

SASO

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1973

LETEANE JERRY MODISANE, NOW
SERVING ARTICLES WITH
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IN KIMBERLEY

ISSUE



→ pic 6



BANNING

Newsletter
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contents

Focus: Black Theology Conference	1
International Re-Action to Banning of Black Leaders	3
Speak Brother Speak	4
Woman: Whither Thou?	5
Black Poetry A Rage	6
An Address by Mrs. Sam Moodley at UNB	8
Black Music As An Art	11
James Cone - Mervyn Josie	12
Alice Students Attack Bannings	15
Bannings "Acts of a Bully"	15
Bannings are Milestone says Ex-Student	16
SASO not "CORRUPT" says Professor	16
Why Pelser Banned the SASO 8	17
Persons Banned Under The Supression of Communism Act	18

Except where stated, comment in this Newsletter does not necessarily reflect the opinion of SASO.

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editorial

The atrocities of the white power structure have once again been clearly manifest for all to see. Early this year eight of our leaders, SASO, BPC and BCP, were added to the list of banned people. They could not be brought to trial because that would afford them a "platform", whatever that means.

Possibly this came as a shock, but Black students and the community should by now realise that this is everyday occurrence, and should regard the recent act as another milestone accomplished on the road to liberation. There is absolutely no time for mourning, no time to sit back and count losses; this is the time to re-assess the situation and prepare to continue with more determination and undying resolve. This is no time to go around demonstrating because this would endorse the "normality" of this abnormal society, whereas we believe there is great wrong with this "normal" situation.

The suddenness and viciousness of the action clearly indicates beyond doubt that the struggle for a birthright demands of us total involvement and our lives. The lives of the eight have been disturbed, their careers summarily curtailed and their lifelong pursuits almost shattered. At GSC they will be prominent by their absence; at Executive Council, at Seminars and at ever so many places we shall be moved by their absence.

Their freedom lies in all our hands. They laid down their lives for us, and in return we ruthlessly removed from our midst. We do not continue where they left off but we step higher up. Repression has never done the oppressor any good,

but has injected the oppressed with more verve and vigour. Repression imbues the oppressed with a sense of urgency and has made people realise the immensity of their task and the fullness of their involvement and commitment. All through the struggles of the world leaders have been banned, imprisoned, and murdered, but people have always won their freedom. It is only when the power structure bears down on Black people, that they realise the violence of our society.

Imprisonments, bannings, solitary confinement, pushing into trains and "stealing" of files will not deter us but will give Black students and the community courage of the heroes and strength of dedicated men — men possessed with a fire to overcome.

Time has come for Black people to work in concert for their liberation. Solutions designed by white power structure can never be viable with Blacks. These institutions are created to cheat us. Even eminent figures in the Bantustans have repeatedly spoken "against" the system, though, this is not enough. What we suggest they do is admit the Bantustans are a fraud and unworthy of further experiment. It is time when we should hold hands outside these creations and map out our direction from our creation. Blacks are called upon to express Solidarity with these men positively by joining in the struggle for liberation.

**Power to Strini, Barney, Ranwedzi, Bantu Steve, Bokwe, Saths, Drake and Leteane Jerry.
BLACK POWER TO THE BLACK PEOPLE.**

focus

BLACK THEOLOGY CONFERENCE

An Assessment

Background

At the YMCA in Edendale, Pietermaritzburg, was held from the 13th—16th February, 1973, a BLACK THEOLOGY CONFERENCE, which had been called by the now-defunct BLACK THEOLOGY PROJECT of the University Christian Movement. Several people, ministers of religion and delegates from a number of organisations were present at this conference which was charged with the function of setting up a viable machinery to run Black theology in this country; a machinery which was envisaged would function independently of the many organisations that had shown interest in and those that had been active in the promotion and propagation of Black Theology.

The Conference got off to a quiet start with the playing of and listening to tapes on Black Theology. Most of the tapes were ear-openers and they set the mood of the Conference. They laid the necessary foundation for subsequent discussion. The Conference proper began on the 14th when most delegates were present.

Proceedings

The Acting-Director of the Black Theology Project, Mokgethi Motlhabi, read to the Conference a paper outlining the reasons for the dissolution of the University Christian Movement (UCM), which for some time had been "championing" the cause of Black theology. In his paper he outlined the needs that had arisen for an independent, viable and dependable Black Theology Agency whose functions among others would be:

1. The co-ordination of all work done in field of Black Theology.
2. To provide some background material relating to Black Theology in South Africa.
3. To conduct whatever research necessary in this field viz:
 - a) a biblical interpretation by theologians

b) ways and means of simplifying the idea for the man in the street

c) compilation of courses for incorporation into the theological training.

4. To plan courses for refresher seminars.
5. To plan Black theology publications.
6. To maintain the necessary high academic standard in Black Theology.

Much emphasis was placed on the responsibility of theologians. It was mentioned that in the past students had concerned themselves with and taken a lead in the quest for a Black Theology.

Dr. Manas Buthelezi presented a paper which was a condensed version of his long paper which was a series of lectures in Germany. He dealt with the Religious, Political and Economic aspects of Black Theology and matters on the social aspect came out in further discussion. It was most illuminating. He dealt first with the "goodness" mentioned in Genesis and pointed out that this "goodness" was not confined to things only — but also to human beings. According to him the past plays an important role in the concept of man's destiny and direction. Dr. Manas Buthelezi stated that it is a fact that Black people have firm belief in the wholeness of life; that is why there was no one particular day of worship, no institutionalised time for worship and no distinction between church and the world. There was no distinction between the "secular" and the "religious".

On the political plane he talked of the reality of the powerlessness of the Black man, though man had been given dominion over creation. The Black man cannot exercise this right because he, also, is dominated upon. He emphasised that world conquest was "missionary idea". The missionaries might not have sought political conquest, but in their missionary work this became an integral part. They left their countries to "conquer" ignorance and bring about a new civilization to the "conquered".

Another interesting point that came up was the question of god Providence and the economics of poverty. God had an active interest in the welfare of man, and in the New Testament we find instances of communal living; people sharing the little much they had. Labour was a dignified institution and this contrasted sharply with the exploitation of Black labour in South Africa.

After this enlightening paper the house broke up into three groups to discuss three questions, viz:—

1. The Rationale for setting-up a Black Theology Agency
2. The Functions of the Agency, and
3. The Structure of the Agency.

Almost all the groups adopted the proposals put forward in the project paper read by the Acting-Director. The groups agreed that the most important reason for this Agency would be co-ordination, command and control of all work geared at promoting the spread and understanding of Black theology both at intellectual and non-intellectual level.

As far as the structure was concerned the main thing that came out was the creation of full-time posts of

- a) Director
- b) Assistant-Director
- c) Typist.

There would be a management committee which would be honorary and a research team that would conduct research at given times.

The Conference looked into Programming for the Agency and its relationship with other organisations. The programme had to cater for short and long-term needs. One factor that came out loud and clear was the "action" — orientation of the programme, and not "research" oriented. There was mention of a number of regional seminars and at least one national seminar and one national conference per year. Publications of various sorts should be looked into with a view to starting a quarterly magazine, occasional books and pamphlets as and when the need arises.

Congregations in conjunction with the Agency should arrange for speakers to come and address people on relevant issues and this was seen as having educational value and meaning. The Agency would have to encourage church drama groups to put up relevant plays that would sell the idea of Black Theology to the people.

On relations with other organisations it was felt more politic and strategic not to spell

out attitudes, but to allow the Agency to be governed by good common sense and expediency. In a nutshell the decision was "the agency will co-operate with any group seen to be relevant to the aims and objects of the Agency".

The Conference had to discuss finances of the Agency, and groups dealt with this issue in more detail. It was felt their recommendations should be given to the interim committee. This was the feeling with sponsorship, too.

An interim Committee was elected and it is made up of:—

- Dr. Manas Buthelezi (Natal Regional Director, Christian Institute)
- Rev. M. Makhaye (Rector, St. John's Anglican Parish, Ladysmith)
- Rev. M. Xundu (Rector, St. Andrew's Anglican Parish, Umtata)
- Mr. B. A. Khoapa (Director, SPROCAS 2, Black Community Programmes)
- Rev. Maquia (President, African Independent Churches Association).

Several strong recommendations were tabled for consideration by the Committee, viz:

1. Interim Committee must interview possible candidates to staff the Black Theology Agency.
2. Approach and consult possible organisations and/or individuals who could sponsor the Agency.
3. Organise regional seminars with a view to calling a national seminar.
4. Look seriously into the problem of finding funds to pay out salaries and to maintain an office. They must draw up an operational budget for the current year.
5. Arrange for the final National Conference whereat the Agency would be launched and office bearers be elected.

The Conference came to a close on Friday 16th. All in all it was a fulfilling experience for many of the delegates who were there, though some people would not agree with everything that took place there. The Conference has set the ball rolling and from here, there can be no looking back.

Evaluation

A few things must be taken into consideration in this assessment. Firstly Black Theology is a relatively "new" field and has not been fully explored. I had a few expectations like seeing the Conference being attended by many people in actual ministry, people who were in everyday touch with congregations.

Unfortunately this was not the case, and Natal in the main was minimally represented. As to discussions groups dealt with the given questions honestly but suffered from a deeper understanding of the subject by a number of people. Many participants would be passive, listening in almost all the time. This was almost the case with plenary sessions when a few people made inputs.

