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SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS'
ORGANISATION.

86 Beatrice Street.

P O Box 2346

DURBAN,
SOUTH AFRICA

Telephone: 317275

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EDITORIAL

The forces of oppression, imperialism and neo-colonialism have realised and seen the full implications of political victory for the revolutionary socialists in Southern Africa. Under the smoke-screen camouflage of detente, the counter-revolutionary forces have been working hard, creating confusion and causing dissension amongst the ranks of the revolutionary socialists whilst aiding the bourgeois nationalists in an effort towards the creation of neo-colonial states.

Vorster and Kaunda had hoped that these bourgeois nationalists would score a political victory in Angola. This explains the Vorster regime's military misadventure in Angola, which did not do much to improve the economic position of the country, where he joined forces with Unita and FNLA, in an effort to quell the revolutionary spirit of the Angolans. Kaunda urged for a coalition government, representing the three movements, even after the peoples movement, MPLA, under the leadership of President Neto, had triumphed. Kaunda also displayed his fear of the situation when students at the University of Zambia declared solidarity with MPLA. The University was closed down, lecturers and students were detained and many were expatriated.

The situation in Zimbabwe was not very much different at all. Kaunda pushed earnestly in his "voice of reason" speech in October 1974 that all three rival groups Zanu, Zapu and Frolizi unite under the umbrella of the ANC, who were then described as politically "neutral". Kaunda held that these three groups should present a united front at the constitutional talks with the Rhodesian Front, led by Ian Smith. The Zimbabwe Declaration of Unity was signed in Lusaka on December 7, 1974 forming the ANC under the leadership of Bishop Muzorewa. At the time Bishop Muzorewa was totally opposed to violence, be it for oppression or liberation, and was adamant that peaceful negotiations was the answer to the Rhodesian problem. At the same time the external wing of Zanu, led by Herbert Chitepo regarded this move with suspicion and refused to unite under the umbrella of the ANC, holding the view that political differences should be resolved before the external Zanu structure could be interferred with. Zanu, the party committed to revolutionary socialism was the strongest and most powerful movement in Zimbabwe, and was then under the leadership of Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole. On the 18th March 1975, Chitepo was blown up as he was driving

out to a meeting with Kaunda. Kaunda then ordered the arrests of Zanu members and supporters allegedly to inquire into Chitepo's untimely death. In Rhodesia many other prominent members of Zanu were arrested by the Smith government.

In May the bourgeois nationalists in support of Joshua Nkomo pressed for Congress which had been promised in the Declaration of Unity. This was a move initiated by Zanu leadership, in a determined bid to take over the ANC, bearing in mind the arrests in Zimbabwe and Lusaka of prominent Zanu members. At a ANC meeting on June 1 at which Bishop Muzorewa and Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole were absent, a decision was made to hold Congress on June 21. People were suspicious of this move and thousands gathered outside the meeting accusing Nkomo of doing an underhand deal with Smith. At this demonstration police were called in and 13 were killed on spot. Others died later in hospital. Kaunda, who engineered these detente moves under the guise of peaceful negotiations has had his image seriously impaired and has lost much of his credibility

as an African leader. The era of slavery, racism, fascism and divide and rule is fast approaching its end and no African leader can survive who does not owe loyalty or at least pay lip service to the revolutionary cause in Africa. The struggle for liberation and the future is to be determined and decided upon by the black majorities, but we need to be vigilant and see through the deeds of those "leaders" supporting capitalism. Smith on the other hand, needs to take heed the lessons of Guinea — Bissau, Mozambique and Angola.

We applaud the stand adopted by Samora Machel, when he closed his border with Rhodesia and declared that he will be fully implementing the United Nations' imposed international sanctions against Rhodesia. Like the dedicated and committed African leader he is, and although the economy of his country has yet to recover from years of colonial plunder and greed and from the heavy yoke of imperialism, he has put economic considerations aside in his quest for freedom, justice and the total liberation and unification of Africa.

THE TRANSKEI INDEPENDENCE

A day hardly goes by without one hearing something about the Transkei and the oncoming independence. It may seem strange that at this day and age, with warning signals all around us that liberation, genuine liberation, shall yet come to South Africa, that the whites are still pursuing their apartheid policy. This is however understandable when one takes into consideration the fact that these people are not used to the idea of listening to reason. To them reason is a Broeder monopoly. It may also seem strange that at this day and age there are some people from our own ranks (blacks) WHO ARE PREPARED to go on with the policy of divide and rule, a policy that has so loudly been rejected for its dehumanising effects. But when we look at the intensified propaganda to which our people have been subjected and when we look at the 'benefits' and 'privileges' enjoyed by a few self-centred puppets who have opted not only to co-operate but to carry on the dirty work previously done by whites, then we understand why the absurd has happened.

It is precisely during these days when there is a lot of noise about the Transkei independence that we need to pause and take a look at this carefully wrapped parcel which the whites are now passing on to our hands. We need to pause and examine the "kindness" of the man who, after centuries of oppressing us, has now decided to give us "independence"; freedom to run our own lives and "to develop along our own lines". Having examined this kindness and carefully looked at the "giver" we need to look at the independence itself.

The establishment of the homeland system in South Africa can be seen against the overall attitude adopted by the whites when they landed in this country on their adventurous and colonial trips to India. They suddenly found themselves in a very rich country with rich material resources, fertile soil and grazing land. It was a rich country with millions of "kaffirs" who could always

be used as a labour force in the production of wealth for the white colonialist. In everything concerning this country the white man had to be the master and the black man the servant; and the white man, and only him, would determine how much the servant could have, not only in terms of material benefits (if there were any) but also in terms of all the rights that the black man was and still is entitled to as a human being. In a word, the white man ruled and controlled the lives of black people.

It was this kind of attitude that was later formulated into governmental policy that determined the way the black man was to live in the country. The black man was to remain a perpetual servant and a labourer. Whatever was done for him, even those things done in the name of "civilization" were done to maintain this cheap labour reservoir.

It was in the perpetuation of this evil policy that whites began systematically destroying the traditional forms of government that existed before in favour of white created institutions where blacks would be involved in petty administrative matters to exercise their "developing" minds. It was all in the implementation of this atrocious policy that we saw the Chiefs being turned into puppets of Pretoria against their own people. The Bungas, T. T. A., the N. R. C.s are some of these institutions. The Transkei independence is supposed to be some graduation from one stage to the other within the "separate but parallel development". It is supposed to be "developing along our own lines".

Yet those own lines have never been the result of black initiative but the work of the self-imposed custodians of black rights. Those "own lines" HAVE BEEN CUNNINGLY DRAWN UP BY THE VERY SAME ENEMIES OF SELF DETERMINATION AND SELF RESPECT, ENEMIES OF THE SOLIDARITY OF THE OPPRESSED BLACK COMMUNITY.

For whose interest!

Yet they have the audacity to "offer" blacks independence and we are expected to regard this as development as if we need development that requires BOSS, Security Police, Terrorism Act, Suppression of Communism Act, Second Bantu Laws Amendment Bill, Proclamation R400 for its enforcement. The man who is offering independence seems to be heavily armed to force us to take what he is giving whether we like it or not. The "giver" is the very same man who is responsible for the heavy yoke on the black man's shoulders and by offering independence he is supposed to be giving us some solution to the problem of oppression. Only a fool can believe this fraudulence. And Blacks are not fools. It is the elitist class that is sowing seeds of confusion and division amongst our people. It is the elitist class, created by the very oppressor, that has joined hands with the oppressor in suppressing the legitimate aspirations of the masses of the people and they collect crumbs from the masters table for this dirty work. The chiefs are now part and parcel of this class. This is why Pretoria is creating them by the dozen.

The Matanzimas know fully well the role they have to play in this political trickery, but they go arguing that something will be reaped out these homelands. The work of dangling the carrot has now shifted from Pretoria to Matanzima's hands. They argue that they are now going to run the show and not Pretoria. Yet the very constitution of the Transkei is drawn up in Cape Town and only Vorster and his whites must give the final approval. Obviously there can be no talk of self determination in a case like this. There can be no talk of effective bargaining in a situation like this simply because all the effective powers of running the show will forever remain in white hands. The Transkei will forever remain an inferior platform in the backyard of white South Africa. It is going to continue being the reservoir of cheap labour out of which the imperialists draw their labour force. For this purpose it has to be kept economically unstable. Even with the "attempts" of the XDC, BIC and the other industrialists who have put up some businesses there, the Transkei will never be economically viable. The XDC, BIC, and those industrialists are there only to windowshop and to extricate blood out of the already emaciated body of the Transkeian black. Starvation and diseases are going to remain, for these are some of the ways of maintaining imperialism in this country. It feeds on these atrocities.

