

SASO

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CONTENTS

Editorial	1
News in Brief	2
A poem	4
From the Presidents Desk	5
Letters to the Editor	8
I Write What I Like	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9
Africa Series	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11
The Black Thing . . . is honest . . . is human	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13
The Historical Process of Separate Development	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	15
The Role of Black Organisations in the Life of the Community	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	18

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

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86 BEATRICE STREET, DURBAN

that justice is a blind goddess
is a fact to which **we blacks** are wise
her bandaged eyes are two festering sores
that once, perhaps, were eyes — elridge cleaver

EDITORIAL

THE whole White problem in South Africa is becoming, with each passing day, what appears to be an insurmountable hurdle. And, our own Black people are not helping us in reaching a solution to this ingrained evil.

The prime defaulters, in this regard, are Black people who have been so brain-washed by the White liberals that they believe Black Consciousness and Black solidarity to be a form of "racism in reverse". For too long now the minority Black groups have been harbouring fears that the majority Black group will swamp them as well in the event of a change in this country. For after all are the minority groups not "brown"? One better than the kinky negroid he calls "Black!" And "things are much better under the Whites" or "look at Kenya and Uganda!"

Of course the latest attitude to this says, "We must look at each other as human beings and not at the colour of the skin". This naive attitude comes from the Black elitist who, more often than not, refuses to see the reality of White racism but tends to see the Nationalist Party alone as the enemy. Their universal application of "human being" is so untrue in a life situation where even their liberal friends in the Institute of Race Relations still refer to them as "non-whites".

At best one can say that these unfortunate people are so colonized by White thinking that they sincerely believe the White man to be their "protector"; at worst these "non-white" liberals aspirants to a niche in the first class White society — so steeped in the filthy game of exploitation, and realising that the newly advancing society will eradicate this exploitative practice — have thrown in their lot with the Whiteman. We can only recognise these as oppressors of the second class ilk. The irony of the situation is that the very fear expressed by these poor souls for the "swaart gevaar" will swamp them because they sell themselves to the White racists and uphold this ugly game of exploitation.

Yet these are the "non-Whites" who, like the N.I.C. and the Labour Party, are set on the policy of getting the best of both worlds and very little else. Fence sitters and people governed by White liberal thinking can never have any constructive attitude to any

meaningful change of the status quo. And, considering their own involvement with the evil of the status quo, neither can they have any positive contribution to offer in our struggle.

Take the example of the Natal Indian Congress whose sole aim at the moment appears to be that of discrediting Black Consciousness. They rant that exponents of Black Consciousness are exclusivists and racists. They recently passed a resolution condemning Black Consciousness. Part of their resolution read: "This meeting confirms that any dogma or group which propagates racialism of any kind is unacceptable in Congress, and re-iterates that Black exclusiveness is not an answer to the problem facing the Black people of South Africa. Congress therefore re-affirms its basic principle and belief in non-racialism."

The ironies that exist in this resolution in itself points to the inadequacies and falseness of the NIC. Firstly the NIC is in itself a racially exclusive organisation — it caters for the Natal Indian only. Secondly, in the resolution — they themselves refer to "the problems facing the **Black people of South Africa**" — an organisation representing a minority group decides to speak on behalf of the entire Black population! One can see that these people, without representing the Black people, already see themselves as leaders of the Black people! And finally this resolution which reaffirms a belief in non-racialism goes on to call upon its members to refrain from associating with the dogma of racial exclusiveness which in point of fact means calling upon all its members to resign from Congress!

While Congress makes blunders a Black People's Convention is due to be called in six months. This convention is being arranged by an ad hoc committee instructed by a conference of African organisations. The Convention will meet to form an all Black Political organisation. The ad hoc committee for the Black People's Convention is making approaches to all sections of the Black people.

The moves to initiate this new organisation heralds the new year with many exciting possibilities, challenges and developments for the Black people of South Africa.

(AN APOLOGY — The Editor apologises for the lateness of of the issue. Due to circumstances beyond our control the vacation issue could not be printed.)

NEWS IN BRIEF

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL: A PRESS RELEASE

THE NATIONAL Executive Council of SASO held its meeting in Pietermaritzburg from December 1 to 3, 1971. Besides the members of the executive, eight centres or branches were represented.

Meeting under an ominous wave of government "kragdigheid", Council issued a communique rejecting the allegations of the Minister of Interior and called upon Black students to stand firm in their convictions. Members of SASO including the President had their homes searched. We say to the agents of BOSS we shall not be intimidated and we shall in all matters relating to education and the welfare of the Black students, be guided by the tenets of the values of humanity. None of the tactics will blunt the truth about Black Consciousness.

Major decisions were taken regarding the role of the students in the Black community. The policy of "no contact" with Whites was further clarified and reinforced by a ruling that such contact "be approached with extreme discretion especially when it concerns the fundamental aims and objects of SASO."

The need for a united Black voice was seen as very fundamental for the realisation of Black aspirations. Council then urged the Executive to contact other groups in the Black community with a view to implementing some of her projects "so as to mobilize general public opinion that will promote Black solidarity."

SASO noted and appreciated the revival of the Natal Indian Congress; and welcomes attempts at achieving unity among Africans as shown by the National Conference of African Organisation resulting in the Black Peoples Convention. It was hoped, however, that the two groups in association with the representative voice of the Coloured people will work toward Black unity and thus rightfully take their place in resisting the onslaught on Black humanity that the totality of White power has ingrained.

Real Black people are urged to stand firm and build their community towards political and economical self-reliance. Council expressed itself as strongly against the politics of fragmentation that seem to be in vogue these days simply because they have not yet sat down to draw up a programme for their liberation.

It was brought to the notice of the Council that the Council of Fort Hare University is planning to take over the property of the Federal Seminary (if the Governing Council of the latter agrees.) Council supported the stand by the churches participating in the Federal Theological Seminary taken at their recent conferences, in resisting such plans by Fort Hare.

Although council welcomes and appreciates the need by Fort Hare for more land for expansion, however, wishes to point out that alternatives for expansion can be met without jeopardising the position of the Seminary. We wish it be noted that Fort Hare students are not in favour of such expansionist designs and Council affirms its deep interest in the welfare of both present and future students of both institutions in taking this stand.

Council also expressed itself against the imposition of a four year "Bantu" Medical Course mooted to meet the grave shortage of African doctors. It supported all those who have already expressed their opposition to this scheme. The high failure rate and the number of students excluded for alleged "unsatisfactory progress" at the University of Natal Medical School, the only institution training African doctors in South Africa is alarming.

In the light of the above it was concluded that these were designed to break any hope of solidarity between the various Black groups some of whom will not be affected; that this differential treatment which is, however practised at the Medical School was noted with concern and all the students there were concerned about these divisive tactics of Whites.

The best way to increase African doctors would be to open more opportunities for medical training and it is believed that this is what the Medical School has not been doing. It seems indicated as far as SASO is concerned that more Medical Schools should be opened so that more Blacks should be trained. SASO therefore, calls upon all Black groups which share our concern for the educational advancement of the Black people to voice their opposition to this question.

A crash programme for fund raising is being investigated. It is hoped that Black people will see the need to contribute towards SASO by pledging token contributions on a monthly basis. If many Black do this then SASO is assured of success.

The annual conference for 1972 will be held in the Transvaal. The theme will be **Creativity and Black Development**. Leading Black speakers have been billed both from within Africa and America.

Finally Council pledges itself to the realisation of the worth of the Black man and to promoting consciousness, unity and self-reliance in our community.

BLACK PEOPLES' CONVENTION

Perhaps, the most exciting development in the political history of the Black people in this country, is the move to form an all Black political organisation. The move was initiated at a conference which originally set out to form a national organisation that would cater for the cultural needs of the "African" people.

This "cultural" organisation was mooted at a Maritzburg conference which this column reported about in the "September" issue of the newsletter. In that issue we expressed the hope that the people concerned would see the need for an all Black organisation. At the subsequent meeting held in Orlando, Johannesburg, the original ad hoc committee was bent on developing an African National Cultural Organisation.

But the Conference was well attended and that idea was quickly thrown overboard. The rationale behind a Black political movement was thoroughly investigated and at the end a new ad hoc committee was elected to prepare the ground work; to sound the relevant Black people out about the possibilities of an all Black political movement; and to arrange a convention for the formation of such an organisation.

From latest reports the ad hoc committee appears to be meeting with excellent success at the various meetings on the Rand and the outlying districts. Umtata, Durban, Kimberley and Cape Town are also welcoming the idea with great enthusiasm.

The Natal Indian Congress is now faced with ultimate expiry with this new development and it would serve the interests of Black people in Durban, and in fact, Natal if she immediately begins to consider the viability of disbanding and joining this new move en bloc.

SASO sees the necessity of this new organisation and is pleased that students and the community have come to such an agreement to form this organisation.

The philosophy of Black Consciousness and its corollary Black Solidarity is the central rallying point of this Black Peoples' Convention and it is becoming more of a

reality that these concepts are not just the expressed views of SASO but the entire Black community, that is committed to seeking a true liberation for themselves.

NATIONAL THEATRE CONVENTION

In Durban a move has been made in the direction of a national theatre convention. TECON, MAD and Orion Players agreed that Black Theatre groups in this country need to form a Black Theatre Organisation that would meet the demands of Black theatre groups throughout South Africa. A steering committee has been elected to plan the Convention and to invite as many theatre groups as possible and from as many parts of the country as possible.

At the executive meeting of the steering committee a resolution was tabled. The resolution which stated that the Black Theatre Organisation to be formed would comprise only Black Theatre groups as the main function of this organisation would be to co-ordinate and determine the new direction for Black Theatre groups in the face of the common problems that apply not only to Black actors but in fact the entire Black community.

The conference to formally initiate this organisation is scheduled for the 1st and 2nd April. The officials of the steering committee are confident that the conference will be well attended and that the organisation ought to be something most welcomed by theatre groups throughout the country.

Theatre groups (Black groups) are requested to get in touch with the Secretary, National Theatre Organisation Committee, 70 CNR House, Cross Street, Durban, if they have not been already contacted.

