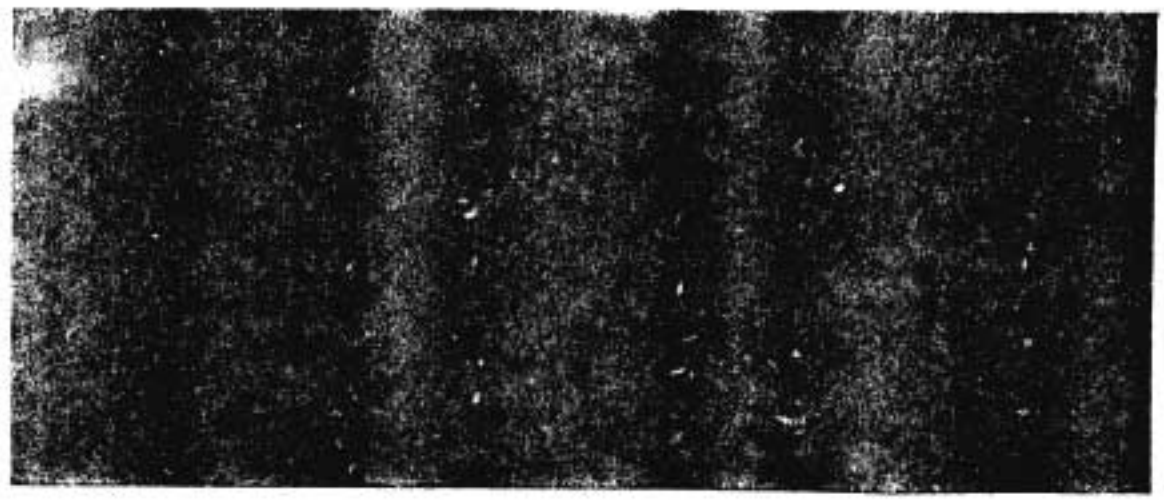
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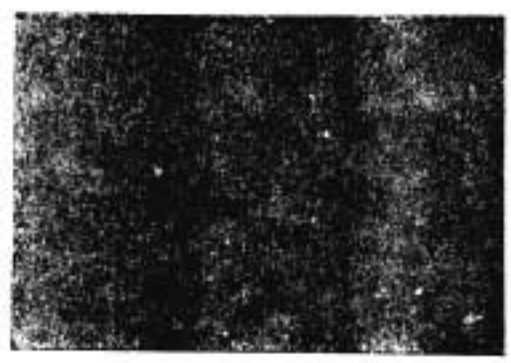
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CONFERENCE





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Except where specifically stated, all comments in this Newsletter do not necessarily reflect the opinion of SASO.

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EDITORIAL

Durban has been, during the July vacation, a hub of extreme activity. Not for a long time has there been so much given to the Durban public. The very successful and well attended SASO conference; the highly popular TECON drama exhibition; the revival of the Natal Indian Congress; and the NUSAS conference all held Durban in a grip of euphoric political and cultural activity. Highlighting these various activities was this new 'attitude of mind' being adopted by the Black youth — Black consciousness.

It was the focal point of the SASO conference; it came through very strongly in the TECON exhibition and was very lengthily discussed at the NUSAS conference. At the UCM conference at Camp Jonathan the discussion on Black consciousness took up a large part of the time. Startlingly, the mandate given by the people to the "ad hoc" committee to revive the Natal Indian Congress was strong in support for a People's Congress. At the meeting at Bolton Hall the Indian people showed most adamantly that they realised their struggle was definitely interwoven with that of the broad mass of Black people in South Africa. This was Black consciousness at work.

At the SASO conference the ideologies and direction of Black assertion were clearly defined. This is portrayed in the SASO Policy Manifesto. Although the TECON exhibition was multi-racial in character, the Black groups, Serpent Players and TECON, showed precisely the direction of Black theatre. The Black consciousness group at UCM, after discussions with members of SASO, realised the importance of this 'way of life'. However, a much firmer stand was expected from this Black group in this multi-racial organisation. All round the Black youth is becoming more and more aware of the necessity for a positive attitude as manifested in this vibrant philosophy called Black consciousness. At the meeting to revive the Natal Indian Congress the rejection of sectional politics and the definition that African, Coloured and Indian were brothers and sisters fighting for a common end showed that people were already fed up with the kind of things that were happening in the "dummy platform" camps.

Even the White liberal is slowly beginning to realise that this is a course that cannot be altered and that they (the White liberals) have to re-examine themselves in respect to roles in their own society. At the NUSAS conference the White students have decided to leave off infiltrating Black campuses, although they would remain an open body. At the UCM conference a White consciousness group has already begun to examine their role in the White society — to find ways and means of changing not only their own attitudes but also the attitudes of their parents.

Yet there is a large group of White liberals whom this article finds necessary to examine in the light of Black consciousness. Extremely perturbed by the rejection he is experiencing at all Black centres the "liberal" is displaying signs of emotional hysterics. Denied the right to control and have chief say in the running of affairs of the Black he is now turning to smearing organisations like SASO as racist. Very often, young Blacks who are still tied to the apron strings of the White "liberal" come up and say, "I'snt SASO Black nationalist orientated?" Obviously this is the catch phrase of the White "liberal".

In any case one would like to know what is wrong with nationalism. Anyone who knows his history will accept the fact that nationalism is one of the strongest positive movements of the present day. India gained independence because of this concept of nationalism. Many other countries, which were oppressed by colonial powers managed to throw off the shackles of oppression only after they had become aware of nationalism. Here in South Africa the term Nationalism is taboo. The nationalism practised in this country is not nationalism but oppression by one group of people, who feel they are superior, over another group of people — merely because of the colour of their skin.

In his guilt the White "liberal" believes that the Black people will in turn begin to oppress them. This is the gross misapprehension on the part of the White "liberal". Clearly he has no trust in the actions of the Blackman. Unfortunately, this in-born attitude forces him to believe that the Blackman cannot think or act intelligently.

The White "liberal's" behavioural pattern, when in contact with Blacks, reveals this subconscious doubt he carries around with him. This is the prime reason for his fear and condemnation of Black consciousness or as he refers to it — Black nationalism.

All these "liberals" cannot come to grips with the idea of being excluded from any political involvement with the Blackman. Grabbing at the final straw of multi-racalism, the "liberal" is pushing forward all kinds of theories, explanations and ideologies trying to convince himself and the Black youth of his validity to the Blackman's struggle. Now, these White "liberals" are taking things a step further and have the audacity to tell us what Black consciousness is all about. A prominent Doctor of Philosophy and lecturer at the University of Natal has prepared a paper on "Black Power in South Africa". This is a typical example of how the paternalistic "liberal" is intent on infiltrating the ranks of the Black assertionist. But the Black youth is fed up with his over bearing paternalism, his sick condescension, his selfish concern "to find himself through contact with the Black man", his attempts to turn the race struggle into a class struggle, and the numerous surveys that analyse and dissect the "problems" of the Blackman.

This is the sickness of the White "liberal". He refuses to step down quietly from the platform and retreat into the ranks of the Whiteman where the real problem lies. Introspection and re-direction of themselves are the only steps the "liberal" can take. The problems are in their own communities. Coming to Black people and saying there are some "good Whites" is all very well, but it is not the answer to the salvation of the Black man. The "liberal" cannot continue to live in this hazy world of dual identities and perpetual vagueness. He must find his direction before it is too late.

THE 2ND GENERAL STUDENTS COUNCIL

AN ASSESSMENT

by BARNEY PITYANA, Secretary — General

No doubt Black students are in the process of rewriting the pages of history. Without labouring to endear themselves to any one party they set about the task of reshaping the course of race relations in South Africa.

This was evidenced by the wide press coverage and general public interest in the proceedings of the recent 2nd annual conference held at Alan Taylor Residence, Durban in July. It needs to be noted here that the venue had to be altered from Fort Hare because the decision of the Council on the Rector's banning of the then SASO President was not communicated to the Executive in time. The decision apparently turned out to be a blessing as everyone welcomed the idea of coming back to Durban.

