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STUDENTS PLAN DURBAN
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OLD CORRESPONDENT
... yesterday as disenchanted
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Students at the Federal
Theological Seminary in ...
... they would join ...
... today ...
... Mr. ...
... a direct result of ...
... of Mr. ...
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... of ...

Students at Springfield College of
Education and the University of
Worcester ...
... agreed not to leave the campus on
... day. Instead they will sit
... in the college's assembly hall from
... 8:30 a.m. until 1:30 p.m.
... normal working day.

Students at Fordham College
of Education and the University
of ...
... have been made to carry on full
... of necessary ...

LEADER, MR
NT STUDEN

PROFESSOR J. L. BOSCHOFF, RECTOR OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF DURBAN
NORTH, WILL OFFER NO MERCY TO REBEL
STUDENTS WHOSE ONLY SPEECH TO REBEL
IS UNREST AT THE UNIVERSITY THIS ...

INSPIRED

APPLICATIONS

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

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The 'Alice Declaration' of May 13th led to the culmination of Black student unrest, and, its subsequent manifestation in the various strikes and boycotts at the Black universities and institutions of higher learning.

The unprecedented and spontaneous fashion in which students responded to the SASO call for a "a simultaneous boycott of all classes from June 1st when it is expected that ALL TURFLOOP STUDENTS will be returning to university," is indicative of the success of the entire effort.

Black students for once have demonstrated that as a group we can make our voice heard—and quite effectively too. Not that the important thrust lay in the making of voices heard but that quite magnificently BLACK students came together and strengthened – most effectively – the bonds of solidarity.

To SASO—the voice of black students in South Africa—this is a major step towards the realisation of our goals. The road ahead is still a long one but the confidence with which students and black people can face it must surely be overwhelming in the light of recent happenings.

Black students are convinced that there are no "external forces"; no "outside agitation", that there is only the will and determination of black students to achieve what they so dearly desire – the freedom of black people and the institution of a true and just society.

It has become apparent that SASO has to prepare students for the aftermath of the boycotts. The drop-out rate; the failure rate and the victimization rate has and will continue to increase. Already students from almost every institution have left either their college or university and a conservative estimate puts the number at +/- 200 and this excludes the 1,000 plus from the University of the North.

Plans are underway to set up a Free University Service and to this end contact points are being sought with overseas universities.

And yet it is important to reflect on the happenings of the crisis period and to place them in their historical context. For the future success of Black student endeavours these happenings will become valuable points of reference. One lesson that can be learnt from this experience is the vital importance of togetherness.

Perhaps, Aubrey Mokoena's prophetic message of support to students at Durban-Westville and Zululand sums up the feeling of Black students in South Africa.

“I believe that Black solidarity is a reality that knows no geographical separation, no superficial cultural differences, and no differing approaches to liberation.”

“You at Durban-Westville/Zululand and we at Turfloop have proved this. We have proven to the Black community that it can be done; that there is no stopping the commitment of Black people; no stopping the overwhelming surge towards the day when, together we can walk side by side, hand in hand in a free and just society”.

“On June 5th we, the Turfloop students return to our campus – but not to submit. We return to

continue our stand; to continue to demand for the rights of Black students; to continue our strike.

“And your stand is going to serve as an impetus and encouragement that will bind forever the Black Community – Coloured, Indian and African.

“We will build the road for liberation together and we will meet at the destination together.

“Black brothers and sisters, one word of caution – beware of the cunning of the oppressor – do not let them or their agents divide you at any time.

“Be as one; be at peace with your BLACK brothers and sisters.”

News in Brief

3RD ANNUAL GENERAL STUDENTS COUNCIL 2 – 9 JULY

The mood for the SASO Conference has been set and the “electricity” is expected to be “high-volted” with the recent student crisis. Even more exciting is the international flavour that will be added to the conference with the presence of Professor Robert Williams of the Union Theological Seminary, New York. Professor Williams is the guest speaker and will officially open the conference on Sunday, 2nd July in the evening. Although he has been given a particular topic he is expected to deal primarily with the theme “Creativity and Development”

Debate and decisions at conference are expected to be high powered and controversial because of the recent trends in political thinking and in student activism. Commissions that are sitting include International and External Relations and touchy subjects like Fragmentation politics and Foreign Investments are expected to come under heavy fire. The new angles in relations are the role of the press and SASO's continued involvement with overseas organisations as a reference point in terms of its “radical” stance.

With the feelings of students running high, on an off black campuses, the Education commission will be the focus for committed students who wish to see the Free University Scheme bear fruit. Emphasis will perhaps be laid on new directions in curricula and practical suggestions on subjects like African Studies. The likely trends point to the formalization of a truly Black University.

The commission on Planning promises to broaden the outlook of SASO and define in no certain terms the areas of involvement and the strategies

that SASO will adopt for the future. A tightening up in general organisation and administration will come under serious consideration.

This year's Cultural commission reveals exciting possibilities with the “Art-Festival” being an integral part of the conference. An in-depth investigation of Black Literary Style, Fine Art, Music, Drama, Film and the whole Black Experience will clearly define the possibilities of a “new” Black Culture which will serve to conscientize and at the same time strengthen the bonds of solidarity among the various Black groups.

The Publications Commission is a new dimension in commission sittings and this commission has been initiated to plan and structure this very important part of the SASO machinery which has proved its effectiveness in the demand that is made for the newsletter.

The evening programme for the week is equally exciting with an Art and Poetry exhibition being opened by Oswald Mtshali, a film evening which will view directions in the film world of Blacks, a drama festival and a Jazz and Music Festival.

With the conference at St. Peter's, Hammanskraal students from both inside and outside the country, are expected to attend. Already confirmation of observers to attend have come from the Universities of Rhodesia, Malawi and Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland.

JOINT SRC AND SASO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING – SATURDAY 17TH JUNE

On Saturday, June 17th at the Alan Taylor Residence student leaders from the Representative Councils and the local committees of SASO met at the Alan Taylor residence to thoroughly discuss the whole May/June black student crisis. Representa-

tives from all institutions that were affected by the strikes were present.

The meeting began with a review and report of activities on campuses since the mass expulsion of Turfloop students on May 4th. However, the important discussion came with the review of the Alice Declaration and the subsequent results of the June 1st, call. Although the meeting felt that the SASO call was revealed to the press at an untimely moment the house agreed that the entire Black student population responded positively to the spirit of the Alice Declaration.

A serious need for more concerted co-ordination between SASO and the SRCs on various campuses was requested by the meeting as there was feeling that SASO had not "adequately consulted" the SRCs.

The fact that SASO's image was affected in some circles was attributed to the tendency of people to find a "scapegoat" for their failures and frustrations. The meeting affirmed that SASO was a national organisation whose aim was to cater for and protect the interest of black students and therefore could in no way be an "external force". However, the tendency for local leadership to see SASO as an "outside force" and, therefore, call upon SASO to "keep out as the issues were local" made it difficult for SASO to give direction when the campuses became confused and intimidated. It was also agreed that the Alice meeting did not undertake any planning for the follow-up to the protest and neither did it perceive or give direction to the future. This, the meeting agreed, tended to make the demonstrations boring and unproductive.

