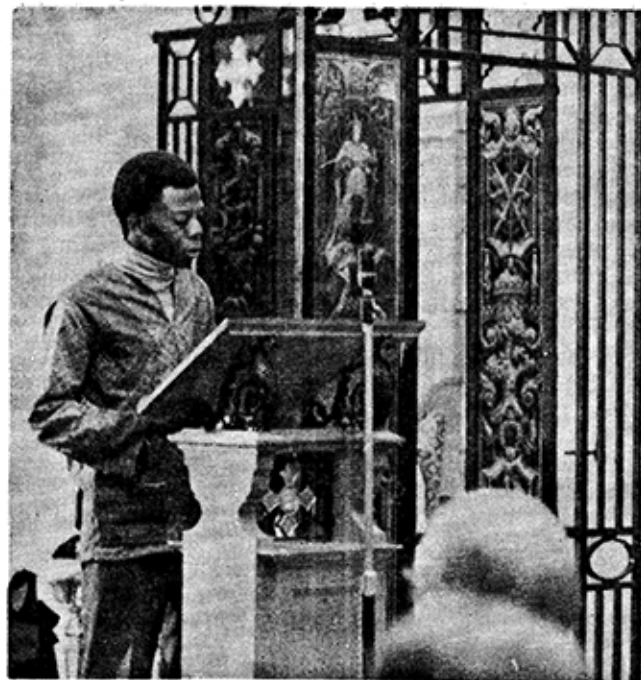
and reinforces irrational action on the part of the security police.

The fact of the matter is that the government and its security forces are also ruled by fear, in spite of their immense power. Like anyone living in mortal fear, they occasionally resort to irrational actions in the hope that a show of strength rather than proper intelligence might scare the resistors satisfactorily. This is the basis of security operations in South Africa most of the time. If they know there are some 3 missionaries who are dangerous to their interest but whose identity is unknown, they would rather deport about 80 missionaries and hope that the 3 are among them that use some brains and find out who the three are. This was also the basis of the arrest of about 5,000 during the so-called "Poqo" raids of 1963. And of course the laws from which security police derive their power are so vague and sweeping as to allow for all this. Hence one concludes that the South African security system is force-oriented rather than intelligence-oriented. One may of course add that this type of mentality, in this country, stretches all the way from State security to the syle of rugby Whites adopt. It has become their way of life.

One will therefore not be surprised if it proves very difficult to accept that "there is room for all of us at the rendezvous of victory". The tripartate system of fear—that of Whites fearing the Blacks, Blacks fearing Whites and the government fearing Blacks and wishing to allay the fear amongst Whites—makes it difficult to establish rapport amongst the two segments of the community. The fact of living apart adds a different dimension and perhaps a more serious one—it makes the aspirations of the two groups diametrically opposed. The White strategy so far has been to systematically break down the resistance of the Blacks to the point where the latter would accept crumbs from the White table. This we have shown we reject unequivocally; and now the stage is therefore set for a very interesting turn of events.

Freedom's child  
you have been denied too long  
fill your lungs and cry rage  
step forward and take your rightful place  
you're not going to grow up  
knocking at the back door  
for you there will be no travelling  
third class enforced by law  
with segregated schooling and sitting on the floor  
the rivers of our land, mountain tops  
and the shore  
it is yours, you will not be denied anymore  
Cry rage, freedom's child

James Matthews



MAJAKATHATA MOKOENA—Executive Committee Member of the Soweto S.R.C.

**"TRIBUTE TO  
STEVE BIKO"**

delivered by  
M. Mokoena  
(SSRC)

at the Steve  
Biko Memorial  
Service held at  
St. Paul's Cathed-  
ral, London,  
on the 20th  
Sept., 1977.

We, the Soweto Students Representative Council pay tribute to our murdered brother and leader Bantu Steve Biko. We also mourn the deaths of our brothers who died the same way as he did. All these killings are meant to destroy the high spirit of revolution among the Azanians. It is meant to demoralise the people who have decided to be free. They killed and laughed at the dead of Azania. Thy spat on the graves of our dead and cherished every minute of it.

The white minority racist regime of South Africa murdered the father of black consciousness thinking that the struggle will stop and die out, but that shall never be achieved by the racists. There is no one who can change the minds of the people who have decided to be free. Our struggle will still continue amid the merciless massacre of our people and country-wide arrests and detentions.