The opening address by the Hon. Mr. C. M. C. Ndamse of the Transkei did a great deal to set the mood for the conference. His erudite analysis of the role of young Black people in the context of the burdens provided by living in a racist environment was a fitting prelude to the 'talks' as students sought to discover their role in the context of the oppressed Black community. One must view personalities like Mr. Ndamse and others of like-minded persuasion as Black first and only then 'reluctant' pawns of the White mans discriminatory game. SASO must not lose an opportunity of placing itself on their left and help them make meaningful contributions towards social change. We believe in the total involvement of 'all' Black peoples in the struggle for the liberation of the Black man. Indeed Mr. Ndamse's address enhanced our image greatly.

Deliberations at GSC reflected the naked innocence and honesty of all students. The standard of debate was very high though blunt and sometimes hot. The censure motion on the Executive for inviting Whites to the Cocktail Party on the opening night did very well to clarify issues and the cardinal question of Black-White relations was aired openly. The motion was defeated but the debate helped to surface some inhibitions and later in the week led to the formulation of the historic SASO Policy Manifesto.

This document, clearly and simply, in unequivocal terms determines the SASO stance on Black consciousness, contact and dialogue with Whites, integration and our general political direction. It adequately answered the deadly questions of WHO we are, WHAT are we talking about, WHERE are we going to? etc. to the satisfaction of even those other parties who were in doubt or were wary of our 'racist tendencies'.

The importance SASO attaches to all facets of education is reflected in the comprehensive resolutions on Education. Of special mention here is the recognition of the inadequacy of the present university system for Blacks which calls for radical reform. It is believed that the present curricula do not prepare students for occupation with the suffering masses. They imbibe attitudes of subservience, capitalistic, individualistic and exploitative values. A commission on education was appointed consisting of Black experts and students to look into curricula, student-staff relations, conditions, etc. Recommendations will be presented to the university authorities for study and action. A call was also made for free and compulsory education for all Black people, and a charter or Declaration of Students' Rights was adopted. The Declaration sets out clearly our conviction about the role of a university to the students and the community it serves.

It is significant that while NUSAS spent long hours debating SASO, Council resolved by way of an omnibus motion to adopt the decision of the Executive on NUSAS as reflected in the President's report. It needs to be said here that while SASO welcomes the latest concilliatory moves by NUSAS in deciding against active participation on Black campuses in competition with SASO, Council saw its position as cut and dried and no major change in policy was necessary. SASO saw relevance in defining its own position regarding the Black people and dealing with the very many problems of the Black society, than dabbling in semantics about multi-racial organisations which it believes are irrelevent at any rate to the Black cause as it defines it.

May I suggest that conference failed in presenting a concrete programme for community development. This is a sad state of affairs because it is the Action Programme that will serve as a barometer to judge our own relevance. No attempt was made even to define how SASO views field work as a part of the conscientization drive. This is being remedied by the executive as it seeks to set out a detailed programme for projects which must be undertaken by the Black students. The debate on the incidence of strikes in the schools left much to be desired. No attempt was made to

grapple with an issue of such huge proportions. A characteristics liberal stance of 'urging' teacher's associations to help tutor expelled students and a commitment to starting a bursary fund was initiated. Not much was to be done by the students themselves. Excuses about the stringent Transkei Education Act were in vogue. Consequently, lots of promising leaders from the Transkei and the Ciskei are beng left to 'blush unseen' by their brothers. The Executive has plans to involve the students more intimately in the cause of the school pupils in the affected areas.

The gruelling sessions of daytime ieft most of us panting. The lighter evening programme was most welcome indeed. Delegates had the pleasure of attending the opening night of the TECON drama festival where the Serpent Players from Port Elizabeth put on a brilliant study of the Greek play, "the Bacchae". A contemporary presentation of "Antigone" pin-pointed the realities of our situation. That coupled with the Serpent Players, "Friday's Bread on Monday" and "Into the Heart of Negritude" set us searching for the Black soul. These presentations with the Malombo Jazzmen and the modelling of traditional dress were adequate experimentation of the vehicle drama to arouse consciousness. In this the cultural aspect was satisfied.

Yet Adam Small's paper on Blackness versus Nihilism at the Separate Development Symposium laid the philosophical and conceptual basis for Black consciousness and the new development by Black people to be on their own. A very bold analysis of the ideology of separate development was given by Mewa Ramgobin, and Dr. Bala's practical experience with the Transkei experiment blended well with the previous presentations. All in all the symposium was highly successful. Another symposium on Black Theology was equally successful.

One was impressed by the way in which the conference participants almost to the man stuck to business. The students were highly disciplined and purposeful. All sessions were attended anl the rate of punctuality was most impressive. One feels that Black students are beginning to take the cause of their liberation seriously and every effort is made to see to the success of our struggle. There was no tomfoolery when Blacks had decided to take care of business.

A word of thanks also goes to the Black businessmen and professional people who in some way sponsored aspects of the conference. It is gratifying to note how our own people respond to our appeals because it must be appreciated that we shall have to rely increasingly on Black people for support of our meaningful programmes.

The conditional proposals adopted by Council are a welcome elucidation of the policies and principles of SASO. The preamble and the aims and objects have been very well put. The language is clear and unambigious. The preamble analyses the situation leading to the Black thought, our conviction about the need for Blacks to rally together and finally.

> "to commit ourselves to the realisaton of the worth of the Blackman, the assertion of his human dignity and to promoting consciousness and self-reliance of the Black community."

This commital is further reflected in the Aims and Objects of SASO:

AIMS AND OBJECTS

1. To promote contact, practical co-operation, mutual understanding and unity among all Black students in South Africa.
2. To represent the interests of students on all issues that affect them in their academic and community situation.
3. To heighten the sense of awareness and encourage them to become involved in the political, economic and social development of the Black people.
4. To project at all times the Black consciousness image culturally, socially and educationally.
5. To become a platform for expression of Black opinion and represent these internationally.

The structural proposals of the President's commission accepted by the May seminar were also adopted by the Council. These were bold moves with the size of the elected Executive cut to five, the aim being to ensure efficiency and commiment even with our lmited personal resources and lack of leadership depth. Another innovation was the acceptance of the SRC presidents to the executive council. This ensures SASO of a strong foothold on every Black campus. Office Executive staff were increased with the addition of a permanent organiser. SASO's interest in the welfare of school pupils is reflected in the membership clause.

"Organised school groups can apply en bloc for membership." One notices that high school students are increasngly organising themselves with associations like ASM and JASC. These associations are based mainly in the urban areas and boarding schools. SASO can offer leadership training for school pupils and act as a consultant where the need arises.

The growth in the size of the organisation has a corresponding increase in its financial responsibilities. While a motion to raise affiliation fese from 20c to 30c was defeated last year, this years' GSC displayed a sharp awarenes of its responsibilities when it agreed to raise affiliation fees to 50c and the Executive was advised to give an assessment figure for each centre for purposes of fund-raising.

"That this GSC accepts in principle the suggested affiliation fee of R1.00 per member and resolves to defer the discussion on a fixed amount of affiliation fees by centres until the SRC's and/or SASO Local Committees have reported to their respective student bodies for ratification of the suggested fee and communicate such ratification to the Executive Council."

The two stand points may appear contradictory but they reflect an awareness of the responsibility Black students and the public owe to SASO. One hopes that the proposals will be acceptable to the respective student bodies.

The following were elected to the Executive Committee:

President, T. Sono (UNIN); Vice President, R. Phillips (FED. SEM.); Secretary General, N. Pityana (UNISA); Permanent Organiser, R. H. Nengwekhulu (UNISA); Publications, S. Moodley (UNISA, TECON).

Congratulations !