It was satisfying though, to see the recep-

tion of the message by many people. Another encouraging thing was the keenness of the people present to make Black Theology in its many dimensions a reality, and also make it relate to the aspirations of the Black Community. I have a fervent hope that the next Conference will be more representative, more balanced and more stimulating. Participants will go to that Conference with open minds ready to contribute and receive meaningfully.

INTERNATIONAL RE-ACTION TO BANNING OF BLACK LEADERS

SASO's claim to be the only relevant organization representing students aspirations and black feeling in the country is based not only on the wide support we have in this country from the black people, but also from the support we have in international circles. Notwithstanding the underplaying by the white press of any crisis issue that hits SASO we have been flooded by expressions of solidarity from the outside world.

Any feeling that we are alone in the struggle for liberation must be obliterated. The rest of the world is watching.

The student demonstrations of June 1972 was an indication of the support we have. SASO offices were inundated by a flood of expressions of solidarity, and now the bannings of our black brothers has once again brought to the surface the support we have.

Black people should not be discouraged, because we have discovered ourselves people the world over recognise us.

Black people arise, you are not alone in the struggle.

"I am profoundly shocked by banning of SASO Executive raiding of SASO offices and arrest of six SASO members working for fair wages for Blacks. This action by South African racist regime indicates desperation at rising demands for justice and freedom for all Black people.

"I fully support you in your courageous efforts to continue struggle. In particular I endorse your demand for companies to stop paying starvation wages to Black workers. If calls by Black organizations for US business withdrawal are met by instant repression investors claim that they are welcomed is exposed as fraud I will con-

tinue my investigations into true nature of US corporate involvement in apartheid system.

"I have called upon US Government to provide full accounting of all relevant facts and in light of acts of terror against black people to review the whole basis of policy of communication ."

**—Congressman Charles C. Diggs, Jr.,
Chairman, Africa Subcommittee Foreign
Affairs Committee**

Yes, we have support from high-ranking government officials. Messages from other concerned people say:

"... work must go on — we are still with you." — International University Exchange Fund, Geneva.

"Shocked at student bannings. Support your stand for racial justice . . ." — Columbia University Lawyers' Guild, New York.

Support from student bodies:

"... overwhelming support for you in your struggle against tyranny and oppression." — Joy Clancy, President, SRC, London University.

From the public:

"... express our support for your struggle in fight for freedom." — American Committee on Africa.

These are just a few expressions of solidarity at the time of going to press — more were still pouring in. This then is surely an indication of the rapid progress SASO has made both at home and in international circles.

No bannings are going to stop us now. **"The work must go on!" We are on the road to victory!**

SPEAK BROTHER SPEAK

The panic-stricken laager government has locked up eight more of our brothers. There's surprise and astonishment in certain circles. But we have no cause for surprise. Whites are feeling quite relieved. Mrs. Suzman only stood up a week after the jackboot had trampled on the eight. The Natal Mercury of the 9th March, 1973 reported that Mrs. Suzman who had condemned bannings outright said that as the controversial Nusas bannings had been discussed in parliament, it was fair that the SASO bannings should also be debated. The outcome of the debate was a mockery of justice. It revealed the panic in white ranks. The Minister of "Justice" is reported as saying that to bring the eight to court would have given them a "platform". This must be a terrible situation to the white electorate.

At war the front line is hit first especially in the face of heavy fire. The Black people are aware of this, hence the relevance of John Solilo's message that wherever the blood of the African has been spilt fighting for his liberation there crops up beautiful flowers with a sweet smell that inspires more militant fighters. Perhaps if Cape Town had known this they would not have banned these eight people.

As I say, we can only stand to re-organise our ranks and consolidate our effort. For every assegai that is broken, three more are produced to replace the broken ones. For do not our Black brothers know that our Blackness declares us banned — what more do people want? Do not our Black brothers remember that a man owes supreme allegiance to the cause of his community? Do not our Black brothers know that our Black community has no other sons and daughters save you and I? How else could this be brought home? Perhaps Lerome Bennett, Jnr., makes the point. "... believe in the community of the Black dead and the Black living and the Black unborn. We believe that the community has a prior claim on our time and our talents

and our resources and that we must respond when it calls".

As a student I believe that my community then has prior claim on my studentship, my career and my life, let alone my service. As a Black student I cannot afford to sit back in apathy for if I do so, the Black dead will frown on me for not avenging their murder; the Black living will be disgusted and possibly want to eliminate me; and the Black unborn, posterity, will exhume my bones and re-bury me in shame. Even my elitist cocoon would shrink in disgust and crush me in.

Black students of this country; Black people of Sibasa and Libode, Black people of Gampahlele and Makotopong; Black people of Mngqesha, Mhlakulo, Kwa Mashu; Black people of Chatsworth, Soweto, of Langa, Thaba Nchu, Overport, New Brighton, Alexandra, Gelvandale and Sharpeville; Black persons of my blood and suffering, I address myself to you. You have wept for so many Amilcar Cabrals, Nengwekhulu's and Timols in the past three and a quarter centuries. Even the white gods do not expect tears anymore from you. Books are closing our eyes, they are blinding us. We are alive but dead.

SASO Leaders Misunderstood

ADAM SMALL

Professor Adam Small of the University of Western Cape said this week he had been associated with the South African Student Organization (SASO) leadership since the inception of the organization . . . "and there is nothing subversive about them".

"I find the bannings incredible and believe these student leaders have been misunderstood . . . unless one considers the rejection of ideas held by Whites about Blacks to be subversive," he said.

Mrs. Helen Suzman, Progressive Party MP, said the bannings were heaping disaster on disaster. "For sheer provocation it would be difficult to find anything more provocative than the banning of the eight student leaders."

WOMAN: WHITHER THOU?

DEBS N. MATSHOBA

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTOR: Secretary of the YWCA, Durban. Former student at Unizul, walked out during the May-June confrontations with the system. Very energetic, dedicated and committed to the cause of Black liberation. Presently studying under the Free University Scheme through the University of South Africa. She believes firmly in Power to the Black Nana

I wonder what has happened to the saying "MANGWANA O TSHWARA THIPA KA BOHALE!" Literally explained this means that a mother of a child holds the knife by the blade when the life of her child is threatened. It has always been like this with us Black women; always prepared to suffer in the place of and for the safety of our children.

It is my husband who is on Robben Island; my brother who is running around illiterate and jobless. It is my child who is dying of kwashiorkor and lack of maternal care, and it is my son who has been banned for 5 years. Yes, how many more are to be silenced and held down whilst I am busy cleaning little pig babies and giving them all the care due to my children? For how long am I going to ignore the knife sharply stabbing my children? My beautiful black babies have been banned because they are fighting for me. Am I a mother? Do I really care?

This is a call by the Minister to all Black women to accept the principles of human beingness in Black consciousness and Black solidarity. The banned are our brothers, children, fathers and leaders, hence this action affects us all.

It came as no surprise — their banning. Great leaders have either been killed or locked up in jails. But we shall be deceiving ourselves if we think we are not banned. All black people are living under a ban. We Black women must express Solidarity with these men and commit ourselves totally to the struggle for human-beingness. The Power in us is tremendous and if we pledge ourselves fully and seriously to the struggle the dawn would not be far.

Surely Kwame Nkrumah meant it when he said that a nation's political maturity is measured by the political awareness of its women. In all the independent Black states, Black women played an important role politically towards liberation. They did not sit back and allow their husbands and children to be killed

with impurity. They committed themselves to the struggle and are also a vital part in the destiny of their countries.

"Somebody" once said: "Give me a child until he's eight and then you can have him back." Children need to be made aware in their early formative years. They must talk, eat, live, cry and play the struggle for liberation, and they must come to appreciate the BLACK TRUTH. Our children must be taught to pray Black, to swear Black, to fight Black and to be powerfully Black. The onus is on the Black women to plant this Black tree that is going to bear Black fruit. Our babies are beautiful and Black and they must be brought up in Black truth.

To the university students I want to say the young women of to-day are the mothers of to-morrow. "Educate a woman, and you educate a whole nation." Yet, the most painful feature of our lives is that we are young women, aware of our problems and solutions, but we decide to be conveniently apathetic, shun involvement and steer clear of any commitment. By so doing we think we are 'safe' but what is actually happening is that we are harbouring in our breast poison for our children. They will turn against us and even kill us with the poison with which we feed them.

Talking about feeding and food, I am reminded of multi-racial or non-racial organisations. When you want to bake bread, you don't use bread as a methodology but you use other ingredients to reach your end goal. Multi-racial organisations portray an ideal and you cannot use your end product to make an end product. Another thing is that it is comfortable to belong to these bodies because they bestow you with a rare status — acceptability to whites. What is the point of planning strategy with your enemy. People must learn that in politics there is no room for sentiment and individualism. Group attitudes and group responses are the order of the day. Let us, Black women, come together under

one umbrella and find means and ways of saving our children from kwashiorkor, banings, suffering and death. There is no point in making appeals to the enemy, and we know the futility of this.

Man does not reach full potential until he's dead. As long as I am alive I can scale even higher. We now need to search our hearts

and take stock of events. Our children have been sold by us, and this unpardonable sin is from our own selfishness. Let us pray to the Black power for more power to face up to the struggle, and to fight for the Black Truth. Black woman, are you still going to sell out?

Power to the Black women, Power to the Black children. Power to all the Black People!

BLACK POETRY A RAGE

ALL SAINTS DAY

26th February, 1973 A.D.