We are walking on a thorny road towards freedom. Each time one of us falls he encourages us, enabling us to move at a faster pace. We have walked the road of slavery, and racial discrimination for centuries, and we are gradually nearing the end of it. We have trudged through swampy forests and rocky roads. Along the way we have met with resistance. We have seen

hundreds of our toddlers die from disease and malnutrition. We have seen innocent school children fall before the merciless barrel of the white man's gun. We have seen blood gushing out of the mouths of our dying brothers. We have felt cold sweat running down our spines at the sight of white paratroopers, who always carried death along with them.

We have seen people torn apart with a parcel bomb. Scores of others dying in detention. Yet we still go on with this dangerous game. We continue the dangerous game of seeking freedom, and human rights.

On we still struggle, because we know for a fact that there is no struggle without casualties. We do not want to be pitied, nor do we want to be cried for, because no amount of crying and pity shall ever break the chains of oppression from our hands. We shall continue the struggle without rest. Without waiting for the Messiah to come. Because our struggle is like a mountain of sand where we must make a perpetual effort to get to the top, where freedom is lying.

We shall continue the struggle amid the mass killings and the perpetual intimidation of our people. Hector Peterson did not fall in vain, Abram Tiro, Joseph Mdluli and Steve Biko did not fall in vain.

#### POWER TO THE RIGHTFUL OWNERS OF SOUTH AFRICA

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"Nowhere in the world today do we see whites exploiting whites on a scale even remotely similar to what is happening in South Africa. With this background in mind, we are forced, therefore, to believe that it is a case of 'haves' against 'have-nots', where whites have been deliberately made 'haves' and blacks 'have-nots'. There is, for instance, no worker in the classical sense among whites in South Africa, for even the most down-trodden white still has a lot to lose if the system is changed.

It should therefore be accepted that an analysis of our situation in terms of one's colour at once takes care of the greatest single determinant for political action, i.e., colour—while also validly describing the blacks as the only real workers in South Africa."

STEVE BIKO

#### BUILDING A NATION: BLACK WOMEN POWER

What is a liberated woman? One can get a hundred and one answers to this question, ranging from the woman who discards a bra' to the woman who has made a breakthrough into the man's domain, but the real meaning of this concept for the Black woman must be sought outside the scope of what is commonly known as women's libbers in the white society. In so far as women's lib means the articulation of interests that pertain to one section of the community only, the community of women, it runs parallel to our political aspirations as a Black Nation.

Without doubt there are isolated attempts to articulate this so-called cultural trend but its advocates are to be found largely among the middle class Blacks. Its influence in the Black community in general is minimal, primarily because the lower-income-group-woman has more fundamental economic considerations to grapple with.

South Africa has a unique blend of political and economic oppressive measures that make life for a Black woman as well as her male counterpart particularly burdensome.

The South African women libbers, no matter how "sympathetic" their general attitude is towards Blacks in our political deprivation, are physically and spiritually far removed from the Black women, to be able to forge meaningful means of communication. They are at best able to communicate with the middle class Black Women. However, to any perceptive mind, any dialogue between "sympathetic" white libbers and affluent or near affluent Black women with the purpose of finding a common ground over the question of "Women liberation", is bound to be distinctly paternalistic and unrealistic, for such dialogue by definition rules out any meaningful exchanges of political views and experiences.

The Black libbers have not only accepted this innocuous looking pastime but have also tended to, on the whole, close their eyes to the plight of some of their own people. The whole exercise is therefore a rather dangerous red herring thrown across the path of the struggle for real liberation. This unhealthy association of well-to-do Blacks and Whites has produced several negative offshoots. Not only have the Black middle class tended to drift further away from their people but have fully absorbed white values to an amazing degree. The lower income groups on the other hand have tended to adopt a scornful attitude towards their middle class counterparts that they have always had for the oppressor-white. One cannot help feeling that this attitude is in actual fact justified as a reaction to the indifferent and often impersonal treatment that the lower-income-groups receive from their own people in public institutions like hospitals and other government departments, and it is this kind of snobbish Black woman who is at most times taken to be the mouthpiece of the people.

