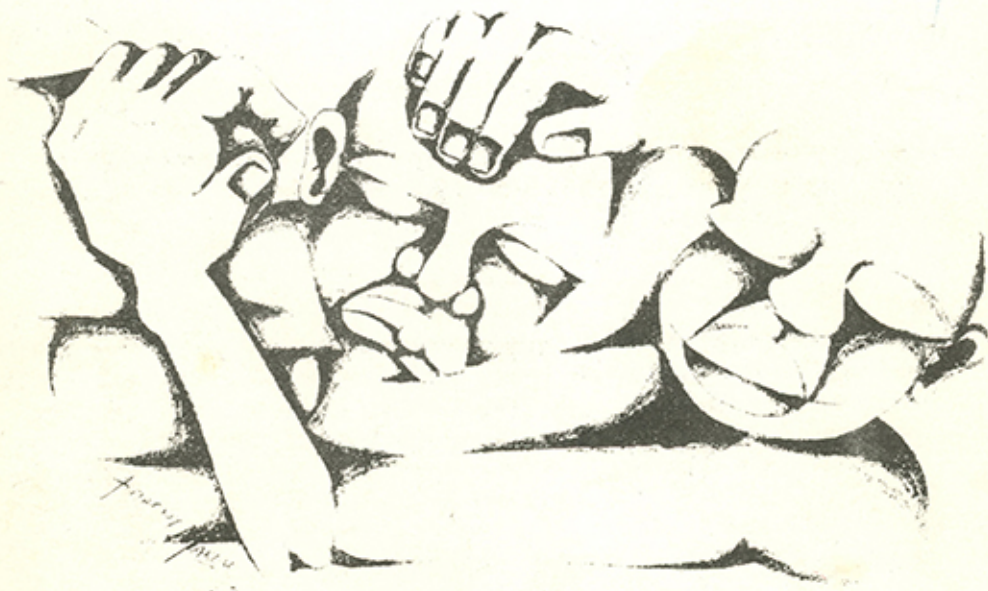


SOLIDARITY

Gymn
Kjølberg
No. 4-8

mm



VOLUME 1, NO. 3

30p

Editorial	1
Itsho: News Analysis	3
Tribute to COMRADE J. TONGOGARA ...	10
BCM Conference	11
Azania Focus	14
Biko Poem	20
'Independence' Dilemma	22
On Black Writing	28
SAYRCO: historical background	35
A Poem	40

Front Cover: Drawing - 'Comfort' - by Anthony Makou

Except where stated, comment in this newsletter does not necessarily reflect the opinion of BCM or that of the editor.

All copyright in this newsletter is strictly reserved. Any person or persons wishing to reprint articles published in this newsletter, in magazines other than SOLIDARITY, are requested to seek permission from the editor.

designed, published & printed by:

The BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA
166 NORTH GOWER STREET
LONDON NW1 2ND.

EDITORIAL

The year of 1979 has come and gone and it ushers in a new And with it has gone 'the year of the child' - to be shelved neatly in the dark recesses of some body to be brought out when needed or when there are no other nice liberal principles to declare the 'year of'. But while you and I have heard 'the year of the child', the children for whom it was intended - those of the third world and especially of india, azania - kampuhea and other countries - no doubt did not know of its existence or grand design. (Children in Weenen in South Africa are still victims of slavery. It was reported that these black children work for white farmers for up to 11½ hours a day, 6 days a week, without pay. Certainly they have not known or heard about the year of the child. They were too busy working

But we are in a new year, 1980, - 'year of the refugee'? - things are beginning to hot up.

The cry of the West is to boycott the Olympic Games or to switch the venue from Moscow (to Pretoria, perhaps?). Let us examine a few salient points.

If one casts back one's mind to the World Cup Football competition held in 1978 in Argentine, where there is a flagrant violation of human rights, there was not a whimper from the western world simply because 'one does not mix politics with sports'.

When national sports teams are called upon to boycott playing

against teams from South Africa (where, incidentally, sports policy is determined by the racist politics of the country) the answer is the same; 'one does not mix politics with sports'.

But when the country under 'treatment' is Russia (the communist ogre) then it is perfectly correct to 'mix politics with sports'. Now certainly Russian athletes have not gone to Afghanistan (I'm perfectly sure that they know that the Winter Olympics are in America!). Also Russian invasion or assistance in Afghanistan is neither determined by or determines the sports policy of the Soviet Union.

Now here is clear case of 'mixing sports with politics'.

In Azania the political uprising is continuing. The bannings of 1977, like the bannings of 1960, have proved not to have the desired effect. More political organisations are springing up, there are more militant activities on the labour scene, the people are asserting themselves. And while the people are rocking the system, the system itself is doing its utmost to subdue the revolutionary fires burning within the people by displaying and bringing into the limelight the 'puppet leaders' like buthelezi. Hence buthelezi can quote Mandela and get away with it; for it is in the scheme of projecting buthelezi as the person who will achieve liberation for the people but on the terms of his white political masters - which means 'independence/liberation' in the homelands.

But for these ploys and subterfuges, the people of Azania are certainly aware of what liberation they want and who, indeed, are their rightful leaders. The event of 25th January will indicate to the people that the war has begun in earnest. It demonstrates the extent to which Azanian revolutionaries will go in order to liberate their people.