SASO ACCUSED OF PAN-AFRICANIST ASSOCIATIONS

The NIC (Natal Indian Congress) has been asked by SASO to apologise and perhaps face defamation charges because one of its officials, the Provincial Organiser, accused SASO of "in fact propagating the policies of the banned Pan-African Congress." Displaying extreme naivete and political immaturity the official had the audacity to make this statement at an Executive meeting of the NIC which was attended by most of the Congress' executive members and many observers who are SASO sympathisers. This official was at no stage reprimanded for this and at a subsequent Executive meeting of the NIC this irresponsible statement was included in the printed minutes of the previous executive meeting. These minutes are posted to all 26 branches of the NIC.

What is most galling about the statement is the fact that the official calls SASO "the architects of Black Consciousness" and yet makes the "Pan-Africanist" accusation. SASO at no stage went out of its way to discredit the NIC and sees this statement as a deliberate effort on the part of the NIC to discredit SASO's attempts to unite the three groups of Black students. Striking fear into the hearts of Indian students in regard to SASO will only serve to widen the gap between the various sectors of Black students and militate against SASO's efforts to create a strong Black Solidarity front among Black students. With the political climate as it is today SASO expects the various political groups that operate outside the system to speak with a united voice against the present regime but not to waste time discrediting their fellow Black brothers and sisters.

SASO CONCERNED

During the December vacation SASO's projects did not quite get well off the ground. Although there were students who took part in the projects the number did not warrant the apparent commitment of Black students, especially those who propound and mouth the philosophies of Black Consciousness. Intellectualising is fine but it cannot become "an exercise in intellectual gymnastics" as someone accused students of doing. Practical commitment is of prime importance if Black Consciousness is to become a viable means towards a free and just society. Restricting this vibrant philosophy to intellectual circles can only mean the bastardisation and exploitation of the concept of awareness — Black awareness.

Unfortunately, the open prejudice against SASO from "non-Whites" is also serving to make the task of students who are committed a difficult one. The "New Farm" project which has been perhaps the most successful project of SASO's, did not continue this vacation. Although, since this project had started in May early last year, students stayed at the Phoenix Settlement over long weekends and short vacations, the Phoenix Settlement Trust turned down an application by SASO to allow students to stay at the Phoenix Settlement School. No reason for the refusal was given.

The Phoenix Settlement Trust Committee is supposed to uphold the beliefs of Mahatma Gandhi, founder of the settlement. Yet it finds itself in a position where it has to deny SASO the opportunity of continuing its work at "New Farm".

SASO finds it hard to understand this sudden change of attitude, especially as SASO provided clinical year students to assist the doctor and nurses every weekend from its local branch at UNB.

SASO can only see this refusal as another attempt by "non-Whites" to frustrate

the efforts of SASO in doing its work. This attitude merely depicts the falsity of some organisations that continue to claim "tolerance" and "concern", and all the other flowery statements which are uttered only to confuse Black people at large. It becomes painfully obvious that these people are really there to perpetuate the existing status quo. Organisations like these must be exposed for the sake of a greater quest because if they are not, then they become the major stumbling blocks in the Black man's search for his humanity and true identity.

revolution in conception

my spirit sits in the shell
of my palm
and the embryo slowly forms
nestling in the warmth of the
sweaty embryonic fluid
i watch the evolving me change
the slow development
my birth has come in my
life
and so will my death
i will watch the death of my spirit
in the gnarled bones
of shaking palms
and i will smile at the
spirit as it chatters its death
at the advancing tide of the
ruling warlords
and the steel chatter of fire
will rake the
mindless souls as they
move towards their destined end

slowly my soul moves towards the mapped
out destiny
and smiling it advances
joyous in spirit
firm of purpose
and the definite promise of a new tomorrow

see i have learnt to caress my loved one
she has come
and yet she eludes me
for in reality i must still
grasp her heart and turn
her head to the distant hills where waits
the hidden grove
there lies our love bed
and our children wait for
the orgasm to be born

then they too will watch their spirits
sit in the shell of their palms
waiting to chatter the cry of death
the love call of freedom

From the President's desk

SOLITAIRE, SOLITARINESS AND SOLIDARITY



DURING MY TOUR of SASO campuses I frequently was confronted with a recurrent feeling particularly from a vociferous minority-group, that Saso is nothing else but a logical solitaire to solace Black people from their political solitude and isolation. This feeling was frequently expressed in devious ways such as "Saso should have Whites behind it, etc. ad nauseam.

Now recently, this latent recalcitrant and obdurate refusal to relate one's self positively, found its new exponent in one Shitondo Nangoro of University of the North, writing in *Turflux* publication. In an article entitled **Where To?** Mr. Nangoro inter alia writes: "This (Black is beautiful; Black must be proud they are black; 'Black must love black'), this indubitably is the outcome of the thought and emotion provoking gospel of Saso . . .

"To seek identity necessarily indicates an inferior complex that one does not want to admit . . . the Black has ever since the close of the 18th Century been in contact with the Whites. It follows therefore that **Black culture and outlook has been irrevocably influenced by White culture**

"On what culture therefore is Black identity to be based? **What identity will arise from a synthetic culture?** (Sic!) What Saso says, is, in effect, that we must abandon the synculture with which our lives are inextricably interwoven and go back to the 'Stert View'. If this is to be, there must needs be friction between Black and White: . . . **we are to regard the white skin with contempt.** The Whites must be pushed out of our lives and their laws, also based on their culture, are to be ignored. In this way Saso says we will be able to speed up cordial relations between the two races . . . **It is the unreserved or social character of the Black that makes him like mass meetings, his unstable emotionality that makes his decisions hurried and unwise and his brain power that makes him like mass meetings.**

"Thus, because of being ruled by passions and biased judgement, the Blacks . . . deprive themselves of privileges. They look at the source of the proposition and if it happens to be White, or in this case, **from the Administration, they attach meaning the proposer never intended it to have and they howl and boo it down.** This unparalleled irrationality appears in the behaviour of the

very people who want **Black Consciousness**, who want political and educational freedom. They concentrate on lofty ideals and **overlook the practical bases. These are the people who want Black identity based on African culture . . .**

....." . . . Granted the blackness of the Black must be emphasised, how is it going to be stopped from becoming militant and racialistic? Racialism cannot be fought with racialism . . . 'Down with racialism!'

I have quoted this article at length, not that I want it to detain me long but rather for the Nangoros to expose their own hypocrisy (*Turflux* is widely read). The article is perforated with misconceptions, fallacies, bigotry, chauvinism and unparalleled frustrations.

I shall begin from the end: the ambiguity of "down with racialism." Mr. Nangoro is of course referring to the racialism that brought him to *Turflux* and expressly excludes him from other Universities. Saso supports him. Sec. 4 (c) of Saso Policy Manifesto states that clearly.

People who accuse Saso of "wanting political and educational freedom" perplex me. Mr. Nangoro implies that he does not want "political and educational freedom." It is essential that Mr. Nangoro et al must know that we do not only want that. But more than that. Our human identity too.

As for this new sociology or anthropology about the 'unreserved or social character of the Black', I can only confess my ignorance at this mysticism.

I have a strong suspicion that "Shitondo Nangoro" is a WHITE staff member at the University of the North. The African name, "Shitondo Nangoro", should not mislead us.

"To seek identity necessarily implies an inferior complex." This statement to him obviously does not apply to Whites. These contradictions marr Shitondo's eloquence. I do not know whether it is sociologically tenable that the **"Black . . . like mass meetings."** Nor am I aware of the Black's **"unstable emotionality."** Is this statement psychologically valid? Does it apply to **you** too since you refer to the universal concept "Black"? Or are you perhaps by some abstruse process of natural selection excluded from the rules of "passions and biased judgement?" Even if you are White you aren't excluded.

Let me say that people like Mr. Nangoro are suffering from multiple frustrations epitomised by a syndrome of sensitivity to "mass rejection" or "booing or howling." As a University student Nangoro prototype exhibits an uncomfortable difficulty at grasping concepts.

As for their incessant demands for practical action, all I can say is that Saso is in dire need of volunteers for community involvement at Dimbaza, Dududu, Winterveldt and New Farm. Come and help other Black people themselves.

To all who think like Mr. Nangoro I can only appeal to them to cease their solitary roles but must engage in solid involvements. Solidarity is not solitariness. Solidarity is a cementing of our ties and forging together ahead towards a common end. Solitariness is racialism but solidarity is a common involvement with the world.

It is a going out forward with a strong and social purpose rather than a withdrawing

into solitary meditation about the problems of Black and White without doing anything **concrete** about them.

Culture should be understood to emanate from an attitude to life rather than as an external manifestation of behaviour. Black culture does not necessarily mean a way of dress — nor does it refer to the pre-1652 era but a complex of socio-economic-religious influences operating in one's mental behaviour patterns and attitudes.

Solitariness is not only mental apathy but physical inertia. Solitariness is masochistic because it makes the Blacks perpetuate their present conditions of life, while like an English farmer, they are dying on the expectations of plenty.

Solitariness is a death-trap. It is a death-knell to the aspirations of Black people. In solidarity Blacks can find means and ways of ridding themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude. Mr. Nangoro ought to know this better if he really is a Blackman.

WRETCHED OF THIS COUNTRY

... are those genetical mistakes condemned at conception? Then an effective process of brainwashing and conditioning made them to doubt their exuberance and sanity. They have been and still are being terrorised into submission; their long-held beliefs and ideals about life and God took such a hammering by a foreign, ruthless and exploitative superstition that (in the pages of history) will remain a shame and a scandal in the annals of human time. Whites are the Blackman's **keeper**.

Ours is merely to lick the boot of the master; to serve and save this demi-god even from the nightmares of his own snores. Ours is to tread this ground ever so lightly lest we incur the wrath of this sleeping dragon.

Afterall did whitey not tell us that we are merely a permanent stage in the evolution of man from a monkey to a Superman? This legal and "Christian" terrorism so fear-petrified the Blackman that he refused to believe in his humanity. Yet the paper-dragon was busy accumulating new appetites whose limits ran short of complete cannibalism: the paper tiger usurped everything that was of value to the Blackman; his wife was outraged; his beliefs, even about himself, brutalised; his manhood mutilated so much so that the creature that emerged was a human eunuch. Yet this is all the past or is it?