The international women's conference that was held in Mexico produced a lot of realism and foresight, to my mind, when the major political problems over the whole world received prominent attention rather than incidental

disabilities experienced by women. In South Africa Erica Rudden reporting on IWY meeting held in Durban observed as follows: "At discussion time, white orientated issues like bigger tax concessions for working married women and the social pressures on women who choose a career at work rather than at home, were drowned in the sheer weight of the problems confronting the Black women present". This statement to my mind is an indication that for Black women to resolve their unique problems they have to go it alone. However, Erica continues to say that "not that there was no rapport between Black and White women, but a feeling of solidarity of the irrelevancy of prejudices based on race, colour and creed in the face of the common bond of womanhood, was one of the exciting characteristics of the meeting". This seemingly afterthought sentiment, does not to my mind counter the fact that Black women have to go it alone—the oppressed and the oppressor can never discuss adequately what the political situation is.

I have alleged earlier on in this article that the middle income groups among the Blacks have become passive to the suffering of their less fortunate brothers and sisters in the lower income groups. They have often exploited them—this is evident in places like Clermont where a classic example is the exorbitant rentage charged by the landlords for tin shacks. So that whilst they are aware of the plight of their own kind, the middle class group does not grapple with the problems of the Blacks, they tend to maintain a distance distinguishing themselves from the masses. They are therefore in the main apolitical. It is arguable therefore that women coming from this group can at all be seen as advocates for social change.

The emancipation of Black women is a must, primarily because they are oppressed by those who are themselves oppressed and have thus lost their self-esteem through suppression and oppression. This, however, does not call for ganging up and grumbling against men. There is, therefore, a need for proper launching of emancipating Black women by leading Black women who will see their situation as unique and together with conscious Black men forge a meaningful re-educational scheme for both men and women thus emancipating women without causing lots of unnecessary heartaches. There is still an enormous need for research by the conscious literate Blacks, a need to remove myths and propaganda of the S.A. government about our people, and the affirmation of our Black identity has to be asserted. There is a need for self-criticism, after all aren't all Black women third grade citizens in this country? That in itself is self-evident, but then there is nothing as slippery as evident truth. As our struggle unfolds and broadens in ever widening diversions, there is a more urgent need for us to be bound by ties of nationalism but much more by common scars and wounds suffered at the hands of white oppression.

"You ain't free as long as you let somebody else tell you who you are. We got black people today walking around in slavery 'cause they let white folks tell 'em who they are."

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Julius Lester

"It never occurred to the liberals that the integration they insisted upon as an effective way of opposing apartheid was impossible to achieve in South Africa. It had to be artificial because it was being foisted on two parties whose entire upbringing had been to support the lie that one race was superior and the other inferior. One has to overhaul the whole system in South Africa before hoping to get black and white walking hand in hand to oppose a common enemy."

STEVE BIKO



**KIRUBA MOODLEY: reading the following poem at the STEVE BIKO MEMORIAL SERVICE.**

This poem is part of the script of "BLACK IMAGES" which was written and performed by TECON a Black theatre group based in South Africa. Kiruba Moodley is a former member of TECON.

i am 26 years old  
black female poet  
died the second i was born  
felt the pain and  
died with timol  
    with mdluli  
    with mohapi  
    with biko  
now all of me is a powder keg  
fused dynamite  
so if they kill me  
it won't stop  
the revolution

i am lover to a soldier  
i am mother to a king  
i am daughter to a slave  
i was raped at langa  
i was murdered at sharpeville  
i was mutilated at soweto  
so if they kill me  
it won't stop  
the revolution

i am married to the struggle  
my orgasm can only be satisfied  
by the soldier whose life  
will end with  
the passage of each minute  
i too carry a gun  
and keep warm his bed  
and teach our child how to kill  
so if they kill me  
it won't stop  
the revolution

i am part of the movement  
and must organise around goals  
galvanise our forces  
lay out strategies  
and work my body to the bone  
i must sweat my heart out  
and lay solid foundations  
so if they kill me  
it won't stop  
the revolution

i am in love totally  
with the concept—black  
and this love of self, of my people  
must conceive the liberation  
i am digging into history  
i am making a revolutionary culture  
i am keeping statistical records  
so if they kill me  
it won't stop  
the revolution

when they feel the bullet  
it is me  
when they hear the laughter of victory  
it is me  
when the hot passion of sweating  
black flesh lies love locked  
it is me  
when the gurgling child's first words  
are "power to the people"  
it is me

i am 26 years old  
black woman poet revolutionary  
mother daughter lover soldier killer  
creator destroyer  
i am 20 million strong  
they cannot kill me  
i am the revolution

## 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 Black man 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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### into the dark

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