Centuries of white domination have demonstrated to us that nothing that whites do can ever salvage blacks from this naked discrimination "Development along own lines" has only meant for us more starvation, ignorance, diseases, disunity, mistrust and denial of human rights. The Transkei independence is the product of a group of white racists who have over the years shown a brutal determination to suppress the legitimate aspirations of the black people in this

country and no matter how much tongue beating they can make, their attitudes remain unchanged.

Let Blacks take full notice of the fact that the Transkei and other homelands are there not for our benefit but to maintain the chains that bind us into perpetual servitude by keeping us divided and involving us in useless and meaningless political exercises so as to keep our eyes away from the pot from which the racial poison is being brewed. They are there to ensure that the blacks never attain what they aspire for — their liberation. They are there to maintain the capitalist system of this country by keeping blacks starving and ignorant so that he can continue being a tool in the white man's farm, mine or industry for the production of wealth for the exclusive benefit of the white imperialist. It is yet one of those sophisticated capitalist tricks.

It is because of these reasons that blacks have to take positive action against these institutions. Each time we participate in them we are aiding the oppressor and actually participating in the emasculation and exploitation of the black man. Further, by participating in this political bribery we are giving the elitist class a latitude to continue pulling wool over the eyes of the black mass in order to confuse and mislead them. We dismiss as naive their (the Bantustanians) argument that the crumbs they are collecting from under the white man's table can ever be developed into full loaves that can satisfy the black man's quest for true humanity and dignity.

The power to crush these pseudo-independent "states" lies not in the white parliament in Cape Town nor in Pretoria, but in the hands of blacks. Real power is in black hands and it is precisely because blacks themselves have been aiding these institutions by allowing Pretoria and her stooges to confuse and mislead us and thus making blacks unable to assess and understand their position and see what best method can liberate them, that these institutions have continued to exist for so long.

There is a dire need for a solidarity of all black people in this country, a solidarity created outside the institutions cunningly created by the white oppressor, out of which must come positive efforts by blacks to crush these evil institutions. SASO makes the call once more that the black people must realise that they are on their own. We have initiative, creativity, intelligence and we do not need the assistance of the oppressor in deciding what is good and bad for us. Ours is a struggle for genuine independence and not dependent independence. Ours is a struggle for the right of each and every man to be free to determine his own life.

Let us be conscious of who we are, let us be conscious of our worth as human beings and that inherent in us is God given power to shape our own future for it is by assuming this consciousness of ourselves that blacks will have made a roundabout turn away from the evil institutions of Vorster, onto the road to their liberation and freedom.

DOWN WITH THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE TRANSKEI!!!

NEWS IN BRIEF

DECEMBER WORK CAMP

In July 1973 a group of 53 families were "resettled" for the second time at Welcomehood, an area about 25 kilometres from King Williams Town. These people were unsettled from a place near Upington, in the North-Western Cape; the area in which they were living was declared white in terms of the Group Areas Act. These people were promised, after a long battle with the authorities, that they would have fields, that work will be available and that they would be rationed with food until they have found work or harvested. There were many other promises made but as far as the promises went, rations were halted in August 1973. The families were housed in one roomed shacks, others tents, which offered little protection to the weather elements.

The rate of unemployment is high, with the minimum number being able to find work. Others have returned to their former employers in an effort to survive. There is a clinic in the area being served by two nurses, and a primary school up to Standard Four. This is obviously insufficient. After the SASO local level worker had visited this place on several occasions discussing with the community their needs, it became obvious that involvement together with this community was a means towards the solution of the larger housing problem.

- believing that change can be brought about by the efforts of the people themselves.
- believing that man is capable of changing attitudes and behaviour patterns not conducive to change.
- believing that people are able to organise themselves, making group plans to solve problems common to their community.

On the basis of these 3 points a group of 25 students went to Welcomehood with the intention of encouraging initiative, self-help and mutual help amongst the community at the same time identifying with the community. At the end of the work camp which started on the 4th and ended on the 11th two fairly large rooms had been built; due to the inexperience of students in the art of building.

Support from the community increased as the project continued, but the forces of darkness worked round the clock intimidating and threatening people not to

involve themselves with us. The SASO local Branch has continued with this project and the people there have approached the Local Welfare Committee to reconsider their decision to work only with government officials.

TURFLOOP

BELOW IS A CIRCULAR ISSUED TO ALL STUDENTS SIGNED BY THE RECTOR. (2/4/76)

1. (a) THE COUNCIL SUSPENDED THE ACTIVITIES OF SASO ON THE CAMPUS PENDING THE FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY INTO STUDENT UNREST IN 1974.
- 1.(b) THE REPORT HAS NOW BEEN PUBLISHED AND COUNCIL DECIDED TO MAINTAIN THE STATUS QUO i.e. TO MAINTAIN THE SUSPENSION. COUNCIL ALSO DECIDED, AND IT IS HEREWITH MADE KNOWN, THAT IT WILL CLARIFY ITS POLICY ON STUDENT ORGANISATIONS IN GENERAL IN THE NEAR FUTURE.
2. S.R.C. COUNCIL ACCEPTS THAT THE STUDENTS HAVE ADEQUATELY INDICATED THAT THEY WANT AN S.R.C. COUNCIL IS HOWEVER NOT SATISFIED WITH THE CONSTITUTION OF THE S. R. C. AND HAS THEREFORE DECIDED THAT A NEW S. R. C. CAN BE ELECTED AFTER THOROUGH REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION TO THE SATISFACTION OF COUNCIL. THIS REVISION IS TO BE UNDERTAKEN IN CONSULTANT WITH THE STUDENTS; AND THE STUDENT DEAN IS EMPOWERED TO TAKE WHATEVER STEPS HE DEEMS FIT TO CONSTITUTE A COMMITTEE OF STUDENTS (NOT MORE THAN 5 STUDENTS) WITH WHOM THE ADMINISTRATION CAN NEGOTIATE OVER AN ENTIRELY NEW S. R. C. CONSTITUTION.

focus

THE SYSTEM AND YOU

Because of the rampant increase in the number of students and other concerned individuals being arrested or being taken in for questioning, it is about time students looked the system's manner of operation. Someone may differ on my observations and assessments borrowed from other personal or literary sources. But this is how I figure it out.

Firstly let us concede to the fact that the System arrests people at random, so as to confuse the ranks and to serialize individuals, particularly the leadership.

- (1) They'll make every attempt and try every effort to stir up anxiety, to instil guilt feelings through such statements as, "You are on the campus to study and not to let down your parents" or questions such as, "Why don't you work and stop being a

parasite"?; or, "Do you not feel for your parents/wife and children?" — so as to confuse you and let you not know what is going to happen to you next.

- (2) The next step is to try to disrupt your normal behaviour patterns. That is why they'll call for you from your working place for interrogation or grab you in the street or wake you from sleep in the dead of night. Several such questionings may take place before your eventual arrest.
- (3) Tension may be increased in various other ways, like keying you up to trials which are constantly being adjourned or postponed.
- (4) Arrest, should it take place, will be either in the wee hours of the night or in the street or at your place of work/study. In an effort to inject or increase fear.
- (5) Even when in custody they'll try to virtually cut you off from the outside world.
- (6) Even when convinced of your righteousness, if you are weak or unstable, you may find yourself playing back (or Singhing) on your "old record" i.e. confessing "crimes" suggested by the system in earlier cross examinations.
- (7) Where the system opts for a "sympathetic" approach they may suggest that you are too intelligent to have mixed with saso, bpc, anc, pac or any "Communist party inspired activities" without rhyme or reason but that perhaps you are frustrated and could still start afresh and "lead a normal life."

All the way the idea is to beat down you defences, to get you cornered, trapped (so they'll say, "here's a kaffer/coolie/bushy who thought he could be Castro/Mao/Guevara"). Sometimes sounds of a baby crying (in case of young fathers or mothers) or voices of people known to you may be heard from the call. The idea being to create hysteria in your mind.

Counter Measures:

1. The old pointer that "a good pig is a dead pig for pork" should guide you. They want your soul either on pretended good or bad intentions. A wolf is a wolf, in sheepskin or out of it. Don't let them have your soul; so try to sharpen you mental balancing.
2. The struggle is life. Azania is our mother, our bread and soul. You are just a part of a greater mass of

blacks in a process of struggle. A mass that can be assured of final victory one day. So do not fledge in your convictions for eventual liberation.