Till when will the limping crocodile
A buffalo will use its tail to reap the fly
Had I been Christian
I would mount the altar to kiss the cross
When I was a Moslem
I went to the mosque
To wait there in desolation and solitude.
Bravo, Bravo!
Here come the saints with no Christ
To praise them —
DETENTE!
Alas! how beautiful it is
How bountiful
Vanity and her qualities.
My Mama's womb was torn open
because they raped her during pregnancy
Then the foetus that be, were greats —
BLACK MEN
My papa's vanguards.
Like when our creaking door opened
The magnificent furniture stood
inside that house was a man
into that house the saints sat
That loving place is, was Azania,
All saints birthplace.
When the Lord said
If they slap my right cheek
I should offer the left one too
It was enough!
Can the bold Lord answer?
If they want my ass to jive
What could I do?
Just like the day they raped my mama
She was raped in the name of the Lord.
My baby beautiful black brothers
Leteane — saint
Nyameko — saint
Ranwedzi — saint
Strini — saint
Biko — saint

Bokwe — saint
Saths — saint
Drake — saint

Fuck these saints, where is the Lord
Till then they tried to castrate them
because they wouldn't give in
Offer their testicles to be eunuchs
Exuviate their ebonic skins
to be bleached mother-fuckers
I don't have to say UHURU DAY is here!
So long the iron-heel stamps the cork
beware me, the black bacteria
that I ferment. I shall react.
This baby was not crying in lament
For the people are with him.

GLENN MASOKOANE

BLACK NANA AVENGE! ARISE!

WHORE! WHORE!
The rough voice echoed through the air
WHORE! WHORE! . . . WHORE!
It still stands in the sky
You Black Devil!
Her jerking knees began trembling
The Devil! You Black Devil
She trembled, fear and agony entered her heart
Master . . . Master . . . Master . . . Here I stand
The big stomach seemed to grow stronger
He may be born at any moment, Please . . .!
Her words choked her tiny voice
I don't want it! No Black devils for me
He neared the oor lass in anger
Devil, Devil . . . Take the devil out!
His eyes were red, They showed red anger
I need him, I want him! I need him
She stood in fear, and the fear gave her
confidence
He is coming, the world needs him, here he
comes . . .
She opened her legs and made a short squat

No . . . No . . . BLACK DEVIL, NO!
 His hands now had a panga
 Bring the Black Devil, bring him here!
 In his strides death was written.
 In death you stand, Black woman
 She now looked relieved, she needed . . .
 The hour has come, death have me!
 Comfort got into her, she was calm
 Have him! The devil must die!
 The panga flickered with the skies
 And he dies! Powerful death, die . . .!
 Thunder and flicker, the moan, agony!
 There it goes; The devil is dead
 Strodes of blood, filthy water ran her thighs
 down
 The great womanhood wall was torn open
 The blood increased, it ran . . . It ran . . .
 And ran
 The foetus dangled, it was swinging
 The womb sparkling white! Carried the baby
 She fell, and when She fell, She fell
 Chained to the umbilical chord he was there
THE BLACK BITCH IS DEAD!
BLACK BLOOD! FLOW . . . BLACK BLOOD!
THE MOTHER IS DEAD, BUTCHERED!
RAPED!
 The roots grow, BLACK NANA grow
 Your ivory is white, your body is BLACK
 Grow son, NANA grow, Grow!
 Nana . . . Nana we want our mama Back!
 Mama the pig is pink
 The pink pig is white
 Mama why is a white pig?
 The pig, white pink pig
 Honkie did you kill my mama?
 Honkie did you rape my sister?
 Honkie what happened to BLACK mama?
 If death sounds there is always a knell
 When your soul is troubled you cry
 If your body is wounded there is always pain
 When death arrives there is no escape
BLACK NANA Save Me!
 If a man wants to live he must fight
 Black Nana spare me!
 You must live, to live you must die
 I will never grin to a white pig
 I shall never give my eye to a white pig
 When I clench my fist, beware white pig
BLACK Nana hates Whiteman
ARISE . . . ARISE IF YOU CAN
SPIT THEM WITH BLACK VENOM
RAPE THEM, FUCK THEM, SPOIL THEM
IF YOU WILL
BLACK NANA ARISE, ARISE BLACK
NANA
 The white god is out of my heart
 Never will I hug him and say master
 I shall never speak to you white pig
 My Black back is turned against you

Raise your BLACK FIST
 PUT ih high, I BLACK NANA
 BLACK man you are on your OWN
 Power, Might, Love, Solidarity!
 I am the BLACK NANA!
ARISE! BLACK NANA ARISE!
THERE IS A CRY FOR YOU
ARISE! BLACK NANA ARISE!
I AM THE BLACK NANA!

Glenn Masokoane

FOR WHOM WE WEEP NO MORE

Phase I

From the gigantic tree of knowledge and
 power
 The imposters of fate
 Have ruthlessly ripped
 The boughs bearing truth
 And flung them into tranquility
 Immersed in boiling pathos,
 From a succulent world of Fire
 Oozed the blood of slaves
 Spraying a tinge of scarlet
 Upon the eyes of weepers . . .
 So the tears we shed right now
 Are tears of martyrs still to be born:
 (When pathos shall have been seasoned),
 But fate and the hands of Time
 Have since become
 Elements of the immortal flame
 Of the Fire this time
 —The fire in the hearths
 of the boughs — become twigs
 Borne through the winter of our lives
 All through the death of birth . . .

Phase II

Our brothers shall rise
 From the cinders of their fight
 And grow falcons' wings
 To fly over the ranks of defeat
 And their shamelers shit
 Shall clog the muzzles
 of 38's and 45's
 Pointed at the thread of our fate . . .
 Drawn by the ox of the people
 Whose power even castration could not
 milk . . .
 They have set the fire aflame
 And drawn away
 With the fuel of Freedom
 So for the spring of hope
 To bloom in our realisation
 Let us capture
 The flame of the fire this time
 And with it burn down
 Every obstacle in our path
 To Eternal Freedom

Pacemaker (140373)

A POEM AFTER THE BANNINGS

By ADAM SMALL

WE ARE FOR SOUTH AFRICA

What poetry, my friends, could they
have read

(mighty unto themselves,
small fry to history)

?

I am Walt Witman

said Walt Witman

for America

and from America —

Let us too say

like I say I am I,

that we are we, are we

for a South Africa that is not yet

yet from South Africa

this earth under our feet

this earth as yet unfree

but pulsing with our blood

that pulses with the water

that "follows the moon"

yes,

Let us say,

stand up and give our names

(at least)

for a South Africa that is not yet:

Koka

Cooper

Pityana

Modisane

Mafuna

Nengwekhulu

Biko, Moodley

all, oh

all of us

What poetry, my friends,

could they have read

?

BANNED FOR BLACKNESS

For Bokwe Mafuna's eyes

when they broke the face of some dumb
white man

For Strini's hands raised to bless us

all black and strong in his image of ourselves

For Nyamako's words, fire darts,

the victor's timeless thrusts;

words hung above the world

Change it, Saths Cooper said,

and for this he was killed

For saying and feeling and being/Change

all collected hot in his heart

For Steve's pleas for your dignity, black man,

for your life, black man,

for the filling of your minds with righteousness

For all of Jerry Modisane dead and gone and
vanished from us

and all of him that clings our speech, black
god of our time,

For all of Drake Koka and all of yourself

look up, black man, quit stuttering and
shuffling

look up black man, quit whining and stooping

for all of him, raise your black fist in anger
and vengeance

for great Ranwedzi Nengwekhulu prince of
the earth

Let nothing in us rest

until we avenge ourselves for his death,

stupid animals that

killed him

Let us never breathe a pure breath if we fail

and white men call us faggots

till the end of the world.

Mandlenkosi N. Langa

An Address by Mrs. Sam Moodley at UNB

NOTES ON THE AUTHOR

This paper was delivered at the public meeting organised by the UNB—SRC on Sunday, 11th March 1973. Mrs. Sam Moodley is the wife of the now banned former Editor of SASO Publications Strini Moodley. She is presently working with the Black Community Programmes as Research Assistant. At the beginning of 1973 she was dismissed from the teaching profession because of her involvement with SASO and the Black Consciousness movement. She is an executive member of TECON

I shall begin my address by quoting this
poem:—

Oh Blackman, the dream of your pride
is the reality, the black soil of Africa
is ours to take, to love, to nurse,
to give to Africa her latest respect
to pluck from this land the
marauding rapists

that each day kill her
beautiful children.

The first sign of victory for Black people
has been recorded, and we Black people must
follow up with a strategy that will secure the
foundations of the Black movement. Unlike
protesting, a matter of confrontation expects
to have casualties in its struggle. But casual-

ties should not be a deterrent in our struggle — they are a spur to greater and more successive victories.

Firstly, many will question whether we had a victory. I say yes, we have had our first victory. The white power-structure found our 8 brothers to be too strong for them. They were afraid of them, they are still afraid of them. Fear controls their actions. Pelser, one of the upholders of white supremacy, revealed the fear in a 30-minute debate which dealt with the "bannings" of our 8 brothers. He was afraid to bring them into the eye of the world; he was afraid to let our brothers defend themselves for he and his fellow oppressors are aware of the truth they speak—on our behalf.

But white supremacy operates from the premise that the actions of Black People are governed by a few. This false premise is born out of white peoples' attitude to how a government should be conducted. They believe that the government of the Black people is governed by a few. We Black people are the controllers of the Black movement and the 8 brothers were our representatives — our leadership. But we controlled them; they did not control us. They acted on our mandate.

And this we must make clear to the world. Our leadership is not crushed. It can never be crushed. But each action of violence by the power structure leads us closer to our liberation.