The meeting then resolved that the Council of SRC Presidents would become a permanent and independent body that would meet regularly to discuss common problems. It also resolved that there would be constant contact between the Council and SASO, while neither would control the other. It concluded that "the Council" would see to it that representatives from SASO would be invited to attend when "the council" held its meetings and vice versa.

The house then went onto note that the position of the SRC's on Black campuses is at stake since the authorities intended to restrict and prime the constitutions even further. It was felt that students would not accept the constitutions and it was agreed that in such an event the Council would become the Council of Student Leaders, to allow for representation of all black campuses.

When it came to 'Planning and Strategy' the meeting viewed with grave concern the intimidation and harrassment that was being employed by the authorities as a result of the June 1st boycott.

To counter this immoral and intimidatory

attitude of the various university authorities a positive offensive was devised with a detailed restorative operation as a follow-up. The minimum demands drawn up by the Council of SRC Presidents was reaffirmed and it was resolved that these demands be nationalised and that they be brought to the notice of the public, the parents, the student and to all authorities.

The meeting resolved to investigate the expulsion of students, the suspension of SRC constitutions and the banning of SASO from the campuses. All campuses would then act on the findings in the manner that the student body sees fit.

In the meantime it was resolved that SASO should publicise a call for funds nationally and internationally to assist afflicted students. SASO was also instructed to thoroughly investigate possibilities of correspondence studies with overseas universities and request that students be allowed to sit for examinations within the country.

SASO was further instructed to investigate and plan the structure of the FREE UNIVERSITY scheme with a view to accomodating students who wish to withdraw from the present university structure.

Report from Evangeliese Informasie Diens, Posbus 54, Karibib, S.W.A.

When Ovamboland was recently visited by the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the Ovambo-Kavango Church was also given the opportunity to consult with him about the problems of this country. This was done in the presence of the three area superintendents of the church, pastors Jason Amakutuwa, Phillipus Shikomba and Timoteus Shipanga. Bishop Leonard Auala could not be present at this meeting, as he was in the Republic of S.A. at this time together with pastor Ihamaki and the guests of the Lutheran World Federation.

The following were the words of greeting which were given to Dr. Waldheim, and which served as an introduction to the important discussions which lasted for about one hour:

"Your Honour, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dr. Waldhiem. We want to say thank you for the chance of meeting you here. Our church is the result of the Finnish Mission, whose first missionaries began working in Ovamboland on July 9th, 1870. In the year 1957, on the 10th May, our church was registered as an independent church by the government.

The number of members has now risen to about 200 000 and we have now united with another Lutheran Church in South West Africa. This United Evangelical Lutheran Church has about 300 000 members.

1. Last year the Evangelical Lutheran Churches in S.W.A. approached the government in connection with Human Rights, so that black and white people could enjoy the same rights.
2. The problem here is apartheid between black and white people.
3. South West Africa needs both hands of the black and white people to build up the development of this land.
4. South West Africa is one land where both black and white people are, therefore the policy of apartheid is not applicable here.
5. We as Christians must love each other, because progress is only possible when black and white people strive after it.
6. Because of these reasons we asked the government to see how it could lead this country to independence.
7. The government, of course, also wants to give independence, but in such a way that Ovambos, Kavangos, Damaras etc., must stay apart. We want it for the whole country, therefore we asked the government of South Africa to negotiate in a peaceful manner with the United Nations to lead this country of South West Africa to full independence.

We are not a political party, but as a church we are watchmen as the prophet Ezekiel has written: "Son of man, I have made thee a watchman unto the House of Israel; therefore hear the word at my mouth and give them a warning from me." (3:17ff).

Thank you, your honour, that you have listened so far.

sgd. Rev. Janson Amakutuwa
Evangelical Lutheran OvamboKavango Church
Oniipa.

7 March 1972

LUTULI MEMORIAL FOUNDATION

On the 23rd July, 1972 there will be an unveiling ceremony of the tombstone of the late Chief Albert Lutuli at Stanger. This restoration ceremony is being sponsored by the above Foundation, "whose aims and objects are based upon the works and ideals of the late Chief Lutuli".

According to a letter received by SASO from the Foundation they "hope to carry on through their programmes the work he (Chief Lutuli) started as a teacher and educator, to preserve the cultural heritage of the people of South Africa and to encourage new cultural and art forms; and lastly to assist wherever possible self help programmes among the Black peoples".

However, according to informed sources the

organisers in South Africa, besides Mrs. Lutuli, include the same people who are involved in the national convention which is planned to coincide with the unveiling ceremony. And in view of this SASO, who has been invited to assist in the organising of the ceremony, cannot as yet see its way clear to becoming part of the ceremony. While SASO commends the spirit of the Foundation's efforts she would not like to enter this arena to come out of it having been enticed into something which cuts across her principles and ideologies. Head Office is hoping to get clearer insight into this affair before any positive steps are taken in any direction.

A SPECIAL FEATURE

During the months of May and June history was recorded. The Black Community demonstrated their ability to achieve a solidarity. Black students the pace-setters of the Black Community displayed their fire and concern in no uncertain terms. What follows is a "searchlight" view of the Black Student voice.

UNIVERSITY OF THE NORTH:

Perhaps, the most striking thing about "the North" is the determination that was shown by these students. They had resolved not to return to classes until Tiro was re-admitted and, indeed, they remained outside, despite the intimidation from all quarters.

It is reported that on their return to the campus many insidious tricks were being used to keep a check on the students – there were authentic reports of "pick-up" microphones in the students' rooms.

When the members of the suspended SRC and SASO Local Committee were told that they would not be re-accepted, the entire student body walked off the campus and decided to return home.

At the present time, the atmosphere at Turfloop is grim. There are some four to five hundred students on the campus most of whom are not attending lectures because of the oppressive atmosphere and the presence of police.

In desperation to keep up appearances, the authorities have been sending letters urging students to return to campus. Students who have left the campus reported to the Johannesburg office that some students are being approached, personally, to return to campus.

The surprising development is the fact the authorities have set up a "Committee of Inquiry to investigate the fundamental causes of recent student unrest at the University of the North . . ."

Whether this committee is there to make any meaningful changes to meet the demands of the students is a matter of conjecture. This, however, is indicative of the effect the strike has had on the



Mannie Jacobs, covenor of the Council of SRC Presidents, seen addressing the "mass rally" at Alan Taylor's Residence. He is reading the "Minimum Demands" drawn up by the Council of Presidents.



A student leader of M.L. Sultan College address the students – outside the entrance of the college just before their walk-out.



Seen at the YMCA Hall, Beatrice Street after their walk-out from Springfield College of Education. The students vote overwhelming to continue their strike after being suspended. The students had walked all the way from their college in Sydenham to the YMCA Hall in Durban.

authorities. SASO has been invited to "submit evidence in respect of the above matter . . ." before the 15th July, 1972. It is expected that the General Students' Council will take a decision on this matter.

UNIVERSITY OF DURBAN-WESTVILLE:

Although, to all outward appearances, it would seem that things are back to normal, there is still a very tense atmosphere on the campus. A few students have been suspended from the hostel and one student is known to have been expelled.

Authorities and lecturers are intimidating students in various forms. It has been learnt that one leader from the Student Representative Committee, set up during the boycott has been questioned by the administration while certain lecturers have promised that students will not be passed in their examinations. Snide remarks have been made to students by lecturers who appear to be using all kinds of methods to break the back of the student's spirit.