3. Work for an intellectual, psychological and ethical upper hand against the system. The System is dirty. Let the System "feel" dirty at all levels or know what you think about it.
4. Do not allow emotions to get the better of you. Be cool, calculating and detached from your personal attachments wherever possible; but retain you black "soul".
5. There is no "poor adaptation to the social environment" in a repressive system. So don't let psychological terminology or vain insults fool you. It is not you who needs psychiatric treatment but your interrogator.
6. Have basic demands. You are human all the time. Hunger strikes, prison riots and other daring acts have come about because the individuals concerned refused to part with their humanness. There are times when a man has to refuse to be a mouse, simply because a man is never created a mouse. Only when he fails his social obligations does he join the world of mice.
7. The system is a brute. Be a better brute for your rights. This will give you a moral boost-up. Depending on your physical and moral preparedness, set down your basic demands by gaining leverage above the system and keep a check on how you move step by step by not co-operating in any technique of conversion or psychiatric treatment.
8. Instead of giving any attention to the system concentrate mentally on some quite different problem and show contempt for everything systemish. You'll last longer.
9. Amuse yourself on scoring a point against attempts to corner you and be unpredictable in your responses.
10. Work on guerrilla strategies of attack and withdrawal according to your physical and mental condition, hitting hard against the system when the strength of body and mind is stronger and always moulding and polishing the will to resist. Make resistance an art. For the making of a revolution should by right be regarded as an art.

SOUTH AFRICA—BLACK AFRICA— DETENTE

SILUMKO SOKUPA

Southern Africa today is experiencing radical changes which some two years ago were almost unthinkable. The downfall of Portuguese colonialism in Africa under Marcello Caetano as a result of concerted effort by the people of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique with the help of all countries of good-will committed to the liberation of oppressed peoples of the world has perhaps been a factor of major importance in the whole dramatic process of change in Southern Africa. When I say that perhaps this factor is

of major importance in the dramatic process of change, I do not mean in any way that it is the only factor responsible for all that is going on today. There are several other factors.

If we are to understand the current events taking place in Southern Africa today, we will perhaps have to look back to the time Dr H. F. Verwoerd and his colleagues established the Republic of South Africa, the direction they followed from then up to the present stage of detente with black African States.

The founding of the Republic of South Africa in 1961 was the culmination of years of hard work by the Afrikaner Nationalist intellectual in his efforts of ensuring white supremacy and perpetual black subservience in South Africa. The Afrikaner Nationalist intellectual realised that as long as he is not the ultimate in decision-making in this country, his privileged and protected position remains threatened, let alone the fact that even under the British crown the white man's position in South Africa was getting more and more privileged and protected while on the other hand the last vestiges of the limited rights that the black man enjoyed were being gradually and mercilessly removed.

The Republic of South Africa was born at a time when more and more countries in Africa were attaining independence from colonial rule either through a bloody revolution or peaceful constitutional methods. The Republic of South Africa itself became a sovereign State in which the overwhelming majority of inhabitants are black, but in which the right to vote a representative into Parliament and to be voted into Parliament was made an exclusive monopoly of white people. White political power was passing into black hands in the rest of Africa (except for Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau) in South Africa black people were deprived of this power and it was made an exclusive monopoly of white people.

More and more after the establishment of the Republic the all-white government ruthlessly suppressed the black man's struggle to participate in the shaping of his destiny. Various organisations which voiced the black man's opinion were silenced and their leaders sent to jail while others fled the country. The all-white government accelerated the implementation of their apartheid policy against the will of black people.

When Ian Smith made his Unilateral Declaration of Independence in order to forestall black majority rule, the all-white government of the Republic of South Africa continued to support Smith economically even in the face of repeated calls by the United Nations, the Organisation for African Unity and other countries and world bodies to put pressure on Smith through the application of sanctions. South Africa is a member of the United Nations but it is very notorious for its disregard for U.N. resolutions in relation to basic human rights and similar affairs.

As the oppression of people in what Portugal referred to as her overseas provinces in Africa continued and accelerated, the all-white government of the Republic of South Africa supported Portugal in her suppression of the will of the people. This the government did because of the belief that oppressed people of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau had no chance of success in their struggle to liberate their countries and also that both the Portuguese colonial regime and their regime (South Africa) represented a civilisation which they thought was the best in the world and which was their exclusive monopoly. The United States as a major supporter of colonialism, imperialism and white supremacy in Africa also shared this illusion.

Dr. Verwoerd's Republic went on to align itself with countries whose policies were colonial, neo-colonial, imperialistic and generally not sympathetic to the cause of the liberation of the African Continent. Thus while the Republic is geographically in Africa it was and

still is ruled like a country which is in Europe. The black man is treated like a foreigner in his own country. The black man does not exist when it comes to decision-making. He only exists as a tool for producing wealth for the "volk".

The general thrust for liberation of various countries in Africa meant that the oppressed peoples of Africa, the black people, has a common goal to attain and increasingly began to identify themselves as members of one movement and built a solidarity along these lines. Needless to say that black people of South Africa, oppressed as they are by people whose origin can be traced to nowhere other than the same Europe from which the colonisers of the rest of Africa came, began to also feel that they are part of this general movement for the liberation of Africa.

The all-white government of the Republic of South Africa, with its oppressive policies toward the black man, its alliances with the colonial powers and neo-colonialists and with its support for oppressive regimes in Africa was and still is obviously working at cross purposes with the rest of Africa. Thus it was that this regime was excluded from this solidarity and movement and in fact came to be seen as part of the problem for this movement towards liberation.

Black people in the newly independent African countries, having been victims of white supremacy and oppression themselves, understood the black man's experience in South Africa under white supremacist rule and sympathised with him. These States adopted an attitude that was and still is calculated to help the black man in South Africa attain his liberation. Because the all-white government of the Republic of South Africa regards its oppression of black people in the country as a domestic affair, it was and still is not prepared to discuss the matter with black Africa. On the other hand black Africa adopted an attitude that it is going to apply pressure on the all-white government of South Africa by isolating it until black people are accorded the rights they deserve in South Africa. Thus antagonistic attitudes were adopted on both sides leading to no meaningful contact between South Africa and the rest of black Africa.

All this time the all-white government of the Republic of South Africa was making desperate attempts to make as if the situation for the black man was getting better. Dummy institutions known as homeland governments were created, not to meet the aspirations of the black people but rather to divide and weaken black people in their opposition to white supremacist rule and also to give an illusion to those short-sighted black people that they really had what they wanted. Any groups of people or individuals who opposed these oppressive measures were sooner or later harassed by the notorious security police.

Also, while the rest of Africa was successfully shaking off the yoke of colonialism and white supremacist rule, the all-white government of the Republic of South Africa increasingly tightened its grip on Namibia and started to virtually run it as if it were its fifth province. It went on with the balkanisation of Namibia and the encouragement of tribal divisions among Namibia's native inhabitants. As in South Africa itself, in Namibia too the all-white government of the Republic of South Africa ruthlessly suppressed any meaningful Namibian national struggle for liberation. Even in the face of the United Nation's decision to

terminate South Africa's mandate to administer Namibia the all-white government of the Republic of South Africa stubbornly continued with the administration of the territory, entrenching itself more and more instead. It has been successful in doing this because of support, cunning as it may be, of the U.S., Britain, France, W. Germany and the so-called Western world generally.

The relationship that began to unfold between the white supremacist ruled Republic of South Africa and the various black ruled countries in Africa was therefore based on these opposing aspirations: the drive to liberate all oppressed people in Africa by the black ruled countries and the black people of South Africa on the one hand, and the determination by the all-white government of South Africa to maintain white supremacist rule in South Africa and the perpetuation of the black man's subservience to this rule on the other hand. The attitude of independent black African States was crystallised in the Lusaka Manifesto in which these countries spelt out clearly conditions under which there could be dialogue with the all-white government of South Africa. The manifesto stated that any dialogue between South Africa and the independent black African States can only take place after Vorster and his regime have started this dialogue with the legitimate leaders of black people in South Africa itself. This has been and still is the guiding manifesto in most black African countries' policies toward South Africa.

In the first place the Lusaka Manifesto meant that as long as there was apartheid and exclusion of black people from decision-making in the running of the country, South Africa would not only be excluded from membership of the Organisation for African Unity, but member countries would isolate South Africa through boycotts relating to all those spheres of life which are not vital to their very existences.

With the all-white government of the Republic of South Africa adamant that its policy of apartheid was not a threat to world peace, and that it was a domestic affair with which no other country should concern itself because according to them this would constitute interference in domestic affairs of the country, and with black African countries determined in their resolve that every oppressed person in Africa should be liberated, the rift began to grow wider and wider over the years. At some stage this rift bordered dangerously on open warfare between South Africa and certain black African countries.