ITSHO! news analysis - our perspective

1980 = the birth of zimbabwe

The Lancaster House Agreement is expected to lead Zimbabwe to independence after free and fair elections supervised by Britain. Already the UN Security Council has had to denounce Britain's handling of the cease-fire arrangements particularly the Governor's inability to act on the presence of South African troops within Zimbabwe. It is not just the handful who are amassed at Beit Bridge but, as Comrade Robert Mugabe disclosed the thousands integrated into the Rhodesian regular army as honorary Rhodesians. They are the ones the Governor used to murder 7 guerrillas who were on their way to the assembly point. Again, there are puppet-stooge Muzorewa's auxiliary forces who have licence to intimidate people to attend Muzorewa's meetings and bolster his dwindling fortunes. The Zimbabweans go into this difficult task, this exercise for peace, with the goodwill and support of all genuine revolutionaries.

But goodwill and hopes for peace and justice are not enough. What will happen after the elections? Will General Walls accept a Patriotic Front victory particularly Zanu? Muzorewa is decidedly identifying himself with the forces of repression, particularly in calling for the South Africans to remain

and blowing his anti-communism pipe. Has he got guarantees from Walls, the South Africans and the British that he will be installed by any illegal regime, set up after a coup, as their Prime Minister?

As for us South Africans, what does the horoscope read? Today the focus is on Zimbabwe but tomorrow it will be Azania. Have we got anything to offer the oppressed, toiling people except division, strife, acrimony and jet-setting? The Zimbabweans have done it through sweat and sacrifice in thousands of human lives, though it is to be regretted it was unavoidable. In individual pursuits and egotism, all subordinated to the demands of the cause of liberation. That is one many lessons for us. Another is Unity. It is something we ought to make the priority in our Agenda for the Revolution. We must submerge our parochial interests and embrace the revolution and the quest for liberation in its totality. The search for freedom begins with the search for unity among all patriotic and freedom loving forces of South Africans.

at home

Back home the revolution is being stepped up. Three comrades died in a bank in Pretoria recently and with them three of the whites they took hostage (there could be more). It is fair to say that they could not have expected to come out of the bank alive knowing, as they did, the mentality of the South African gestapo. But that was not the point: that act clearly ushers in a further development, a new phase in our struggle. We salute those gallant heroes; through blood, sweat and tears we will remember them; in Azania, the new South Africa, their

names will command a place of honour. In every the enemy must be harassed. Not only in polite bate in the United Nations or denounced from afar in international conferences, but its very heart must be pierced with the sword, where the heart-throb emanates from. Again, perhaps, consideration must be given to unsettling the extended arm of South African oppression.

Last year ended with the success of very important action by the workers of Ford Motor Company in Port Elizabeth. Aably led by the P.E. Black Civil Association, whose chairman is Thozamile Botha. The integration of civic politics, labour and the politics of liberation was demonstrated. We have always made the point that in the South African situation one cannot draw a neat line, as the whole gamut of oppression, discrimination at work, in sport, at school and in the place where you live demands a united approach. Again, the action of the Ford workers underlined the bankruptcy of the campaigns for constructive engagement. In real terms the wages of Black workers at Ford never improved despite the fact that the company accepted the Sullivan Principles. Another factor was the solidarity, not only of the workers, but of the community at large. When 500 workers were sacked no one else presented themselves at the gate to take jobs vacated despite the fact that the rate of unemployment, in Port Elizabeth, is very high. All must have said 'power to the people' when the management climbed down and re-instated all the sacked workers.

But there may have a catch - through the co-operation of the security police and the management. For no sooner had the workers of Ford won their

fight, then Thozamile Botha, Phalo Tshume and Mono Badela were detained by the security police. That at a time when further action was, apparently, being planned particularly over the question of the resettlement of the residents of Walmer. Further action against PEBCO was the slamming of restriction orders on Lizo Pityana, a vice-chairman of PEBCO in December '79. Despite such actions the spirit of the people has not been dampened and further action against the system will emerge.

the williamson saga

Captain Craig Williamson is the name of the person who was Deputy-Director of the International University Exchange Fund in Geneva. In January he willingly unmasked himself. In the presence of his real boss, Brig.-Gen. Coetzee, head of the South African security police, the murder squad of the racist regime, and Lars-Gunnar Eriksson, Williamson's superior at IUEF, he confessed that he was a member of the security police. His position in IUEF gave him access to the files of many people and organisations inside South Africa and in exile, who had applied for sponsorship of their programmes from IUEF.

It was Capt. Williamson who masterminded IUEF's 1978 withdrawal of support to BCM and a declaration that ANC was the leader of the struggle for liberation in South Africa. That move won him many friends in ANC on the basis of which he could be trusted to ingratiate himself further into the bosom of ANC. In that capacity he is alleged to have been a regular visitor in the ANC camps; where some of us are not allowed entry into some African countries unless cleared by ANC, he was allowed to come in and out

and lately he managed to install himself as the 'consultant' to ANC. 'Consultant' on what? What is his authority on? Were there no blacks in ANC to be trusted with knowledge and expertise in fundraising or liaison with the resistance groups at home?

As the dust settles down we are left with a chilling thought. How many more moles are there? This is no prompting for a sniffing campaign but, by the same token, we shall know other Williamsons. There are some comrades of Williamson's in donor agencies abroad here who have busied themselves in devilish efforts to discredit BCM and to undermine its contribution to the liberation struggle. They are still there. The motive is simple. There is no way that such will infiltrate BCM because our position is very clear. All white people are the enemy of our struggle or have embedded in them the seed of being one.

From Williamson, what about IUEF? There are fears that Williamson will seek to blackmail IUEF by making discreet and selective disclosures of IUEF's secret plans. There is grave concern that IUEF may try to restore her image quickly. But how will that be possible when the man who opened the door for Williamson is still at the head of the organisation? How could Williamson put as a condition of his going into exile the guarantee of a job by IUEF? How could Lars-Gunnar Eriksson, as late as November declare his confidence in Williamson when ZANU comrades voiced their suspicions about the man? Have there been any investigations? Although we have great respect for Mr. Eriksson as a person, we believe that he is honour-bound to resign his position & accept that his mistakes of judgement, in t

respect, are fatal. Then under new management IUEF can set about the task of restoring its image among South African liberation organisations.