The University had an almost total stay away with those attending ranging from fifty to a hundred students.

In their memorandum to their parents, the students pointed out among other things "the Denial of Basic Student Rights" as it existed on the campus. Below we quote the Clause:—

"2. Denial of Basic Student Rights as manifested in:—

- (a) being denied free representation at all levels
- (b) Being denied free choice to affiliate to any students organisation that meets the needs and aspirations of students.
- (c) restricting students from printing and/or circulating publications of their own choice.
- (d) the rigid compartmentalized curriculum that does not accommodate a through schooling in the development of one's intellectual and moral search for truth.
- (e) the dictatorial powers vested in the administrative authorities who can "chop and change" the syllabi and curricula at will.
- (f) the restrictive and infantile manner in which students are prevented, controlled and "straight-jacketed" whereby the manhood and maturity of students are questioned."

Whether students are going to take up the cudgels of their own challenge depends on the sincerity with which students went into the boycott.

The sincerity of the Parent committee is also being challenged for they are the ones who urged the students "to fight from within".

UNIVERSITY OF FORT HARE:

A conservative estimate of some two hundred

students have left the university. This decision was taken after the "Commission of Inquiry", which supposedly comprised about ten members of the lecturing staff, black and white, had not taken any steps to implement its duties.

Approximately, six hundred students, accepted what was termed "The Fort Hare Students' Manifesto" which resolved:

- (1) To leave this Tribal University in protest.
- (2) To struggle all our lives until this corrupt Bantu Education is changed and Education is free for all.
- (3) To register our support to all those who are committed to the cause.
- (4) To struggle for the pursuit of truth, justice and equality in order to fulfill our human worth.
- (5) To put the Black Community in the correct perspective as regards our struggle.

THIS MOVE IS TAKEN AFTER A LONG PERIOD OF ENDURANCE, NEGOTIATIONS, DEEP THINKING AND A THOROUGH ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION IN THIS CAMPUS."

UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN CAPE:

A 17 page long Memorandum was drawn up by the Students Representative Council at the University of Western Cape. The memorandum listed all the demands that the students felt were feasible in the light of conditions on the campus.

The students wanted some action taken in this respect and gave the authorities until the 19th June to make some reply. (The demands were drawn up on the 30th May).

Quite unexpectedly the authorities closed the university for the winter vacation a week earlier i.e. before the 19th June. Perhaps, this was a timely move on the part of the authorities to frustrate the efforts of the students.

It is reported that the president of the SRC, Mr. Peter Lamoela, was picked up by security branch for questioning. It is learnt that he was questioned for some hours before being released.

The interesting feature in the memorandum of Western Cape is their motivation for a Black rector. We quote this below:—

"B: WHITE/BLACK RECTOR

It is an undisputed fact that the Rector at a Black University in our country has the supreme power which implies that he has the prerogative to manipulate or gear the situation into whatever direction he desires. Higher education for Black students can therefore be stifled and channelized in a desired direction or it can be motivated and cultivated by the Rector. He determines the pace as well as the quality of higher education he deems

suitable for the Black student in particular and the Black community in general.

Presently we have a Rector who seeks to justify the prevailing situation at all costs and by all means, who perpetuates the status quo which is not only stifling these Black students but is also detrimental to the education of this section of the Black community.

That we have little in common with him needs no contention. We have been socialized in a Black community and are being educated for a Black community and his presence here during this intermediate phase has no relevancy. To put it otherwise where we come from he knows not, and where we are going, he knows neither. What is left is for him to impose on us his white experience, but our situation is not his and his experience is foreign to us and irrelevant to our education.

The need and urgency for a Black Rector here

is long overdue and this must be realised NOW.

The students want a Rector whom they can call "our Rector". As the situation is at present, the students feel that the Rector is just another white with no sympathy for the aspirations of the Black students.

We want a Rector that can see a situation objectively, and not as a government representative. Our present Rector sees politics even in purely academic matters. He is too staunch an Afrikaner to understand the Black student and his way of thinking and reasoning. This Rector has a discretion which he is seldom capable of using. He always refers to the authorities above him who can pressurize him. We want a Rector who is bold enough to use his discretion.

WE CAN ONLY RESOLVE THAT A BLACK RECTOR IS OUR IMMEDIATE NEED



Part of the Turfloop student mass seen here at Park Station, Johannesburg. They have just landed here from Pietersburg and have had their last address from Aubrey Mokoena, SRC President, before dispersing for home.

TRANSVAAL COLLEGE OF EDUCATION:

Long after the other campuses had returned to lectures TCE still stood by their fellow-students at "the North". About 163 students were "temporarily" expelled and the Director of Indian Education demanded that students write letters of apology to him personally.

Students wrote a common letter but this was not accepted by the department. However, students returned to campus, during the second week of June.

It does appear that the authorities are attempting to confuse students and thus break their solidarity.

However, the efforts of this small campus must be lauded especially in view of the fact that they stood firm even after campuses like Durban-Westville, Springfield and M.L. Sultan had gone back. "If those campuses were strong in their stand we could have won the day", was the comment from a TCE student who eventually returned to campus. Students are confident that their spirit will not be broken.

SPRINGFIELD COLLEGE OF EDUCATION:

About 14 student leaders have been expelled and are awaiting the decision of the Director of Indian Education who will decide whether they will be re-admitted.

Here again students were asked to write in letters of apology and the students wrote a common letter,

It is reported that the atmosphere on this campus is tense and that any minor incident could spark off a major reaction. Those students on campus are patiently waiting to see if their colleagues will be re-admitted.

UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND:

A conservative estimate of thirty students have "quit" the university in protest. Although, the strike has come to an end, students are extremely restless as lecturers and the admin. staff seem to be challenging the students' action on Graduation Day when a peaceful protest and picket-march was conducted to voice student displeasure at the number of whites at the ceremony and the whole tenure of the ceremony.

M. L. SULTAN TECHNICAL COLLEGE:

All is back to normal at this campus which came out in unexpected support for Turfloop, Durban-Westville and Springfield.

About 200 determined students marched off their campus and decided to sit in until all campuses had returned and their demands were met.

This college did not enter the arena of the battle until the 1st June and their participation was most heartily welcomed by students at other campuses.



From The President's Desk

(1) THE AGONY AND THE ECSTASY

What was the cause of the recent student crisis in Black institutions of higher learning? This seems to be the question on every one's lips.

But before I begin let me remind our white "overlords" who without doubt are incapable of any deepthinking vis-a-vis a Black student's experience, that there is no such a thing as a spontaneous uprising or unrest. I submit that there has been too much agitation, incitement and intimidation in student ranks. My submission at this early stage is that all Black students have been intimidated against; and incited to rebel. It is only due to their orderliness that they never responded to this unbridled provocation in a violent manner. Essentially, Black students are peaceful and orderly despite a myriad of arbitrary provocations heaped on them.

In fact this agitation and intimidation has been going on for well over 300 years. Whites have been bullying, batoning and even bulleting Black people for over three generations. It is not me saying so; it is history.

Let me delineate this incitement and intimidation. They have been intimidated by:

- * refusing them free and compulsory education.
- * offering poor educational facilities for Black students.
- * forcibly imposing their standards of morality, value, civilization and progress on Black

students.