With the persistent efforts by these African countries and other individuals and groups to impress on the international field the human suffering inflicted on black people in South Africa through apartheid, even those countries like the United States, Britain, France, and West Germany found it increasingly embarrassing to openly support South Africa. Thus more international bodies in all spheres like sport, culture, religion, trade and many others began to isolate South Africa in an attempt to pressurise her to change her policy of apartheid. South Africa therefore found herself becoming increasingly isolated in the world, with only those countries whose policies were abhorrent to the international community like Rhodesia, Portugal and Paraguay as her only friends.

Perhaps it will help to recall in a nutshell why apartheid is abhorrent by the international community and also considered as an oppressive policy.

Briefly stated apartheid means that while the population of South Africa consists of \pm 4 million Whites and \pm 20 million Blacks, white people are the only ones who can vote and be voted into Parliament. Black people, although in the majority are deprived of the franchise. This means that black people are for all intents and purposes subjects of white people. Apartheid means that black people can have no rights of land ownership in 87% of the country which is reserved for whites. It means that blacks cannot have permanent residential rights in 87% of the country. It means that black people must always be paid less wages than white people irrespective of competence and skill. It means that from housing to public amenities blacks must always have not only separate residential areas and amenities but that these must be of a far inferior quality than those of whites. It means uniting all white people and at the same time dividing black people according to lines of ethnic origin, whether they like it or not. It means that black people must carry voluminous reference books which police can demand at any time. It means that that any black family living in the so-called white areas (87% of the land) can be raided any time of the day in search for illegal residents and visitors by the police. I could go on enumerating these, but the above will suffice to indicate the kind of policy that South African Whites are asking the international community to condone. This is what John Vorster is referring to when he says that South Africa extends its hand of friendship to Africa as it is.

In time the all-white government of the Republic of South Africa began to feel the effect of international isolation. It was as a result of this increasing isolation that we witnessed the so-called outward-looking policy. This policy was in fact an attempt to gain acceptance of the all-white government of the Republic of South Africa by countries of independent black Africa primarily and other countries of the world with its injustices perpetrated on the \pm 20 million black people through apartheid. Obviously they expected too much from people who had recently been victims of the same oppressive system, a system against which they were had fought and triumphed, and a system against which they were still continuing to fight. As could be expected black African countries saw through this cunning manoeuvre and rejected it. Thus it failed even before it had started. While this outward-looking policy succeeded in non-significant countries like Malawi, on the continental scale it has been a dismal failure. Of all black African countries it is only Malawi which maintains diplomatic relations with South Africa. Attempts of dangling technical assistance, financial aid and other advantages in a bid to entice black Africa to open dialogue with her failed to impress black African countries. The few black leaders like Kamuzu Banda of Malawi lost popularity in black African circles as a result of having been caught up in South Africa's economic entanglement.

With the failure of the outward-looking policy the isolation of South Africa gained momentum. The all-white government of the Republic of South Africa preferred this isolation to the abolition of apartheid and all its attendant human sufferings and evils. It therefore continued with its unpopular alliances and policies.

In the meantime the movement for liberation in Africa especially Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Zimbabwe gained momentum. White South Africa's

opposition to this movement was undisguised and active. What the all-white government of the Republic of South Africa failed to understand was that no oppressive regime can hope to successfully rule black people all the time.

With the coup in Portugal and the subsequent liberation of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau the situation changed dramatically in Southern Africa. White politicians began to realise that events in Mozambique are of great importance "because it is now becoming clear to us that these have brought into being a completely new dimension which has shaken our existing ideas to their very foundation. It is since those events that it has become clear that there is a completely new perspective. These events have caused our borders to shrink. We cannot hide behind buffer States any longer", to quote Dr. G. F. Jacobs of the United Party.¹

While many a white person in South Africa realised that white people must come and live with black people in a more just and humane way, they have not been forceful enough to be able to force the ruling Afrikaner Nationalists to undergo a change of heart and abandon apartheid. For example, men like Sir De Villiers Graaf, while recognising that South Africa has to take lessons from the Portuguese experience, namely among other things that it is dangerous to create representative institutions in name only, representative institutions which have no real responsibility, because power continues to be held elsewhere—the changes that they envisage to be necessary are nothing more than the creation of "a permanent multi-racial advisory council for South Africa".² Obviously this is far from creating a just society in this country because such an advisory council will still be advisory to an all-white Parliament. The all-white government of the Republic of South Africa also realised that it has to improve its image in black Africa and in the international world generally. Thus it decided to make some radical changes as far as its foreign policy is concerned while entrenching and accelerating apartheid at home.

When Vorster made his speech in which he said South Africa must be given six months after which the world was going to be surprised where South Africa would stand, all he was referring to was a slight change in his foreign policy especially in regard to Zimbabwe. Where he had co-operated with the Smith government in suppressing the drive toward majority rule he was going to pressurise Smith into negotiating with the real leaders of black people in that country with the hope that this was going to buy him much needed time, improve his image in black Africa and internationally, and help cheat black people into accepting a majority rule that will consist of South Africa's lackeys. Mr. Vorster has been at pains in Parliament trying to convince his colleagues and the world that the pressure that was applied on the rebel Salisbury regime of Ian Smith was not the decisive factor which made Smith release political detainees and enter into negotiations with the A.N.C. If Mr Vorster convinced anybody about this matter, that person can be nobody else but himself and his followers. To those people who understand that aid is a weapon of imperialism and can be used as a lever to determine the policies of the aided countries, and to those who understand Mr Vorster's immense aid to the rebel Smith regime, Mr Vorster's argument does not hold. In fact no lesser person than Ian Smith himself has confirmed that South Africa's pressure was

decisive in making him release political detainees and engage in negotiations with Bishop Muzorewa's A.N.C. In a television interview screened in London Ian Smith said: "I go so far as to say I believe that if a new initiative had not been taken by Mr Vorster I believe we would have had a settlement by now. Ironically though it may seem, that is my honest opinion."³ It is not only Ian Smith who is of this opinion, his Minister of Local Government and Housing, William Irvine, has been reported as saying, "...I venture to suggest that if we had continued our all-out campaign and not become entangled in the detente exercise, the terrorists remaining would have been eliminated on our border, and the tribal trust lands returned to their tranquil state".⁴ He went on to say that his government had agreed to play its part in detente at the request of "our very good friends" the South African government.

One cannot help observing from the above statements that Smith and his rebels released political detainees and agreed to negotiations against their will. We have also seen South Africa's Foreign Minister Hilgard Muller flying to Salisbury at times when Ian Smith showed reluctance to negotiate with the A.N.C. and the subsequent willingness that he showed after such visits. Perhaps this explains to us the extent to which Ian Smith relies on the all-white South African Government. When Vorster said in the Senate in Cape Town last year that he was pledging himself and his government to work for peace, progress and development in Southern Africa, he managed to confuse many people internally and abroad. Even President Kaunda of Zambia misunderstood Mr Vorster on this one, hence he hailed this as "the voice of reason for which Africa and the world have waited for many years".⁵ This pledge, coupled with "Pik" Botha's statement at the United Nations that South Africa would move away from racial discrimination, gave a wrong impression altogether to the world about the South African Government's intentions. Subsequent statements and developments have shown that what these men actually meant was that they would accelerate the implementation of the abhorrent policy of apartheid.

Out of political expedience and self-preservation instinct, Ian Smith was going to be pressurised to negotiate with the real black leaders of Zimbabwe, while South Africa herself was going to intensify her repression of real black opinion. We have seen how during this period, black people who represent legitimate black opinion and drive toward liberation were bundled into jails in South Africa for long periods of detention without trial. So while Vorster was busy with his detente moves with black African countries his notorious security police from time to time went on nation-wide raids on leading members of the Black People's Convention, the South African Students' Organisation, the Black Allied Workers' Union and other black consciousness groups and detained no less than 70 black people without trial. So the policy seems to be detentions without trial of legitimate black leaders at home and detente with black leaders of independent Africa. The normalisation of relations between countries is without question not only desirable but necessary. But the problem arises when there is no attempt at all by those involved in detente to normalise relations at home. They continue to impose tribal divisions on black people and continue to force

**DECEMBER —
WELCOME**

Picturers showing student—community involvement fostering self-help attitudes moving towards self-determination.



— WORK CAMP HOMEHOOD



Pictures showing housing conditions and general situation at Welcomehood.



separate development institutions like homelands, the CRC and S.A.I.C. down black people's throats. They continue to resettle black people to barren lands and worst of all they continue to exercise the monopoly of ruling the country.

Black Africa is not blind to the contradictions in South Africa's domestic and foreign policies. Colonel Joseph Garba, Nigeria's External Affairs Commissioner told the United Nations on October 8, 1975, that to insist that meaningful dialogue can be commenced with South Africa under its present leadership would be to betray the oppressed black people in the country. He also said that Mr Vorster's dialogue should start at home. "What we do not want is Vorster going above the heads of his fellow black South Africans to woo African leaders elsewhere . . . Vorster will not talk to fellow South Africans who happen to be black but he will dine and even pay secret visits to black leaders elsewhere"⁶. Col Garba told the U.N. He went on to say that links between South Africa and the rest of the world could only take place on the basis of complete abandonment of apartheid and in this he concurs with the O.A.U.