At home we can expect now a whole series of arrests, detentions and bannings. Trials will be stage-managed where the 'new' Capt. Williamson will baffle a pliant judiciary about his intimate knowledge. We note that funds that were being sent by Williamson to contacts at home always managed to go astray. Obviously, Capt. Williamson was swelling the coffers of the security police so that more informers could be engaged. As for us, we are grateful that we are not recognised by IUEF as a liberation organisation as Williamson resumes his duties ignorant about who we are and how we prepare to conduct our assault on him and all that he stands for.

politics in sport - two cases

'Russia does not play games', says a Tory poster, 'it conquers'. With that the world is urged to boycott the Olympic Games in Moscow this year. This is part of a compendium of retaliatory actions or sanctions devised by the West for an apparent invasion of Afghanistan. It is interesting to note that the government of Afghanistan does not say that its territory has been violated. A fitting excuse is then found for the whipping up of a war-psychosis in London and Washington. Mohammad Ali, a parapetetic pawn of Carterism, is touring the African capitals singing his one word song, 'Boycott'.

Meanwhile, the same Margaret Thatcher declared that she was unable to stop the forthcoming British Lions tour of South Africa. What protests there

might have been were feeble and muted and not signed to stop the tour. And in South Africa, we are writing, men, women and children are pi in the jails for expressing legitimate views, others have been murdered and others undergo t ure. There is no way in which they can buy th selves into privilege because nature has wille that they be Black. It is interesting to note these two studies in order to see the hypocrisy the West.

'Don't play with apartheid', we say.



Thozamile Botha - Chairman of Port Elizabeth Black Civic Assoc.

TRIBUTE TO

JOSIAH TONGOGARA

Commander of the Zimbabwe
African National Liberation
Army (ZANLA))

On behalf of the general member-
ship of BCM within Azania, Europe,
Asia, and Africa, we would like to
express our sincerest condolences
to you (ZANU) on the loss of
Comrade GENERAL J. TONGOGARA,
a brilliant Zimbabwean son, fighter
and hero of Africa.

This is not only the Patriotic Front
of ZANU, in particular, who have
suffered the loss but also all pro-
gressive revolutionaries who have
lost a committed comrade, teacher,
leader of the revolution;
whose example will live on until
Azania is totally liberated;
whose example will be carried on-
ward to victory by his patriots
in Zimbabwe, and others in the
southern region of our motherland.

In the name of ZANU, we give you courage; and let his death also
give you courage. Through ZANU, we extend to his closest
family our warm revolutionary sympathies.

With fraternal greetings on your glorious, victorious return to
our motherland.

Long live the Zimbabwean revolution! Long live liberated
Zimbabwe! May peace rain forever!



BCM CONFERENCE

At a consultative meeting between representatives
of the newly re-organised black consciousness move-
ment regions in Europe, USA, Botswana and the UK,
it was decided that a conference of all black con-
sciousness activists in exile should be held as a
matter of urgency; that this would be a meeting of
all individuals who adhere to black consciousness
in the struggle for liberation in Azania and be-
long to any of the banned or active organisations
in Azania who espouse the black consciousness
philosophy, and who have joined neither the ANC or
PAC in exile; further that conference be chaired
and be under the general directorship of Ranwedzi
Nengwekhulu, the External Director of the BPC.

It will be for the first time that black conscious-
ness activists in exile meet as a group. For some
time, sections of the movement have tended to oper-
ate either as individuals or sectarian groups.
Hence the urgent need for the conference in order
to resolve the major problems that confront the
black consciousness movement; to resolve quickly
and collectively. In addition, world events call
for a spirited totality of involvement in the lib-
eration struggle by all patriotic militant forces.

It is with the full awareness of these responsibil-

ities that this conference is so urgently called for; so that members of the black consciousness movement, collectively, can:

1. consider their role and participation in the struggle to free Azania from an oppressive regime; consider the nature of their struggle how victory can be assured.
2. consider their relationship to/with programmes for liberation that are being mounted by other organisations; help build on this relationship towards the strengthening of all forces concerned with the liberation of Azania.
3. attend to the other needs of members in exile.

It is expected that BCM delegates and members from the following countries will attend the conference: Botswana, Central Africa, Europe, Kenya, Lesotho, Nigeria, United Kingdom, United States of America & Canada, West Africa.

Hence, the conference will be considering various proposals about the future of BCM and arrive at a collective decision.

Originally, the conference was planned to held from the 28th Dec. '79 to the 4th Jan. '80, in Kenya. Unfortunately, and this occurred a week before the conference was to due to start, the Kenyan government informed us that a Kenyan parliamentary ruling forbids the holding of political meetings, by outside political organisations, in Kenya. With that it was back to square one and the cancellation of all previous plans.

This meeting is of vital importance to all con-

cerned black consciousness activists both in exile and at home, the urgency for this conference to be held has increased. Comrades in all regions are busily working towards the securing of a place and venue, and we are confident that the conference will take place soon.



● Behind the bush, is a mother cooking. Behind her in the single house, is her child. The child is sick. The cause, malnutrition.

The father works in the field of the White man they live in his backyard. He has no where to go. No work in the BophuthaTswana area. What is the future of this sick child?

AZANIA FOCUS

Several security trials have started in South Africa.