The opening address at SASO's 2nd GSC
given by
His Hon. Mr. C. M. C. Ndamse, Minister of Roads and Works, TTA

THE BURDEN AND THE GLORY OF YOUTH

Mr. President and Friends,

I am deeply conscious of the honour you do me, and also the responsibility you place upon me in asking me to open your Congress. You embark on this venture when times are momentous, and man is called upon to face up to challenges and demands of great import and gravity.

You are on the threshold of bigger things. You and you alone will see to the disappearance of the epithet "bush colleges."

To forbid a student to learn what he will or the teacher to teach how he will or to forbid either to hold or express whatever views he may have, "is to put a curb upon the adventure of thinking" and a nation where thinking is rationed simply cannot survive in today's world.

Nothing is more dangerous to a country than uncriticised ideas; the dogma which must not be disputed.

Innovations must always be accompanied by dissent, but there is a diplomacy of dissent and it is in the university that young people can learn it. A university which produces "robots" or human sausages does not and cannot justify its existence. Your burden is that you have inherited the remains of a moribund past and decadent philosophies of the past. May I also add Mr. President, that sometimes the feeling is entertained that the teething problems of of our institutions are taking too long to sort themselves out. Your glory is that you are not only alive, you are young. Yours is the involvement. Your heads and hands are involved in the shaping of men and women of tomorrow. Your unpreparedness to meet this challenge, or to coin excuses to avoid your responsibility and involvement is a crime.

Our burden is the burden of our sunshine land. Our territories and self-governing states will remain an integral part of South Africa this side of eternity. Our burden is the burden of the youth of South Africa. Our problems and hopes are interwoven.

What of our sunshine land?

Few countries on our planet have received from the Creator a land lovelier in its natural splendour, more generous in its climate, more beautiful in its scenery, more interesting in its human diversity, more gripping in its history, more opulent in its natural resources, more challenging in its problems.

Few South Africans ever see their land in all its aspects. Fewer still care to take a close look. Despite its poetic beauty, its obvious richness, its burgeoning prosperity, its stupendous achievements, its transparent piety and its incredible opportunities, South Africa still remains a land of "unfulfilled mission". Let us beware lest we lose the mandate from heaven. I venture to say this Mr. President in spite of the obvious gaiety of the rickshaw boy bedrabbled and with wistful rythmic jumps into the air, in West Street, Durban, the laughing Zulu maiden carrying, with perfect poise on her head, a vessel of water from a nearby stream, the dazzling and oderous display of wares from the Orient, the whistling, sinewy Zulu in his grey long shirt sweeping the double storey building in Hillbrow, the false paradise of a palatial building at Dube, the redblanketed Tembu woman with her long pipe of peace, the hoarse voice of a Pondo youth in the corridor of a train bound for the Mines, the Baca gang in its nocturnal call to remove the night soil, the devout Afrikaaner farmer fresh from the Vespers of the Day of the Covenant, kneeling down to thank the Lord for blessings received and expected, the immaculately dressed English-speaking lady who organises jumble sales for the poor, the jovial Cape coloured singing and joking in his own peculiar lingo, the most sophisticated atmosphere at the scattered Universities ear-marked for sudents other than White in this land, the feeling of protection, security and immunity albeit exaggerated, of a member of a Legislative

Assembly . . . signs of beauty, contentment, primitive bliss and enjoyment.

Often a mass of ebullient young black faces storm out of a classroom and congregate in the playground. Young people, albeit Black people, who will grow up to see the advent of the twenty-first century. The picture looks hopeful — what picture of education does not? — but is once again starkly misleading. Not one per cent of these children will even reach high school level; not a fraction of a half per cent will adorn the impressive hall of the Black universities of our country. And then there are the countless tens of thousands of Black children who will never darken the door of a classroom at all — either because there is no compulsion upon them to do so or because there is simply not sufficient accommodation.

Truly amongst the forgotten are many a flower born to blush unseen to waste its fragrance in the desert air. There is many a gem serene destined to rust. Some of them are "criminals" in the making through no fault of their own.

As we stretch our hands across the last third of our tumultuous century — the century of the common man — South Africa is giving too little and too slowly to the vast bulk of her population the education and training and leadership which would make them co-bearers of those ideals to which, in our better moments, we so often vaunt our attachment.

Our country has been called the "polecat of the world". The test surely must be not whether other countries are worse off but whether South Africa can be better. Written large across the face of this land is **unfulfilled mission — which can be fulfilled and must be fulfilled.** Unfulfilled mission of Black to Black, Black to White, White to White and White to Black. There is stravation in the midst of plenty. There is so much that is deserving and worthwhile in this country that shows compassion and kindness.

In our age, however, all this must be taken for granted. The test of ultimate social, political and economic success must in the final resort be sought not in what has been attained but at the price of such attainment. To right the situation is your burden. Your glory is that you were born for the hour.

The formation of the South African Students' Organisation is a venture. Your adjustment in relation to other Students' Organisations especially NUSAS must have been a painful operation. All operations are painful and even carry the risk of death. The doubting Thomases and prophets of doom and the touchline critics must by now, have exhausted their vocabulary of abusive criticism no matter how grotesque at times. Experience has shown that the most vociferous critics are those who do not and have never belonged to any organisation. These are the Big Brothers who occupy the front golden chairs in the mirage city of "never never" — bedevilled with cobwebs of pretence. They fear to venture into the unknown.

There is nothing you fear as much as something you do not know. I am fully aware that your enemies are yourselves. "Isitha somuntu nuqobo lwakhe" meaning "Man is his own enemy" — a little book written by the late Dr. Dube. You will be charged with hypocrisy.

I do not wish to dwell on your relations with NUSAS. Allow me Mr. President in passing to say my honest conviction is that you are not breaking away from NUSAS. You are breaking through NUSAS. The ideals of NUSAS have stood the acid test of time. The world has come of age. You face the stark realties of the socio-politico-economic structure of South Africa. You are carving your own future. Let all and sundry know that as Black youth, you have a right to be wrong, but above all you have a right to be right. Facts, history and common sense are on your side. Forge ahead with might and main.

Reality demands that you should be involved in the new constitutional developments and establishment. Your power, energy and know-how is needed there. Let us hear less of what people should do for us and more of what we plan to do for ourselves. To be perched on ivory towers on Mount Olympus and to issue canute commands is as silly as it is ridiculous. A word of exhortation:

> "Build your houses, build your houses, build your slums,
>
> Drive your drains where once the rabbits used to lurk,
>
> Build, build the ramparts of your giant town:
>
> Yet they shall crumble to the dust before
>
> The battering thistle-down."

(Quoted from "Beleaguered Cities" by F. L. Lucas).

Your duty is to your people and mankind. You were born for this hour. You take your place in a world of contradictions of the superlative — material riches and spiritual rags. Mr. President the term "non-White" is repugnant to me. If you are not James you are not non-James. You are Naidoo or Foster or Vuso. You are Africans! This is the land of your birth. You are the fruit of this land. At table while orange, apple, pear retain their individual identity you call them fruit.

In this decade there has been national and international advance and national and international and international tragedy. Some of the most important items of advance are in the realm of science. The astonishing contemporary advance of technology has brought the knowledge between the earth and the moon. But we do not know the proximity of man to man. Man flies to the moon and comes back.

There is human pettiness, and human selfishness at a time of humanity's greatest achievement. So while we salute mankind for

breeding such brave and triumphant adventurers, we think also of the rest of the human race, the lesser men and their inability to watch these achievements by making a better one. Man has been to the moon. One day he will be on one of the planets too. But it is on earth that he has still to find place and true happiness. We are at the cross-roads of preference. We know or we should know that a good man on a donkey is better than a bad man on a jet plane. The sick patients for Chris Barnard are not those with defective valves in their hearts. It is those who harbour hatred for brothers and sons of mankind — those who would perpetrate inhumanity of man on man and call upon heaven and earth in their eloquence.