Isn't history repeating itself? Is history not history of the affections, in South Africa anyway? Racial laws are a thinly disguised manifestation of a sexual genesis of this motivated legislation, whose sole motive is to prevent cohabitation between the Black slaves and the White goddesses. Laws are created to protect this lily-livered perfumed Atlanta whose self-confidence and will-power is so suspect that unless her male bulldog erects walls of barriers between her

and her secret desires, wretchedness shall descend on Heaven itself.

In the face of all these insults and unbridled arrogance what was the Black man doing? What was he? Where was he? **Who** was he if he was not a terror-stricken, snivelling obsequious sub-human! He was, in his sub-humanity, busy **praying** for his captor's blessedness while his enslaver was unashamedly **preying** on his unsuspecting victim.

Yet God did not heed this slave's prayer. The Bible compounded more confusion on this plane. The Churchman taught the Black this funny prayer, misnomered the Lord's Prayer: "Our Father who art in heaven . . . **give us this day our daily bread**" (Sic!). Poor Blacks were not aware that **they** are the daily bread, the offer and fodder for his preying-animal. Aristotle said that man is a political animal. I think he should have said whitey is a preying-animal.

Yet this conditioning would not be complete without this man invoking Divine authorship of his machiavellian schemes: " . . . Let thy will be done on earth as it is done in Heaven." So God's will in Heaven is similar to what we are having here! Apartheid on earth is a reflection of racism in Heaven. No wonder Christianity is fast losing ground among Blacks. (Unless it changes drastically). They are finally beginning to see through the White lie. These people cannot even be embarrassed by Christ's message. Instead they twisted His message to justify oppression and exploitation.

God has abandoned Black people simply because we preferred self-hatred and self-rejection to anything else. We have become a pitiable pathetic lot. People who refuse to unite even though they have nothing but their shackles to lose. Black people have lost

hope, have no will-power; we do not even have the foggiest notion of **who we are**. No wonder even a Cabinet Minister has the audacity to define us as **superfluous appendages**. We are scared of examining ourselves because we know we live on the twilight of life. We have to wake up and move towards ourselves. In the words of the Black poetess, Desiree Barnwell:

Will the real Black people please stand.
Those fearless of the unconventional,

Move towards their own blackness . . . ?

The real Blacks are those who refuse to become a nation of liars. Just to please the Whiteman we out-chorus each other in telling lies about the reality of our condition. We tell him that "baas, we are very happy to be tortured and bastardized by you." While mouthing these hypocrisies we are busy grinning sheepishly so that we could earn a pat on the back from whitey, and yet inwardly we are cursing these creatures from the sanctity of our thoughts.

As hypocrites we assure whitey with the usual insincerities that he would like to hear from us. Really, are we like sheep that have gone astray, to use Handel's words? We should cease to be colour-blind. We must rally round the focal point of our suffering. We must know that we don't have to prove our humanity in spite of our blackness. Rather the reverse should be the case. We should prove our Blackness by our own humanity. The quintessence of our **being** has been our quietism. Our Blackness is inseparable from our humanity. This is the truism of Black Consciousness.

We have to forgo the saccharine and mellifluous concepts of sweet integration. At this stage integration means personal disintegration. The integrationists are only interested in individuals and not in communities. The group, to the multi-racialists, does not matter, only individuals should be considered. A personality must be obliterated, and only an individuality should survive, this is the logic of integrationists. They hold the masses and communities to be marketable commodities in the profit and loss index of "white" economy. Only individuals who can manipulate a fork and knife properly; who can mimick whitey's spurious concepts; who spout the same vocabularly although the language be different; unless our shirts be **snowy** white and our ties be straight we cannot be integrated. Only then can we graduate from feeding on **dog's meat** to the ice-cream-filled and chocolate-larded table. Only then can he regard **you** as a worthy object of his leisurely meditation.

I know that this breed is fast becoming obsolete in South Africa. Yet I must concede their efficiency. They have schooled their "non-white" hirelings so well that they can afford to sit back on their eiderdown arm-chairs and chuckle with satisfaction. Their euphoria is reflected by the huff-puff of their sychophants. To these people and their acolytes I say there is no viable coalition between the affluent and the destitute; between the politically secure and the

politically insecure. People who are economically dispossessed and politically disenfranchised cannot enter into a meaningful coalition with those who are suffocating in the corridors of power. This is the lesson the integrationists must learn. Yet Blacks should not lose sight that there are genuine and sincere integrationists but they can only be counted on my index finger. Numerically they are a multitude. Actively they are negligible.

Blacks are guilty of a paucity of thought. By refusing to think deeper Black people are denying themselves a solidification that is essential at the moment. We must remember that group solidarity is the **sine qua non** of psychological and physical liberation of the oppressed. Who must we appeal to if not to ourselves? We cannot appeal to a non-existent White national conscience expect perhaps in the dubious mirror-halls of Hollard Street. But then at what price Black people?

Black people are their own redeemers. Save yourself from this pig-sty life and you would have saved even non-Blacks from their self-inflicted pains. We must triumph over this situation. Otherwise we shall remain wretchedness itself and worse.

There is a simple story of that monkey in Brazil which had its paw "trapped" in the bottle. A nut was placed in a narrow-necked bottle. The monkey's paw fitted easily into the bottle. Yet as soon as the monkey caught the nut and wanted to take it out the paw formed into a fist and the monkey could not take out the nut and the paw. Because of its greed it never occurred to the monkey that by simply dropping the nut it would win its freedom and escape from death. Yet the animal was too obtuse and too greedy to realize that.

The analogy of this story with Whites' greed for power is simple. Unless the Whites cease clinging to **all** power; unless they forego their greed for power the march of events will overtake them — this they shall have hoisted with their own petard. I think this lesson is valid for Blacks too. Unless Black people discard their cloak of fear, history will once more trap them and it shall **HITLERISE** them.

We should cease regarding the sweet-perfumed gowns of our spurious Black bourgeoisie as the epitome of a human ideal.

We have to imprison ourselves in the ideal of humanity. Humanity is beyond freedom. To be human is to be more than free. Freedom is subservient to humanity although Sartre believes that man is **condemned** to freedom; but I would hastily add that he is condemned to responsibility too, which is a human attribute.

Humanity embodies freedom. Yet freedom is one of the humanising forces of life. I am stating this view in spite of mathematics. Students of geometry must remember that "the whole is not greater than the sum of its parts," though this theorism is mathematically valid, it is, in humanistic terms, however, invalid. Humanity is the whole; it embodies all aspects of social, political, economic and religious life.

Letters To The Editor

SIR, — In the turmoil of events, one may overlook the importance of the need for a sense of direction. And this, indeed, is the crux of the struggle in South Africa.

Verwoerd suggested that South Africa should develop towards self-government in pockets — that each of the "Bantustans" should become a near-autonomous state, so that "White greenlands" could remain White. They can't see themselves agreeing to democratic government.

"What will South Africa be?" To the leaders of Black opinion (here, "Black" is meant to exclude Uncle Toms), the answer is clear an independent democracy founded on universal suffrage, from which discrimination in all its forms is outlawed. Their attention is no longer focused on what South Africa is to become, but on how and when they can attain this clear objective.

The Blacks have adopted as their programme the co-ordination of all efforts in the Black's struggle for freedom, by creating facilities for co-operative action and mutual help based on fraternity and a feeling of "I am because we are", "I live because the people live, therefore I shall live for the people, with the people." Without doubt, this has vastly increased the vigour and self-confidence of the Blacks in their struggle.

Black suspicion and hatred of White supremacy is justified and understandable. The Black demands and must be in a position of real power in the government as his only safeguard against external undesirable forces — but the White has threatened and bullied him.

The people's representative congresses have been outlawed and their leaders detained or house-arrested and banned for the "impertinence" of opposition to White supremacy.

About 46 years ago, Africans rejected the "Native Representative Council" (thanks to those leaders, they had a people's thinking).

Today Blacks even form "oppositions" in the race to get a position in the systems' "platform". This becomes evident in cases where some cross the floor once they lose favour in their constituencies as "opposition".

This, presumably, is because of the fat cheques offered for these suicidal positions in the establishment. The most pathetic part

of it all is that most of our sincere and mainly ignorant brothers and sisters regard them as their "true leaders".

All previous talk by the Whites that they alone are capable of leading the country has been made ludicrous by their government's rash, stupid and blunderous actions of "catch-at-the-nearest", house-arrest and detentions.

One can see that the country is run by a maddening fear of realism. They are afraid that democracy will mean a Black government which will "get its own back" by discriminating against them and will tear down the fence promoting White arrogance and "protecting" them.

This reminds one of the letter written to me by a White immigrant "liberal" friend of mine, which boldly stated ". . . by segregation here the Whites, although few in number, are left in peace."

In all this confusion, it is necessary to re-state the Black stand: The Blacks demand a democracy recognizing the rights of all citizens, regardless of race or colour, guaranteeing individual property rights and equality before the law and upholding the civil rights of all citizens through the functioning of an impartial judiciary.

But even this can never be successful if the Blacks have not internalized a sense of Black Consciousness and the necessary pride of a people, as life will still be conducted by the famous equation of "Whiteness with Valuable-ness".

By the time our soul-sisters stop using skin lightening creams and the firms close down for pride in Black skin, we will be very close to the root of Black Consciousness.

"Government by people of integrity and civilized standards." This is the language that was used in 1910 and the evident results are painful reminders to the Blacks of the consequences to be expected from any simple faith in words, however sweet they may sound.

The Government is currently in panic and arbitrary arrests and detentions continue to hound the Blacks in their struggle.

But the spirit of freedom cannot be stopped by bars, banning orders or bullets. History has shown itself a faithful and victorious ally.

M. M. MPUMLWANA

I WRITE WHAT I LIKE

By Frank Talk

SOME TIME during this year, the barometers of Nationalist action came up with ominous readings: "Black danger is engulfing us; you Nationalists are the cause of the emergence of this danger; you have brought this evil Black power into our society; your policies of baaskap have created this monster Black Power movement in South Africa." This is the essence of Mrs. Helen Suzman's castigation of Vorster's regime earlier this year.