Black people have been saying it loud and clear; workers and students without any consultation have been speaking the same language. And why have we blacks been speaking the same language?

We want to liberate ourselves from the evils that beset us—that beset our livelihood; our drive to manhood and nothing can or should deter us from this resolve. We have proven this. In a matter of 4 years, Blackness has become a reality. It is now a part of our culture — our existential life.

And so we came to the patent truth that we are not here to protest, to mourn, to cry out that we are ruled by racists, fascists, etc. If we protest we are admitting that our brothers are guilty. There can be no cry against racists, no denouncing of the power structure. We know that they are the evil ones and we are not here to mourn. That would be an insult to our brothers.

Then what are we here to do? We are here to plan our future. We are here to consult with each other. We are here to look into ourselves and ask: Are we truly committed? What are our moves for the future? There is

also a dire need to reevaluate the stand we have taken—in terms of strategies, and active participation in the Black movement.

Eight of our brothers have been hit and they took the full brunt of the attack so that you and I can continue to fight to make our liberation a reality — or at least move closer towards it.

This calls for an examination of our principles and ideologies again and then to see to what extent we have achieved the principles of our philosophy.

It needs to be re-iterated that the only viable means of the achievement of liberation is Black Consciousness. And what does Black Consciousness call for? It calls for total commitment of Blacks to a central ideology: to a way of life. All of us who believe in the philosophy of Black Consciousness must live it; practise it and spread it to the other Black people who have not yet acquainted themselves with it.

Black Consciousness calls for total commitment — not aimless or purposeless commitment. But commitment that would examine, investigate and create opportunities for the Black man to achieve liberation.

Our 8 brothers were totally involved in this philosophy doing meaningful and constructive work towards laying the foundations of liberation. And they were doing it not for themselves but because they were sensitive to the sufferings and desires of Black people generally, and you and I are part of the community they represented. Which in fact means we are also part of the "guilty" as defined by the white power structure.

And it then becomes our obligation as men and women of the Black struggle to make it known that our brothers are as innocent as Vorster and his mindless white population is guilty of terrorism, murder, racism and fascism.

The truth has been firmly established. Black Consciousness is the means — the only viable means — to liberation. But the fighting force for Blackness is still small. She needs more committed soldiers to take her message to the people. But in taking that message, we must take into account the various ramifications of speaking and convincing our black community. While I believe there can be no rigid strategy we must not at the same time allow too much laxity. While, as prophets of Blackness, we must spread the message, at the same time we must not force our will down the throats of the people. We must take them step by step towards the realisation of Black-

ness and at the same time we must at no stage sacrifice any of our principles to achieve our purpose.

And this is the understanding of Solidarity — Black Solidarity — that we work as a unit towards our liberation. There is no point in us all accepting the philosophy of Blackness and then going on to give different interpretations and suggest strategies which are not acceptable to the majority. There are some black brothers and sisters who are finding their strategies unacceptable to those of us in the movement, find it easy to break from the central movement and thus break the solidarity of the movement. Thus an essential code of behaviour for those in the Black movement, is at all times to maintain a strong bond of solidarity. In this fashion we can present a more convincing and respected approach to the rest of the Black Community.

As students, and future leaders of the Black Community who are in any case products of movement. And as a solid black front nothing the Black Community, it is we who should set the pace of the movement. It is our prerogative to set the standard and the pace of the can stop us.

Our activity and work in the Community can continue despite the arbitrary and racist actions of the "paper tigers". The movement has begun and nothing can stop it, and quite ironically, even those non-whites who are content with the system and would attempt to stop the movement cannot succeed. Two things will happen to them. They will either be swept along by the tide of the movement or be drowned by it. Fence sitting is no longer viable. Armchair politicians, non-white bourgeois and the like must decide on which side of the fence they are, and they must show it by practical involvement in the struggle for liberation.

This "banning" action on our people by the white power-structure is tantamount to a declaration of open warfare. They have committed the first offensive; what is our reaction?

You are now called by this meeting to

become a soldier in our struggle, and to this end I would like to conclude by reading to you a poem which states:

"Come let us turn away from this scab,
this evil
we have the key to life, to love,
to the future
we will raise our fists to the sun god
and in defiant supplication to the lily-
white prophet
we will then smash the shackles of bondage
a new sun rises in the east.

KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND STUDENTSHIP

If a suitable candidate applies, King's College, Cambridge, proposes to award a studentship for two or three years from October, 1973, to a citizen of either sex of the Republic of South Africa or of Rhodesia. Candidates must have a degree from a University, or equivalent Institution. Preference will be given to candidates who are unable or ineligible to obtain finance from other sources within South Africa or Rhodesia.

The studentship can be used either to study for a Cambridge first degree or to do postgraduate research or to work for another degree, diploma, or certificate awarded by the University of Cambridge. Full details of the courses available may be obtained from the Tutor for Graduate Students, King's College, Cambridge, England.

The value of the studentship will be sufficient to enable the holder to meet his expenses in Cambridge, including fees, together with additional amounts to help with adjustment to the British climate and to meet the cost of travel while holding the studentship. Some funds may also be available for travel to and from Great Britain.

Applications should be completed as soon as possible, and in any event not later than 31st May, 1973. The necessary forms can be obtained from the Tutor for Graduate Students, King's College, Cambridge, England.

BLACK-MUSIC AS AN ART

By STAN SHUBA

I think we have reached a stage where we, the black people, should realise that we still have a very important treasure to take care of. And that is black-music. The whole detrimental situation becomes apparent when we get to realise that it's either we conserve it or somebody destroys it.

Man exists amid a universal ferment of being, and not only needs plasticity in his habits and pursuits, but finds plasticity also in his surroundings. Life is an equilibrium which is maintained now by accepting modification, and now by imposing it. Since the organ for all activity is a body in relation to other material objects, objects which the creature's instincts often compel him to appropriate or transform, changes in his habits and pursuits leave their mark on whatever he touches. Sometimes, however, man's traces are traces of useful action which has so changed natural objects as to make them congenial to his mind.

Any operation which thus humanises and rationalises objects is called art. My point of argument is this: black music is an art — therefore it should essentially humanise and rationalise the present black and white situation in this country. And I think, these essentials have to some extent been satisfied within the black-American set-up. The emphasis I am trying to put clear here is social and political relevance of our music in this country.

Technically speaking, music is a direct reflection of what is going around. In other words a musician-artist is somebody who is making an attempt to report back to the listener, a portrait of life and events around him. This is exactly what our artists are being asked to do. Their music must have socio-economic or political relevance.

As a musician I must mention this fact here, that music is made by man to express his emotions. A musician spends his entire life learning to make his instrument convey to his audience the way he feels about life. For a great many people anything taking place in their own time, which would make it contemporary, is much too difficult to view, let alone understand. I believe that only dull people are in love with the familiar; anything unfamiliar

to them makes their bones disintegrate completely. There exist some people who believe that music so expanded and innovated by the late John Coltrane is empty or 'sophisticated'. Eighty percent of the people who advocated this kind of bigotry are the white-jazz critics. I believe that some black people have not yet given their ears an opportunity of listening to this new-black music. To me, John Coltrane is the Greatest Spirit I have heard. Paradoxically, some people may not understand, or appreciate him, because perhaps he is not of a 'high class' like Bach or Beethoven, you know all those white guys. They may insincerely say "Oh! he is fantastic, he is holy, holy" you know all that sort of thing. I remember one time I was supposed to give a lecture on some black musicians like Sonny Rollins, Archie Shep and the late John Coltrane. In moderation, I was told that my lecture would sound obscure, simply because Archie Shepp and Coltrane were included. So, I did not ask for reasons because they were obvious, above all it was a white guy telling me that. Finally, I was allowed to include Sonny Rollins because he sounds simple to most of the white-jazz appreciators. Actually, guys like Archie Shepp and Coltrane are very revolutionary in their musical approach, and they sound too Black for a whiteman's ears. Incidentally, Archie Shepp is a graduate in dramatic literature and a political musician. As far as he is concerned he wants no white man in front of him. These people I have mentioned are some of the profiles in black-music. They are innovators in what we call New-Black Music, which is an extension of the political philosophy of Stokely Carmichael. Though, to the majority of listeners it is just music and nothing more. For those who want to listen, Coltrane said "The use of the term jazz, I feel, is inadequate in its description of the music created through John. A higher principle is involved here. Some of his latest works aren't based on musical composition. I mean they aren't based entirely on music. A lot of it has to do with mathematics, some on rhythmic structure and the power of repetition, some on elementals. He always felt that sound was the first manifestation in creation before music. I would like to play music according to the ideals set

forth by John and continue to let a cosmic principle, or the aspect of spirituality be the underlying reality behind the music as he had." This is what a black musician-artist is capable of doing initially.

This is what Le Roi Jones, a black writer and poet says about Coltrane: "Trane is now a scope of feeling. A more fixed traveller, whose wildest onslaughts are gorgeous artifacts not even deaf people should miss". I think Coltrane is the heaviest spirit — an inspirer of millions of black musicians. The direct reflection of Coltrane's infinite spirit can be heard from our Dollar Brand's pianistics and Mankuku Ngozi's horn. The writer has also an intimate association with this

oceanic spirit. Black music is our music originating from the Heart of Africa, it is black and highly conceptual. It is one type of music we owe traditionally and contemporarily. Above all, we own it eternally. Our unfriendly friends, the white for instance, own Handel, Mozart, Stravinsky and so forth. These white composers belong to the whites culturally and traditionally. So, for me, I really see no reason why I should be wild about Mozart for example, because Mozart is white and has got white feelings musically. I just view him as one of those, and that is all. Black Americans are part of our tradition, just like whites assume that whites in Europe are part of their tradition.