Thami Mkhwanazi, Kgokong Majatladi, Ephraim Mamoepa, Lebogang Mokone, Petrus Senabe, Moeti Phala, Sekibela Mathe, Mapheti Leeuw and a 16yr. old youth are appearing in the Pretoria Regional Court on charges under the Terrorism Act.

All have pleaded not guilty to enticing, encouraging and persuading several youths to undergo military training outside the Rep. of S.A. and then return to overthrow the govt. by violent means.

Thami Mkhwanazi is a POST reporter and the others are all from Atteridgeville.

On the 9th Jan. Oupa Segone, of Soweto, was charged under the Internal Security Act in the Jo'burg Regional Court.

In the Durban Regional Court, on the 15th Jan., 7 men were charged under the Terrorism Act. They are:- Njengabantu Sithole, Mandla Sibisi, Thabane Majola, Ramatlotlo Moses, Dumisani Damoyi, Themba Mthembu and Sithembida Nzuza.

Adam Masake was charged under the Terrorism Act on the 15th Jan., in the Jo'burg Regional Court.

On Feb. 4th the Mapetla Mohapi civil action comes up in Grahamstown. Tenjiwe Mtintso has given evidence by commission in Maseru.

Aubrey Mokoena, banned executive member of the banned BPC, is charged with contravention of his banning order.

Elias Sana Nkumbi and a relative (17yrs. old) have been charged with participating in terroristic activities in the Jo'burg Regional Court.

In another case of contravention of a banning order, Thandisi Mazibuko of Dube, Soweto is alleged to have associated with other people at a gathering in Benoni.

Soweto's top actor, Bingo Bentley, and his son, Archibald Mzinyathi, will appear in the Jo'burg Magistrates' Court on Feb. 12th on charges under the Terrorism Act.

4 members of the Soweto Students' League, Kedibone Mathabe, Makgalo Kotu, Simon Mashigo and Elias Modiga, will appear in Kempton Park Circuit Court on 25th Feb. on terror charges arising out of alleged participation in terroristic activities.

In the Vereeniging Regional Court, on 25th Feb., Sephiri Hlangane, Tshidiso Phofu and Thabiso Ratsomo will appear charged with sabotage. They first appeared in court 3 days after they were released from Robben Island where they were serving five-year sentences after being convicted on the same charges. Last year their conviction and sentences were set aside by the Transvaal Supreme Court and a re-trial by a different magist-

rate was ordered.

On March 17th, in the Kempton Park Circuit Court, Ali Lunkwane will appear on a charge under the Terrorism Act.

Last year 32 people were convicted under the Terrorism Act, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations.

The newly formed Transkei Youth League has become the 35th organisation to be banned in the Transkei by Matanzima. At the conference launching the League, Mr. Prince Madikizela, a practising attorney and son-in-law of Matanzima, condemned the independence of the Transkei saying that the course of colonialism still ran powerfully in the country despite independence.

Mystery surrounds the alleged attempted escape charge against the President of the Congress of South African Students (COSAS), Ephraim Mogale, who is presently being held under Sect. 6 of the Terrorism Act.

Police had said that a dossier on Mogale's attempted escape had been handed to the A-G to decide whether charges should be laid. The Attorney-General's office have stated that no record of Mogale or a docket on his alleged attempted escape is in their possession. Police stated, later, that it could not be said when Mogale will be charged or released as investigations were still proceeding.

A warder accused of helping 3 political prisoners escape from the top-security wing of Pretoria jail in December was released on R300 bail. Francois Daniel Vermeulen was ordered to reappear in court on Feb. 11th.

The 3 prisoners, Alexandre Moumbaris, Steven Lee & Timothy Jen-

kins were each serving 12-year sentences after being found 'guilty' of 'terroristic' activities & collaboration with banned ANC.

A 19-year-old matric student, Ronald Mampoena, charged under Terrorism Act stated in his defence that in 1978 he had been arrested and detained for 54 days because he had been selling the newspaper, Voice, in Mamelodi.

SASOL have sacked 11 Black workers at the Sasol 2 & 3 construction sites when work began for the first time this year. The reason given is that the 11 were believed to have played a part in 'instigating riots' at the plants in mid-December, which caused damage estimated at R30,000.

It is reported that an African trade union may be registered under the Industrial Conciliation Act - the first in the 56-year old history of the law.

The Industrial Registrar declined to name the union but the Motor Industry Workers' Union was the first to apply when the new law came into effect on October 1st last year.

10 African Unions have applied for registration under the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act; 10 existing unions have applied for permission to allow for African membership; 3 existing unions have applied for coloured membership; and 3 unions have applied for registration as mixed unions.

About 700 workers returned to work at the Sea Harvest fish factory, Saldanha Bay, on the 4th Jan., after a 3-week dispute. Oscar Mpetha, an organiser of the Food & Canning Workers Union said that the firm had agreed to an average wage increase of

more than 50% for all workers. Wages, per week, have been increased as follows; Grade 3 workers - from R17.00 to R25.60
Grade 2 workers - from R18.90 to R27.60
Grade 1 workers - from R19.90 to R32.06

The workers had demanded a fixed wage of R30 a week and an hourly rate of 68 cents. The settlement has ended a 4 month wrangle at the fish factory which is one of the largest on the west coast. The workers, all women, had walked out on 2 previous occasions over wages which they claimed had been as low as R9 & R10 a week.

It was reported that an Anglo-American Co., De Hoek Saw Mills, pays some of its women employees R28 a month and some of the men R52. Workers also alleged that,
+ men sleep in single quarters 8 to a room,
+ a married family lives in 2 rooms,
+ some workers on one of the company's plantation have had to build shacks because there was no accomodation for them,
+ one of the plantations has pit toilets next to the cooking area.