- * forcibly imposing on them an educational system that is heavily loaded with the ideological propaganda that serves to destroy the Black man's faith in his worth and humanity.
- * ramming down our throats the so-called Bantu, Indian and Coloured Educations without having consulted us before.
- * the imposition of a medium of instruction on Black students before they (Black students) are consulted.
- * deliberately creating the nefarious 1959 Extension of University Education Act – which is nothing but a front for the propaganda of a doctrinaire ideology of life which is foreign to Black students.
- * intentionally hoodwinking the Black students by urging them to seek first the "educational kingdom and all other kingdoms shall follow" – this unacceptable gradualism theory; this theorem of the "pie in the sky" education (which is not really education but simply training – training for suffocating puppet roles).
- * making believe that the separate – but – equal doctrine when applied to education is good when in fact it is only a fraud and unpardonable deception of Black people.
- * hoodwinking Black students by painting in glorious terms job opportunities in these universities and yet, the statistics speak a different language: 80% of the Academic personnel are

whites 20% are Blacks.

In blunt figures the following is the picture:

6 "non-white" Professors compared to 100 white Professors

11 "non-white" Senior Lecturers to 182 counterparts.

51 "non-white" Lecturers compared to 144 white Lecturers.

In other words there are 426 white tutors in these Five tribal universities compared to 68 "non-white" tutors.

Besides all these glaring injustices there is the visible presence of security police on the campus, and the invisible presence of the "non-white" informers. The lecturers both white and non-white have unchecked intimidatory powers. All these things constitute a reservoir of resentment and anger. No wonder then that the slightest irritation makes the Black student express himself vehemently.

The Black student is aware that he pays tax but when he looks at the financing of his education he is left with dismay and disgust.

Bantu Education R 57,100 000

Coloured Education R 49,858 300

Indian Education R 23,336 200

White Education

(Universities only) R112,000 000

These figures spell an appalling picture of unfairness, discrimination and inequality.

For a population of 18 million Blacks there are only 11 667 University students yet for 3½ million whites there are 77 221 University students. Black students are no fools. They are aware of these glaring anomalies. How then are they expected to voice their anger? It is illegal for them to fight even with their bare hands; it is illegal for them to vote freely against the central source of their discontent. They are voiceless and voteless. They feel hemmed in and castrated. In fact they feel that they are academic enunchs. This is the background of Black students who, coming from needy and destitute communities, are made to pay more than Whites for their education; are made to be satisfied with second class job opportunities; are forced to accept without question a pittance in salaries.

Then no doubt "non-white" education is a violation of the basic rights of every person to have the freedom to choose what education he wishes to have and which educational institution he would like to attend; and since this educational system needs police and the informer system to buttress it the Black student finds himself in a really helpless situation. His anger is supplemented by hatred for the person responsible for his fear.

So, when we look at the April 29th Graduation

Speech we are left with no doubt in our minds as to the truth or otherwise of the accusation levelled in that speech at white authoritarianism. Hence the "Tiro Speech" was merely the tip of a huge iceberg.

This speech which was a very mild speech, resulted in Onkgopotse Tiro being summarily rusticated. After which the 1,000 odd Turfloop Students, to demonstrate their Solidarity with him, staged a peaceful Protest march and a sit-in. They were then immediately expelled.

Following the call of SASO to declare Solidarity with Turfloop students, Black campuses, protested in one form or another. I shall not deal with individual campus rumpus because the story is well known.

It was an agonising decision for many Black Students to volitionally leave these tribal universities. Yet the ecstasy of the decision was in the desire of many of these students to see their convictions executed. It was still painful for those who were expelled even before they have crystallized their ideas on the alternatives. Now, for those Students opposing racist education an alternative relief is being fast investigated by SASO.

FREE UNIVERSITY AND COLLEGE SCHEME

Very little emphasis, by black people, has been placed on the type of syllabus needed in a Black university. Much of the demanding has laid stress on improvement of conditions or on "integrated" universities. The subjects and courses followed the pattern of white tribal universities.

In the Free University scheme the emphasis is not on "free" than it is in the re-direction of our (Black) educational needs. Perhaps, the Free University and College Scheme will lay the basis for a true Black University.

It is important to note that there can be no compartmentalisation of "free" and "Black" and that "free" here is perhaps in the context of not being governed by the status quo.

Necessary in the understanding of the "Free University" is to examine the objects and aims of such a university in the context of South Africa. One can summarize these as follows, and here I freely transcribe from Vincent Hardings, "Towards a Black University":

1. It is an attempt to break with the long-established familiar patterns of white domination and control over higher black education.
2. It marks a clear break from the basic idea promoted by numerous sources that blacks should prepare themselves to live in a world defined and controlled by whites to play roles deemed acceptable and "constructive" by white society.

It marks an attempt to enter that stream of global anti-racism which refuses to educate young people primarily for the service of the racists.

3. Instead, the Free University and its students are guided by the central purpose of service to the Black community on every possible level. Those who work towards this goal realise that the needs of the Black community are often not considered to be compatible with the needs of white South Africa.
4. One of the central characteristics of the Free University movement is its willingness to define education as being unashamedly political and to tie higher black education to the struggles of Black people everywhere. It echoes the old question, "If we are not for ourselves, then who will be for us".
5. Thus the Free University cannot possibly be a place of escape from the demands of rigorous academic disciplines. Rather it must be a setting in which Black people demand of each other more disciplined commitment to intellectual and physical work than ever before. For it will now be work toward the building of our people and the winning of our struggles.
6. At the present time, however, all the white universities are being called into question concerning the adequacy of their own response to the most urgent needs of modern society. Their basic sense of purpose and their participation in the patterns of our racist society are under profound attack by the children of their universities.
7. The search for the BLACK university is a clear response to leave the ideals and standards of the dying Western culture behind and dare to risk the creation of new institutions and new modes of thought on behalf of a new humanity beginning with our own children.

THE WHITE STUDENT CRISIS: DOES IT RELATE TO US ?

The "St. Georges Cathedral" incident has shocked the white world no end. Editorial comment, front page splashes and even radio time has been concentrated on the beatings one way or another.

Through all this the Black student crisis was relegated to minor reports in insignificant corners of the paper. And quite ironically, it was the advent of the white crisis that heralded the crumble of the black crisis. It then became apparent that the white world began to steal the limelight – "anything you can do I can do better".

The newspapers which, fortunately or unfortunately, are our main effective communication points are white-controlled and therefore did not see our struggle in terms of its historical value but more as incidents of "news value".

When our struggle lost its "News value" the communication broke down and our struggle began to peter out. The great "white takeover" moved into the public eye and white students tried to fight on our behalf. It became the "mini-Sharpeville" and this insult to the death of black people in their fight for liberation crowned the issue. The white liberal condescension once again proved itself true.

It then became apparent that there was no connection between the crisis – black and white. Each had its own aims; its own goals. Whites now see their confrontation with Vorster's bully boys in the light of the physical violence against them.

For so long blacks had been subjected to white violence; to brutal killings and yet the reaction of white South Africa was not affected.

Perhaps, the only lesson to the white students has been that what Blacks have been saying about the white government is true. But one wonders for how long will they remember – "The chickens have come home to roost ?"



"We do not desire what has belonged to others, though others have always sought to deprive us of that which belonged to us. If Europe is for the EUROPEANS, then AFRICA shall be for the black peoples of the world. We say it; we mean it The other races have countries of their own and it is time for the 400,000,000 Africans to claim Africa for themselves."