JAMES CONE — MERVYN JOSIE

This is the text of an interview with JAMES CONE, the leading Black American exponent of the Black Theology Movement, by MERVYN JOSIE — our Acting Vice-President, International

people live. I believe that the gospel is primarily a gospel which contends that God is on the side of oppressed people struggling for freedom. Therefore the gospel is a liberation of oppressed people from bondage. Now when that gospel is related to the contemporary setting in which we live it takes on the character in which the political, social and economic factors make themselves known. Because people are oppressed because they are black it becomes necessary for the gospel for Jesus Christ to take on that very form which is responsible for peoples' oppression. Therefore theology becomes black because it is a theology of liberation which believes that God has come in Jesus Christ to set all people free from bondage. I call it black because blackness is the best symbol that I can use to illustrate the cutting dynamics of liberation which the gospel brings to our people.

Josie: Why did you think in the initial stages of the black theology movement that it was necessary to talk of theology as being black?

Cone: The reason arises primarily from an understanding of the context in which the gospel makes its message in its own original context and trying to relate that context to the contemporary situation in which

Josie: Do you think therefore that such a theology has universal implications for all people that are oppressed including black people?

Cone: Yes it does. You see I've chosen black people because of the situation in which I live here in America — but because America is such a powerful country, it

implemented its own oppressive and enslaved insane reactions towards blackness throughout the whole world and therefore it supports places like South Africa and other places throughout the world primarily on the basis of the fact that it is white against black. Therefore I say that my choice of black is primarily due to the situation in which I live in, but it is not an arbitrary choice because the situation in which I live in also points to a larger dimension in which black people not only in America but black people throughout the world are affected by. But I'll also contend that although blackness is the point of departure for doing theology within the context in which I live it is a point which leads to the embracing of the liberation dimension within all contexts whether or not that has taken the colour side or whether it has taken economic and political sides which may not relate as crucially to colour as in this situation.

Josie: Can there be any relationship between the movement in the US and the new theological perspectives in Africa.

Cone: Yes I think there can be, indeed. There has already taken place that movement because Africans and Black theologians in America are beginning to get together to talk. The first conference that I attended of that nature took place in Tanzania where the East African Council of Churches had a conference with black American Churches under the auspices of the National Committee of Black Churches here. Also we are presently trying to plan other conferences in which we dialogue with each other in terms of what we can learn from each other and also in terms of what differences we might perceive as we try to relate the gospel to our various situations. My own experience also includes my teaching of course with John Mbiti here, and also John Mbiti and I have a weekly session in which he and I discuss what our differences, our similarities and our concerns are and that is a very private meeting which we are having together and in which we are learning more about each other and he is teaching me a lot of things and I, hopefully, am teaching him some things about the situation here. And that is one reason also I am very concerned that there is more contact between South Africans and black Americans.

Josie: It was suggested that Black Theology is not a Theology of absolutes but a theo-

logy that speaks to blackmen in that existential context. Can you elaborate on that?

Cone: Yes, I did not make that statement. But I think that statement was made, if I remember correctly, by one of the authors in the volumes *Essays of Black Theology* which was later banned in South Africa. I am not sure exactly what the full implications of that statement would mean. If I understand it correctly, what I would perceive that statement to mean is that Black Theology is not a theology of absolute principles. That is to say Black Theology is not an interpretation of the gospel which believes that the same thing you say to people of the first A.D. or of the 3rd A.D. would be the same thing that you would say to the people, shall I say, in the 20th A.D., or the same thing you would say to people in South Africa would not be the same thing you would say as such to the people in Vietnam or, shall I say, people in the US. That is, that statement recognizes the contentious nature of all theological speech and thus theology changes depending on the situation in which the people might live. Now to emphasise the existential situation out of which Black theology arises is only to stress the fact that theology must take seriously the historical situation in which people live and make the gospel which does not change or speak to that situation in such a way that it provides a dimension of liberation from those who are suffering.

Josie: In "Black Power Black Theology" you speak of black brothers in white skins. Can you tell us more about black brothers in white skins and how they relate to the struggle of liberation?

Cone: Well black brothers in white skins: I did not elaborate much on that when I wrote about that. The only thing I wanted to emphasize there is that one does not decide who is Christian and who is not Christian merely by skin colour. What I want to emphasize there is that one does not enter into the kingdom of God merely by a biological accident. Neither does one enter into the kingdom of God merely by ignoring the biological characteristics which people use as a means of oppression. So if there are people who happen not to be of African descent but perceive that the liberation of people from oppression is critical even when they are black or even if they are white or no matter what colour they are, if they recognize then they are

perceiving the dynamic and the liberating character of the gospel. So, Black people in white skins would be those people who recognize that the gospel is liberation and that it is thus incumbent upon them to provide an interpretation and a participation in the struggle for liberation whether that be in Africa or in America or Vietnam or in Latin America.

Josie: Is Black Theology a means to a political end or is it to an end itself?

Cone: Black theology is not the gospel — Black Theology is an interpretation of the gospel. Now that interpretation says that God has created us for liberation and thus any form of political, social or economic oppression is not only unjust socially and politically but also unjust theologically. Now Black Theology is not an end in itself in the sense that it does not turn it on itself and glorify itself. It seeks merely to point to him who is the liberator and thus to invite people to join in the liberation struggle. It is not a political end in itself either. It is merely an attempt to point to the humaneness of the gospel and the empowerment which the gospel bestows upon people who are oppressed.

Josie: Do you think that you can relate some of your impressions of the Black Theology movement here in the US and how it is going to relate to your struggle in particular and some of the people engaged in such a movement.

Cone: I think that what I am hopeful for in my situation is that Black people begin to understand that you cannot separate earthly reality from heavenly reality. You cannot separate the physical from the spiritual. You cannot separate the soul from the body. Therefore those 2 poles the spiritual and the physical belong together and thus any concern for social, economic or political liberation is inseparable from spiritual liberation. And what I would like to see is the Black churches in this country becoming socially, politically and economically concerned as they are spiritually concerned. Not to see those two separated but to see those two as joined together and thus as pointing in the same direction for which God has created us to be.

Josie: What are some of your hopes for the Black Afro-Americans here in the US in terms of a political structure and a political base?

Cone: My hope is one that they would see that their future belongs to the community itself — is determined by, shall I say, the unity that they are able to create along socially — political-economic lines. What I would like to see is for Black people to begin to define their future in politics, in economics in the socio-political structure of this country in terms of freedom for all, freedom for the entire community and thus begin to realize that there is no freedom for me unless there is freedom for all, and to begin to create political structures within the situation in which we live; which binds us together rather than to separate us.

Josie: In my tour I got the impression that Black Americans find it difficult to relate to Africans and that Africans find it difficult to relate to Black Americans. What are some of your impressions about this?

Cone: I think one of the reasons for this is that although Black Americans have African descent in their blood they have been separated a long time from their homeland. And thus that nearly 350 years of separation, historically and culturally, has also affected them humanely. Thus we will have to spend some time together, spending time together to discuss social, political and economic and theological concerns and the unity between Africans and Afro-Americans will be a unity that is carried out of our own concerns rather than having an ipso-facto unity based upon the fact that we happen to look alike. I think the separation is due largely to our historical and cultural reasons which go back more than 350 years and it will not be bridged until we can bridge it geographically so that Afro-Americans can visit Africa and that Africans can visit America so that the bonds of unity can be tied together again.

Josie: Do you think that therefore it is important for Black Americans to think more and more about their identification with Africa and with the relationship of being Black Africans in the US?

Cone: Yes that is indispensable because it is important for us to understand that our history did not begin with America but our history stretches back to Africa. That is our homeland whether we ever all eventually go back home again is another question. But the question is, psychologically, socially, politically and theologically

is indispensable for black people in America to think of themselves as Black Africans.

Josie: Just as a matter of a 'by the way question' what are your impressions of the recent bombings in Vietnam?

Cone: My impressions — I am not very surprised about that. My impressions there is that this country found it very difficult to

think of itself in very human ways — it thinks of itself in very godly ways and thus when one has political power and when one has a sense of superiority in being right there is no limit against what they will do, and I also think that if Vietnam were a European country we would not be bombing them no matter how badly we disagreed.

ALICE STUDENTS ATTACK BANNINGS

(Daily News, 6th March, 1973)

The Federal Theological Seminary at Alice, where non-White students of different denominations are trained for the ministry, has joined in the condemnation of the banning of Black student leaders and Nusas leaders.

In a statement the president of the college, the Rev. R. G. Brown, said: "The staff of the Federal Theological Seminary at Alice are greatly disturbed that banning orders have been imposed upon leaders of Black student organisations and Nusas when no evidence against them has been presented in a court of law and when no chance has been given to them to defend themselves.

"All who are concerned that legal rights should be preserved in this country will continue to regard those who have been banned as innocent. Far from contributing to security, this action can only add to the present unrest and bitterness."

The Students' Representative Council of the seminary also released a statement, saying the eight Black SASO leaders banned last week deserved the praise of everyone because they had dedicated themselves the greatest cause, the liberation of mankind.

Highest Award

The SRC abhorred the banning but it was a feather in the cap of the Black man's struggle. Banning, arrests or any kind of victimisation for political convictions were the highest award that the Government could bestow. The eight men had joined the ranks of those who had been silenced because of their consistent and continued exposure of injustices in South Africa.