A police station in Soekmekaar, N.Transvaal was attacked by 3 men on the 4th Jan. '80. One policeman was injured. The attack consisted of AK47 rifles and hand grenades, similar to the attack on the Orlando Police Station in November. No one has been arrested for both these attacks. Earlier last year Moroka Police Station was also attacked in a similar manner. A former police officer was detained for this attack. It was announced later that the detained man had escaped from custody.

On the 24-25 Nov. '79, a new student body was formed in S.Africa. The body, the Azanian Students' Organisation (AZASO), aligned itself with the black consciousness philosophy. A 5-member interim committee was elected in Pietermaritzburg, Natal.

Among the universities represented were Fort Hare, Zululana Durban-Westville, Natal, Rhodes, University of the North and several colleges.

Interim committee members are; Thomas Nkoane(Pres.), Enoch Nhlapo(V/Pres.), Clifford Zungu(Publicity Sect.), Revell Nkondo(Organising Sect.) & Molefe Tsele(Treasurer).

Black attorneys in the Transvaal decided at a meeting in Johannesburg on the 25th Nov.'79, to forge links with black organisations which regard black consciousness as their guiding principle. The agreement was made at a meeting between the Black Lawyers Assoc.(BLA) and the Azanian Peoples' Organisation(AZAPO) and the president of AZAPO, in a newspaper article, criticised the role of black professionals in the liberation struggle.



Lyons Cartage (Incorporating Reef Waste Paper Collection) in Jo'burg still has black women washing in the open as there are no washbasins, safety-lockers or cloakrooms. The women workers use buckets and face cloths(for towels) while others wait a long queue for their turn at the only washbasin, a dilapidated lavatory in the yard.

the subsequent forced removal of Blacks from the land to the mines, the purpose revolved around land, its mineral wealth and the need for a large mass of cheap labour. This also explains to a large extent why the majority of Blacks had to be uneducated or if they were, only qualified to fulfill certain necessary functions.

3) Finally with the creation of Bantustans with eventual 'independence', the purpose revolves essentially around the safe-guarding of the control of land by the white ruling class, by having eventually '8' peripheral independent states, so dependent economically on white South Africa to the extent where the strategy of remote control has advanced to a higher and more sophisticated level.

'independent' bantustans

The position of workers in all the so-called Bantustans is approximately as follows:

More than 60% of economically active males are employed as migrants in the cities, of this more than 75% are employed in the mining, secondary and tertiary industries and the rest largely in white-owned farms, and a further 40% of all economically active males are permanently absent from the Bantustan (excluding those already legally in the towns).

With the changed status of 'migrant' to contract-worker after 'independence', the value of labour power, especially of those permanently residing in the cities, will be cheapened relatively by

reducing them to the status of contract labour. It is this tacit goal which lies at the heart of the 'citizenship' debate, so unsatisfyingly conducted in constitutional and legal terms by spokesmen and imitators of the ruling class.

In these independent states, a class of men and women are deliberately being created who will have a vested interest in the maintenance of the status quo, and highlighting them as the 'leaders' of the people, who will be willing to collaborate with the rulers in the sordid business of keeping the oppressed people in various degrees of economic and political bondage. The XDC and BD Trusts play its crucial and dirty role here. The Matanzel, Buthelezis, Sebes and Manogopes fulfil this role, of offering to the various ethnic groups in their 'homelands' the possibility of national liberation sponsored by the oppressors themselves.

Bantustans today represent the pinnacle of the Nationalist Government's solution to the land question. Whereas in the past, liberation movements viewed the possibility of independent states with scepticism, we are now forced with the racial balkanisation of our country, and this will continue in the future, so it seems, with a more and more openly fascist aspect.

The ruling class maintains that they are merely obliging the specific request of the people of the 'homelands' for independence, as voiced through those self-made 'leaders' of the people. We must maintain, however, that the balkanisation of the country is not only the concern of those who inhabit the homelands, but the concern of all South African natives i.e. all those who inhabit

the country. The function of a state is to govern a country on behalf of and in accordance with the expressed wishes of its citizens. The nationalist government has effected the idea of a referendum and has unilaterally, without consultation with the people, decided in the cutting-up of our country. The result of this action is tantamount to committing the worst offence of a state i.e. criminally ignoring the people. It is, therefore, up to us to consult the people and to demonstrate the rejection of the Azanian nation for the world to see. The conducting of a massive campaign to reject 'independence' is not only necessary for immediate political consideration but also, without the vaguest doubt in my mind, absolutely essential for historical purposes. Liberation is no longer a pipe-dream, it is something we can relate to in terms of its inevitability.

When liberation is attained we must be able to show that the nation has at some stage rejected the independence of the bantustans and, as such, reserves the right to re-incorporate the balkanised parts of the country into the common Azanian society, by whatever means available. There must never be any chance for anybody to say that at the time of 'independence', the oppressed people were silent.

The South African government would like the world to believe that the different 'nationalists' are being given an opportunity to develop along their own lines, in their own national interest etc. It is a fact that today there is no 'nation' in South Africa in terms of the generally accepted use of the term, but rather a national society that is characterised by different groups of

people having different language and cultural traditions. This is the same with the Bantustans where one finds a group of people with a common language and cultural roots.

I defined nation here as a historically evolved stable community of people based in community of language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture. In terms of the development of South African society we find that the oppressed Black people have, since conquest, being exploited to the extent where South Africa is one of the richest African states today, its wealth having been acquired on the backs and blood of the Black people. It is a fact that our people, as a whole, aspire to a stage where they will some day be able to claim the fruits of their labour. In other words, I am saying that today Black people have national and not territorial aspirations and interests. Even the inhabitants of these Bantustans, I am sure, will demonstrate their rejection of 'independence' if they fully realise the implications i.e. denouncement of their right to the wealth of South African society.

by Peter C. Jones - banned executive member of the banned BPC.
(this article appeared as a pamphlet distributed before the 'independence' of the Transkei in 1976).