To demonstrate the O.A.U.'s awareness of these policy contradictions I wish to quote from a statement made at one of its meetings, "The present manoeuvres of South Africa in the guise of detente are designed to enable it to break out of its isolation, to divide the O.A.U., to gain much needed time and to persuade independent African States to lower their guard precisely at a time when this regime is increasing its military striking power in preparation for the final confrontation".⁷ South Africa is spending well over R989 million rand on defence this year. On adding money spend on other security operations like the Bureau of State Security and the South African Police force, the amount South Africa is currently spending, must be fantastic. During the 1974-75 financial year it approximated R1200 million.⁸

In an interview in Nairobi on 6 June, 1975 Kenya's Foreign Minister, Dr Munyua Waiyaki said, "If Vorster wants detente, let him talk to his own people. He does not need to look for Africans in independent countries to talk to—he has plenty of Africans at home. Let him talk to Robert Sebukwe, and Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo. They are the people he should talk to in the way the British talked to nationalist leaders (in Kenya) when the time came for independence. If Vorster would talk to his own people—that would be the real meaning of detente; anything else is meaningless".⁹

Vorster seems to be prepared to talk to black leaders from independent Africa on the one hand and ban and banish, detain and imprison real black leaders in South Africa itself. Since Vorster started with his detente manoeuvre no less than 70 black leaders have been detained and no less than 170 people are under restriction orders. So from the look of things I think I would not be wrong to say that if the same black leaders from Independent Africa to whom Vorster is making all attempts to talk were black leaders in South Africa itself, Vorster would refuse to talk to them and instead would restrict, detain and imprison them. Perhaps black leaders in Independent Africa should put themselves in the position of black leaders in South Africa, I mean true nationalist leaders like Sebukwe

and Mandela and not tribal stooges like Gatsha Buthelezi and Kaizer Matanzima, in deciding on whether or not to involve themselves in Vorster's detente moves. Then they would find a man who not only rejects them but who thinks of them as inferior beings with who he has nothing in common.

Let us look at the considerations that Mr Vorster probably took into account in deciding to embark on detente. The basic motive for him to embark on detente is a very selfish one viz. the preservation of white supremacy in South Africa and the delay of the day when all men in South Africa shall be free to participate in the shaping of this country's destiny. The fall of Portuguese colonialism in Africa must have driven the message home to Mr Vorster that sooner or later his own apartheid regime is going to fall. He has therefore found himself needing time more than anyone else to decide on new strategies of maintaining white supremacy and at the same time reduce international isolation and pressure on South Africa to change. Mr Vorster is hoping to convince the Organisation of Africa Unity that it must not concern itself about the inhuman and unjust policy of apartheid because it is a domestic affair. Mr Vorster is not interested in the unity of black Africa as long as it is opposed to apartheid. That is why he is hoping through his detente manoeuvres to antagonise one African country against another on the issue of apartheid so that he can be able to capitalise on the resultant confusion. Mr Vorster knows that if he is seen by the world at large to have been accepted by African countries and the O.A.U. with his abhorrent policy of apartheid, this is going to improve the much tarnished image of racist South Africa. South Africa will then be able to participate more easily in international bodies like the United Nations and be able to better its economic relations with the European Economic Community, the U.S.A., Japan and other countries. South African sportsmen will also be more acceptable than they had hitherto been abroad, and this would enable them to break out of the isolation that they have been experiencing in recent years.

Mr Vorster in his detente moves also has at the back of his mind the creation of a Southern Africa economic bloc revolving around South Africa. Mr Vorster's own words, "Also, I think in view of the world economic situation, the time has arrived for peoples and countries to buy in the nearest and cheapest market, and therefore I think it is the interests of all countries to normalise relations in spite of the differences in domestic policy."¹⁰

This view is also shared by Tami Hurltman, Reed Kramer and Don Morton, all U.S. based experts on Southern Africa. In their report to the World Council of Churches Programme to Combat Racism they said that South Africa's detente moves were aimed at establishing a Southern African "commonwealth" with Pretoria as its centre. The report went on to say, "South Africa is pulling wool over the world's eyes and now more than ever is the time to be vigilant and expose the true nature of apartheid."¹¹

Once this economic bloc has been established, it would be difficult for black Southern African States to follow strongly critical policies toward South Africa's policy of apartheid.

Another economic advantage, with South Africa's

image having been improved by detente, would be the pouring in of foreign investments. The following report substantiates this viewpoint, "The biggest group of foreign investors ever to consider pouring money into South Africa is meeting in London, confident that detente has eased the political climate against investment. They represent 45 leading European banks and companies from all over the world, with tens of millions of rands to spend . . .

"Mr John Killip, organiser of the seminar, claimed a seven-million sterling (R11 m) investment by a British firm in Bantu area was all but sealed, and a large pottery might soon be established in another Bantu area. He also hopes that plans for a cement factory in the Transkei might soon be finalised. There is also a rumour that a British firm might finance the building of a harbour".¹²

Dr Jan Marais, President of the South Africa Foundation is reported to have said, "If South Africa succeeds in its Southern Africa detente moves, it would establish the strongest economic complex on the continent, and become a leading political power group".

These foreign investments then would further provide pillars on which the apartheid economy rests. Needless to say, while these foreign investments would introduce superficial and minimal advantages for South Africa's oppressed black masses in the short term in the long run this would militate outright against the liberation of the oppressed black masses. The economic bloc that Dr Marais talks about is one that would not only retain but would condone the institution of apartheid. Thus the black African countries of Southern Africa would find themselves caught up in a dilemma of their own making. They would thus find themselves caught up in a morass of Western neocolonialism whose consequences for the black man in South Africa would at best be exploitative and at worst downright dehumanising.

All this would happen while white South Africa is monopolising the wealth of the country and continuing to impose apartheid on black people. The United States, France and other Nato countries would be able to supply Mr Vorster with weapons and also enter into defence pacts with impunity.

Detente would improve Mr Vorster's image in South Africa itself not only among his followers, but also among followers of other white parties and this would further entrench Nationalist rule. Black people in South Africa would be given the false hope that detente with black Africa is the beginning of better things to come for them in South Africa and would be fooled into adopting a wait-and-see attitude, thus affording Vorster the time that he needs.

Since the decision by Portugal to withdraw, or rather since Portugal was forced to withdraw from Africa, South Africa has found herself needing time: time to drive it home firstly to the white politicians themselves that they either have to participate in the process of change or else find themselves being swept along by the tides of change; the politicians need time to recondition their followers to appreciate that if white people in this country are to be accepted in black Africa, radical changes have to be effected in South Africa's policies; Mr Vorster needs time to sit around with his allies to work out strategies of maintaining white monopoly and privilege in South Africa; Mr

Vorster also needs time to work out strategies with his allies for the substitution of their lackeys for the potentially hostile governments in black Africa e.g. according to Lucia Lara of the MPLA South Africa is not innocent of involvement in Angola's internal affairs, and this for obvious reasons; Joachim Chissano, Mozambique's Foreign Minister, also told the U.N. that South Africa is interfering in Angola's internal affairs through its military operations there; Vorster needs more time to deceive black African leaders like the Ivory Coast's Foreign Minister Dona-Fologo that he is "a responsible man, conscious of what is at stake, of the continual risk and the chance of a peaceful solution",¹⁴ to quote Dona-Fologo. Mr Vorster needs people like Dona-Fologo, Kamuzu Banda and their likes in order to maximise differences in the O.A.U. so that he can capitalise on the resultant confusion. It is the same strategy of divide and rule that he is applying in South Africa itself.

There are certain strange things about South Africa's detente with black Africa. One Nationalist Cabinet Minister has gone on record as having taken Colin Eglin of the Progressive Party to task for visiting what he referred to as friends of "terrorists". The visit referred to here was the visit to Zambia by members of the Progressive Party. Involved in South Africa's detente moves and in fact most prominent is the man none other than Kenneth Kaunda himself, who was referred to in the above terms: Strangest of all is the fact that the South African government has been partly instrumental in making Ian Smith's Rhodesian Front government come to the negotiating table with people none other than those who had hitherto been referred to as "terrorists". The South African government does not see Zanu, Zapu, Frolizi as movements representing "terrorists" whose sole purpose is to advance the cause of communism anymore, but as the legitimate representatives of black people in Zimbabwe with whom Ian Smith must come to a constitutional settlement. The African National Council of Bishop Abel Muzorewa, embracing as it does the abovenamed movements, is seen by South Africa as the movement with whom majority rule must be negotiated. Many South African policemen, black and white, have lost their lives fighting against these very men who are today brought to a conference table on the South African Railway's special white coach at the Victoria Falls. Emmissaries have been shuttling to and from Zambia in desperate attempts to see Ian Smith and Bishop Muzorewa coming to a negotiating table.