Not to be outshined by a Progressive, some "liberals", notably Donald Woods of the "Daily Dispatch" launched a consistent melodramatic incantation against Saso, both in his editorials and at addresses to the Fort Hare students. Woods kept such a loud and neurotic noise against Saso that this liberal's lashing of Saso began having effect.

Even the now defunct "Post" kept on reading "sadness" about Saso. What was sad about Saso? There were no clear-cut statements except vague complaints that Saso's closing of ranks is racist and evil and it is some form of come together-brother mania.

In effect the reason for this noise could be seen in no other motive but the desire of these people to be Black man's champion. These people did not want to be excluded from where action is because otherwise in the present South African political situation they are found to be redundant.

The effectiveness of the Donald Woods, Helen Suzmans, Phillip Selwyn-Smiths began manifesting itself in the number of votaries who sprang up to join the band-wagon.

This hysteria culminated in the United Party's fulminations against the usage of a harmless "Black-power-is-here-to-stay" phrase uttered by one of the more far-sighted politicians, Mr. J. Basson. He timeously reminded the United Party to take stock of the situation and realities and to accept the fact that "Black Power is here to stay." He rightly jibed this usually-lethargic party by reminding them that its policy of make-belief is a futile exercise of the mind.

Yet his leader Sir De Villiers Graaff sprang up and told the delegates to be like those three monkeys which saw no evil, spoke no evil, and talked no evil. He rapped at the delegates who use the word "Black Power." He said, "Black influence, black aspirations, yes, but not Black Power with a capital B and a capital P. He forgot to remember Washington's dictum: "Influence is not government." That was the U.P. at its best!

We are now moving to the climax. We are now approaching the Nationalists neurotic response. But to conclude the U.P.'s hopeless

melodrama: two Nationalist papers, **Die Burger** and **Rapport** entered into this fray of words. They came up with their own definitions of Black Power and took the U.P. to task for imagining that Black Power does not exist. They told him it does exist and the best that should be done is that it should be "properly channelled." Of course by the Whites themselves! Never has hubris assumed such pathetic tones!

It was left to the master himself. The man who was hailed by the English-press when he took over as Minister of the Interior as a ray of hope. It was felt that Mr. Theo Gerdener will inject verlig-blood in a hopelessly verkramp-body. Of course they were wrong as usual because Mr. Gerdener continued in his merry-way of creating paradoxes. One verlig statement was immediately contradicted the next day by his verkramp one. Never were chameleon images so vividly presented.

All these incantations were now leading to one conclusion. But there had to be a green light before any action. Mr. Gerdener skillfully provided it. At Brakpan, he announced in his apocalyptic vision that he has "proof" that Saso and Asseca have contact with Black Power movements in the U.S.A. This latest "proof" (in South Africa, courts are usually dispensed with in matters of "proof" of a "conspiracy" against the security of the State at a Ministerial instance) did not surprise Saso.

We were expecting such things. The only thing that surprised us was why the word "communist" was not added to this latest "evil appendage." We can rest assured that this scape-goat is about to be "found" in Saso's very marrow.

But what struck me most was Mr. Gerdener's coupling of Saso and Asseca in matters of "revolution" (for this is the obvious implications of Mr. Gerdener's statement) because the President of Asseca (who is also the editor of an Argus paper circulating among Blacks) had prior to Mr. Gerdener's "bombshell" discovery stated that Black youth are planning a revolution in South Africa.

All these statements by these people would not be meaningful without them culminating in some action. And the chief of them — Major Venter announced that he was investigating Saso and his police force is interested in anybody — group or organisations or individuals — who are undermining or saying or doing things which tend to undermine or subvert the security of the State. In no time Saso's people were quickly rounded up for "interrogations."

But it was generally a bleak month without dramatizing the harrassment of Saso.

When the President of Saso addressed Fort Hare students in August, 1971, some of them asked why it is that the government does not "blast" Saso? They argued that it means the government likes Saso and that we are the pet of apartheid. Therefore we must be rejected as an apartheid apologia. Hell, like Alice in Wonderland, it "becomes curiuser and curiuser." Yet now that Big Broeder has swung his heavy jackboot on us are you coming to join us, Fort Harians?

I think that it is high time that we should close our ranks. The late Ahmed Timol was "prevented" from "dashing" through the door but it was found impossible to stop him from "jumping" through the 10th floor window of Vorster Square to his death. The Essop and Timol families are only a few of the Black brothers who have felt the jackboot method of resurrected Hitler and Himmler.

It is a matter of history that ten Black people have chosen as their death-spots — the Secret chambers of the offices of Security (or is it insecurity?) Police. And seven more people have died mysteriously in the hands of "Tiny" Venter's men. One of them was a "man without a name". Only a casual reference to his having died of natural causes was made by a Cabinet Minister in Parliament. I suppose the relatives of the man are still hoping that the man will come back one day. Perhaps they are right: As a ghost.

General Buys is continuing his "inquiry" into the death of Ahmed Timol. But this is a very curious inquiry. For, the General has announced even before his findings that Timol was "sitting quietly" (Sic!) on a chair when he suddenly bolted to the door. But no sooner was he cornered than he headed for the barless window.

Now that the General has his answers what is he still looking for? In case the General is still searching for some more answers it will not be difficult for him to find them because Brigadier Piet Kruger, deputy head of Security Police will tell him that Timol was a "hero" of the communists. Really! Are there no courts today to judge whether a man is a communist or not? Or are the courts redundant in a police State?

But who are we asking because the Brigadier had given his verdict? "We who know the communists," says Br. Kruger, "know that when they want to resort to violence, they make people swear an oath to commit suicide rather than reveal the names of their comrades. They are taught to jump out before they are questioned."

The funniest thing is that these "communists" are questioned in 10th floors and they know that there are no bars on the windows. I am beginning to suspect that the "communists" are the police themselves.

Indeed even their methods are the same: detentions without trial; Section 6 of Terrorism Act; Solitary confinement, etc. If you don't know about "little Siberia" ask Mewa Ramgobin and Justice Moloto. Perhaps Moloto was mistaken for a Molotov cock-tail; but his name is Justice, or was it mirroring too much, the injustice of a system that

operates on fear, intimidation, and victimisation?

We who know the Nazis and their Gestapo methods know that such things are possible. In one bleak month Black people were given their periodic sjamboking. And what did they do in turn? Nothing, they were silent, and in their silence they imagined themselves to be free. Black people have forgotten that there is no freedom in silence.

People who wish to caress the tiger with the hope that it will only eat up their enemies are living in a land of delusions. Facts are shouting louder than advertisements that instead of the Blackman's lot improving it is deteriorating. There is no need to magnify the suffering of Black people.

In case we lose sight of the problem, let me remind you that the problem is a monolith. That the beating we are receiving now has been compounded long ago by the colonialists, the liberals, the Progressive and United Parties together with their cousins, the Nats.

When the U.P. voted for the Terrorism Act were they so myopic as to believe that this terror will only circulate among Black people? Their feeble and lamentable squirming is nothing more than the half-kick of a dying donkey. They impress nobody with their melodrama and self-righteousness. They are just as bad as the Nats. And they know it.

I now say to Black people that there is no need for spurious political coalitions. That, any hope that co-operating with Whites will ever bring you anything is a pipe-dream. Papering over the cracks is a sure clear sign of a political **rigor mortis**. The U.P. failed even to realize that Boss (Bureau of State Security) was not primarily created to watch over Black people.

It was created to control the minds of people. And the people it has to attempt to control are the Whites: Liberals first, then the Progs., U.P. and after they have consumed their opponents they will then start chewing each other up. There is no security in a system of secret operations.

Boss is there to create mass identity in terms of thought. Man's thinking must be the product of the situation. In controlling the environment you control human thought and action. This in turn would create a type of an unquestioning being who will echo anything that the master says. This is the democracy of Boss and Baas.

Nobody would be free in the process. There is no freedom in silence, Sartre discovered this to his dismay. When the Nazis came marching in with their guns they will find no opposition because man would have been conditioned to know only his counterpart; who, tragically, would reflect only that is terrifying and Bossy in his image. Boss is not meant for Black people because there are numerous and various devices which are there to control our behaviour and thoughts: the 200 or so racial laws passed by the various White governments; Group Areas Act; Immorality Act; Sabotage Act;

(Continued on page 12)

AFRICA SERIES

GHANA

GHANA is a former British colony on the west coast of Africa, north of the equator. It is bounded by the Upper Volta to the north, while in the east it is bordered by Togo. The Gulf of Guinea bounds Ghana on the south.

In 1874, when the scramble for Africa was at its peak, the British imperialists, tired of their parochial homilies, sailed to, among other places, West Africa. Together with the colonialists went those people who claimed that God had sent them to perform a mission in Dark Africa — the missionaries. While the colonialists were beating the natives into submission their cousins, the missionaries, were busy cajoling the inhabitants into forfeiting their souls for something better: a heavenly peace and love. No wonder then that out of every ten Ghanaians three are Christians, while out of every hundred Ghanaians one is an Islamic believer.

It was to this country that the British colonizers came in 1874. After a brief skirmish which was magnified into a battle the natives were subdued and subjugated. The country was then renamed the Gold Coast.

Gold Coast is a derivative name. One of Ghana's natural resources is gold, hence the British imperialists named Ghana the "Gold Coast". Besides gold there are other natural assets and agricultural products, the most important of which is cocoa. Ghana contributes a large amount of this cocoa to the world market. Yet still a lot is used for local consumption. Yam is a popular food in west Africa, including Ghana. This is the edible tuber of a tropical climbing plant.

Ghana has a population of 8½ million Blacks. The Ghanaians use four native languages, but their main official communication is through the English language, though "pidgin" English is a popular lingua franca.

Ghana has free education for children of school going age. Free primary education was introduced in 1951. From 1961 children under 12 years of age had to go through a system of compulsory education. There are three universities, two of them being the University of Ghana, Legon near Accra and the Kwame Nkrumah Institute of Ideological Studies at Kumasi. The University of Ghana has a world renown Institute of African Studies. South African Black students, passport permitting, should get acquainted with this intellectual gateway towards the understanding of such emerging human phenomena as Negritude, Black Identity, Pan-Africanism and study more of Black literature at this University.