... on BLACK WRITING

An investigation into the trend of Black writing in this country will show a commonness of theme, approach and overall expression that transcends style and the individual's manner of thinking.

According to my witness, Black writing has the following characteristics:

1. It brings into focus the complex nature of ghetto life.
2. It stimulates an awareness of positive values in indigenous culture, which was in no way inferior to the European culture if taken within its own context.
3. It draws lines between the traditional African cults of blacks and the decadent Western cults such as the Satan cults, nudism, the hippie cult etc.
4. It is not only concerned with racial oppression; but also points out the short-comings of orthodox modern awareness - the inverted idealism in hankering after bourgeois securities, the purposeless desperation of ghetto blacks and (in general) the alienation of the black in apartheid society.

There has been a change in the black writer's thinking for which no one can claim credit. All those writers who today seek a black influence in their writing do not do so in order to follow a fashion. They have simply gravitated into black awareness. Not for literary purposes. But because this

black awareness is their experience.

We cannot ignore the repressive intellectual context within which we must write. And the frustration that follows. racial issue cannot be ignored. General social conflict depicted by Mongane Serote in What's in this Black Shit in fact exist. Comparisons between town and countryside a vital challenge to the status quo.

Although we must of necessity adapt ourselves to South African brand of western civilisation, we have by all means possible to assert our cultural past and our cultural present - despite the non-existence of a national culture within the apartheid society. What's wrong with that? After all, some of us are not unaware of the literary effects of Afrikaans. Siphiso Sepanla effectively starts each verse of The Applicant with 'Ja Meneer I qualify'; 'Ja Meneer I admit'; 'Ja Meneer I ...'; 'Ja Meneer I Submit'; 'Ja Meneer I confess'; respectively.

How can Black writing currently be otherwise, when we are surrounded by those writers before us who have fallen into the trap of a capitalist-imperialist culture? Also, we are aware of those writers who classify Negritude and Black Consciousness as being racist. People who tamper with Black Consciousness and the Black Experience better watch it from now: the days of paradisaical innocence are over.

Anyone who has an intellectual or moral quarrel with black terms of reference within the given reality of white bass and black depravity is on the other side of the line. And therefore in favour of the status quo.

Black consciousness helps to fight the bourgeois, and at neo-fascist, context of white terms of reference within the apartheid reality. Black consciousness also faces up to the truths that blacks must examine within a situation of social and ethical repression. Without calling people to a sermon

I do wish to point out that Black Consciousness does not mean politics disguised as literature. Neither does it mean 'anti-white' writing as some headshrinkers love to categorize. Black Consciousness, to us, means the structuring of an alternative context to the apartheid context. As Herbert Marcuse aptly pointed out in his paper on Art in a One-Dimensional Society; 'One must revoke the Ninth Symphony not only because it is wrong and false (we cannot and should not sing an ode to joy, not even as promise) but also because it is there and is true in its own right. It stands in our universe as the justification of that 'illusion' which is no longer justifiable.' (From One Dimensional Man). Apartheid is there; in its own right on terms determined by a selfish minority. We revoke it.

Black Consciousness is thus a true reflection of our situational period. Black writing as a cultural product strives to do away false images of our black woman as in Serote's The Auntie Other Side; of our working class as in Gwala's Winter; of our ghetto youth as in Serote's Alexandra or Jigg's Doornfontein; of our socially secluded miners and of our countryfolks of whom much has been put down on paper; and of young politically banned student-youth leaders as in the poetry of Ilva Mackay and other young poets. Bessie Head's writings on rural Botswana are highly stimulating - and very Black.

We use English as a language medium. Our identity does not rest within the English cultural context, though we are conscious of the English sub-culture. Hence Black Consciousness can be seen as a transient force, an idealism; but not an ideology. As part of national consciousness it can only be subjected to the trend that national consciousness takes. In South Africa one can say that black and white are necessary to each other. But the relation must be of a supplementary nature. No serious black writer can allow white values and white expressions to override his black experience.

It has been suggested in some quarters that Negritude and Black Consciousness in writing have racist connotations. Here I beg to differ. The upholding of such a viewpoint is not only absurd. The viewpoint is an imperialist and racialist lie. Some people have been hoodwinked by forces of imperialist thinking and racist chauvinism into thinking that black writers have no claim to their Blackness. Black writers do have a Black Experience. Black writers did not choose to grow up in ghettos like Mkhumbane (Cato Manor), Sophiatown, Clermont Alexandra or Duncan Village. Neither do they choose to be pushed into so-called townships and into bantustans. This is a sociological factor that black writers cannot avoid. Inevitably they have the human right to claim a sociological imagination that challenges their sociological locale. There is no third choice: swim out of the muddy and polluted waters of apartheid society or drown. As Césaire has said: 'The function of a work of art is to state a problem - that's all' (A Tempest - introduction to; by Aimé Césaire). Even Mona Lisa could have been a problem to the age of da Vinci.

A social necessity manifests itself in most black writing. The necessity is not just to cry against apartheid. There must be more than that. And protest literature is not the final answer.

It is hard to make a clear-cut definition of protest literature. However, there seems to be three visible trends:

1. Where the writer addresses the oppressor or whiteman;
2. Where the writer addresses the liberals and calls for their attention to certain evils;
3. Where the writer addresses fellow blacks summoning them to look into their situation.