These are the small men, the frightened men, the foolish mortals, spiteful mortals, the spiritual Lilliputians who see the writing on the wall and in their nightmares. They know in the new era they have lost the mandate from heaven.

In this situation you should be asking yourselves who will control the men of tomorrow? Brilliant as they are, are they wise? We are at the threshold of an interesting era — beset with the moral imperfections — who will control the men of tomorrow? Be vigilant and prayerful. Guise of prejudice, of envy, jealously, of misrepresentation and calculated malice from within and without — yea from your own ranks will wash you down.

I am, however, Mr. President persuaded to say neither tribulation nor harassment nor jeers will separate you from your set goal. You are on the side of angels. In your pilgrimage you need "perishable an imperishable food", so that you are undaunted and unruffled by those steeped in slave mentality. Along the hazardous road of pilgrimage the lightweights will forever be mindful of the "fleshpots of Egypt". They will be heard to whisper —

> "We were happy sitting by the superiors ready ever so happily to collect the crumbs from the tables of our masters."

Their text will supplant the sermon on the Mount.

Tell them security is important. Indeed the fleshpots did give security — but to slaves! Security at the price of freedom is the song of Demons in Hades. Lucifer and his group paid the price. They do not burn but watch others burn!

Mr. President, allow me to sound a word of warning. The permissive society naturally gives anxiety to old age. The fears genuine or imagined should be appreciated. Do not be too correct. More experienced men and women perhaps with better brains have sat where you sit. Build from their experience. Hold your own if they do not appreciate changing circumstances. Treat them with care. Do not spit into the corners of their eyes seven times a week and expect them to smile.

(Continued on page 19)

As Lewis Mumford says, they will have to understand, "every generation revolts against its fathers and makes friends with its grandfathers."

Blessed is he who has learned to admire, but not to envy, to follow but not to imitate, to praise but not flatter, to lead but not to manipulate. Tell your opponents that if you cannot lead, you will not be misled.

This age of adventure was built for men and women like us. But we refuse to make it our own. We can face anything together. If we stick together and stick to the guidance of **Him** who controls and wields the destination and destiny of nations, we shall see our ideals come to fruition. Our choice is simple. We have been made the spear in the flank of our time. Be prepared. Unpreparedness is a crime. Without a capacity for feeling outrage at injustice a man is nothing.

The time has come for young men and women to become forces of nature. The finest way to live is to become exhausted for a cause one believes in mightily.

You will remain a transparent youth organisation if you do not cultivate in yourselves and in your movement a profound and passionate concern for the values of man.

In the name of the Almighty there can be no truck or trade with the monster DISCRIMINATION.

Paul Robinson once said, "you can discriminate against me because I am dirty, I will wash my body, you can discriminate against me because I am illiterate, I will go to school and learn. You can discriminate against me because I am wearing rags, I will work and buy myself clothes.

But if you discriminate against me because I am Black, it hurts, it is too late to send a phone to heaven. And God avers that despite anything else you may hate about man, "he is a man for all that". At any event you are challenging the Almighty. The fight against this hydra must be carried to and beyond eternity. Let us all carry it to the heavenly courts with God presiding and Christ the assessor. We make no apology for our colour. We have realised that the Creator took time and tide to produce the colour we possess by His Grace. All the elements of beauty and perfection are ours and we envy no other. To uphold this we choose to rule in hell than sweep the streets in heaven.

This awareness is frightening to some people. A story in the Bible illustrates this. A man with an affected brain used to accompany people to the synagogue. He wore rags. His body was unwashed, his hair uncombed. He was the condemned victim of active vermin. Nobody took notice of him except that he was regarded as a perpetual nuisance. But one day, Churchgoers found the same man in church sitting at the feet of Jesus. He was normal. His body was

An interview with our President – TEMBA 'JOE' SONO

TEMBA is of medium height with a very quick eye. He is a bundle of energy and yet he is in perfect control of that energy. There is complete harmony between body and mind. Immediately, you met him, you notice the keenness of the man. We spent sometime together discussing the policies of SASO, the attitude of various people to SASO, the role of the Black student and various other important issues that affect the BLACK WORLD. At the end of the discussion, one thing was clear. Here was a man who was distinct in his politics. In his maturity he had managed to achieve that fine balance of 'rationale' and 'emotion' which is so necessary for any leader of an organisation. It is not surprising, then, that the second GSC elected so dynamic a personality to the post of president.

In the discussions we found that much of what we discussed overlapped greatly. For purposes of the article, I have taken four important questions which cover most of the controversies of Black consciousness and the Black people.

Interviewer: "SASO is racist." This seems to be a popular accusation against SASO. How would you counter this accusation ?

Sono: A charge frequently levelled against SASO by the White liberals and Black pseudo-intellectuals. But I think before one attempts to answer such a question it is essenial to point out that the motives of such people are suspect as I shall indicate now.

Because we are an entirely Black student organisation these critics wrongly believe that we are singing his master's tune. The logic is false here, because racism as is known in South Africa has the sole motive of exploitation and oppression. A racist organisation adopts separation as a basis for discrimination. The racists or separatists freely choose colour as a criterion which means that the racists opt for separation as an ideology. Separation is an end for racists.

Well, as you can judge for yourself, SASO is none of these things. SASO is forced to recognise political separation. So SASO recognises separation as a juristic concept, i.e. as a legal fact, uses separation to attain an end. It is therefore a means, a strategy to achieve a normal way of life for Black people.



Temba 'Joe' Sono in a familiar pose seen here addressing students at the University of the North.

(Continued from previous page)

Black people have no reason to cry 'racism' when SASO calls for Black solidarity because racism is a White man's foreign ideology. The Whiteman has no need to be reassured that the Black people will not be racists, when he himself for the last 300 years has been doing just that.

The Black intellectual, by claiming that we are racist is merely aspiring for those White values which we as Black people recognise as self-negating.

It is like this, the Whiteman has robbed the Blackman of his culture, of his identity and of himself. Now that the Blackman no longer has a self, he aspires for a White self. There is an inner cry in the Black intellectual to be judged by White norms, values and standards. This person attempts to justify himself not to another human being (which too, in itself is wrong), but to a White being. SASO, through the life-view of Black consciousness attempts to eradicate these spurious inbuilt systems of values in Black people. This obviously is not racism.

Interviewer: What is your personal opinion of the fragmentation policy implemented by the Nationalist government?

Sono: Firstly, let me state that the White Govt. of South Africa is solely concerned with White survival. So the fragmentation policies of the Nationalists are part of the strategy for White survival. But it is a Pyrrhic survival; that is why I reject them. These polices are like the policies of fascist, communistic, capitalistic or totalitaran governments. I reject these policies because their credibility is based on a denial of human values to a section of the population. The policies are futhermore based on the false premise that Black survival is contained in the whimsical will of White people. Black people never asked to be divided. This extends that false logic which implies that the Whiteman has the right to play God with Black people. The Whieman is practising destiny with Black people without a licence. Hence the fragmentation policies of the Government are a process of personal isolation and self-alienation. They operate like this: Black must be separate from White. Black must separate from Black. The so-called Bantu after graduating from a Kaffir through a Native, is now disbanded into Xhosa, Zulu, Pedi, etc. Even here the fullstop is actually not full. It is like a recurring vulgar fraction: in the Transkei/Cistei it has started The Tsonga will be differing from the Shangaan. The Venda wll be divided from the Temba, the Zulu, Tswana, Pedi, Ndebele, etc. The so-called Indian is also in for a heavy decapitation — Muslims, Hindis, Tamils, etc. The Coloureds are already categorised into several classifications.

Which further fragmentation means that the nation is by-passed for the race. The State is then preferred to a tribe — the tribe is further sub-divided into smaller groups and their clans, too, have inner cleavages which over, flow into the unity of the family and the sanity of the individual. Such are the workings of the framentation policies. Hence their rejection is inarguable.

Interviewer: Very often Black solidarity is seen as Black nationalism. Can you comment on Black nationalism ?