At the University of Fort Hare students held a meeting to discuss the bannings.

The rector, Professor J. M. de Wet, said all was normal on the campus and he did not know what was discussed or what took place.

BANNINGS "ACTS OF A BULLY"

(Rand Daily Mail, 6th March, 1973)

The banning of SASO leaders was a bullying act by the South African Government, the South African Students' Movement said yesterday.

SASM, an organisation of Black high school students, said in a statement that the banning of Black leaders was seen by the students as an act directed against the whole Black community.

"SASM view with disgust the latest banning orders on SASO and other Black organisation leaders, and regard these as unnecessary acts of intimidation and bullying by the White

South African Government.

"SASM know the SASO and other Black leaders who are our friends and know their ideals. This assault on our Black leaders is seen by us as directed to the whole Black community and should strengthen us to defend our human dignity and freedom with more vigour and determination.

"The bannings of our leaders by the White regime is a clear indication to us Blacks of the urgent need for the total involvement in the struggle for liberation."

Bannings are Milestone says Ex-Student

(Graphic, 16th March, 1973)

Black people should regard the Government's recent banning of eight Black leaders as a "completion of yet another milestone in the road towards freedom" in this country, said Mr. Abraham Tiro, the former Turfloop student, whose expulsion from university last year sparked off a series of boycotts and protests on black campuses all over the country.

Speaking at a mass meeting called at the Alan Taylor residence on Sunday to discuss the bannings and strategies to overcome the effects of the restrictions on the eight SASO leaders, Mr. Tiro said the Government's action should "impel us, individually and collectively, to commit ourselves fully to the struggle."

"I regard this action as an achievement on our part in the sense that the Minister of Justice has admitted and confirmed that Black consciousness and Black solidarity are the only solution to the White settler problem. Thus, instead of silencing these men, he has silenced all our critics and prophets of doom."

Mr. Tiro said that Sunday's meeting was

not called to "lament" the action taken against the eight leaders, "nor are we here to find out why this action has been taken."

Mr. Tiro warned the Government that imprisonments, solitary confinements, banishments, bannings and detentions would not deter Blacks.

Soldiers

Mrs. Samboo Moodley, wife of banned and house arrested Mr. Strini Moodley, called on all Black men in the country to become soldiers in the struggle.

"The fighting force for Blackness is still small. She needs more committed soldiers to take her message to the people," she said.

Others who addressed Sunday's meeting were Mr. Aubrey Mokoape and Mr. Jeff D. Baqwa.

Meanwhile, the Pietermaritzburg branch of the Natal Indian Congress has called a meeting in the capital on Thursday to protest against the banning of the eight Black leaders. The meeting takes place at the Lotus Hall.

SASO not "CORRUPT" says Professor

(Rand Daily Mail, 6th March, 1973)

The Coloured poet and philosopher Professor Adam Small, said last night he had known the leaders of the South African Student Organisation (SASO) since its inception "and there is nothing subversive about them".

"I find the bannings incredible and believe these student leaders have been misunderstood.

"I've been associated with the SASO leadership from the beginning and believe I know something about them. I do not consider them to be subversive unless one considers the rejection of ideas held by Whites about Blacks to be subversive.

"I consider South Africans, particularly Whites who have greater opportunity of education, to be among the most uncultured people in the world.

Militant

"The SASO students and the Black community have achieved a marvellous thing by

looking at themselves in a mirror and getting a sense of Black consciousness.

"It is sad they can be misunderstood to such an extent."

Professor Small stated people said SASO was becoming more militant.

"There has been a greater polarisation between Blacks and Whites and does this not mean greater militancy on the part of Blacks who chose to differ from Whites in their ideas.

"They have never had a policy of isolation from society, but simply will not be patronised by Whites. It is a question of constructing pride. They no longer wish to have a negative identity.

Mrs. Helen Suzman, Progressive Party MP for Houghton, said yesterday she will be asking a question in Parliament relating to the banning of the "SASO eight".

The bannings were "heaping disaster on disaster. For sheer provocation it would be difficult to find anything more provoking than the banning of the eight student leaders.

WHY PELSER BANNED THE SASO 8

(Rand Daily Mail, 9th March, 1973)

The Minister of Justice, Mr. Pelsler, stunned Parliament yesterday by admitting that eight SASO leaders had been banned because court proceedings would have given them a platform.

There were gasps of disbelief and shock from the Opposition benches during a snap half-hour debate called by the Progressive Party MP for Houghton, Mrs. Helen Suzman, over the shock bannings.

By serving restriction orders in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act on the eight Black student leaders he was taking precautions to prevent "worse things than had happened at Bashee River Bridge and Paarl," the Minister said.

After quoting statements made by the Black student leaders, in which repeated references were made to "arson, rape and bloody revolution — when the Black revolution comes," the Minister said that when these things were said and were said repeatedly, there could only be one end result — murder and violence.

Demand

Mr. Pelsler's admission was drawn from him by the Leader of the Opposition, Sir De Villiers Graaff, who demanded to know why — if the alleged statements by the SASO leaders the Minister had quoted were accompanied by an overt act — he had not taken them to court.

Mr. Pelsler's reply was: "It would have given them a platform."

Sir De Villiers said the Minister's attitude was incomprehensible.

"It is typical for the contempt this shows for the regular processes of the law."

The Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, interjected: "That is utter nonsense."

"Nothing does this country more harm than this kind of action," Sir De Villiers replied.

Earlier Mrs. Suzman warned the Government that it could ban Black leaders because "others will rise up in their place, for the Government has spawned an indestructible Black nationalism," which is, after all, only a by-product of White nationalism.

"These drastic bannings will only serve to provoke greater hatred and hostility against

the White establishment in South Africa."

The Government was so used to the fatalistic submission of Blacks that it failed to realise that the younger generation of Blacks "are simply not going to take its oppressive policies lying down any longer".

"I say categorically, I believe these young people are being punished for the views they hold, not for any subversive actions, and drastically punished without trial," said Mrs. Suzman.

It could well be said that SASO and the young men who ran it were largely a creation of the Government's policies and all that they implied. Their views and policies reflect Government policies and statements after years of enforced segregation in every possible sphere.

The sentiments expressed by SASO and the banned leaders were exactly what Afrikaner nationalists had been saying for years in propounding separate development, separate freedoms and separate nationhoods.

The Opposition's shadow Minister of Justice, Mr. Mike Mitchell, in a five-minute speech, said the foundation on which the whole fabric of South Africa's society rested was the "freedom, dignity and integrity of the individual, White or Black, within the law."

Mr. Vorster: "The other side of the coin is the safety of the State."

Mr. Mitchell: "I know that. I am coming to that."

"It was the function of the courts to decide how or whether such rights were to be exercised or restricted. If there was a danger to the State, it was the Government's duty to see that the law itself prohibited such behaviour so that the courts could determine if there had been a transgression of the law and to determine what punishment or deprivation of rights should be inflicted."

"The Government must learn the lesson that you can only have law and order on a permanent basis if you have the co-operation of the public. These arbitrary and despotic powers alienate the support of the public."

After 25 years in power the Government was still unable to produce laws that defined what was unlawful, undesirable and dangerous. The country had reached the stage where the Government was unable to govern through the normal democratic processes.