In all three trends, the poem or prose-work does not end with a note of directive towards the understanding and/or solution of the problem. Siphso Sepamla's The Applicant belongs to the

first category partly. I say partly because Sepamla's ironical stance shows an underlying understanding of the problem. Today's writing is rarely found in this category.

The second category can be seen in the short stories of Webster Makaza, Leslie Sehume and others; and in the poetry of Sepamla as epitomised by his poem, Pimville Station. Here is a poem so clearly addressed to whites that most blacks would hate to hear a fellow black talk so vaguely of such a commonplace experience as being at a ghetto railway station.

Fhazel Johannesse and Christopher van Wyk have a poem fitting into the third category titled; A Black Man and His Conscience. The concluding lines go thus;

I cannot help everybody ...
They can help themselves
Oh, you are so like your people
You cannot even help yourself.

The poem The Question went as far as literature of the third category can go. It closes with:

At the funeral: the father wore black
the mother wore black
the priest wore black
the people wore black;

They all cursed their blackness
O victory put on your coat we are losing
the battle to stay alive.

It has become conclusively clear to blacks that protest literature has no staying power in our historic moment. That is why we are getting more poems that ask questions and/or give answers, directing themselves to blacks.

One of the major tasks is to bring out or explore indigenous values without assuming parochial attitudes. If such bringing

out or exploration mean going 'the way of the hare', at least let there be hope for 'the stride of the lion'. In what one day be truly national literature. By then time will be absolved most of us.

If Black writing, which is cultural expression, is bad - the socio-economic pattern prevailing is equally bad. On the other hand, if the cultural is part of the socio-economic pattern, then the blackman 'must not appeal to a culture of the right to live' as Dr. Richard Rive told the S.A. Indian Teachers' Association, in his discussion on 'Senghor and Negritude'.

Mandlenkosi Langa is one of the few black poets who often take their strange way out of this society's suppressed expression. His poem, We beg your pardon South Africa, is a long one written in an inverted direction at the powers-that-be; the poet turns upside down his alienation by stressing the claims of the ruling class, and making twists here and there.

This approach of Langa is akin to the traditional songs of praise (Izibongo in Zulu) whereby the imbongi can freely go down town on the shortcomings of the king and not face punishment. For he shall be speaking the truth of which the king's subjects shall be aware.

People who expect we should uphold absolute significance in our literary efforts are wasting everybody's time. Societal awareness has no arbitrary boundaries; come Bantustan rain come 'kragdadigheid' sunshine. We won't get bogged down in the bundustan mud. Nor shall we bask in the 'ja-baas' sun

If the colour/'baas' issue becomes too marked in a black poem of writing, then the social circumstance has been more determinate than the writer - that's all. And he or she cannot be blamed for it. It is only a sheer misunderstanding of the

contradictory nature of prevalent socio-economic and cultural forces that makes some of our critics misinterpret Black writers, particularly the upcoming ones.

Let me conclude by saying that literature in English written by blacks can be over-stressing, immature, whatever the case, but it definitely carries a world outlook. It is the duty of the writers to shape that outlook constructively without belittling the legacy of the English language. Our historical circumstances may be unique, as some love to repeat, but it does embrace a universal character. Colonial history is proof of this.

Finding ourselves in such a critical historic moment we can only move on a socially critical plane.

mafika poscal gwala
(from STAFFRIDER, Vol.2 No.3 July/August '79)

Some lines from Mandlenkosi Langa's We beg your pardon South Africa

We beg your pardon, South Africa
for the lies your enemies and the press
have heaped upon you

Detractors say you're oppressive
but that's just another lie

We apologise
for the man who caused such an uproar
When he imagined he was a sea-gull
and flew out of a window
in John Vorster Square.

We beg your pardon, South Africa
for those who claim your time is running out
and that time is coming
for you to say to all people
'I beg your pardon'.



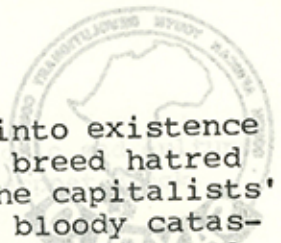
(SOUTH AFRICAN YOUTH REVOLUTIONARY

historical background

The South African struggle to-day is synonymous with discomfitures, defeats and setbacks. A fascist regime has reduced the oppressed people of South Africa to mere commemorators of the acres of their people whilst their neighbours celebrating independence. In spite of these and setbacks, our people have once more gathered strength to crush the pernicious system. Our people are presently aware of the task before the task of liberation. The philosophy of fast transforming itself into assuredness, today our people are more convinced and sure the enemy's political and economical structures are no longer safe.

It is under these hard facts of history that we have to know where we come from and where we are going, to clearly understand the operational social production relations. Indeed we have to understand the qualitative and quantitative of a given situation.

Taking the subject 'where we come from', one is forced to briefly analyse the events of pre-



The emergence of capitalism brought into existence new problems, problems which were to breed hatred and bloody wars. The world 'after the capitalists' ascendancy to power' was thrown into bloody catastrophic arena. Mother Africa was part and parcel of this ugly development and it resulted in the occupation of our land by whites. The people of South Africa fought relentlessly to ward off and repel the vicious monster but unfortunately the enemy was more powerful. The military strength of the enemy could not put our people into permanent submission and strong resistance was waged by our people against the invaders.

The first major black reaction to the invasion was war. Over a period of hundred years, from 1779, no fewer than nine wars of resistance were fought between our people and the frontier farmers, although our people were numerically greater, the spear was no match for the musket and the black power was finally broken by the end of the nineteenth century.