Sono: For any group to believe that it has the right to define and prescribe the most ineffective method of survival, this oppressive group is in effect asking for the oppressed group to consolidate itself. Black nationalism is vilified as extreme exclusivistic sentiments — but this is wrong because implicit in Black nationalism is the recognition by Blacks that although living in a common land with Whites they have a share of life which is not tempered by any colour god.

Black nationalism is a unity of survival. In a monolithic White-power structure like South Africa group cohesion is inevitable. The recogntion of this inevitability breeds as a certain awareness — nationalism. So Black solidarity is a necessary corollary of Black nationalism.

Black nationalism would be reactionary if forced to be faced with the fragmentation forces of the White nationalist government.

Interviewer: Do you think it would be correct to assume that Black student leaders can be in fact regarded as leaders of the Black people?

Sono: In view of the political, social, educational, and economic realities of Black communities, Black student leaders are in fact the leaders. It should be remembered that they are Black first before they are Black students. They have a unique role to play in Black communities and student communities.

Students are the intellectual beacons of any society. They have a right to comment on any social condition of their lives, e.g. academic freedom, societal freedom, and human freedom. Student leaders, because they are the pace setters in Black communities, must be regarded as leaders, especially in the absence of any power-base. Students focus attention not only in terms of the conditions of their lives, but also of the direction which their communities must take.

Students come from varied social backgrounds, and they bring all this background and their wide academic training into effective interplay with life in their communities.

SASO PO
MANIFES

1. SASO is a Black Student Organisation working for the liberation of the Black man first from psychological oppression by themselves through inferiority complex and secondly from physical oppression accuring out of living in a White racist society.

2. We define Black people as those who are by law or tradition, politically, economically and socially discriminated against as a group in the South African society and identifying themselves as a unit in the struggle towards the realization of their aspirations.

3. SASO believes:

   a) South Africa is a country in which both Black and White live and shall continue to live together,

   b) That the Whiteman must be made aware that 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 realiziing our aspirations, Whites must be excluded,

   e) That this attitude must not be interpreted by Blacks to imply "anti-Whitism" but merely 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 beliefs 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.

   (b) SASO defines Black Consciousness as follows:

      (i) BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS is an attitude of mind, a way of life

OLICY
ESTO

(ii) The basic tenet of Black Consciousness is that the Blackman must reject all value systems that seek to make him a foreigner in the country of his birth and reduce his basic human dignity.

(iii) The Blackman must build up his own value systems, see himself as self-defined and not as defined by others.

(iv) The concept of Black Consciousness implies the 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.

(v) BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS will always be enhanced by the totality of involvement of the oppressed people, hence the message of Black Consciousness has to be spread to reach all sections of the Black community.

(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 can never be realized in an atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust. Integration does not mean an 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.

7. That SASO, while upholding these beliefs, nevertheless wishes to state that Black consciousness shoud not be associated with any particular political party or slogan.

Commission on Black education

Below we print an extract from the papers delivered by the Commission which investigated Black Education at the 2nd GSC. The Commission was led by Temba Sono, our present president, and Chappie Palweni who was director of Education on the outgoing Executive. The Commission on Black Education was, perhaps, the most hightly informative and elucidatory of all the commissions. It was this commission which led to the drawing up of the charter on the Declaration of Student Rights, which is reprinted on page 20.

True education today should be that which seeks to make man the master of his environment, enabling him to use technological advance and not be harassed by it; to understand and come to terms with his own history, and his part in creating that history, to understand the place of his country, economically and politically, in the world, and his career in terms of that place.

Such a man is not only critical, but also possesses the capacity to judge and to act. The Hebrew people had no dichotomy in their language between knowledge and action; 'to know' was almost identical with doing or being able to do. Much of student protest relates directly to the falsity of this dichotomy, and it seems essential that we strive for its abolition, that we should be able to evaluate rationally the facts of any situation.

It is clear that Black people never had control of their education. In the past the control of education for the Black people was in the hands of the missionaries. Their aim was not to promote pride and dignity concerning the history and culture of the Blacks in the country. Presently the control is under the State and it determines the syllabus, the right of admission to school and centres of higher learning. The aim being to create people simply suited to maintain and reinforce the **status quo** in the South African society.

It is at this juncture that we as Blacks should seriously have a closer look at how our education is structured and controlled. Also to scrutinize the facilities and prospects available to the Black population in terms of education.

Prior to 1959, there was only one Black university college attached to Rhodes University which catered specifically for Blacks and also the Faculty of Medicine which is attached to the University of Natal. However, following the 1959 University Extension Act, Fore Hare became an independent University College to cater for the Xhosa speaking people. Division along tribal lines became the pattern when additional university colleges to cater for specific ethnic groups such as Zulus, and Indians, Coloureds and Sotho speaking groups were started. This division was done without consultation of the Blacks. In fact it was imposed by the government to foster its policy of Separate Development.

Now these tribal colleges have been raised to the University status. On paper they are autonomous but the appointment of academic and administrative staff is done by the Minister. Even matters such as financial transactions by the same government appointed Council, are subject to Ministerial control. The White councils and senates are the controlling bodies while Black councils and senates are purely advisory. If the division along ethnic lines was that the Black people should shape their own destiny then the Black councils and senates should be in control. Take-over by the Blacks in university government has been promised and now the onus lies on the Blacks to see that this change-over does not become an evolutionary process. The important factor is that Blacks will have a direct say in determining the direction of education in order to promote and preserve what the Black community value in their culture and history.

The Black academic staff is after ten years of the existence of the Black colleges less than 30%, of the entire staff. The table below shows

(Continued on next page)

the number of Black teaching staff employed at these universities at the end of 1969 or early 1970:

	Western Cape	Durban Westville	African Universities
Professors	0	1	5
Seniors Lecturers	0	5	7
Lecturers	2	19	29
Junior Lecturers	0	11	8

ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF:

The reason commonly advanced for shortage of Black staff is that there aren't enough people to fill the posts. While this may be true to a certain extent, cognizance should be taken of stringent conditions that Black lecturers endure. Free expression and independent thinking should not be discouraged both at staff and student levels. There should not be Black-White competition in filling vacant posts at Black universities. Preference should be given to a Black man the emphasis being on his capability and not his political beliefs or background.

STUDENT POWER AND GOVERNMENT:

It is essential that only rules and regulations that do not imprison a student's mind and personality should be enforced. The aim in education as mentioned earlier, is to prepare people for leadership in their society. Thus students should be allowed to voice their opinions without fear of victimisation. Also the authorites should be prepared to listen to criticism whether positive or negative in matters which directly affect them or their Black community. A stiffling environment will invariably lead to discontent and eruption of actions which will be viewed as being irresponsible and immature by the authorities. This is unfortunate but inevitable especially when there are no effective means of communication between students and authorities.

At such institutions what is the role of governing student bodies such as an SRC? Are they merely there to act as a glorified prefect system? It is a generally accepted fact that the SRC should also be represented in the university governing bodies such as the Councils and the Senates and the University Disciplinary Committee in order to bring the students' point of view across.

CURRICULA:

The curricula set for the Blacks until now has not been up to the expectations of the Blacks. The orientation is still very much Western and very little has been done in promoting Black pride and consciousness. There is at the moment a crying need for re-discovery of Black history and culture in order to put it in the proper perspective. The role played by the Black man in the South African history has been underplayed and distorted. As an illustration, the history of Dingaan killing Piet Retief is told in such a way as to ignore the fact that the Boers wished to dispossess the Zulus of land, and only emphasise the untrustworthy nature of Dingaan's promise.

Behavioural Sciences as presently taught are primarily concerned with European and United States societies. Thus it is not amazing that Black students qualifying in social Science and it difficult to implement effectively in the Black Society what they have gained at University.