PERSONS BANNED UNDER THE SUPPRESSION OF COMMUNISM ACT

Name	Expiry Date	Name	Expiry Date
Abrahams, Abduragman, Cape Town	31.12.74	Maranjana, Stanley Kekana, Cala	30. 6.73
Alexander, Dorothy Hazel, Middelburg	30. 4.74	Marsh, James Peter, Bellville	31.12.74
April, Maushe Wellington, Kentani	31. 8.72	Maseti, Jackson, Mdantsane	31. 3.74
Asvat, Zainap Ebrahim, Johannesburg	31.12.73	Mashana, Ishintsheng Caroline, Jo'burg	31. 5.76
Balfour, Mabel, Reedepoort	31. 1.76	Mashishi, Klaas, Pretoria	31. 7.73
Bardien, Megamat Taufie, Cape Town	31. 1.76	Masimiro Reubin, Peddie	30.11.72
Batile Temba, Glen Grey	30. 4.73	Masuku, Muzikayise, Melmoth	31. 5.74
Beleni, Mushekile, Lady Frere	31.12.73	Matti, T. Mosen, Peddie	31.10.72
Bhengu, Moses, Pietermaritzburg	31. 3.76	Mati, Winard, Dimbaza	28. 2.73
Bhugwan, Sonnie, Durban	31.12.73	Matsha, Stanley, Glen Grey	31.10.72
Bock, William Jacobus, Weedstock	31.10.76	Matshaba, Charles, Port Elizabeth	31. 1.73
Bolo, Bala, Middelbdrift	31. 9.73	Matsimela, Morris, Tzaneen	31.12.73
Bolasha, Malunga Sidwell, Alice	30. 9.73	Matywaywa, Daveti, Glen Grey	30. 6.73
Breyesen, Fanie, Dimbaza	30.11.72	Maumakwe, Beiki Isaac, Johannesburg	31. 3.76
Cachalia, Amina, Johannesburg	30.11.73	Mavuso, John Jelane, Johannesburg	29. 2.76
Cachalia, Yusuf Ahmed, Johannesburg	30.11.73	Maved, Mbebe Henry Mavedwa, Peeltou	28. 2.74
Cajee, Dawood Ismail, Schweizer-Reneke	31. 1.74	Mdaba, Isiro, Kwelerana	30.11.72
Cassiem, Achmad, Cape Town	31.12.74	Mbatyati, Mzimkulu Gladmen, Alice	31.10.72
Cetviwe, Qhadiah Nhamela, Engcaba	30. 9.73	Mbekile, Vukile Shadrack, Cofimvaba	30. 6.73
D. N. D. Lionel Bazi, Wynberg	30. 4.74	Mbavi, Zamani Wilson, Glen Grey	30. 4.73
Dhlamini, Martha Litha, Johannesburg	30. 9.75	Mecso, Alfred Mhlabeni, Keiskammahok	30. 4.72
Dhlamini, Stephen, Bulwer	30. 4.75	Mdingi, McGloria Mzwandile, Glen Grey	30. 4.73
Dick, Nelson Tamsanqa, Alice	30. 4.75	Mdingi, Maqashu Leonard, Durban	31.10.73
Dlamini Joseph Ntsikelele, Sada, Whittlesea	30.11.72	Meywa, M. Matthews, Camperdown	28. 2.74
Doerat, Abdul Khalek, Durban	31.10.74	Mfazwe, Mayford Deliza, Glen Grey	30.11.72
Essack, Abdul Kader Hoosen, P.M. Burg	31. 5.74	Mganzwa, Samsen, Glen Grey	30.11.72
Ferus, John Marinus, Worcester	31. 1.76	Mgunane, Sather Mtutuzeli, Tsomo	31. 8.72
Fusa, Kesemtu Jackson, Glen Grey	31.10.72	Mhlanga, Stenka Duncan, Umlazi	30. 4.72
Guyani, Dixon, Glen Grey	28. 2.73	Mkaba, Douglas, Port Elizabeth	31.12.73
Gcina, Daniel, Port Elizabeth	28. 2.73	Mkhize, Florence Grace, Durban	31. 3.73
Gumede, Constance	31.12.73	Mkize, Kayifasi, Umbumbulu	31. 5.74
Gwala, Temba Harry	30. 6.71	Mkumbuzi, Julius, Johannesburg	31. 1.74
Hanabe, Simon Tembale, East London	31. 7.72	Mngema, Virginia, Johannesburg	30. 9.75
Hashe, Wilson, Middelbdrift	30.11.72	Mhamed, Bhana, Johannesburg	31. 7.74
Hendriks, Gordon Frederick, Bellville	31. 3.76	Mohlala, Mafahlagana Petrus, Groblersdal	31. 7.73
Hlatswayo, Joseph, Johannesburg	30.11.73	Mokgoro, George Gauta, Kuruman	31. 1.74
Isaacs, Emmanuel, Durban	31. 1.74	Mckweb, George, Johannesburg	30. 9.75
Jacobs, Cyril Wallace, Wynberg	31. 8.74	Melefe, Selina, Johannesburg	31. 3.74
Jacquesson, Alphonse Joseph, Krugersdorp	31.12.73	Melete, Kakene Justice, Johannesburg	30. 9.74
Jatta, Lungela, Dimbaza	30.11.72	Moodley, Mary, Benoni	31. 3.76
Jassat, Essop Esack, Johannesburg	31. 1.74	Mecsa, Ismail, Johannesburg	31. 1.74
Jonas, Joseph, Sada, Whittlesea	30.11.72	Meses, William, Mdantsane	31. 3.74
Kati, James, Engcaba	31. 1.74	Mesikare, Mesimanegape Simon, Jo'burg	30. 9.75
Kazi, Dr. Azizullakhar Bahlokhani, Jo'burg	31.12.73	Morolong, Joseph D. Kgomotxi, Vryburg	31. 3.73
Khanyile, William, New Hanover	31. 5.74	Motau, Mankurwana David, Jo'burg	30. 9.75
Kobo, William Mwel, Kingwilliamstown	30.11.73	Motsoeneng, N. Hendriet, Witsieshoek	30.11.72
Kupe, Fest Wynberg, Tsomo	30.11.72	Mptsoeneng, Thaba Elijah, Witsieshoek	28. 2.74
Keeuw, Jeremiah Barden, Witsieshoek	30. 6.74	Mthunywa, Osborne Vukile, Clermont	31. 5.74
Kindwa, Shertman Mgange, Cofimvaba	31. 7. 72	Mtongana, Silas, Port Elizabeth	30.11.73
Lupondwana, Rex Dingaan, Cradock	31.12.73	Mvembe, Matshetshe Douglas, Jo'burg	30. 9.75
Mad kana, Jack, Dimbaza	31. 7.73	Mvene, David Zandizile, Umtata	31. 7.72
Mafenuka, Daniel, Dimbaza	31. 7.73	Mvumba, David, Mankurwana, Durban	30. 1.73
Magubane, Seford Peter, Johannesburg	30. 9.75	Maicker, Narainsamy Thumbee, Durban	31. 5.73
Magqabi, Cecil, Port Elizabeth	31. 8.72	Naidoo, Meerghah Dhanabathy, Durban	31. 5.77
Mahlawula, Hlangani Jackson, Jo'burg	30. 9.75	Naidoo, Phyllis Ruth Vasendha, Durban	31. 3.76
Majoka, indekile Livingstone, Zwelitsha	31. 7.73	Naidoo, Shanthavothie, Johannesburg	31.12.73
Makele, George Kulisile, Mdantsane	30.11.72	Neapayi, Nemavikiviki Greta, Jo'burg	31. 7.74
Makgothi, Henry Gordon, Pretoria	30. 6.73	Neumbe, John Mzolisa, Dimbaza	31.10.72
Mali, Freddie Fezile, Sada, Whittlesea	30.11.72	Neloyende, David, Umzimkulu, Camperdown	28. 2.74
Makwabe, Nisbet Mzwandile, Middelbdrift	31. 5.73	Ndamba, Tembeka, Port Elizabeth	31.10.72
Malgas, Billy Myuso, Glen Grey	31. 8.72	Ndlangisa, Samuel, Umzinto	31. 5.74
Malindi, Zolite, Wynberg	31. 1.73	Ndeu, Samson Ratshivhanda, Jo'burg	30. 9.75
Mampunye Meshack Gilbert, Keiskammahok	31.10.72	Ndzanga, Rita Alita, Johannesburg	30. 9.75
Mandela, Nemzamo Winne, Johannesburg	30. 9.75	Ndzanga, Lawrence Qwathi, Jo'burg	30. 9.75
Manzi, Gladys, Durban	31. 1.74	Nene, Mkhipehi Robert, Umlazi	30.11.72
Mapanga, Bekizwe Russel, Umzinto	31. 5.74	Ngakane, Pascal, Pinetown	30. 6.74
Maponya, Selburne, Durban	31. 3.74	Ngakane, William Barney, Jo'burg	31.12.72
		Ngamile, William, Keiskammahok	30. 9.72

Name	Expiry Date
Ngcamu, Ray Zuma, Umlazi	31. 5.74
Ngondane, Selby Temba, Herschel	30. 4.74
Ngoyi, Lillian Masediba, Johannesburg	30.11.72
Ngqala, Mckeli, Mtemba	31.10.72
Ngqunga, George Gumjazile, Wynberg	31. 1.73
Ngxhwana, Mtunzi Origem, Glen Grey	31. 5.73
Ngwenya, Phillip, Chartestown	31. 5.74
Njana, Therphunus Vukile, Mdantsane	31.12.73
Njongwe, Dr. J. L. Zwelinzima, Matatiele	31.10.73
Nkadimeng, John, Johannesburg	31. 5.73
Nkesi, Mfanyana Bernard, Ladysmith	28. 2.74
Nobanda, Joseph Chamberlain, Jo'burg	30. 9.75
Neel, Victor Reuben, Durban	31. 3.77
Ningena, Peter, Dimbaza	31.10.72
Nontshinga, Muvisile Frank, Alice	31.10.72
Nquini, Zola, Glen Grey	30.11.73
Ntsangani, Milner Bonakele, Middelrift	30. 4.74
Ntwasa, Sabelo Stanley, Kimberley	28. 2.77
Nyembe, Dorothy, Durban	31. 5.73
Nyembe, Gabriel Sondhlo, Newcastle	31. 1.73
Nyobo, Malusi Solomon, Tshatshu	30. 6.74
Nyobo, Tembikile Templar, Tshatshu	30. 6.74
Pakana, July, Dimbaza	30.11.73
Patel, Ismail Suliman, Germiston	31. 7.75
Pillay, Paranthocharan, Durban	31.12.73
Pillay, Siva, Durban	28. 2.74
Pini, Joseph, East London	31.12.74
Pitye, Godfrey Mokgonane, Benoni	31.10.73
Pucleto, Solomon Magalane, Jo'burg	30. 9.75
Pongwana, Johnson, Glen Grey	30.11.72
Ragaven, Chengiah, Durban	30.11.72
Ramgobin, Mewalal, Inanda	30. 9.76
Ranewana, Simon, Dimbaza	31.10.72
Sader, Dr. Ahmed Hoosen, Ladysmith	30. 9.73
Segala, Raggisa Stephen, Johannesburg	30. 6.73
September, Dulcie Even, Wynberg	30. 4.74