After all these wars our struggle assumed what one may term 'a conciliatory pattern'. The main aim being to bring the white racist rulers to the negotiating table. This epoch witnessed the emergence of black liberals and, henceforth, our struggle assumed a political pattern. However, the whites were in no way prepared to surrender or even share power with blacks and this white obduracy forced our black liberals to reconsider their approach. Indeed at this juncture the black response was swiftly shifted to the left.

In 1887 Dr. Jabavu founded the Cape Native Convention; for the first time our people were politically

organised to face the enemy. In 1910 after the declaration of the so-called Union of South Africa our people realised the importance of socially organising themselves, this awareness culminated in the formation of the South African Native National Congress.

The only problem here was that our leaders were imbued with a non-action spirit and this gave the enemy an opportunity to tighten the screws. The emergence of the African National Congress(ANC) in 1912 injected a new life in our struggle. Our people were again geared to positive action. The defiance campaigns were held throughout the country but the white government turned a deaf ear.

As the inherent contradictions of capitalism sharpened, people all over the world rose up to ensure its speedy destruction. Black people in Africa were at this point fighting to free themselves from colonialism. In South Africa the struggle was trudging very slowly, the defiance campaigns were once more employed. Towards the end of 1959, the youths realised the urgency of completely eradicating the system of non-violence. History had taught them one lesson; that passive resistance was not a solution to the problem. They realised that to bring the system down required mass participation. In 1959, the Pan-Africanist Congress(PAC) was born. Her emergence on the political scene was a boost in our struggle. The PAC was action-orientated than was the previous political organisations. This finds proof in the Sharpeville events.

The turmoil of 1960 in Sharpeville saw the leadership of these movements being incarcerated and both

ANC and PAC banned.

The bannings of these organisations had great effect on our struggle. A black curtain was put on our face until 1968 when SASO was founded. SASO rose in time to prove a historical fact that oppression will always breed fresh resistance and history will always punish those who try to prevent that resistance from following its natural course.

Revolutions which were being waged around the world and the fierce fighting waged by Frelimo, in particular, rejuvenated our people with a million-fold inspiration to stand up and fight. SASO, BPC, BCP etc had a programme of action; the move to conscientise the people far surpassed the enemy's manoeuvres to manipulate our culture. Great leaders like Biko, Tiro, Nefolovhodwe and several others, then languishing in the notorious dungeons of Vorster-Botha, contributed in no small measure in reviving our cultural pride. Slogans like Black man you are on your own were the major weapons used to gear the Black people to action, to instill peoples' cultural pride and to rally the people round for united effort.

Now the South African Youth Revolutionary Council (SAYRCO), long-awaited and lamented for by the people, has emerged. SAYRCO arises at a crucial time to solve the puzzle of South Africa. SAYRCO is arising and shining in the face of the Soweto Students' Representative Council (SSRC). SAYRCO is rising in the face of BPC, SASO, SASM & Medupe. In short, SAYRCO is the rising tide of BCM which is the language of the oppressed people of South Africa. SAYRCO has been founded on the realities of the South African situation. When you discern

the tide rising from 1968, the tide of people's consciousness and cultural values, you find the youth in the lead. When you look at the world's historic event, 1976 movement and the workers' strike, you find the youth in the lead, trudging in solidarity with the workers against the enemy

There is no doubt, therefore, that the young militants, intellectuals and students of South Africa, tempered and fashioned by the indignities meted out on the people, will form the poisoned arrowhead of the South African struggle so long they do not alienate the people, the workers and the landless peasantry.

It is on these that SAYRCO realised the urgency re-inforcing the Black Consciousness movement. Formed on a cross-section of the Black Conscious organisations, SAYRCO seeks to strengthen the united effort of our people against the enemy, undermining no effort by all forces that are engaged in the struggle against the minority regime so long as they do not contradict revolutionary aspirations.

The formation of SAYRCO was after the people in South Africa had decided that the ideas of the S would be better served in a national organisation. Therefore, a conference held in 1978, nationalised the SSRC. A year later the constitution was adopted and SAYRCO declared a national liberation movement. Khotso Seatlholo was elected the first national president of SAYRCO.

Long live our revolution!

Ratsiraka Russell Ndzon
(U.K.Rep. for SAYRCO)

... getting detainees to speak - beyond a certain point is intolerable - aim to extract required information - several policemen strike detainee at the same time - four policemen around him hit him back and forth - another burns his chest with a cigarette - still another hits soles of his feet with a stick ...

those who have been tortured are our reference
injection of water through mouth accompanied by enema of soapy water at high pressure (after such enemas the mucous membrane of the intestine becomes the seat of numerous lesions which provoke minute perforations of the intestine - gaseous embolisms and cases of peritonitis are thus frequently caused) frequent deaths - frequent damage to brain - nerve damages - introduction of a bottle into the anus

it got late

he still stood there
swollen eyes
battered jawbone

what do you see
they asked
say it
they said
he could not
be silent any
longer
it got late

he is placed on his knees
arms parellel to the ground
palms of the hands upwards
body and head upright
no movement
policeman behind him administers truncheon

he still stood there
his lips moved
his jaws ached
what's on your mind
they asked
you little commie
they said
come out with it
they ordered
what have you got
against apartheid
they asked

he stands with his face to wall
arms lifted
hands against wall
no movement
policeman behind waits with truncheon

they all stood there
it got late
his body sagged
they applied the wine
it was too late
his cracked skull
his damaged brain
his lips last effort
a frozen sneer
was the end of the little
commie

BLACK PEOPLE'S CONVENTION
TRIBUTE TO THE LATE
PRESIDENT
BANTU STEPHEN BIKO

THE «INDEPENDENCE» DIFEMINA