– MARCUS GARVEY



LD FORUM ONDS

Fort Hare
COL BK 4 BANFI.
SUPPORTS YOUR STRUGGLE
KINGS COLLEGE LONDON UNION SENDS
A BANFIELD PRESIDENT
SASO CARE OF BEATRICES
DURBAN
ZCZC JDYDQO GUARQO
SADM CO GBLB 019
LONDON/LR TF 10 0 1130
NININ

The Office of the Rector,
 University of Fort Hare,
 Private Bag 314,
 Alice, C.P.

May, 1972.

PROF. J. J. ...
 Yours faithfully,
[Signature]

The Council has
 been suspended as well as
 the General Council cannot be
 no committee at this

Dear Sir,
 As you already know
 the Council has
 been suspended as well as
 the General Council cannot be
 no committee at this

KEEP UP YOUR FIGHT AGAINST APARTHEID
 SWANSEA UNIVERSITY STUDENTS UK
 SASORG
 DURBAN

The following two very
 newspaper report, SASO has
 students at Black universities in
 such like you to inform me:

...ect.
 ...titude of the SASO Branch at
 this regard.
 ...g read several SASO Newsletters, and after
 ...e Fort Hare C.U. Hall on Wednesday evening,
 ...must draw your attention to the following extract
 ... Act No. 38 of 1927:

...n who utters any words or does any other act or
 ...ever with intent to promote any feeling of hostility
 ...antu and Europeans shall be guilty of an offence

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 No. 4 25
 OFFICE OF THE RECTOR
 UNIVERSITY OF FORT HARE
 ALICE, CAPE PROVINCE
 S.A. AFRICA
 SENT BY TELETYPE

SUPPORT STUDENTS IN THEIR COURAGEOUS STAND AGAINST RACIST DISCRIMINATORY
 ON AND THEIR DEMAND FOR AN END TO ALL INEQUALITIES IN SOUTH AFRICAN STOP WE
 THE REPRESSIVE ACTION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT IN BANNING MEETINGS
 NG PROTESTING STUDENTS AND CLERGY AND CLOSING UNIVERSITIES STOP WE EXPRESS
 PORT FOR THE STRUGGLE OF THE STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY IN SOUTH
 AYNAARD CATCHINGS AND NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES WILBER COX UNITED
 RIAN CHURCH EVERETT FRANCIS EPISCOPAL CHURCH PAUL IRISH CIRUNA WILLIAM



UNIVERSITY OF FORT HARE
 GREETINGS FROM STUDENTS HOLLOWAY COLLEGE LONDON UNIVERSITY
 DURBAN
 WITH AFRICAN STUDENTS ORGANIZATION 86 BEATRICES STREET
 THIRD TEXT - (MOR) SUBJECT TO CORRECTION.
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 SWANSEA 12 0 1520

PLEASE ACCEPT OUR STRONG SUPPORT FOR SOUTH
 FACED WITH THREATS FROM AUTHORITIES
 UNIVERSITIES STOP THE CURT OF HIST
 YOUR SIDE STOP CONSIDERABLE PUP
 HERE ON THE SITUATION ANY
 NUSUK

COL SASORG

SASORG
 DURBAN

The Roman Catholic Church has let me down

By DANIEL MTOMBENI

XX
 EDITOR'S NOTES

The article reflected below is indicative of some of the humiliations that Black people experience, in our racist society. What is even more of import in the writers' experience is the fact that it is often claimed that "liberal" institutions do not practise any racism. The entire question of the sincerity of "white liberals" and the white church is highlighted in this article.

The writer, Daniel Mtombeni, was a final year student at the St. Peters College, Hammanskraal. Daniel was acting SRC President at the beginning of last year. It will be remembered that it was last year that students protested quite adamantly over the change of rectorship and resulted in the newly-appointed rector, Father Scholten, closing down the college earlier than expected.

When Daniel spoke to us, he revealed that it was a trying period for him as acting president. For as spokesman of the students he was always in the "hot seat" of

tension between students and rector. He also revealed the diplomatic manner in which the Archbishop of Durban, Rev. Hurley, supported the move of the new rector – to kick Daniel out of St. Peters College. The cold and callous move was made when Daniel was about to complete his studies – after six years of study. If any misconduct on Daniel's part was founded then the least expected under the circumstances was a fair trial with Daniel having a chance to present his case as well.

What is also made apparent in this article is the fact that whether black institutions have liberal or dictatorial authorities in control in the final analysis: they all serve their particular interests rather than protect interests of students.

Whether Daniel Mtombeni is guilty or not is not the question. The important question is, CAN WHITE AUTHORITY SIT IN JUDGEMENT OVER BLACKS WITH ANY DEGREE OF EQUITABLE JUSTICE ?

XX

Let the Black World Know !

I am torn apart, disillusioned and scandalised. But, it is an experience and also a revelation both to me and to all people of good will.

I have been a student for the Roman Catholic Ministry at St. Peter's Seminary, Hammanskraal for six years after Matriculation.

At the beginning of last year I was acting president of the Students' Representative Council, and in that capacity I had always to act on behalf of the Student Body, and the S.R.C. I had to voice their grievances and the manner they felt about the arbitrary, despicable disruption of the reasonable, mature regime of the Seminary under the Rectorship of the Revd. Oswin Magrath O.P. who was unceremoniously coup'd out of his office at the end of 1970. This put me on the spot between the new Rector and the students, and in the long run a tension between the new Rector and myself gained momentum, until a new president was elected.

Now, during last year's June/July holidays the new Rector recommended some few students to attend certain practical courses at Lumko, near Queenstown, and at Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre near Johannesburg. I was included in this group. On July 29th, the day before I finished the course at Wilgespruit, the new Rector had called on me by telephone to meet him at the Johannesburg Cathedral Presbytery at 1.00 p.m. So I went there.

Immediately after lunch he called me into a private room, and accused me of certain things, which he had never talked of to me at the Seminary since he took over the Rectorship.

He accused me of serious misconduct during the past scholastic session, but he failed to substantiate his accusations before me. He further complained that in that holiday I went to Natal to attend student meetings without his permission. I told him there was no stated rule against that; on the contrary, the former Rector encouraged contact with other students. He got angry and imposed his authorial sentence, cutting off all argumentation.

Then he decided to send me home for trial for six months, and stated that he might accept me back to the Seminary on re-application. But he strictly warned me not to tell anybody, not even my Diocesan Authorities, that he had decided so. In public I should pretend as if it was my decision. Social Abortion !!! He also threatened that should I work against him, it would be finished with me. He also refused that I should go back to Hammanskraal to pack my belongings. He was afraid that I might meet people I knew and tell them, about this, his iniquitous action. He then left me penniless in the midst of the strange, great city of Johannesburg, a little less than a beggar.

'Africa tell me Africa,
 Is this you this back that is bent,
 This back that breaks under the weight of humiliation,

This back trembling with red scars
And saying yes to the whip under the midday sun ?
(From David Diop, in his poem: 'Africa', in *Modern Poetry From Africa*, Page 63, edited by G. Moore and U. Beier).