It has also been observed that certain Departments at the Black universities have successively maintained a high failure rate. This applies especially in the Natural Science Departments. It would be grossly unfair to put the entire blame on the students. Certainly it becomes necessary to look into the organisation of these departments, the competence of the lecturing staff and the manner in which the information is delivered to the student.

ROLE OF PRIMARY AND HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION:

While looking at university and other higher forms of education the important role of primary and high school should not be undermined. The achievement of university education depends on the output, quantitatively and qualitatively of primary and high schools.

Here the Black community is faced with a number of problems. To mention but a few:—

(i) The enormous overcrowding in schools,

(ii) The acute shortage of qualified teachers,

(iii) The teacher pupil ratio which is out proportion,

(iv) The overwhelming number of pupils dropping out of school either because of lack of financial support or accommodation in schools.

(v) The change in medium of instruction when proceeding from higher primary to high school and also from high school to university.

(vi) The late introduction of certain subjects e.g. Mathematics in students career. (This applies especially to African students).

The task thus remains with the Black people, students included, not only to look into various methods of improving educational conditions at all levels, but to contribute as well whatever is in their means. This is a challenge that we have to meet in order to mould education in the shape we Blacks want. We cannot entirely depend on the state for our education especially after considering the comment of Winston Churchill in 1897 on a man who depends on state education "Reading and writing, the knowledge of sufficient arithmetic to enable the individual to keep his accounts; the singing of patriotic songs, and a gymnastic course, is all that he might expect."

BLACKNESS

VERSUS

NIHILISM

By ADAM SMALL

I begin by going straight to the heart of my matter. I begin therefore by saying that Whites have for so long been dominant in South Africa — and in other parts of the world — that it is difficult for us who have partly **come** to recognize and have partly been **forced** to recognize that indeed we are **not** White, to get those fellow-men of ours who also are indeed **not** White, but who have not yet arrived at this recognition, so far as to share it with us. For, the reason, the basic reason why they have not yet come to this recognition that indeed they are **not** White, is that they still look upon White as a concept which equates with Value. This is what the dominance of Whites have done to the psychology of those fellow-men of ours who I have in mind. It has sapped their will to be autonomously what they are; it has made them sluggish and indeed unwilling to draw themselves away from Valuableness. Their foolishness is their equation of Whiteness with Valuableness, which, we will see, is dangerous for them in that it will destroy them.

I am speaking of course of all those people, fellow men of ours, who should be Black and may I say that in this South African context I include under this term people of all shades of colour who are not considered by the laws and the people of this country to be White: Blacks, brown, yellows, what have you. And at this point may I say that when I was invited to speak here, I was invited as a Black, and immediately made a point of this. I was not invited as a non-Black in the way that I used to be invited, and indeed still get invited by some other people, as a non-White. This form of the invitation in itself carries a profound meaning, and I ask all those present here with us to ponder it. In itself it is a pointer to the fact that Whites in South Africa already have to contend with a consciousness which no longer cares to define itself in terms of their Whiteness and, moreover, negatively in terms of their Whiteness.

We have come, and we are coming, to recognize ourselves as Black. And at least part of our task is and will be to unfetter every man who is not White from Whiteness, that is from a misguided and dangerous belief in the equation I have mentioned. You will notice that I refer here to every man who is not White rather than to every man who is Black; for it would be false to think that every man who is not White is, through that fact, Black. This Blackness of which we speak is certainly, amongst other things, a matter of "the colour of the skin"; however, as such it is something to which not we, but Whites have drawn attention in the first place, and we have no intention of defining ourselves basically in terms of anything that Whites have marked out, or mark out, for us. Therefore it is not colour of the skin in terms of which we see our Blackness in the first place. It is in the first place, a **certain awareness**, a certain insight.

It is very important that we stress this fact in so far as we find ourselves in South Africa where Whites are present to an extent they are not present in the rest of our Continent, and where we do have, and **will** always have, and **must** always have ties with Whites in ways in which our fellows elsewhere in the Continent do not and cannot have. In speaking of our Blackness as a certain awareness and insight, and in recognizing that we are speaking thus in South

Africa, we are at once identifying ourselves with Blackness in the world at large and pointing to emphasis which are and must be unique for us.

The fact that we do not make colour of the skin the basic criterion for our Blackness must be evidenced that this Blackness is not racist. We have seen enough of White racism, we have suffered enough from its meaning — we cannot want to be racist in our Blackness. As I identify this Blackness, our rejection of racism will become clear. Racism is a phenomenon of inferiority whereas our Blackness is a phenomenon of pride. We are not out to hate Whites. We are out to treat them simply as people. Indeed in our Blackness we can accommodate a sympathy for Whites which extends all the way of the sentiments of the Black American writer who writes to his young nephew: "There is no reason for you to try to become like white people and there is no basis whatever for their impertinent assumption that they must accept you. The really terrible thing, old buddy, is that you must accept them . . . You must accept and accept them with love. For these innocent people have no other hope." We differ from this Black writer only in that we do not believe these people to be innocent — perhaps he also meant this only ironically.

Also, it certainly will be hard, this attempt to "accept them with love". For the natural thing for us, the natural thing as a result of White racism, whether crude or chocolate-coated, is not to "accept them with love" but instead to reject them with hatred. The things they have done to us need no repetition — we have named them often enough, we have protested often enough without being understood wilfully and otherwise not being understood. They "know" us, they are even "experts" on us, but they don't understand. After all, we still sing: after all we still dance. Langston Hughes, the Black poet, has spoken apt words for our situation too:

> Because my mouth
> is wide with laughter
> and my throat
> is deep with song,
> You do not think
> I suffer after
> I have held my pain
> so long.
> Because my mouth
> is wide with laughter
> you do not hear
> my inner cry;
> Because my feet
> are gay with dancing,
> you do not know
> I die.

The point, however, is that we can no longer care whether or not Whites understand us. What we do care about is understanding Whites to understand themselves — in the words ourselves and, in the course of this task, helping of the Black author I have already quoted, helping them "to see themselves as they are, to cease fleeing from reality."

We notice that this insistence upon ourselves, this new turning away from the White world towards ourselves, is not passing unnoticed by Whites; they have written about it in their newspapers where they say it is to be feared. We wish to say to them, however, that they have something worse to fear: themselves. It is true that we are loosening ourselves from their idea or ideas of us, and of course this disturbance is terrible for Whites. As our author says, "the black man has functioned in the white man's world as a fixed star, as an immovable pillar: and as he moves out of his place, heaven and earth are shaken to their foundation"; and, speaking of his nephew: "I said that it was intended that you should perish in the ghetto, perish by never being allowed to go behind the White man's definitions, by never to recognize that we are Black in senses we give to Blackness instead of senses they give to Blackness. And so, since we are upsetting the apple-cart of cosy White thought about Blackness, these people "who believed that your imprisonment made them safe are losing their grasp of reality". It is this loss of a grasp on reality which Whites ought to fear more than anything else: perhaps it is too accommodating of us to speak here of their loss of a grasp on reality, for in so far as they have always thought wrongly about Blackness, they never have had a grasp on reality. But then we too are only beginning to think properly about Blackness now.

This point that through our turning towards our Blackness, into our Blackness we wish also to help Whites to understand themselves and grasp a reality in which Blackness occurs — and occurs large — this point once again denies racism on our part, for racism desires apartheid which we reject as being a matter of alienation which we do not seek. Apartheid is a philosophy of enmity. I must define our Blackness briefly. As an introduction I quote the following quite beautiful lines from a young Black American poetress, Desireé Barnwell:

> "Will the real black people please stand:
> Those fearless of the unconventional,
> Moved towards their own blackness,
> Prone to influence and set trends,
> Schooled in their times and folkways,
> Dedicated to worthwhile endeavours.
> Attentive to meaningful expression."