Before the 2nd world war Dr. Danqua a Ghanaian, formed the "Gold Coast Convention" to struggle for the political emancipation of the Ghanaians. In 1948 there were riots in Ghana. The dissatisfactions were based on the facts that the colonialists were adamant about the gradual granting of self-government to the natives of Ghana. As a result, a commission was instituted. In 1949 Kwame Nkrumah was appointed by Dr. Danqua to be the secretary of the "Gold Coast Convention."

A few months later Kwame Nkrumah formed the Convention's Peoples Party.

Nearly all of the followers and lieutenants of Dr. Danqua and his Gold Coast Convention left him, and joined Kwame Nkrumah's Convention People's Party which operated on the slogan **self-government now**. Following all this in 1951 the Africans had increased power in their Legislative Assembly. In 1952 Kwame Nkrumah became Prime Minister.

This Ghanaian state, then called the Gold Coast, followed socialist economic policies. These policies are still being followed, though with more drastic modifications as a result of Ghana's economic difficulties.

In 1957 the Gold Coast obtained its independence from the British. In 1960 Ghana became a republic. Dr. Nkrumah was the president. The new state was now called Ghana. It has a president as head of state. He was the chief executive officer to whom all government members are responsible. The president chooses his cabinet. The president and the National Assembly govern the country for a period of 5 years after which there are new elections. The birth of this republic saw the packing away of the expatriates and their hasty retreat to their homelands. This was galling to a people whose society was characterized by a bankruptcy of moral values. They had to go back to Britain to exploit their own people.

In 1964, Ghanaian voters opted for a one party state. All other political parties were banned. Only the Convention People's Party was allowed to continue. Nkrumah's arch rivals were rotting in jails or in exile: Danqua died a politically disillusioned man while Busia ran to Holland.

Dr. Nkrumah ruled his country with an iron fist. He locked away all political dissidents. At home he became such a strong socialist that western nations in their usual tearful, patronizing and paternalistic tones continually castigated Nkrumah for his being his country's president. In their usual chauvinism they called him a dictator.

His foreign policy was clear: non-alignment with either west or the east. He preferred a strong Pan-Africanist socialism. At home he was called "Osagyefo" — meaning the Redeemer. He, in fact, conceived the idea of the United States of Africa. Accra, the capital of Ghana, became the mecca of political conferences. He was a staunch opponent of the apartheid policies of South Africa. He vigorously opposed the racism of Southern Africa and the imperialistic dollarism of the United States.

He wrote two notable books: "Consciencism" and "Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah". He coined the popular phrase: "We alone have to manage or mismanage ourselves; seek ye first the political kingdom and all other kingdoms shall follow thee." He was responsible for the creation of the great hydro-electric Volta river scheme. He built a prestigious conference hall in Accra. Nkrumah was a dedicated man. He brought a new ideology and a new concept of democracy into Africa. Unfortunately, his ministers were so corrupt and extravagant that he, too, incurred the wrath of the opportunists. Even one of his cabinet ministers indiscreetly bought a bed costing four thousand rand, in a country generally poor.

Because of general dissatisfaction with his strong arm rule Nkrumah, while on a trip to Peking, was toppled from power in a bloodless coup in 1966 by the army generals with the connivance and the collusion of other imperialist agents. Though the west knew better they continually dubbed him a Red protege.

General Joseph Ankrah, an army general who took over the reigns of government was also deposed from power for perpetrating the very same evils he accused Nkrumah of having. Later, Dr. Kofi Busia, a self-exiled political opponent of Nkrumah was recalled from Europe to lead the government.

He immediately practised the very same vices he opposed Nkrumah for. The economic position of Ghana was now in a shambles. Although he claimed that he inherited this economic chaos from Nkrumah, Busia was incapable of restoring the balance of payments, and the economic deficit of Ghana became worse. Like post-war Germany, Ghana was in heavy debt. Her currency tumbled. The cedi was devalued by forty per cent. Lack of employment was rife. Indeed, Busia was shortsighted for his decision to go to London for eye treatment was myopic in that, during his sojourn in England the army generals quickly removed him from power. Like Nkrumah who is in the political wilderness in Guinea at his old friend Sekou Toure's place, Busia is in exile again in the neighbouring country of the Ivory Coast.

Busia's political demise unlike Nkrumah's fall from power, was greatly lamented by western nations. They felt that Busia, even with his maladministration, corruption, nepotism, and lack of touch with the people, was a safer bet than any anti-west

leader. Busia, a sociology professor, had no grasp of the current political situations: he was too confused with the dialogue issue with South Africa. Hence Pretoria regretted his unlamented fall from power, because together with Malawi's Banda, Ivory Coast's Boigny and Lesotho's Leabua they would, with the possible moral succour of Kenya's Kenyatta have formed a formidable pro-dialogue force. They would have disorganised the O.A.U. and they would have won a short lived glory in the annals of White hypocrisy as the real champions of their peoples' cause.

One of the major weaknesses of Kofi Busia was that he listened more to the United States and white nations than his own people. He became an intellectual who lost touch with his local realities. For failing to reach the grass roots he wrote his own political epitaph. An intellectualist, as against the idealism and the consistency of Nkrumah, Busia was hoisted with his own petard. He forgot that leadership is not found in Whitehall or the White House, but at home with his own people. As regards the policy of the new generals in control of Ghana at the moment I cannot say anything. I know very little thereof.

(Continued from page 10)

Terrorism Act; General baaskap; Bantu Education Act; Mixed Marriage Act ad nauseum.

There is an African proverb which says that a child who does not cry will die in its mother's cradle. To me silence does not only give consent but it heralds the Age of the Dead. The sure way to perdition is strewn with tight lips. An awareness of this terrible situation will make everybody **think** and thought is not merely reflection but is assessment of one's situation and strategy. Unless we think deeper, we are no doubt conditioning ourselves to the great debacle.

The **first method** of our own liberation is self-conception, i.e. the definition of the self in terms of the motivating factors that make man what he essentially is. Black people have reached a hybrid bridge where they do not even know whether to define themselves in terms of what they **are**, or in terms of what they desire to be. Theirs is the Great Wait.

Like the Israelites who are still waiting for their Messiah, we are still in waiting. But unlike the Israelites who conceive of themselves as a **closed** unit and therefore incapable of adulteration, we are still nestling in our cradles. We are still in a delirium when there is so much evidence around us that ours is a schizophrenic political system that is far from being democratic.

Unless students focus attention on fundamental issues rather than waste time in grooming themselves for puppet roles in their respective Territorial Authorities or 'Stans, then they must just abdicate from the throne of Thought and Action and the "Marabar Caves" until they reveberate, in the echoes of our hollowness' the futility of our lot.

the black thing... is honest... is human

By M. Pascal Gwala

MAYBE it has taken too long, with a lot of soul searching, for the Blacks of this country to come to an agreement, within themselves, with the truth that it is not the acceptance or rejection of a social attitude that becomes the criterion of change in societal thinking but the affirmation or negation of that attitude.

Too many times in the past Blacks have rejected the accepted norms of White thinking. And yet they have affirmed the constitution of that very thinking by basing their argument on the White man's cultural values and philosophical thought. Thus ignoring the questions: is the White man's culture that superior? Are there no pitfalls in western philosophical concepts?

Not that there have been any exceptions. One could list quite a number of them. But developments and the trends in every development cannot be judged by their exceptions. Much of the Black man's quest for identity since his first contact with the White is history now. It is from that history that has come the sobering fact that the whole thing bumps down to consciousness.

The Black who becomes aware of his Blackness and its implications in a racist society will often strive, to a large measure of success or failure, for self-definition. This self-definition will take the form of a negation. That is, negating all that has been imposed on him. Superimposed by White cultural values, White economic domination and White stratification of society. And when that man begins to negate he is refusing to see himself as a commodity.

This is when the consciousness of contestation emerges. This contestation will bear an essentially Black character. Black in its doubts about White superiority, its criticisms of White values and in its challenge of White right. This is when Black consciousness takes form.

Black consciousness calls forth a re-definition of concepts. Cultural, economic, social and theological concepts as seen by the Black and seeing them through his own Black self.

Given the present state of affairs can we say we have a national culture in South Africa? If we understand culture to be historically indistinguishable from man who shapes it and is in turn shaped by it, we are forced to say that in South Africa there is no national culture.

Instead we have diverse sub-cultures or "tribal cultures" contained and directed by the dominant "White culture". These sub-cultures can hardly be said to be living in harmony; since they are one way or the other subject to control by the dominant "White culture". Nor can they ever be able to evolve without counter-influencing one another.

Here we may seem to have reached a contradiction. Does this not justify the separation of these sub-cultures and letting them grow into national cultures, free from the dominant "White culture?" There are some false prophets and "experts" on Blacks who want to channel the Blacks into this line of thought and thus forestall the healthy development of national consciousness amongst Blacks. Only they are blind to the fact that the contradiction is relative.

The dominant "White culture" — which, with all its degeneracies, claims superiority more perhaps by virtue of the technological advancement it embodies, will not at any time develop into a national culture affecting equality with the sub-cultures of the Blacks. It is bound to bend to its many inherent contradictions that are based on the economic realities of White domination.

In the same way we also cannot envisage any "tribal culture" evolving on its own and not counter-affecting the other "tribal cultures." and thus creating inter-tribal friction. For national culture in its all-embracing sense goes hand in hand with national consciousness. Neither precedes the other.

Black consciousness begins when the Black starts to realize that most values he attaches to culture and general social awareness have been superimposed on him by the dominant "White culture". That is when he also begins to be aware of his right to aspire to those things that will make him a fuller human being. Since primarily we live within a racist structure the Black first perceives the collusion of race before he is able to add capitalist exploitation and degradation of labour in his experiencing of White domination.

Therefore, with the realization of Black consciousness, when the Black becomes aware that he is turning upon the fact that he is Black, there is bound to be some form of alienation. A feeling of belonging on the outside. That is when the Black begins to think that not only is he Black but everything is barred against him.