I wept because it was painful to experience disaster from Christian White hands. I began to cry because life became to me a contradiction. Tears rolled down my Black face and I began to pray: 'Oh holy ideology !! Thank God, now I have discovered from experience that truly the God of the Black Continent is a Black God because the Black people look at him through their black eyes of negritude'.

I begged; one fellow Black man helped me.

I went back home after I had consulted many people, only to receive another blow: my diocesan authority of Port Elizabeth (a White man of course) stated explicitly that he **did not know me**, therefore he could not speak to me. I got disillusioned because I was bred from childhood in the Diocese of Port Elizabeth.

I went through my Six month's trial period, helping in pastoral work in the Port Elizabeth Diocese through the assignment of the very man who did not know me. Then at the end of it I learned from the authority of the same Diocese that the New Rector did not want me back at the Seminary. **NO REASONS WERE GIVEN.**

Fortunately, during my trial period, the Dean of Studies at Hammanskraal sent me the lecture notes to finish up my academic studies. So, it means now, I am a fully trained Black student for the Priesthood, without ordination.

If anything happens to me, my Black Brothers and Sisters, know clearly this is the reason. I can't even sleep properly. But I hope the Lord is on my side, and I am going to serve my people one way or the other, because I believe this is my call !

I have written two letters to the new Rector, asking for the reasons **WHY** he has barred my way to the Priesthood. He never replied, and so I felt compelled to turn to His Eminence, Owen Cardinal Mc Cann, Archbishop of Cape Town, to give me a hand, if possible. He said he would look into the matter. But above all I appeal to the Black Intelligentsia to look into the matter.

At least I think I should know the charges against me, and the evidence for them, otherwise I cannot defend myself nor my good name.

I know, there are of course cases where Seminarians are considered by the Seminary Authorities unsuitable for Ordination on the grounds of character faults, or simply of lack of vocation and where they can do no more than simply state their judgement, and their reasons for it in general terms.

But this is certainly not such a case. The New Rector had not such an intimate knowledge of me, having only known me for some four months of 1971. For such a judgement on my character and suitability it would be necessary to consult persons like my former Rector and my former prefect of discipline. Indeed' the New Rector explicitly said both to me and to my Diocesan Authority that it was because of various acts of misconduct on my part that I was first suspended and then finally refused re-admission. Therefore I cannot see that there can be any reasons why evidence for such alleged misconduct should be withheld from me, and indeed justice surely demands that the evidence should be set before and I be given a chance to challenge and refute it.

It is of utmost importance that there should be evident justice in ecclesiastical procedure, and means of redress and equitable judgement available to people who consider themselves to be unfairly treated by ecclesiastical authorities. In fact, in any normal society, there should be evident justice exercised on civilized people.

They say it is a 'test' for me, but I would like to reverse this statement and say: It is a 'Test' for the **Roman Catholic Church** in the eyes of the Blacks in Southern Africa to prove its sincerity, especially since it is obviously White dominated. The logic is clear:

If it is insincere and White dominated it is therefore unjust; if it is unjust, it is Unchrist-Like. If it is Unchrist-Like it is one of those meaningless institutions of hypocrisy which need to be obliterated from the rhythmic, forceful, poetic, dramatic, communion-loving fertile soil of Africa.

Nkosi, sikelela i-Afrika !



THE HEAT'S ON

the ministers of death
pounce
knights in dullshining
armour
tear the entrails of the scared
perspiring ebony figure
on the street corner
all he did not have was
a dcompass charged
with its power of opening
permanently – closed doors

– Mandlenkosi langa

ARTS & LETTERS : REVIEWS

Essays on Black Theology by Mokgethi Motlhabi (Editor) with contribution by Dr. Manas Buthelezi Adam Small Dr. Akin Omoyajowo (Nigeria), James Cone (U.S.A.), Steve Biko etc.

Published by Black Theology Project of the UCM, 1972 obtainable at R1,50

Essays on Black Theology is as much a book on theology as the Bible is on Politics. It exposes the western orientated lie that religion and politics are separate entities. This compartmentalized concept of life is foreign to Blacks. It therefore comes as no surprise that the contributors do not have to justify their socio-religious stand. It was an accepted fact in Black cultures, that political heads sought directives from their witchdoctors and seers. This western concept of compartmentalizing concepts of life is a Cartesian type of category-mistake which denies man's existensial nature. It was used treacherously by the white colonialists, whose instruments were the white missionaries, to brainwash and indoctrinate the blacks in believing that they were only beings in relation to whites and western values. Therefore we have the acceptance by Blacks of the term "non-white".

Black Theology comes at a time of re-evaluating black values. Its function is two-fold; a breaking of the white chains that binds the minds of blacks and a re-evaluation of black values.

The bulk of the peoples in South Africa are Black and Christians. They are also dehumanized and "de-cultured". Nevertheless, as Dr. John S. Mbiti says, "Africans are notoriously religious". Black Theology must meet this need. Black Priests and Ministers must recognise and exploit this opportunity. I would recommend "Essays on Black Theology" as guide in this respect. Infact it is long overdue.

That Black Theology is nothing more than a pre-conceived adaptation of a few texts to just justify a political ideology is an unjustifiable theological argument used against Black Theology. But those who so glibly argue are the very perpetrators of the system that forced Black Theologians to discover for themselves what Christ's gospel really was and its relevance for them. In his essay in this book James H. Cone says "Black Theology puts Black identity in a theological context, showing that Black Power is not only consistent with the Gospel of Jesus Christ it is the gospel of Jesus Christ."

Purely on a critical note this book is not an exhaustive study of Black Theology. It leaves much to be desired. There is enough evidence in these essays to show that Black Theologians have not as yet severed completely the umbilical cord attaching them to white "Christianity". In this respect the blame must be placed squarely within the precincts

of our training centres and its emphasis on denominational doctrine. In terms of authority we must look towards our black heritage. We have competent protagonists in this field in men like Dr. John S. Mbiti, Dr. Akin Omoyajowo, Prof. E.B. Idowu and many others. It may be a good suggestion for the committee responsible for this book to bring out one of these men to undertake a series of lectures.

It would be impractical to discuss every essay in this book and one cannot discuss a few since all have equal significance – from Dr. M. Buthelezi's argument for an Anthropological basis for a theological methodology to D.E.H. Nxumalo's questioning of our educational system and its theological implications.

In terms of Christian history in South Africa interesting new facts are brought to light. Rev. Fr. L. Zulu discusses in detail how history was distorted to picture the white missionary as the saviour of the black savage – which fact the blacks began to believe themselves.

"They (missionaries) were agents of European imperialism", says Nyameko Pityana. He adds "The acceptance of the Christian Church meant then the rejection of African customs." This then highlights the need to inculcate an awareness of our cultures in the hearts of blacks.

Inherent in the African culture is the concept of corporate Personality which is the basis for black solidarity. Rev. Bonganjalo Gaba discusses the Old Testament implications of this concept and its relation to African Culture. In his essay he says why the Corporate Personality concept should be the basis for black solidarity.

What are the implications of this concept to other cultural groups who have not imbibed Christianity but nevertheless have come under western influence. I am thinking here of Hindus etc.

I see Black Theology as having significance for them as well. Unless they are blacks and not oppressed in a South African context, in which case they can never be blacks, implicit in the teaching of Christ is that he had come to free all the oppressed and downtrodden. Black Theology does not seek to destroy cultures but seeks to re-establish and liberate them.