The real people in this country are all those people who reject definition of themselves in the clichéd categories of Whites when they speak of "race relations". The "real black people" are those who embrace the positive description 'Black' as opposed to 'non-White' which is a definition in terms of others, not in terms of yourself. The "real black people" are "moved towards their own Blackness". It is a matter of not running away from yourself, but of daring to come face to face with yourself. Have Whites — in South Africa in any case — ever dared this? Has there ever been a situation in the history of the world which necessitated this daring for them as it is necessitated for us? No!

There has never been such a situation for them — not before now. The very situation

which now necessitates this for us, also necessitates this for them for the first time in the history of the world. Of course this "necessitation" is nothing like causation — it is still our free choice, a free choice founded on insight. We want to face up to our Blackness and all its consequences. Do Whites, however, want to face up to their Whiteness and all its consequences, even now? We have said that we wish to help them, that we can, from our position of Blackness; and we must add now that we are in a much better position here to help them than they are to help us.

I have spoken of insight. Our insight is this: We will live without apology, or as if apologising. Why, and to whom, must we in any case apolozise, or live as if we apologise, for being ourselves? We cannot apologise for being ourselves; we will live autonomously as ourselves. Anyone who thinks this is a trivial statement, is either hypocriticial or ignorant — for it implies that he does not know the extent to which Whites have goaded and do goad us to humilations which all add up to our believing that we live by their grace. Now we are rejecting the idea — their idea which unfortunately has also become deeply embedded in the souls of many of us — the idea that we live even in the least by their grace. We may live by the grace of God, but we do not live by the grace of Whites. This has been the biggest impertinence on the part of Whites — this idea that they hold life for us in their hands, that they hold it in their hands to give. This has been the idea of even the "best" of Whites — I mean those who have wanted to give us this life which they believe they hold in their hands for us, quite freely or reasonably freely. The concept of the liberal comes to mind here.

Our movement towards our Blackness means the realization, clear realization, that no-one at all, no men, hold life in their hands for us. We are not beggars for life. We live, we all live in this world, Blacks, Whites, all. The meaning of this, the profound meaning of this, is something we will try to let Whites see, to let Whites understand. This is one of the meanings of trying to help them to grasp on reality.

Protest will therefore play a role in our future actions, but we will realize that protest is a kind of begging; but, again, we cannot beg. Protest will be a secondary form of expression for us altogether. The primary form of expression for us will be manifestation of our Blackness time and time again — and, again, whether Whites understand this or not will not be to the point at all. We are not there for Whites. We are there. We are. That will be the fact for us: that we ARE.

From all this it must be clear for anyone who knows the meaning of culture, that Blackness for us a supremely cultural fact. It is, in this South African context, the consciousness that we have tremendous resources of the soul at our disposal from which to grow strong in every sense if we can succeed in eliminating the White man's ideas about us from our own minds. if we can kill in our own minds the ridiculous equation of Whiteness with Value. We do not say that Blackness is **also** valuable — that would be silly thing to do, in fact it would be to revert to seeing ourselves in terms of Whiteness. We are saying the sensible thing that only values are valuable, and that we have values and that we will work with them as we will work with them. This is important in so far as protagonists of **apartheid** — and, indeed also White antagonists of **apartheid** — love to cast themselves in the role of guardians for us, love to approach us as little children are approached, love to tell us 'You too have beautiful values, can't you see?' or simply 'You too have beautiful values.' We in our Blackness despise these people, we laugh at them.

Our Blackness, in other words, is a consciousness of our own worth which flies in the face of every approach to us that we know by Whites. In America, writes Addison Gayle, there are many White "experts" on Black "subjects", from Harriet Beecher Stowe to Norman Mailer (to think only writers); and of course in South Africa there are these White experts on us. Whites know us from the outside, they approach us from the outside; even where their intentions are as pure as possible, they are on the outside. We know them well enough from the inside. The non-privileged of a society always know the privileged of that society better than the privileged can possibly know the non-privileged.

Our Blackness will therefore appear strange to Whites in any case. But the way we will stand in our Blackness now, the autonomous unapologizing way, the proud way — I repeat **proud** — this they will find incomprehensible. We can help them to understand. However, our first task will be simply to live our Blackness on every front. Culture is a comprehensive phenomenon. On all fronts we will be discovering our worth, the worth that White cannot be truly concerned about in so far as, however, well-motivated they may be, they cannot penetrate to it — at least not at this stage of the world's history. At this stage of the world's history nihilism as Nietzsche saw it, that it is sheer self-interest, sits fast in the breast of the White man, every White man despite himself; his position in respect of the Black man is defined nihilistically — it is not otherwise just now. This is the stage of our world's history. Therefore, also we have to find the means to do so.

Our Blackness — the consciousness which it is, is not a matter of severing contacts so much as it is a matter of a certain historical necessity. Whites are fond of speaking of survival. They may begin to understand Blackness somewhat if they think that Blacks too have a will to survive the fury of our time.

If therefore, we reject **apartheid** it is for a much profounder reason — an infinitely profounder reason — than that we want **integration**; for we do not want integration, we reject it. We want to survive as men, and if we will not insist on our Blackness we are not going to make it in a world peopled quite profusely with White nihilists. and especially not in a part of the world where we have to live with them, close to them, even in the midst of them.

THE COMMISSION ON BLACK THEOLOGY

This commission did not present any fact papers but tabled its findings in the form of resolutions.

Stanley Ntwasa delegate of the Reeso Branch led the commission on Theology. All investigations on Theolgy were geared towards Black consciousness. The result of the commissions findings determined the role of theology in the Black man' struggle. Theology as taught in schools conducted by the various education departments was aimed at brainwashing pupils. The commission also found that religious instruction was being used as a part of the propagands machinery. The commission also agreed that teachers were not given any latitude to question the values of such religious instruction.

Realising these facts Council decided that the Executive "look into possibilities of revising the religious instruction syllabus in collaboration with IDAMASA and make recomendations to the departments concerned

But most important of all was the decision taken by Council concerning Black Theology. The analysis of Black Theology and its role as SASO saw it was clearly set out in a resolution tabled by Rubin Phillip, the present Vice-President, and seconded by David Modiba, delegate of the Fort Hare Branch. The motion on Black Theology was carried unanimously with acclaim. Below is reprinted the Resolution 57/71 on Black Theology:

THAT THIS GSC Believes that:

(1) Black Theology is not a theology of absolutes, but grapples with existential situations. Black Theology is not a theology of theory but that of action and development. It is not a reaction against anything but is an authentic and positive articulation of the Black Christian's reflection on God in the light of their Black experience.

(2) Black Theology assents its validity and sees its existence in the context of the words of Christ, who in declaring His mission said: "He has sent me to bring good news to the poor, to proclaim liberty to captives, and to the blind new sight, to set the down-trodden free, to proclaim the Lord's year of favour."

(3) Black Theology, therefore, understands Christ's liberation not only from circumstances of internal bondage but also a liberation from circumstanes of external enslavement. Black Theology means taking resolute and decisive steps to free Black people not only from estrangement to God but also from slave mentality, inferiority complex, distrust of themselves and continued dependence on others culminating in self-hate.

AND NOTING THAT:

(a) Christianity as propagated by the White dominant churches has proved beyond doubt to be a support for the status quo, which to Black people means oppression. This is clearly demonstrated by their over-emphasis of interracial fraternization as a solution to the problems of this country, whereas they are fully aware that the basic problem is that of land distribution, economic deprivation and consequently the disinheritance of the Black people;

(b) we hereby support those Christians in this country who are making a new departure to make the Christian message for the people of God, and consequently welcomes the emergence of Black Theology;

INSTRUCTS:

(i) the Secretary-General to convey the following message to all Black seminaries and Faculties of Theology in Theology in Black universities that they take a serious look at the training of Black ministers and theologians whose roles SASO sees as being intriniscally interwoven in the surge towards Black Consciousness and liberation;

(ii) AND FURTHER INSTRUCTS the Secretary-General to convey our belief that Black people are the best qualified to teach in these institutions, since they are the only ones who are able to focus theologically from the basis of their experience as Blacks in a racist South Africa;

(iii) that Black seminaries and Faculties of Theology take a serious look at the syllabuses with the intention of incorporating Black studies as a necesasry discipline in the training of Black ministers and theologians since it is important that they be enabled at least to focus theologically on their blackness, which entails looking back and reassessing one's history, culture, traditions and beliefs, looking at the present and assessing the theological and secular realities of the Black experience and looking to the future and their Christian goals.