He comes to know better the shadows, the alleys, the ditches and the shack. For within the given social context there is no such thing as an "open society". The Black who makes glamorous imagination of himself as being part of an open society perhaps closed to him because of certain inadequacies in the cultural refinements of his people, or perhaps because the White sector cannot at present contain him — such a man only bars himself from himself. He is his own drag.

The Black, ever made aware of his imposed inferiority: of the denial of his cultural identity: of his awkwardness and failure to "act civilized", then seeks an outlet for his

steam. At first he finds only one outlet: the ever present desire to project his consciousness into some form of grace. Grace of walk, of talk, of smile, of dance and even of anger. That is when he is becoming more conscious not only of himself but also of those he makes it with.

And of the drags and losers he cannot afford to back. He takes on an existentialist "stance". The mind becomes more and other than just conscious acts and subconscious behaviour. It also becomes the mode or manner in which those particular acts, or behaviours in them, are synthesized, integrated by the individual. In other words the mind ("ingqondo" the style, the way, the "draad" or when a cat says in Zulu "Ngiyathola") is more than the reflexive. It is also the synthesis, the assimilation of the reflexes of the conscious self.

It is at this point that the Black will strive to free himself from his own emotional entanglements. If we do bear in mind that to the Black emotion has often counted more than rationalized thought. In the same way that tone and nuance have often given a word meaning; not so much the word-meaning itself. So at this point he is also likely to realize that again he is inferior because he cannot enjoy the fruit of his labour.

Or how do we explain the easy stealing that goes on in the factories and at the shops and the high frequency in absenteeism if it is not awareness of exploited labour? I have heard of how indirectly and self-mockingly Blacks have talked of their jobs or places of employment.

The same may also be said of how students have made use of quotations in history or lines in verse to poke fun at the farce in subject matter. The demonstration of social truth is one thing; whether the demonstrator is aware of it or not is quite another thing.

How can we say that the humiliations caused by White interpretation of history, art or literature do not exist? Especially when we remind ourselves that the implications and stress of a social idea do not lie in the voice of any highly rhetorical leadership sector more than in the various ramifications of the different sectors of a people?

If Black Consciousness is inarticulate as some "experts" on Blacks are ready to point out it is because the very social set up in which Black Consciousness develops is extremely lacking of the articulate. Besides, given the multiracial context of South African society and the transitive nature of Black consciousness, it cannot be articulate. It does not have to be. Because of the various contradictions that propel it. It may also be worth noting that within every articulate is a vast element of the inarticulate, the two in perpetual conflict.

Black consciousness is subject to and part of national consciousness. It is the seeking and the striving for national truth, historic truth, economic truth and social truth. These

truths will not come automatically from any Black just because he happens to be Black. There will also be those whose bark will be blacker than their bite. Those who secretly wish for everything the White man has.

Thinking Black in its right perspective, that one of the national consciousness, is not wishing for "White" comforts at the expense of the overall aspirations of the Black people as a whole. This may be better explained by an illustration: more radios amongst Black do not mean, at present a higher level of news information and worthy entertainment; more bottle stores and beer halls in the townships do not mean a healthier attitude towards drinking. One could give more examples. For instance, the increase in the number of cars in our townships has not improved transportation for the average Black, to and from his place of work.

The specific meaning of every development has to bend to the objective laws of a period. There can be no true judgement of a development outside of the time that development has come up in. Black consciousness is not National consciousness, but only a part of it as I have already stated. It may or may not lead to any higher level of national consciousness.

Let us not dismiss the possibility of some of us Blacks using it to justify a tribal orientation or caste prejudice. A man should not only be urged by Black feeling. He should at the same time urge himself along with his fellow Blacks. Only then does Black consciousness not shrivel into reactionary opportunism.

When we say Black is beautiful we don't mean Black is more beautiful than yellow or brown. We just want to say that after all the years of cultural oppression (which has not stopped) it is worth pausing and remarking that after all Black is beautiful. It is one of the ironies of social determinism that in spite of all degradations, the enslavements, the insults, the Black man is still aware of beauty.

Black has different forms of expressions. One can hear beauty, touch it, smell it, feel it, understand it. One digs beauty. Beauty can have an arresting force too. An obstruction of sorts. This new beauty disturbs the Black and checks on him in his continued destruction of himself with drugs, alcohol and even self-hate. It puts brakes on the Blacks distortion of his own image in a White dominated society. It weeds out the possible existentialist extremities in the Black. "Black is beautiful" calls out for the cool hidden in the Black, in the soul that lives Black.

The argument all too common amongst Whites that there does not have to be a soul before one can talk of human nature is superfluous when the Black considers it. The Black has a different understanding of soul. To the Black soul is defined by the physical condition. At no time has the Black in the traditional past thought of spiritual mind as being master of the body. Mind is part of the

body matter. The Black man's mind is close to his limbs. If a situation has got you tight and it bothers your mind, your muscles will react the way your mind does. In hip fashion. Which is where the grace comes in. To refine the limb gesture.

For though action, any action, naturally bears an absolute manifestation within every given situation, expression does not have to be overt before a situation can be communicated: an important element in Black consciousness. The cat who knows his life experience doesn't just keep running. He also pauses and turns back. Only to get a better look of the way up front. And dig things better. There is a cool in that pause.

Cool is self-questing, a slight pause before the next move. An attempt at self-understanding. Understanding better the situation round you. Cool is not sitting back and grooving on "the big soul that moves in me, baby." Yeah.

Grooving is the extension of the Black's tendency to grope. It is an assertive condition of the self. It either arrests the individual or it spreads him out. The imagination takes wings and flies. High, higher. Or it just drops, bloop. It is good for a cat to groove sometimes. Good for his system. But for a cat to stay on the groove and not keep movin' on is bound to get him beat. Out of the style of things. And out of reach of his own latent power.

That is why it may be said here that Black consciousness draws no lines. The lines have always been there. All that Black consciousness does is to identify the lines. The faint line from the bold line. The trap line from the safe line. What the Black wants is his cool, his social potency. He must assert himself to get his cool back.

A cat says in Zulu: "Musa ukungifosela", which is to say, "Don't pull your style on me." While this cat digs the o'her cat's style he doesn't want the other cat to let off the steam onto him. This example may further explain that Black consciousness in this country is no transplanted idea. The immediate stimuli were Afro-American. No doubt. But there was also Africa and Asia.

What we saw in Westerns and interpreted our way. What we made of the war in the Pacific. What the secret Agent movies, the Beatles and the Rolling Stones meant to our tastes. It was also what the freeing of Africa offered. Not forgetting our sanities on the sports fields, and in the bush.

Black consciousness is then the outgrowth of our socio-economic and political reality. It is a link with the struggle of the third world though many well-meaning persons cannot come to like that. It's there and it ain't gonna be moved out. Not when the Black Youth also wants to be part of the world and not be confined to an island. What goes on in the world cannot be ignored by any Black who wishes to break from an oppressed mentality.

Given the present historic dimension the way up front is one that ought to lead to national consciousness and the creation of national culture from which will the paths to social liberation.

THE HISTORICAL PROCESS OF SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT

By A. C. MOLOI

This paper was delivered by Mr. Moloji at a SASO week address last year at the University of the North. He was at the time lecturer in African Languages at the "North". It was this paper which resulted in him being called up to a senate level "interrogation" where he was questioned on certain things that he had claimed in his address. Subsequently, Mr. Moloji resigned his post and took up an associate professorship at a university in the United States. The subject in which he lectures is African Studies. Mr. Moloji has a master's degree in History and an honours degree in African Languages.

WE SHALL TRACE the development of Separate Development philosophy in detail and explain it as it is applied today.

The idea of separate development is as old as South African history. The idea of Separate Development, as the Afrikaner's philosophy of life, stands for complete separation of the different racial groups of South Africa in both church and State.

It involves discrimination in land possession, labour, franchise, education and cultural improvement in general. It is complete segregation from Parliament to park benches. However, the Afrikaner does not view it in this light. He uses sweet terms to explain it: he envisages a kind of a commonwealth of South African "nations" similar to that of the British Commonwealth, where nations would co-operate in matters of common interest, without having a common central federal government or one nation dominating the others.

It is often claimed that the Blacks, in particular, are trained for their future responsible government in their territories, and that they are helped towards nationhood! Perhaps one might add, "nationhood" with Pretoria holding the purse, the gun and the police!

The many land-wars in the latter part of the eighteenth century and the nineteenth century dispossessed the Africans — the Blacks. The Colonialists, Imperialists, liberal and Boer combined their forces to drive the Blacks completely from the land by passing land-laws. Many so-called native locations were cut up in 1879 into five morgens for residential areas and cultivation; the rest was communal property for registered owners of plots.

Many people were driven off the land and many chiefs-turned-traitors received large individual allotments so as to remain loyal

government foremen and police on the Blacks. This was a way to provide Rhodes' diamond mines with cheap labour. Rhodes made his point of view very clear on the matter before he legalized the dispossession of the Blacks in the Glen Grey Act of 1894 (which he called the Native Bill for South Africa):

" . . . we have to treat the Natives . . . in a different way to ourselves. We are the lords over them . . . The Native is to be treated like a child and denied the franchise . . . 1).

The Glen Grey Act further deprived the Blacks of the land they already occupied. Hut taxes were imposed; farms were subdivided until they were small; only the eldest sons could inherit the allotment; many other people were driven to the mines as cheap labour. Even the "allotment" owners had to leave their plots to go and work for their hut taxes.

Rhodes was more determined than ever to destroy the Blacks. He emphasized:

"Every Blackman cannot have three acres and a cow . . . it must be brought home to them that in future nine-tenths of them will have to spend their lives in daily labour, in physical work, in manual work". 2)

The landless and voteless proletariat had to be humiliated further. The national government was not for them. To divert their thought from serious matters of State, a puppet, segregated ineffective local "government" called the Bunga system, was created for the Blacks at the Cape. (Bunga is a Xhosa word for council).

These local "councils" consisted of White magistrates and nominated Blacks whose sole function was to help oppress the people. The "nominated" tribesmen were usually puppets who were incapable of formulating any national aspirations of the Blacks. Thus the people's hatred and bitterness were directed, not on the English liberals, but on their Black henchmen.