A Black Christian cannot alienate a Hindu or

a Moslem etc. or even try to convert him. He is not a "Non-Christian for the same reasons that blacks are not non-whites". He is not a "heathen" or "pagan" for the same reason that I am not a "kaffir" or "coolie". To attempt to convert is indulging in a past-time that is essentially white. It implies one has very little regard and respect for the true humanity of a person. Infact this is going against the grain of Christ's teaching which says "Freedom for all suffering men".

In the final analysis any theology which talks of the proclamation in terms of the revelation of Christ's gospel, and wishes to be relevant to blacks, must obtain from the black man's existential context. In the words of the editor of this book, Mokgethi Motlhabi, "It means Christ happening to man in his daily experiences and his daily communication with his fellow men." Any other theology is merely a whitewash of western imperialism.

In his essay in this book Steve Biko writes, "It (Black Theology) wants to describe Christ as a fighting God and not a passive God who accepts a lie to exist unchallenged It seeks to bring God to the black man and to the truth and reality of his situation. This is an important aspect of black consciousness for quite a proportion of Black people in this country are christians still swimming in the mire of confusion – the aftermath of the missionary approach. It is the duty therefore of all black priests to take upon themselves the duty of saving christianity by adopting black theology's approach and thereby uniting once more the black man to his God".

It is on this note that I would like to suggest in conclusion that "Essays on Black Theology is a book no truly black man can do without if he is seeking to understand the meaning of black consciousness in its truest perspective".

JAYAPRAKASHEN TERWARAN



The Black Student Crisis : as I see it

By B.A. KHOAPA

Director of Black Community Programmes

The question here is not failure of the University to integrate education but the success of the authorities in failing to educate the black student.

This failure is evident in that the effective decisions as they relate to staff recruitment, selection and evaluation, curriculum content, educational policy and the management of economic resources are being made by people who have a vested interest in the continued failure of the black student population.

A second weakness relates to the tendency of the school staff to define education as that which goes on in the classroom. Discipline is the essential pedagogical technique. The problems of the community are isolated from the problems of the school. Families are literally divided and conquered by a process which tends to blame the families and not the system for the educational failures of their children. Black children are taught to feel that they are stupid and to blame their families accordingly.

Now, a growing number of independent Black students represent a new trend in thinking. A new growth can be seen; Black students now have the ability to act collectively and have added a new dimension to education for blacks in this country.

It is interesting to note also that the students of the late 50s and early 60s were the tools of liberals. The 1970s will render white liberalism a luxury and invisible. Students have learned that

the so-called "white liberals" are chicken. The only stand they are prepared to take is one behind the Blacks who are being routed by the police.

Black students are increasingly resisting efforts to get them to co-operate in their own educational genocide. No longer can they be contained by white rhetoric; nor can they be seduced into rejecting the interests of their own people. They have learnt what a large number of black people are beginning to learn from our young people that the revolution is not over and it is not just beginning, it's continually with us. Struggle is educational struggle.

Our young people are searching for models and means which will link them integrally to the Black experience, enable them to resist tendencies towards the establishment of generation gaps and engage them in contributing to the expansion and deepening of the Black restoration and liberation movement. Young people are beginning also to ask a question: "How can I become my brother's brother?" Too many of us in the 60s were asking how we could become the white man's brother – or brother-in-law. The Black "brothering" process is the new medium.

Black students are wanting to get engaged in a four-fold effort:—

- To make their curricula 'Black'.
- To rid their schools of the leadership of generals – white and non-white.

- To develop and participate in the process of holding themselves and educators accountable.
- To humanise the educational encounter

By now it should be clear that the issue is not separation but who controls the nature and content of that separation. The Black student of the 1970s will be less concerned about integration and separation than they will be about how to participate in the collective liberation of black people.

The process of engaging in self-liberation and collective liberation has predisposed Blacks to overcome any tolerance which they might have for white oppression: to resist any tendency to emulate white men as an end in itself. They want to participate in managing and shaping their own destinies.

One has only to observe the facts of the last few weeks and the demands made by Black students to understand what I am saying.

In the past Black students and others tried to liberate white people as a means of their own liberation. Black students are liberating themselves directly, thereby forcing white students to begin to confront themselves and their own institutions. It took a long time for the white students to realise that Blacks were not paranoid when they said a long time ago that police were brutal. Now they realised this.

In the 1970s Black students have learned to read this society – from the rhetoric of deception to the rhetoric of oppression. They refuse to be divided and conquered by adults – or by society at large. They are bringing their parents to the barricades to test out whether, in fact, parental love means “love” or whether it means “control”.

The kind of school that young people are asking for is a school which will become the arena for learning for life: how to survive and resist. It will be organised to help students to deal with their day-to-day problems and lessen their temptation to abandon their own people.

The problems of poor housing, jobs, intimidation and other racist manifestations will become the subject of day-to-day inquiry and action. Importantly such students will activate a fuller understanding of, and response to, the relationships between nutrition and learning, economic status and education, and education and politics. That they are inseparable categories has been clearly established. That there is a deliberate plan to prevent blacks from realizing these linkages is equally well established.

So, the awareness of the youth of the politics and pathology of oppression will probably predispose them to understand in their guts that any brother and sister who has been so victimized is a potential covert for useful work in the Black Community. They refuse to ‘fail’ on the man’s term: They choose their own avenues of self-celebration. Their problems are political because that is the way it is “supposed to be” despite any psychological tendencies which bedevil them. And if you cannot love a brother when he needs you, then what good is your love?

Young Blacks have to answer a different set of questions from those some of us had to ask when we were students; they acquire skills to actualise their own purposes. Their task is to render us “non-whites” and to still love us. Our job is to assist them in becoming men and women we never became – and still love them.

XX

Why I walked off Fort Hare in Protest

By JERRY MODISANE

I have reasons to believe that the complexity of the crisis situation on black campuses, in terms of both individual and group opinions concerning the walk-off Fort Hare and other institutions on the one hand and the other, an in-depth discussion on the intention of black students to get real education, demand an article of this nature.

That the education given by the white racists to blacks is of an inferior calibre and thus not very useful to the eradication of black suffering is axiomatic. The big question is: What does one do about this? In the past there was argument to the effect that we Blacks have no alternative but to use what

we are given and make the best out of it. I would like to submit that there are more than one alternative: the walk-off from these tribal institutions of so called higher learning.

Since the white oppressors have institutionalised their whole machinery of operation, any individual or group of oppressed people which is serious about the attainment of its liberation has to be sectarian by approach. Moreover, it must aim and work at a complete change of the system with the hope that at the worst, concessions and reforms will be the resultant factors. I would like to contend that this was the motive underlying the whole pro-

test by black students at these much hated tribal universities. I, however, would like to give my version of this contention.

At a tribal university one does not get real education; that is, one is not given the know-how, technical or otherwise, which will arm one to succeed in the battle against social, economic, educational and even political oppression. Instead, after spending a period of systematic sale of one's dignity and humanity, a certificate is donated to one.

This certificate is then seen by this sophisticated slave (because this is all that one at best can become) as a key to affluent living, a qualification to compete economically in this stinking capitalism. This is not completely acceptable even to the most submissive slave. A justification is therefore necessary, the basis of which is that we must obtain these certificates, become accepted in the system and then work against the system from within.