Mr Vorster is reported to have said in Parliament on April 21, 1975, "I want to emphasise that the issue as far as we were concerned was never action within Rhodesia against any Rhodesian. In other words, we have never been, and never want to become, involved in the maintenance of the internal order of any State. The issue as far as we were concerned was the infiltration into Rhodesia of terrorists from elsewhere, with South Africa too, as their target. We believe moreover that in order to afford the Rhodesians themselves the opportunity of finding solutions themselves, the negotiations between them should take place without interference from any source whatsoever".¹⁵ This being the case, are we not to wonder then what made Mr Vorster pressurise Ian Smith and his rebels to go to a negotiating table with the same "terrorists" who were infiltrating Rhodesia from "elsewhere"? Or has he

realised that these "terrorists", after all, come from nowhere other than Rhodesia itself and are nothing but Rhodesians. This seems to be the answer, because according to Mr Vorster, negotiations must take place between Rhodesians without interference from outside. Zapu and Zanu are embraced in Bishop Muzorewa's African National Council and as far as we know these are the movements that have been fighting Ian Smith's rebels and it is with the same A.N.C. that Mr Vorster pressurised Ian Smith to negotiate. This being the case, one wonders whether Mr Vorster was even unaware that Zapu and Zanu which were fighting Smith's rebels, whom he was supporting (Smith's rebels) are nothing but Zimbabwe's black nationalists. Perhaps Mr Vorster's reasons for involvement in bringing Ian Smith's rebels to the negotiating desk with the A.N.C. can be explained in terms other than those he has mentioned above. Mr Vorster may be believed in this by his followers, but surely there are a lot of people with a sufficiently independent viewpoint who cannot be cheated in the same way into believing such obvious half-truths. Most important is, however, if Mr Vorster has realised after all that Zapu, Zanu and Frohzi which are embraced in the A.N.C. are movements of Zimbabwe nationalists, as indeed he seems to have realised looking at his attitude towards the A.N.C., then South Africa must admit having been involved in the maintenance of the internal order of Zimbabwe. This then to me belies his often repeated policy statements that South Africa does not interfere in internal affairs of other countries.

Another interesting factor in Mr Vorster's detente moves is the fact that he is at pains attempting to convince black independent Africa that it has more in common with his all-white government than it has differences. At the same time Mr Vorster is emphasising differences between Whites and Blacks in South Africa in justification of his inhuman policy of apartheid.

Mr Vorster is reported to have said, "Once we sit around a conference table and once we discuss our common problems I think we will ultimately find that we have more in common than issues which in fact divide us and that will lead to better understanding".¹⁶ While Mr Vorster is prepared to say the above in relation to black leaders in Independent Africa, he is not prepared to say the same in relation to black people's authentic nationalist leaders in South Africa itself. Mangaliso Sobukwe, Nelson Mandela and others have been told in no uncertain terms by Mr Vorster that he has nothing in common with them and he is not prepared to sit around a conference table with them.

So double-tongued Mr Vorster hopes to make a breakthrough in his relations with black Africa while maintaining his double-tongue. The bundling of many Swapo leaders into indefinite detention under the notorious Section 6 of the Terrorism Act/1967 by South African Security Police at almost the same time that Mr Vorster was shaking hands with Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia at the Victoria Falls typifies the contradictions in Mr Vorster's detente initiative.

It is this naked hypocrisy which led to lack of belief in many South Africans of Mr Voster's good intentions about his detente moves. The policy of SASO on this detente, formulated against the indefinite detentions without trial of many of its leaders and members and various other members of the black consciousness movement shows that the black students in South Africa, and indeed the black community at large, are

not at all impressed by Mr Vorster's detente. The policy reads as follows, "While detente per se is not an abominable idea, detente conducted between countries to the exclusion and at the expense of the true leaders of the people, is nothing more than a hollow and futile political exercise aimed at misleading, confusing and misdirecting the noble intentions of those that are struggling for true justice.

"Detente, initiated by imperialists, with special reference to South Africa, cannot be acceptable to Blacks because:

(a) It is a mere deflection of international interest from condemnation of South Africa's unjust policies;

(b) It is a hollow economic exercise meant to maintain, retain and perpetuate the abominable exploitation of Blacks;

(c) It is conducted at a time when the true leaders of the people are kept rotting in life imprisonment, detention, exile; while many are being charged for their outspoken criticism of the system and those that can't be charged are being terribly tortured for what South Africa is, paradoxically, trying to achieve in its detente manoeuvres;

(d) It is low grade hypocrisy to speak to Africa's true leaders while gagging the true leaders of Azania. Detente, with emphasis on South African style, is therefore a joke of high political magnitude".¹⁷

This is the voice black Africa has to listen to before it gets too involved with a self aggrandising, merciless white racist like John Vorster. Vorster must be told, not only in words but also in deed, that respect for the black leader in independent Africa must start with respect for the authentic nationalist black leader in South Africa itself. Black Africa should not involve itself in making a statesman of international renown out of John Vorster, Prime Minister of a regime with the most inhuman policy in the world, apartheid. Black Africa should not allow herself to be enticed by the economic aid that John Vorster always dangles as a bait to get her (Black Africa) involved with his racist because he is only able to dangle this economic aid to the extent that he has robbed the toiling and oppressed black masses in South Africa of their equitable share of the country's wealth.

Mr Silumko Sokupa, a recent ex-Fort Hare student and current Arts student with the correspondence University of South Africa, is the Eastern Cape Regional Secretary of the South African Students' Organisation.

ARTS: A REVIEW

A NIGHT OF BLACKNESS WITH DASHIKI AND BLACK JAZZ

Putting a cultural show together can be a drag, as those charged with the duty of organizing artists — people who have come to believe themselves a race apart — have discovered in a painful way indeed. But then, as someone wryly observed in a moment of high melancholy, the show must go on; especially in these

halcyon days when people are innundated with banal plays, musical shows that end at dawn with the people feeling like a man trying to go cold turkey after a trip on an esoteric and benevolent hallucinogen. The difficulty is mainly at the choice of artists. One does not want, because a cultural thing for blacks has to have an unmistakable black stamp, artists who have been so tainted with the white experience that they become gray in the dark; no, one wants people obsessed with the truth and who'll keep on ramming it down the throats of the populace so as to exorcise the evil spirits in our people's blood so that they go home seeing liberation not as a figment of the imagination of black consciousness ideologues and proponents but as something as tangible as a policeman's .45 or his rubber truncheon. It's got to be something real, but something dreamt up by people who want to be a feeble and reasonable fascimile of the great white dream. Not that whit dreams are essentially bad or obscene, but in our existential life-situation they are non-functional and passé.

The number one thing that frustrates, nowadays, is that whenever you tell people that there is a show at the YMCA featuring 'Dashiki' and Black Jazz' and a bevy of ultra-funky beautiful girls displaying high African fashions from as far north as Gambia to down South Africa — pieces worn by Princess Elizabeth of Togo and difinitely not by Margaux Hemingway and Elizabeth Taylor — people look at you as though you're out of your mind, and in tense and hushed tones the conversation goes as follows:

"Man, SASO organizing a 'Night of Blackness!' You sure the thing has no connection with the Frelimo Rally?"

"No man," you say tiredly. "This is just a night when black people read poetry, watch the traditional dress parade and listen to music by 'Daskiki' and 'Black Jazz'. It's got nothing to do with the Rally whatsoever. Do you want to buy a ticket?"

"Don't think I'm prying, brother. It's just that I did too much running in Curries Fountain. And I don't want to see a police Alsatian dog for the rest of my life."

But he, being a black man, proud and determined to be free, will buy the ticket programme; in fact he'll buy two: one for a friend.

So, on the evening of 28 February, 1976 — a warm and sultry evening that promised rain — about two-hundred people were already outside the brown-stoned YMCA building in Durban. It being a Saturday and a month-end, many people were apprehensive that they would witness widespread bloodshed. In fact many were already visualizing themselves lying in their own pool of blood in the gutter or on the asphalt. Happily nothing happened.