Rhodes would never tolerate the development of a settled working class because this class would soon amass wealth, send children to school, have enough time to reflect on national affairs, instead of being preoccupied with how to make a living, and, therefore, it could become a dangerous "agitator" element. Therefore he advocated labour training for the Blacks instead of the development of the intellect.

It is very interesting to note that Rhodes provided a basis for the present attitude of the Afrikaner to the education of the Blacks and the educated Blacks in particular. The Glen Grey Act is the pillar of government policy, even today.

In 1903 Tsomo, Butterworth, Tembuland and Griqualand East formed the Transkei Territories General Council (Bunga), which had Umtata as the capital. In 1911 and 1927 the West and East Pondoland General Councils were formed respectively. By 1930 the native areas east of the River Kei formed the United Transkeian Territories General Council.

The Native Affairs Act No. 23 of 1920

provided that the Glen Grey Act would be applied to any Black area — called native area. Thus by 1940 all Black areas in South Africa were affected. Naturally the indigenous population resented the Glen Grey Act and other "native" bills because their sinister intentions were obvious.

The Act merely provided labour reservoirs, as the liberals were also conscious of what they were doing. Rose-Innes helped to explain the true status of the Reserves (if you like, our new Bantustans) when he declared:

"The principle of the Act necessarily involves the creation of purely native reserves . . . The principle must be maintained against every species of opposition . . . We shall in time be compelled to create more of such areas as reservoirs of labour". 3)

Indeed that time came. The 1936 Land Act affected the Reserves which were not affected by the farm-oriented 1913 Land Act. A "South African Native Trust", which could buy "more land and care for the moral welfare" of the natives was established. Very few farms have been bought for the Blacks by the trust to date, because there would be clashes with White invested interests, especially in the Eastern Free State. I shall refer to this again when I treat the individual Bantustans (also this term will be explained later).

Blacks could buy land in "released" areas, but the title-deeds were worthless since the owners could not dispose of their lands as they pleased and they could be arbitrarily driven off their lands by the "Commissioners".

The Act provided for the old English trick of "divide and rule", because the Blacks were divided into tribal groups. This was, however, realized and effectively put to use by the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951. (This is the Act which helped the Afrikaner leaders with their new find, the Bantustans — the newly coined word for the envisaged toy councils and dummy labour reserves).

The 1936 Land Act, like its predecessors, further worsened the Black man's position. Arid areas which are economically inviable are to be occupied by the Blacks, officially called Bantu. (Hence their places are called Bantustans. Think of other "Stans" e.g. Turkstan, Afghanistan, etc.)

The Bantu Authorities Act No. 68 of 1951 provided for the establishment of Tribal, Regional, and Territorial Authorities in the Bantu (black) areas. (Certainly these Bantu areas were not going to be like the ones that were suggested in the development programme of the Tomlinson Report).

A tribal authority is made up of a chief (usually illiterate and unaware of what goes on in the world around him) and his tribal council. A Regional Authority consists of the chiefs and tribal councils of two or more tribes. The Territorial Authority is "elected" from the chiefs and councillors of the different Regional Authorities. The educated and more articulate Blacks are often shut out from these mini-politics institutions.

Before the so-called homelands can gain self-rule, they must pass through the stage of Territorial Authorities. The first such Territorial Authority was established in the Transkei in 1956. (Remember this is the area where the Britishers like Rhodes had experimented with their Bungas). Self-rule had to follow. Act No. 46 of 1959 which dealt with the self-rule question, provided for self-rule in the "Homelands".

The Transkei received this status in 1963. The Transkei has its own "Parliament" and "ministers". An interesting situation has arisen. The next step should be independence; but will South Africa grant it as they had been preaching? It is a doubtful matter. Ultimate independence for every one of the "Homelands" is not the intention of the Nationalists.

The policy will fail because it is sabotaged by the Afrikaner himself. They talk of complete separation and development of the different groups, but they deprive others of means towards such development. Foreign and White capital is discouraged. (Of course there can be none forthcoming from the Blacks themselves because they are economically exploited).

The Bantu Investment Corporation is government machinery to turn those Blacks who get loans from the White government for their industries, into effective managers of government businesses. The Black man, therefore, should, for ever remain heavily dependent on the White. He must remain a cheap migratory labour force.

"Border Industries" are in "White" areas and are White controlled. The Blacks must come and work and return home after spending their money there. No capital circulates within the Black area. Thus Rhodes and Milner would sleep soundly in their graves.

"The unskilled labour of this country must remain Black", 4) said Milner when he taught the Afrikaner how to rule.

Again, the more articulate and capable Blacks are frowned upon; Black education is starved, much of it is irrelevant. The Afrikaner also fears other influences in the Black states of Southern Africa should be granted independence. His own economy, based on Black labour, would collapse.

Therefore, to avoid this, South Africa (white of course) plays delaying tactics. The Blacks must be kept low artificially by not granting separate, yet equal facilities and opportunities. The Blacks must not be taught the technical know-how. The government controlled Black universities must keep admission numbers low. The science departments must grade their students arbitrarily. In short, reduce the tempo of Black education in order to eliminate effective leadership!!

Perhaps an unconscious fear the Afrikaner has for completely free and viable Black states in Southern Africa is the possible unifications of these states. He has tried hard to avoid creating compact homelands. The Tswana and Leboya (Pedi) Territories are scattered with many White patches in between. The Tswanas and Ciskei obtained Territorial Authority status in 1968, Witzieshoek (Southern So'ho) and Leboya

(Pedi) were accorded this status fairly recently. The Tsonga and Vendas are scheduled for later this year.

Where White interests are involved, the policy is pursued half-heartedly. Witzieshoek is the case in point. The Afrikaners will not part with their maize and sheeplands in the Eastern Free State. Therefore, for the convenience of the White farmer — whose vote the Nationalists dare not lose — the Basotho must be forced and crowded into a "hoek" (corner).

This is the smallest "homeland" although it has to accommodate two and a half million Basotho. Many live under worse conditions on the farms and cannot send their children to school beyond the third grade. The farmer, who is also the farm school manager, cannot allow his cheap labour to escape him.

Men earn R3 (4.20 dollars) a month, plus fifty to a hundred bags of maize (corn) a year. Washer-women earn half their husbands monthly wages and nothing more. Poverty is rife and everybody pretends that things are right in the country! The government connives at this. Thus the new peasantry is formed in the land of plenty.

No man in his right senses can accept the policy of Apartheid or Separate Development as it stands. All citizens should be developed equally for the good of the State. The Blacks must be fully integrated into the economic, social, and political life of South Africa.

Integration does not mean miscegenation, the only excuse the Afrikaner has. It means according human rights and dignity to everybody, allowing people, regardless of their race or colour, a fair share in their national heritage and riches, removing debasing and irritating disabilities and artificial limitations. In short, it implies a full acceptance of man as the image of God.

Today only the bourgeois intelligensia is capable of formulating national aspirations of the Blacks. However, the present rulers do not want to believe this. They limit the principle of self-determination to illiterate chiefs and tribal courts, and refuse it to the educated and more articulate Blacks.

It is not difficult to see through the shallow and false "baaskap" theory. No man is superior because of his race or colour. Civilization is the standard test of a man's capacity for political rights. Culture is acquired. The Blacks can acquire a higher standard of living if they are granted the opportunity. Man-made obstacles will crumble some day, but who knows with what consequences? We cannot easily give up what we have accomplished today. Let reason rule man, especially in South Africa.

Allow me to point out that Bantustans are a purely artificial process imposed from above. They are at best labour reservoirs and beehives for neo-serfdom and oppression.

Reference:

1. Rhodes in the House of Assembly, Cape Province, 23rd June, 1887.
2. See Rhodes Speech, 30th July, 1894.
3. R. W. Rose-Innes: Glen Grey Act, p.30.
4. Milner to Chamberlain, 9th May, 1900.

THE ROLE OF BLACK ORGANISATIONS IN THE LIFE OF THE COMMUNITY

by Dr. Dilly Naidoo

DR. DILLY NAIDOO is General Secretary of the N.I.C. This paper, on "the Role of Black Organisations in the life of the Community", was delivered at a Symposium on Black Consciousness held by the Durban-Central Branch of the N.I.C. recently. The N.I.C. has subsequently rejected Black Consciousness — likening it to apartheid and branding it a racism. Dr. Naidoo is still General Secretary of the N.I.C.

IN ORDER to assess the role and the nature of the NIC within the South African context, one has to examine the condition and the equality of the oppression from which the NIC was born.

Oppression may always be related to the privileged classes' urge to maintain and continue the existent power structure. The mechanism of oppression may also be evaluated in relation to an essential duality of man's nature.

Man is distinguished by his rational reflective and communicable talents. Whilst capable of an intensely personal and individual existence, man is also naturally and mutually dependent on and obligated to society.

The authenticity of his existence is dependent on his acknowledging this duality and in harmonising his efforts within the essential polarity. The failure to strive towards such a perspective engenders the crisis of oppressor and oppressed.

Man may not express his individualism aesthetically or economically without surveying the extent and the nature of his social obligation. The oppressor anywhere finds it convenient not to recognise the crisis of the oppressor and the oppressed as a denial of man's authenticity and dignity.

In S.A. the crisis is accentuated by the racist attitude; the racist oppressor foists upon the oppressor a justification for his oppression. The oppressed person's condition is regarded as the natural outcome of some difference. In our case because of the difference in the colour of our skin.

It is convenient at this stage to reflect on Albert Memmi's definition of racism: "Racism is the generalised and final assigning of values to real or imaginary differences, to the accuser's benefit and at his victim's expense, in order to justify the former's own privileges or aggression."

The racist stresses real or imaginary differences between the racist and his victim. He assigns values to these differences to his own advantage and to the detriment of his victim. He uses these values to justify his aggression.

In South Africa therefore, any organisation attempting to confront adequately the crisis of the oppressor and the oppressed must recognise immediately the will of those who have, to continue having i.e. the crisis exists

deliberately and there is for the oppressor no reason for not continuing or maintaining the crisis.

Logically the oppressed cannot expect those who oppress him deliberately to aid him in his struggle.