Name	Expiry Date
Sbande, Cleopas, Benoni	30. 9.73
Sibeko, Mpukwe Petros, Newcastle	31. 5.74
Sidelo, Johnson Kayani, Umtata	30. 4.73
Sikakane, Joyce, Johannesburg	30. 9.75
Sisulu, Albertina, Johannesburg	31. 7.74
Siwa, Mlungisi Welcome, Glen Grey	31. 7.73
Siyeka, Mbulelo, Lady-bere	31. 7.72
Sobukwe, Robert Mangaliso, Kimberley	31. 5.74
Soyizwapi, Salu Veece, Umtata	31. 5.73
Stofile, Zwelibanzi Kenneth, Springs	31.10.74
Takalo, Richard, Johannesburg	30.11.73
Taye, Jackson Balisani, Glen Grey	31. 8.72
Tembani, Gair Harry, Glen Grey	30.11.72
Tokwe, Richard, Glen Grey	31. 3.73
Tom, Collet Wabantle, East London	30.11.72
Tshabalala, Elijah Siphos, White River	31. 8.73
Tshabangu, Goldberg Elliot, Jo'burg	31. 3.74
Tshafanduka, University Sel, Glen Grey	31.10.72
Tshazimbane, Ernest, Dimbaza	30.11.73
Tshuku, Solomon Bango, Ngamatwe	30.11.72
Tsetetsi, David, Johannesburg	30. 9.75
Tyulu, Stanford Spango, Cofimvaba	30. 4.73
Van der Heyden, Doris, Athlone	30. 4.74
Van der Heyden, Ian Leslie, Athlone	30. 4.74
Vanqa, Msimelelo Owen, East London	30. 9.75
Vera, Richard, Durban	31. 8.73
Wessels, Daniel Moses, Genadendal	31.10.74
Wessels, Victor Walter Wesley, Wynberg	31.12.74
Wileox, Alfred Kenneth, Wynberg	31. 7.74
Wileox, Edna Dorothy Maud, Wynberg	31. 5.74
Wileox, Gwendoline Edith, Wynberg	30. 9.74
Wulana, Wetesa Solomon, Tsema	31.10.72
Xape, Fanele, Middelrift	30. 9.72
Zikalala, Joseph, Johannesburg	30. 9.75
Zondi, Alzinah, Durban	30.11.73
Zulu, Jeshua Tembikesi, Camperdown	28. 2.74

BLACKS REACT TO BANNINGS

(Cape Times — 5.3.73)

The entire Black community was continually under banning orders, the Black People's Convention (BPC) said in a statement yesterday commenting on the week-end banning of two of its prominent members and six leaders of the South African Student Organization (SASO).

The main points in the statement, issued here on behalf of the BPC by its general secretary, Mr. Siphos Buthelezi, reads:

"Black people in South Africa — that is, Coloured, Indian and African — are not at all surprised or shocked by the recent banning of Black leaders.

"By now Black people are used to these intimidatory actions and have fully provided for such contingencies.

"We call on all Black students at Black high schools and Black universities and gen-

eral members of the Black Community to come forward and replace any member of any Black organization who is temporarily incapacitated by fascist laws.

"The entire Black community is perpetually under banning orders. Black people are restricted by job reservation, influx control, house permits, lack of freehold rights, poor amenities and poor wages and they suffer perpetually from disease of poverty and squalor.

"They are uncertain as to whether they will not be removed at the whim of officialdom, they are uncertain as to whether they will return 'home' to their families, they are insulted and looked down upon by the minority White regime.

"Mr. Vorster is a frightened man. He knows his days of White domination are over," said the statement.



NOTICE IN TERMS OF SECTION 10(1)(a) OF THE SUPPRESSION OF COMMUNISM ACT, 1950 (ACT NO. 44 OF 1950)

WHEREAS I, PETRUS CORNELIUS FELSER, Minister of Justice, am satisfied that you engage in activities which are furthering or may further the achievement of the objects of communism, I hereby, in terms of section 10(1)(a) of the Suppression of Communism Act, 1950 (Act No. 44 of 1950), prohibit you for a period commencing on the date on which this notice is delivered or tendered to you and expiring on the 28th day of February, 1974, from -

(1) absenting yourself from -

(a) the residential premises situate at

- (i) at any time on any Sunday or public holiday;
- (ii) at any time on any Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday or Friday which is not a public holiday, except during the period commencing at six in the forenoon and ending at six in the afternoon;

- (iii) at any time on any Saturday which is not a public holiday, except during the period commencing at six in the forenoon and ending at two in the afternoon;

(b) the magisterial district of

(2) being within -

(a) any Bantu area, that is to say -

- (i) any location, Bantu hostel or Bantu village defined and set apart under the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, 1945 (Act No. 25 of 1945);
- (ii) any area approved for the residence of Bantu in terms of section 9(2)(h) of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, 1945 (Act No. 25 of 1945);
- (iii) any Scheduled Bantu Area as defined in the Bantu Land Act, 1913 (Act No. 27 of 1913);
- (iv) any Bantu Township established under the Regulations for the Administration and Control of Townships in Bantu Areas, promulgated in Proclamation No. R.293 of the 16th November, 1962;
- (v) any land of which the South African Bantu Trust, referred to in section 4 of the Bantu Trust and Land Act, 1936 (Act No. 18 of 1936), is the registered owner or any land


held in trust for a Bantu Tribal Community in terms of the said Bantu Trust and Land Act, 1936;

- (b) any Bantu compound;
 - (c) the premises of any factory as defined in the Factories, Machinery and Building Work Act, 1941 (Act No. 22 of 1941);
 - (d) any place which constitutes the premises on which any publication as defined in the Suppression of Communism Act, 1950, is prepared, compiled, printed or published;
 - (e) any place which constitutes the premises of any organization contemplated in Government Notice No. R.2110 of the 26th December, 1962, as amended by Government Notice No. R.1947 of the 27th November, 1964, and any place which constitutes premises on which the premises of any such organization are situate;
 - (f) any place or area which constitutes the premises on which any public or private university, university college, college, school or other educational institution is situate;
 - (g) any place or area which constitutes the premises of any superior or inferior court as defined in the Criminal Procedure Act, 1955 (Act No. 56 of 1955), except for the purpose of -
 - (i) applying to a magistrate for an exception to any prohibition in force against you under the Suppression of Communism Act, 1950;
 - (ii) attending any criminal proceedings in which you are required to appear as an accused or a witness;
 - (iii) attending any civil proceedings in which you are a plaintiff, petitioner, applicant, defendant, respondent or other party or in which you are required to appear as a witness;
 - (h) any harbour as defined in section 1 of the Kwa-Zulu and Harbours Control and Management (Consolidation) Act, 1957 (Act No. 70 of 1957);
- (3) communicating in any manner whatsoever with any person whose name appears on any list in the custody of the officer referred to in section 8 of the Suppression of Communism Act, 1950, or in respect of whom any prohibition under the Suppression of Communism Act, 1950, or the Riotous Assemblies Act, 1956 (Act No. 17 of 1956), is in force;
- (4) performing any of the following acts, that is to say -

- (a) preparing, compiling, printing, publishing, disseminating or transmitting in any manner whatsoever any publication as defined in the Suppression of Communism Act, 1950;
- (b) participating or assisting in any manner whatsoever in the preparation, compilation, printing, publication, dissemination or transmission of any publication as so defined;
- (c) contributing, preparing, compiling or transmitting in any manner whatsoever any matter for publication in any publication as so defined;
- (d) assisting in any manner whatsoever in the preparation, compilation or transmission of any matter for publication in any publication as so defined;
- (e) (i) preparing, compiling, printing, publishing, disseminating or transmitting in any manner whatsoever any document (which shall include any book, pamphlet, record, list, placard, poster, drawing, photograph or picture which is not a publication within the meaning of paragraph (4)(a) above); or
- (ii) participating or assisting in any manner whatsoever in the preparation, compilation, printing, publication, dissemination or transmission of any such document, in which, inter alia -
- (aa) any form of State or any principle or policy of the Government of a State is propagated, defended, attacked, criticised, discussed or referred to;
- (bb) any matter is contained concerning any body, organization, group or association of persons, institution, society or movement which has been declared an unlawful organization by or under the Suppression of Communism Act, 1950, or the Unlawful Organizations Act, 1960;
- (cc) any matter is contained concerning any organization contemplated in Government Notice No. R.2130 of the 27th December, 1962, as amended by Government Notice No. R.1947 of the 27th November, 1964;

- (dd) any matter is contained which is likely to engender feelings of hostility between the white and the non-white inhabitants of the Republic of South Africa;
- (f) giving any educational instruction in any manner or form to any person other than a person of whom you are a parent;
- (g) taking part in any manner whatsoever in the activities or affairs of -
- (i) any organization contemplated in Government Notice No. R.2130 of the 27th December, 1962, as amended by Government Notice No. R.1947 of the 27th November, 1964;
- (ii) the South African Students' Organization;
- (iii) the Black People's Convention;
- (5) receiving at your residential premises any visitor other than -
- (a) a medical practitioner for medical attendance on you or members of your household, if the name of such medical practitioner does not appear on any list in the custody of the officer referred to in section 8 of the Suppression of Communism Act, 1950, and no prohibition under the Suppression of Communism Act, 1950, or the Riotous Assemblies Act, 1956, is in force in respect of such medical practitioner;

Given under my hand at Cape Town on this 26th day of February, 1973.


MINISTER OF JUSTICE

NOTE.

The Magistrate, _____, has in terms of section 10(1)(a) of Act No. 44 of 1950 been empowered to authorise exceptions to the prohibitions contained in this notice.

It is the endeavour of SASO to make the newsletter a semi-independent organ, in regard to financial backing and expression of opinion reflected in the newsletter.

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.

Articles and/or donations to be sent to

The Editor,
SASO Newsletter,
86 Beatrice Street,
Durban.