The musical instruments — a curious mixture of monstrous African drums, bongo drums carved with motifs reminiscent of the Nigerian mgbedike masks, shekeres, maraccas, flutes, reed instruments whose origin and designation escape the writer, guitars, amplifiers and Rajah's sound equipment — must have filled the uninitiated casual observer with awe if not a sense of bewildered dread. 'Black Jazz' personnel, under the leadership of guitar maestro Sandile Shange, lugged their bass guiter, drums, tenor saxophone and a trumpet. Jabu Sithole who'd be doing the singing, was already caught up in a trance as he improvised on Rahsaan Roland Kirk's Clickety-clack, a poem.

Clickety-clack!
What's all this madness,
Who'll bring our spirit back?

Bringing the black people's spirit back (collectively) seemed to be just the thing the 'Dashiki' /'Black Jazz' collaboration was all about. The 'Dashiki' combo, also known as 'The Poets', consisted of Lefifi Tladi — by far one of the most articulate and innovative artists of our time — Tebogo 'Gilly' Mabale on flute, Kanakana Matsena (who, one joker observed, must have been born with a silver microphone in his mouth — the way that guy talks a mile-a-minute!), on shekeres and a horn which, when blown, sounds like the bellow of an enraged bull, and Fikile, a consummate artist of great skill who helped in poetry, like in the poem 'New York:'

'New York'
The Big Apple
Sixteen million feet National Tom Mc Canns
Florsheims, stepping on each other
Rejoicing the death of one nigger toe . . .

There wouldn't be enough space to describe the effect of music and poetry upon the people who were at the YMCA that Saturday evening. Many sat glued to their seats while the show was going on waiting, as it were, like canaries waiting for a grain of wheat to fall. Others, especially those in the back who obviously couldn't hear much because of the faulty sound-system, showed impatience with poetry and pressed for more music. One thing the patrons agreed with enough, was the traditional dress parade. The girls were beautiful. They walked and paraded with confidence that left the organizers out of breath. For this was so unexpected! Jabu sang — and, oh, how he sang! — and was accompanied by 'Black Jazz'. Guest artist Abbey Cindi, flautist and soprano saxophone extraordinary, was also there to augment 'Dashiki' whose guitarist, Lawrence Moloisi, couldn't be there with them for some reason. Abbey used to play with the legendary 'Malombo'. Lefifi, Gilly, Kanakana and Fikile recited The Last Poet's 'When The Revolution Comes'.

When the revolution comes
Some of us'll probably catch it on T.V.
With chicken hanging down our mouths
and you'll know it's a revolution
For there won't be any commercials then
Preacher pimps are gonna split the scene
With communion wine stuck in their back pockets
Faggots won't be so funny then.

Faggots were really not so funny that night as the whole spectrum of black oppression was laid bare by the musicians and poets. Alien agents that aim at the destruction of blackness were exposed for all to see. 'At the end of the small hours' 'Black Jazz' and 'Dashiki' had a jam-session that left everybody asking for more, and there was no more to be given.

It was indeed, and, one suspects, will continue to be, a Night of Blackness!

On Tuesday 2 March, 1976, a repeat performance was

staged at the University of Zululand. This night saw the artists at their best. Perhaps it was the influence of the students themselves that so electrified the atmosphere or maybe it was because many young and beautiful people were attired in African grab, one wouldn't know. One had that wierd feeling of timelessness, as though one had been thrown back into space and time to a situation in history when Africa was proud of what is truly hers; when there were airplanes, tanks, machinery, judges, juries, guns and policemen as we know them are an unknown phenomenon. One was immersed in a two-hour cultural déjà vu. One had an impression of explosive colours and war songs; a hurrying and fluid sensual movement of people basking in the reflected glory of an even more glorious past so that the poem 'Before the white man came' was so apt. One felt that it wasn't the guitar strings Sandile was pulling but our own hearts-strings, the drums were the thumping of our hearts and the stomping of feet by dancers accompanied by a song of victory after the end of a long war.

POSTSCRIPT

Many things will lie buried and unknown in the uncertainty and darkness of the past. SASO, through the cultural committee (CULCOM), aims at re-awakening the people to the beauty of their past kingdoms so that they will be able to deal with this turbulent present and an even more unpredictable future. It's not funny — in fact it's downright obscene — that black people have to read their "history" written by people who haven't the foggiest notion of how it feels to be black. This also goes for those so-called black academics who spend days and nights on end with ice-packs around their inflated domes and their spindly legs immersed in wash-basins full of cold water who write these about black people's behavioral patterns as though blacks were rats in B.F. Skinner's Box. History, and thus Culture, of black folks has to be enspirited with the soul-force of black people. And whites and their plastic images the nonwhites can never do that! Myths have been created about blacks and the unfortunate thing is that most blacks end up believing these falsities. Why, some actually endorse them! That is why we find a book (thoroughly profane, obscene and certainly devoid of any literary merit) passing uncensored and unbanned by the PCB. This book which, among other things, says Africans stink like stale biltong and their sexual habits are "beastly", is called *Agter die Magalies* and was written by an HNP-supporting Afrikaner. If one were to write a book based on the same format and say that whites stink even after a bath, that their society is decadent, that their sexual habits would nauseate the most seasoned pig, that they are the ones who brought disease and sexual deviations like homosexuality, lesbianism, incest-rape, syphilis, one wouldn't even be risking ones book getting banned. One would be laying ones life on the line. Instead of receiving congratulatory letters in ones mail, one would receive something else. These are some of the things that are said and done in this country in the sacred name of Christ, democracy, progress and an allegiance to the flag.

There is a need in this country for academics, students, dramatists, poets, writers, musicians and just about everybody concerned with black truth triumphing over lies to come together and help in the formation of one cultural body that will take care of all artists'

aspirations. In December 1972 SABTU (South African Black Theatre Union) was formed but due to bannings, detentions and deaths the whole project was discontinued. It's about time that such bodies were resussitated because the black man is on his own and will continue to be on his own until the end of time.

PROUD FLESH

Transkei After The Last Butterfly:

"Terezin, the model Jewish state, the typical example of the Fuehrer's concern for Jews, had been chosen as the concrete bed on which world opinion would grow and change favourably. like wild violets coming through the cracks in the concrete itself."

(Michael Jacot "The Last Butterfly")

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

(Julius Lester)

"In order to have metre in a poem you are forced to change or cut off what you had thought of, and it ends by killing your inspiration. I prefer free verse."

(José Delgade Gomez)

"As it dies, a civilization opens itself to the fury of those betrayed by its meaning, precisely because that meaning was not sufficiently true to offer a life adequately large".

(Norman Mailer)

"Freedom is not a reward or a decoration that is celebrated with champagne. Nor yet a gift, a box of dainties designed to make you lick your chops.

Oh no! Its a chore . . . and a long distance race . . .

(Camus' Jean-Baptiste)

SONG

Now in our fire
We sing, rising,
Songs of dead eggs
Which crackle above the
Raw music of tin horns.
Should we bother to talk?
Should we bother to
speak of birth
Knowing the smell of the yolk?

Should we bother to talk?
Should we bother to
speak gagging
Knowing the throat-catching bones of words?

To sing at most,
To sing with standing flames
Songs of dead eggs
Even if the words fall winged
to sing.

*(Poem by Paul Theroux)
from: Black Orpheus)*

We should bother to sing,

We beg your pardon, South Africa

We beg your pardon, South Africa,
for the lies your enemies and the Press
have heaped upon you,
denouncing you as racist
whereas you're the most democratic
and free country
the world has yet to see.
We beg you pardon, South Africa.
We beg your pardon, South Africa,
for the many many many many
young communists terrorists and narchists
who inhabit your prisons
for they really deserve to be there
as a threat to the peace
to the safety of our roscy-cheeked
blond-haired children.
Detractors say you're oppressive
but that's just another lie.
We beg your pardon, South Africa.
We beg your pardon, South Africa,
for the untruths spread about
your peace-loving and innocent policeman
who are said to be torturing prisoners
whereas we all know
those are self-inflicted lacerations
and cigarette burns.
We apologise for those that
are supposed to have been murdered
when actually they committed suicide,
for the man who nailed his own penis
on the prison floor
in a frenzy of self-terrorism,
for the man who caused such an uproar
when he imagined he was a seagull
and flew out of a window
in John Vorster Square.
We beg your pardon, South Africa.
We beg your pardon, South Africa,
for those who hate passbooks
because Africans do need them
especially in toilets without paper rolls.
We're really sorry for those moved
to Limehill, Dimbaza, Rooigrond
for the perpetuation of progress,
for the migrant labourers
who live in 5-star hotels
to help us in our factories,
For miners who dig up our gold
and diamonds for our wives to glitter in

and for the riches
that make us such a powerful country
and if they die in mines
through their own negligence
then, why, we'll get some more.
We beg your pardon, South Africa.
We beg your pardon, South Africa,
for those that claim your laws are too harsh
for the Immorality Act that helps us
keep our heritage and culture pure
for the Group Areas act
that groups us up comfortably separate
for the Land Consolidation Act that protects us
from the Land-grabbing thieves
for Section 5 of Terrorism Act
that spells the death
of all terrorists so we won't
be terrorised
for the Customs and Excise act
that does away with pornography
and communist ideals.
We beg your pardon, South Africa for those who say
We need an act to protect us from you
We beg your pardon, South Africa.
We beg your pardon, South Africa,
for those who say S.A.B.C. and TV
are government propaganda organs
for we really love to see the faces
and hear the sweet voices of our leaders
telling us now well they're treating us.
We are really shocked when some people
refer to our policemen as racist pigs
whereas they are no kin to the dreaded
ungulate family.
We beg your pardon, South Africa.
We beg your pardon, South Africa,
for those hordes from the north
who don't have bullets marked 'Whites Only',
for your children at the borders
who die not knowing what for,
for the United Nations, the OAU,
for then ANC, the PAC, the Communist Party.
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."