The oppressed therefore, is forced upon his own resources and facilities. He must become increasingly reliant upon himself and therefore increasingly confident of his own ability.

Who then is the oppressed? Those who are essentially denied the free scope of their complete growth. Those who are politically controlled and socially outcasted. Those who are economically subjugated and morally considered to be the pariahs of the society.

These people as a group are all Blacks. They just happen to be Africans of Negroid descent, Indians of Caucasian descent, and the Coloured of mixed descent. Undoubtedly, the Whites in South Africa by terms of this definition cannot be considered Blacks.

The Black organisation must therefore direct the oppressed in the first instance towards an attitude of self reliance. The oppressed must become a closer knit people, aware of their need to band together and conscious of their struggle, as a group. Being forced by the White oppressor to rely upon themselves, and being commonly oppressed their vitalistic consciousness of themselves as an oppressed class is both a logical reaction, and an inevitability.

Moreover, any organisation of the oppressed working towards an increasingly self-reliant community must necessarily attack the myth of White superiority.

The racist attitude which qualifies oppression in this country forces upon the Black organisations the additional and inseparable task of conquering the myth of Black inferiority that is conveniently used by the Whites.

In any such situation between the oppressed and the oppressor, the oppressed acquire a feeling of inadequacy and incompleteness. In South Africa the racist assigning of values is an all pervasive operation which has been continued with brutal thoroughness.

The myth of Black inferiority presents a major obstacle to Black self reliance and positivism.

The education of the oppressed in order to liberate them from this White psychology and racist effort is a vital part of a Black organisation's effort.

Congress must therefore strive to re-affirm our belief in the worth and possibilities of the Black man; to strive for the Black man to grow in self knowledge and to make him fully realise his capabilities; awaken the Black man to discover his own identity — this identity which has been beaten out of shape by racism; make him conscious of his dignity and stature as a man.

The Whites have pumped us with the idea that we are primitive, backward, and degraded, but for their presence amongst us we will be living like animals.

Thus even today, we cannot stand on our own feet. We have people who constantly look up to the White man for approval of whatever we do. A people who have had their self confidence driven out of them by aggressive racism need a faith which strengthens their belief in their own possibilities.

At this juncture may I quote a famous Black leader: "We must look afresh at man — not man for anything or man as anything — but, man in himself and sing his praises unashamedly. For until every person learns self valuation, it is pointless trying to humanise a government, within which man tends to be submerged.

If a man has no self appreciation, how can he expect others to treat him as he deserves. By self appreciation, I do not mean pride or conceit, but a realistic recognition both of one's possibilities and limitations. This is an essential prelude to any new thinking on political policy in which we may engage."

From an analysis of the oppressed/oppressor relationship and from the breakdown of racist attitude one may deduce that one does not have to be a racist to be an oppressor, though in South Africa the majority of the oppressors are racists. The oppressed people, it has been advanced, are deliberately oppressed and will, for their liberation, have to depend on themselves.

The NIC remains one of the few legal channels through which the oppressed may organise their efforts. The oppressed are those people who do not in this situation exercise their individuality economically and aesthetically without considering honesty and actively their social obligations.

Further more for Black people, the social obligation is far more binding in their circumstances and situation. For the Black man to become oppressor, he does not have to side with the White manipulated apparatus only. **All he has to do is disregard his social obligations.** Black men disregard their social obligations when they waste, when they acquire unnecessarily, when they merrily tread the path of capitalist decadence.

In short whenever Black people neglect their accentuated social responsibility. When ever the oppressed himself treats his fellow with contempt. When he maintains within his house differences through religion and blood,

which are racist in themselves. Then the oppressed joins the oppressor.

The social responsibility of the Black people is an accentuated responsibility. The honesty with which one commits one's self to the regeneration of the oppressed people, is the increased drive of our oppressed groups' consciousness. The honesty with which one fulfils one's obligations.

It would appear then that not all the Black people are oppressed, for some of them may surely be recognised as oppressors. The Black man has been reduced to a means. He is no longer an end in himself. The industrialists use him as a means to his wealth. To the economist: he is a statistic. In short he is an instrument to be manipulated.

The NIC must be alive to this danger of using man as a means rather than as an end. Man must not be subordinated in the interests of national pride and prestige. We must avoid this by having faith in him and creating conditions of life which will enable him to justify his faith in himself.

What of the White man? The White liberal enjoys the fruits of the system. He expresses his individuality economically and aesthetically.

What of his social responsibility? The White liberal does not plough as large a portion of his wealth as possible into the Black social services. Instead he pays the normal wage and even if he does better than this, his main contribution is some liberal protest or muttering which he feels justifies his exploitations. The White liberal is therefore an oppressor.

What of the sincere White? Firstly if he gets tired of being sincere he can go back to his White privileges. Secondly, if he has annoyed the government, he at least receives better prison treatment. The third and major objection is that the attempt to direct the Black people towards an increasing self-reliance and to counter the racist myth is negated somewhat. They tend to curb and misdirect Black initiative. Until such time as liberal concerned Whites do not shake themselves off of the yoke of White privileges we will have no choice but to exclude them from our deductions.

Not because we wish to be or are racialists, the other way around, but because it is now time for us to re-assess our own significance, our own relevance to our dilemma imposed on us and not of our own making.

One positive contribution they can make, however, is by working among the Whites — working towards a White Consciousness of Black worth and Black dignity, just as we are trying to do amongst the Blacks. The need, however, is to change the White imposed system and all available means of any potentiality must be evaluated in terms of their fruit and their negative efforts.

Where it appeared that communicating with some White people would be realistically worth anything then such lines of com-

munication would perhaps be maintained. Again, the method used will be dependent on the alternatives available and the fruit realised.

The Indian in South Africa — who is himself oppressed, must identify with the rest of the oppressed people. If he does not, it means he prefers the White dominated structure, since the White dominated structure will not last forever he will still have to face the reality of a Black majority.

If he sides with the White maintained system — he becomes an oppressor. The fears of the Indian being swamped by fellow oppressed people is to some extent White cultivated. The honesty with which the Indian oppressed identify with the rest of the oppressed people is the vital question.

Again if we do not commit ourselves fully to the struggle, we become the oppressor, gaining merely a lease of time. The Indian therefore, naturally and because he has no choice must identify himself with the oppressed peoples. He must commit himself to the regeneration of the oppressed community, he must continue the drive towards self-reliance of the Blacks as a whole; sharing the groupness and consciousness of the oppressed.

Finally, the system of oppression in South Africa is a deliberate policy, justified as being necessary to the survival of the White man. It will be only changed by a demonstration of solidarity and faith in ourselves as Blacks. Not by an appeal to morality. Not by deputations and petitions. Deputations and petitions may readily be interpreted as weaknesses. Like the act of kneeling in prayer before a great White God. They imply voluntary submission and prostration before the rulers.

Petitions may evaporate in the correct bureaucratic channels.

What about protests? The idea of protests is linked to a society geared to a certain notion of justice. When within such a society an injustice occurs it is contrary to the general feeling of that society.

Exposing the injustice, allows this general feeling of justice to come to the fore. In South Africa on the other hand the oppression and injustice is deliberate. Therefore protests in such a society are meaningless.

Our only hope lies in our solidarity, and the philosophy of Black Consciousness is a strong foundation for this. It is a workable solution or means towards the attainment of a non racial democracy. It is a pre-requisite in our struggle for liberation and enables us to meet the oppressor on an equal basis.

The NIC will at no time channel Black Consciousness into Black Racism as we do not consider it as an end in itself but merely a means towards the attainment of a society where every citizen has an equal opportunity to attain happiness.

The parable I quote below by an old African leader, perhaps, sums up the situation that Black people find themselves in and

what Black Consciousness can do to lift them out of this morass — learn to fly as they were destined.

PARABLE OF THE EAGLE

A certain man went through the forest seeking any bird of interest he might find. He caught a young eagle, brought it home and put it among his fowls and ducks and turkeys, and gave it chickens' feed to eat even though it was an eagle, the king of birds.

Five years later a naturalist came to see him and, after passing through his garden, said: "That is an eagle, not a chicken."

"Yes," said its owner, "but I have trained it to be a chicken. It is no longer an eagle, it is a chicken even though it measures 'fifteen feet from tip to tip of its wings."

"No," said the naturalist, "it is an eagle still; it has the heart of an eagle, and I will make it soar high up to the heavens."

"No", said the owner, "it is a chicken and it will never fly".

They agreed to test it. The naturalist picked up the eagle, held it up, and said with great intensity: "Eagle, thou art an eagle; thou dost belong to the sky and not to this earth; stretch forth thy wings and fly."

The eagle turned this way and that, and then, looking down, saw the chickens eating their food, and down he jumped.

The owner said, "I told you it was a chicken."

"No", said the naturalist, "it is an eagle. Give it another chance tomorrow."

So the next day he took it to the top of the house and said: "Eagle, though art an eagle; stretch forth thy wings and fly." But again the eagle, seeing the chickens feeding, jumped down and fed with them.

Then the owner said: "I told you it was a chicken."

"No", asserted the naturalist, "it is an eagle, and it still has the heart of an eagle; only give it one more chance, and I will make it fly tomorrow."

The next morning he rose early and took the eagle outside the city, away from the houses, to the foot of a high mountain. The sun was just rising, gilding the top of the mountain with gold, and every crag was glistening in the joy of that beautiful morning.

He picked up the eagle and said to it: "Eagle, thou art an eagle; thou dost belong to the sky and not to this earth; stretch forth thy wings and fly!"

The eagle looked around and trembled as if new life were coming to it; but it did not fly. The naturalist then made it look straight at the sun. Suddenly it stretched out its wings and, with the screech of an eagle, it mounted higher and higher and never returned. It was an eagle, though it had been kept and tamed as a chicken!

My people of Africa, we were created in the image of God, but men have made us think we are chickens, and we still think we are eagles. Stretch forth thy wings and fly! Don't be content with the food of chickens.

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Your assistance, dear black readers, would be most welcome. Assist SASO in making the newsletter an organ that will be borne by the black community.

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The Editor,
SASO Newsletter,
85 Beatrice Street,
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