These poems were
written by mr. Gwala
while he was at the
SASO conference
he attend as an observer

three poems

perspectives

I

dompas workpermit nightpass
ties sundaysuits
hairstretches complexionlotions deodorants
toothpaste aerosols toiletpaper
jaguar mercedes gee-tees
hi-fi taperecorders classics
whisky and soda cocktails champagne
sunday's beach saccharine tranquilizers
foxtrot quickstep tango
drive-in circus tradefair
superman tarzan
walt disney durban july
xmascards birthdaygifts
art galleries church services

II

gandhi nat nakasa luther king
lumumba malcom x can themba
castrobeard guevarasmile trotskygoatie
little richard floyd patterson sammy davis
muhammad ali huey newton elridge cleaver
jomo kenyatta banda lebua jonathan

III

auschwitz and babiy yar
hiroshima and nagasaki
sharpeville
my lai
pollution and thalidomide
pornography
immorality act
tv satellites revolving restaurants
dracula vampirebat werewolf
bankaccounts instalments chemistbills
junk and the gutter
prison and death
masturbation and suicide
better-than-thou
psycho-analysis
hawks eagles and doves
sheep goats and lambs
lurking in the darkness:
boss
and
cia
until
black magic hands
rise
in
the
darkness.

since yesterday

Mist shadows
cloaking the rich bushy hills
and waterfresh mountains;
Rivers flooding their wiry course
through growthcovered forests
and age-old villages
And stately
like the overgrown croc
they bite into the darkness
of distance;
Spilling the vicarious dreariness
of colonialist history
into the oceans.
Black living has digged
the past
out of the mounds of Benin
has reaped the hardiness
on the Ethopian Heights . . .
has dredged the glory
out of the womb of the Nile
has revamped the style
of the jive.
But who ever lied
and said, in Africa . . .
even the ivory tusks were savage?
(Just to show good faith . . . ?)
Yet all the lies fall apart
like a gossamer against the wind;
That all Africa's children
shall oneday come to know
today's Africa
as the black giant
that always had been
even yesterday.

by M. Pascal Gwala

we move on . . .

Black as frostbitten leaves
we shaft cold fear . . .
into the hearts of the sunbaked
we puff dry powder . . .
into the faces of the orangefed
Black as the shiny spine
of a powder-keg . . .
we fuse black truth
into the tunnels of the night
We are the Blackmasked ones
We are the Warrior profiles
We are the Black passions
long made to wait on tradebooks
and white ghost stories
We are the big gong
make a dong-gong-dong
suspended on the "Blackmove on"
dream that spans the desert
and the lifegreen jungle
We are the black violators
of the machine rhythm
in plastic cities . . .
and plastic gardens . . .
. . . vitriolic trash
. . . . in refuse bins
We are the rhythm of the jungle
long banked up by the ages
across the sands
of the Nile the Congo the Zambezi
We bring the tom-tom drums
Back to the 'daka' huts
and the box houses
We move on!

(Continued from page 7)

clean. His clothes were clean. The Churchgoers were worried. What did it all mean? This social change might upset the divinely ordained traditional way of life. Some citizens of the land were worried. When we march from rags to riches, some people are worried. When we march from disgrace to dignity some people are worried. When we become aware of the God-given physical attributes, some people are worried. Small men will be worried because they know that Black people are no mean citizens, and from them will come forth great men and women, great in the spiritual world, great in public life, great in poetry and in art. Our cause is good. There is no need to be effective.

The task is great. The burden is heavy. Yet the glory is yours! Who knows? It may be that to you has been revealed the "burning bush!!. The bush is burning but is not consumed.

We should remember first and foremost, that we are all South Africans and only secondly, that we have things to quarrel about amongst ourselves. After all South Africa is bigger than any politician. Yea indeed she is larger than any political philosophy — man conceived and man bore. South Africa will be there when our now much vaunted political platforms are in the limbo of ridiculous yesterdays.

In this you — youth with will and determination — youth with a predominance of courage over timidity should come forward even in spite of yourselves.

And with history, the final judge of your efforts on the bar of mankind, you will help develop the land we all love, asking His blessing and His help but knowing that here on earth and indeed in South Africa God's work must truly be done. And if and when you as SASO should have run the race it may be said of you one day:

"Not once or twice in our rough (island story) narrative,
The path of duty was the way to glory:—"

Mr. President in conclusion let me say in the words of the late President Kennedy,

" . . . Our guide for the present and our vision for the future: — is a free community of Nations, independent but interdependent — composing one family of man, outgrowing and transcending the hates and fears that rend our age, for HATE IS POISON, LOVE MEDICINE."

We will not reach that goal today or tomorrow. We may not reach it in our life-time. (We are however satisfied that this is the renaissance of the 20th Century).

The quest is the greatest adventure of our century. We sometimes chafe at the burden of our obligations, the complexity of our decisions, the agony of our choices. But there is no comfort or security for us in evasion, no solution in abdication, no relief in irresponsibility.

For it is the fate of this generation — of you in this organisation and of men and all of us — to be with a struggle we did not start, in a world we did not make.

But the pressures of life are not always distributed by choice. And while no youth has ever faced such a challenge, no youth has ever been so ready to seize the burden and the glory of freedom.

And in this high endeavour May God watch over SASO and over South Africa!

DECLARATION OF STUDENTS' RIGHTS

We, the Black students of South Africa believing:

(i) That it is the right of every person to have free access to education;

(ii) That this right to be inalineable;

(iii) That no single group has the right of monopoly to the exclusion of others;

(iv) That all persons have an undisputable claim to what has been contributed universally by mankind in terms of knowledge;

(v) That it is the obligation of the State to recognise these rights;

(vi) That free academic pursuit is the right of every student;

(vii) That academic fields are not restrictive in themselves;

(viii) That Institutions of learnings and all therein serve in the pursuit and unprejudiced acquisition of knowledge;

THEREFORE DECLARE:

(i) That it is the right of every Black student to attend the University of his choice;

(ii) That the Black students' choice of university be not prescribed by any ethnic factors.

(iii) That it is the right of every Black student to choose his field of academic pursuit;

(iv) That the right of dissent of the Black students with the instructor is fundamental.

(v) That it is the duty of the Black Universities to recognise this right of dissent;

(vi) That this recognition by Black institutions of learning will help eliminate the Black man's induced sense of inferiority;

(vii) That this recognition will lead to cordial relations between student and staff;

(ix) That Black students owe each other allegiance in view of their common oppression.

(x) That Black students have right of communication with other Black students;

(xi) That it is not the prerogative or right of any State to prescribe this communication of Blacks with Blacks.

The SASO Newsletter sets out to achieve the following aims:—

† to establish proper contact amongst the various Black campuses and between Black students and the community at large.

† to stimulate discussion amongst Blacks on current matters of topical interest.

† to make known Black opinion on matters affecting Blacks in South Africa.

† to make known the stand taken by students in matters affecting their lives on and off the campus.

† to examine relevant philosophical approaches to South Africa's problems.

† to contribute in the formulation of a viable and strong feeling of self-reliance and consciousness amongst the Black people of South Africa.

Contriubtions by way of articles are welcome from the readers of the Newsletter. Special contributions from non-students in certain fields will be invited. All articles meant for publication must be at the Head Office by the 15th of each month.

A special appeal is made to Black community to help students in the maintenance of this magazine. There is a sad lack of an indepedent representative Black press It is our intention to contribute in the gradual closing of this gap.

All contributions should be sent to:—

The Editor,

SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS' ORGANISATION

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