MANDLENKOSI N. LANGA.

THE MOMENT OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

One only imagines what would have developed or failed to develop and mature had the Blacks been freely allowed to stage their FRELIMO Rallies in various parts of the country as peaceful and self contained as only an oppressed people can be.

But what could perhaps have been a sheer spectacle can today be viewed as a symbolism.

The moment of Black Consciousness reached its historical meaning on a nationwide scale in just one day. September 25, 1974. As if no other great moment had preceded it. But this would at the same time be an illusion. One is bound to go beyond the many great moments in our struggle; and the FRELIMO Rally's in particular. One also has to examine what significations the FRELIMO Rally carried.

The FRELIMO Rally acquired a symbolism for the Black Consciousness movement. It threw focus on the period of change. A change that is moving towards South Africa; towards those directly affected by the negative South African situation, since they are within it. Azania's black masses.

The youth was there in vanguard role. From all Black groups. Included in the Curries Fountain crowd were a handful of white students who had come to witness a black thing moulding itself into THE BLACK THING. The workers were there too. Some of the workers also got bitten by police dogs, like the students. At the point of call Blacks from different walks of life 'automatically' converged as if to man their positions at the first battlecry. Perhaps this was the reason for the fear and over-reaction of the police. And those who participated had to be chased by police dogs — like faceless shadows before a storm. They well symbolized the gathering of the clouds. For surely the storm must come and the rain must fall. And like a tide in tempest those faceless shadows will rise and pour over the oppressor. From latency to reality.

Countless news bulletins have been distorted concerning the resistance of blacks, individuals included. Why? Because of fear for the Truth by the State and its forces of darkness.

Black students have no unexplained quarrel with the State. It is state policies that brings up quarrels. But the State resorts, readily, to the System. In defence of the System. Becomes the System. Yet the State owes the Blacks of this country far more than can be bargained for: Human Rights. We cannot bargain for Human Rights as the Transkeian parasitic middle class doing. We shall only grab back our rights. Because OUR rights can only belong to US.

One often laughs at stupid jokes. Whereas the System's joke, this time, induces no laughter. Everything is not everything. Even with the System. For the System thinks and firmly believes it can continue with the apartheid programs. Students and workers showed at Curries Fountain that these programs can be revoked. And if that looked like provocation to the ever self defensive System, then the police reaction of assault upon a peaceful rally-crowd — to be later followed by

detentions, should evoke nothing else but a wider sense of resistance amongst blacks in every corner of our Azania. Plus a wider sense of reality as well — just as Sharpeville did.

There has been misunderstanding of the Black Consciousness movement from some of our elders, especially the educated elders. This misunderstanding can be said to rest on our elders' attachment to the reality of the fifties. Some of our elders fail to realize that there are outdated possibilities and mythical alternatives to the status quo whose holding onto can no more be justifiable. Our parents had too much tea with the — liberals. Now they expect us to be tea lovers as well. Tea with the liberals is an imperialist enjoyment that we completely reject. And we do have the moral right to reject certain things because certain very basic changes have occurred in the interim period between Sharpeville and the FRELIMO Rally.

The social situation is no more tolerable. Secondly, the many alternatives prevailing in the sixties do no more exist; as a result of the bantustans, the crc, the saic. This must be clear to all those who desire meaningful change. For instance exile is no more an alternative than it can be escapism. Hence we learn of exiles returning to serve the System in separate freedoms. It is for us to question the CLASS MOTIVE of these former exiles. It has become very clear that unless one moves into active involvement from the host country, depending on the country one is in, exile becomes meaningless. In the different countries and capitals of the world — including the bourgeois lighted cities of Africa, things can just as well be oppressive and overtly reactionary. More than that, a great deal of truth has been born with the national liberation of some African countries and their socio-political struggles. We must look for examples in the revolutionary scenario of FRELIMO, the PAIGC and the MPLA.

The question for some has been whether to sit and accept everything as normalcy (whilst fattening on that thick monthly cheque and foreign funds); or to criticize but remain snuggled to personalized comforts. In both cases one ends up a vegetable, a social rot. If one's political convictions are to survive, one has to be continuously challenging the imposed inertia by fighting political emasculation of separatist politics. Political impotence is worse than the alleged 'irresponsibility of youth'. Political impotence turns men into vegetables. People's ideas do vegetate where there is social and political voidancy. One can dream of liberation and be called 'irresponsible'. But for as long as one is busy believing in the dream, turning it into reality, it is responsible to dream.

Several pleas have been made on the Rally Arrests. But students cannot plead. There is no reason for pleading. The reality of detention presents crucial issues that are at stake. At stake are the students' Human Rights as citizens of this country. At stake are rights of students in their acquiring of knowledge. At stake are the rights of all those who can be considered as being politically rightless. The will of students shall have to be accepted

and respected. No matter how long it takes. No matter at what price.

Students, workers, intellectuals -every blackman has come to know this: no ruling sector has willingly conceded to the rightful demands of those who are ruled. If the white regime won't give us freedom to meet where and when we wish; if we can't get correct facts about the situation within and outside the country; if we can't have freedom of speech — then we shall have to re-establish the lawful rights made illegal by the System. The ruling sector and their collaborators in apartheid must be forced into respecting Black opinion. We must voice our black feeling in no uncertain terms. Through Black Consciousness we already have the psychological weapon.

The Rally was no mere stage act. With the Rally it became manifest that the power potential of blacks is still there, in them. There, existing — though not very intact in the face of negative tribal freedoms which are in effect anti-freedoms. Existing is the potential of common struggle and latent is the identity of purpose. In identity of purpose lies this question: do we want to liberate the land or do we want to liberate the people? Socio-economic alternatives cannot be ignored.

The Rally had to free blacks of fear for the System. It had to break the creeping despair. Yet this could not have been planned. The ridding of fear and despair would have been an inner process in the individuals, and a mutual process in the collective experience of the Rally crowd. Thus in reverse we had the State's demonstration of its own fear.

That the System was opposed to the transmission of power to FRELIMO need not be matter of concern to us now. Neither should the System's disapproval of methods of FRELIMO be revised here. It all fiddles in the shady past of the Portuguese Soldiers Comfort Fund and the Movement for Free Mozambique (MFM). What was undemocratic was for the State to reckon by its actions that September 25 was not the moment to declare solidarity with the people of Mozambique. This was tantamount to declaration of war against South Africa's blacks. It is therefore the System that is imposing confrontation on the black masses and not 'communist inspired elements' pointed out by the 'boerekragters'.

Either this BOSS wielding of State power will oneday mean every kind of repression for the blacks or the taking of our democratic rights to assure ourselves against State bullying and police dog attacks.

FRELIMO showed alternative political and social authority to that of Bantustans. And the symbol of the Rally became the Black slogan: POWER! AMANDLA! It was a historic gesture. The students know this. Let there be power to the people. So do the workers know it! Power to the strike-marches.

And because of this factor, and the political fate embedded in the struggle that shall have to continue, students are not going to let themselves be cowed by such over-reaction as was shown by the System. To the black student: La tuna a continual/The struggle continues!

“To take part in the African revolution it is not enough to write a revolutionery song; you must fashion the revolution with the people. And if you fashion it with the people, the songs will come by themselves, and of themselves. In order to achieve real action, you must yourself be a living part of Africa and of her thought; you must be an element of that particular energy which is entirely called forth for the freeing, the progress and the happiness of Africa. There is no place outside that fight for that artist or for the intellectual who is himself not concerned with and completely at one with the people in the great battle of Africa and of suffering humanity”.

**FROM AN ADDRESS TO WRITERS
AND ARTISTS AT THE 2nd
CONGRESS OF BLACK WRITERS
AND ARTISTS AT ROME IN 1959**

*by Sekou Toure,
President of Guinea.*