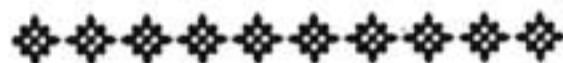
I reject this justification completely. I therefore submit that we must have nothing to do with this system. In fact we must pull out of these tribal universities and by so doing force the white racist

politicians and educationists to change this system. Without us there can be no tribal university and thus the flower of the army in the battle against self-reliance will be seriously crippled. Furthermore, if we continue to stay away from these institutions a change or at least some reforms must needs come.

It is not so much us black people who need these tribal institutions. It is actually the oppressors who need them because they are inter alia their best weapon to keep us oppressed. The oppressors can therefore not afford to have these institutions closed. They must therefore play the ball. But if we assume the stance of operating as a sect out of the system but against it, we are likely to succeed to change the system.

It is therefore obvious that I am not rejecting education. As a matter of fact it is because I yearn for real black education that I reject tribal education.

This is the complexion and true perspective of the struggle. These are the reasons why I walked off Fort Hare in protest.



BURSARY

Churchill College, Cambridge, England.

If a suitable candidate presents himself, Churchill College will award a bursary for two or three years: from October 1973 to a citizen of South Africa, Rhodesia, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland or South West Africa (regardless of current country of residence) for study towards a degree, diploma or certificate at the University of Cambridge. The bursary will be sufficient for his or her expenses in Cambridge, including fees, and normal living expenses both in the vacation and in term. Some funds may also be available for travel to and from Great Britain.

The Bursary is open to people with or without a degree, but applicants should have passed the equivalent of G.C.E. 'A' levels (1st year at a South African university). In exceptional cases candidates with South African Matriculation or equivalent qualification may be considered. In all cases the

financial and social need of the candidate will be taken into account, as well as his or her academic ability. Candidates must be proficient in English and must meet the high academic standard for entry, for which they will have to compete in the normal way with other candidates; for undergraduate places this may include taking the Colleges' entrance examination, within the candidate's own country. There is no age limit.

Further information, including details of courses available and of the entrance examination, may be obtained from the Senior Tutor, Churchill College, Cambridge, England. Application forms for the bursary, which are also obtainable from the Senior Tutor, are sent in response to individual request: Applications should be completed and returned as soon as possible, and must in any case be received by the College not later than 31 August 1972.

black consciousness, the black artist and the emerging black culture

STRINI MOODLEY
(Publications Director of SASO)

This paper was delivered by the writer at the various Black Campuses during a tour to speak about the conference and various aspects of Blackness.

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS – AN OVERVIEW

For too long there has been a back and forth argument about the pros and cons of Black Consciousness and Black Solidarity. People have sat on the fence argued, criticised and derided and offered no positive alternative. Verbal battles have become the vogue and the emphasis seems to be to prove one right and the other wrong.

I believe that no philosophy has emerged in the whole of human endeavour to announce a flawless blueprint for the co-existence of man. And to date Black Consciousness has not faced a superior philosophy that will satisfy the demands, the aspirations and the goals of the Black man.

Black Consciousness has become a raging fervour that demands respect for its followers and love for its brothers. It soars above the mundane cliches of a "multi-racial anti-thesis". It fills the black heart with a pride, a dignity and a forth-rightness that will stand the test of any confrontation.

Black Consciousness exists not as a reaction or a response to any form of oppression but as a deliberate analysis of the blackman's existence in his situation and a subsequent plan for concerted action – effective positive action – against the de-humanising atrocities that have become the white South African way of life.

Black Consciousness probes, examines, redefines – it rejects negativeness – it rejects those white values that attempt to make us inferior, to make us hate ourselves. And all the time Black Consciousness speaks to the committed people – the real Black people.

It sorts the non-whites from the blacks – because it is the Black people who sincerely not only want to eradicate racism but also who want to bring back the lost humanity into their lives.

I believe that as long as I am regarded and treated as a non-white, then I can never be a full human being in the context of my everyday experience. And Black Consciousness brings back into my life, my psychological humanness.

Black Consciousness does not simply call for a change of government but goes further and calls for an injection of new values, of new attitudes and a more compassionate regard for society.

Black Consciousness calls for reflection on those values that existed in the land of our forefathers when the foot of oppression did not exist – for black consciousness rejects all the ways of life that have been defined by the white western creed that seek to make us inferior.

And what is BLACKNESS? It is not a matter of the colour of the skin it is the matter of the projection of the beingness. It is simply being able to stand up and say I'm Black and I'm proud. It goes further to ask us to look into our environment and to bring together our brothers and sisters – fellow sufferers in oppression and join hands to show our love for ourselves, our brothers and sisters – for as long as we hate ourselves – we are hating our blackness and our black brothers.

BLACK SOLIDARITY AND DIVISION

And yet there is a sadness and a blow that smashes any move to solidarity. We have allowed ourselves to be divided and to be ruled – and subsequently, we black people contribute to our own oppression more than our oppressor enslaves us.

But there have been mouthings upon mouthings about Black Consciousness and Black Solidarity. And where are we today? We are trapped in the

cages of divide and rule. Yet we indulge in the political semantics of sectionalism and tribalism — trying to make it a reality. We play the dangerous game of dividing at our own universities. Moslem against Hindu; fair coloured against dark coloured; mthembu against karinga; city slicker against rural farm boy . . . ad infinitum . . . ad nauseum. And yet this only proves how the division is the hate for ourselves. For the division will extend from the group, to the tribe, to the family, to the self until I divide myself from myself — and the self hate sets in. Solidarity the basis of Black Consciousness — cannot exist in a situation of division and mistrust.

Our oppression exists not on the basis of our sectional affiliation, nor on the basis of our tribal affiliation; or our religious affiliation; or the basis of our monetary standing — it exists on the basis of not being white — our non-whiteness.

And this is the basis for our coming together. We come together on the basis of our common oppression and do not separate on the basis of superficial cultural differences. I say superficial — because culture is dependent on behaviour and in the light of the realities of our oppression we have similar fears, the same desires, and the same experiences. We use the same trains, the same buses, the same restaurants.

We live in similar ghettos. We cannot choose where to live, and which school to go to. We have similar inferior styled educations, and similar harassments by the "forces of whiteness".

BLACK CREATIVITY: ITS SIGNIFICANCE FOR BLACK DEVELOPMENT

But to come to the significance of today, — May 10th SASO day and this the SASO week. It is during this week that SASO investigates all avenues of the Black experience and as the theme of the SASO conference this year is Creativity and Black Development I want investigate the field of Creativity and measure its implications in Black Development. And I want to concentrate on the Black Artist.

Creativity and Black Development are as important to black South Africa's development as the renaissance was the western white culture.

Black Creativity encompasses all facets of the Black Experience. It calls for a re-evaluation of all aspects of our life — our attitude in the family, community and societal experience; our examination of our children's education, our adult education; our approach to the development of our

communities and the role of the Black Artist in the life of the community.

THE BLACK ARTIST: HIS PROBLEM

Not much emphasis has been placed on creativity. And no true examination has been entered into to find the true pulse of the black artist. This happens because of two reasons. Firstly, the Black artist was accepted into the white world and was then defined as an artist. Secondly, the Black Artist was conditioned into preparing his works for white readership. The vast majority of Black people were unaware of the Black Artist, because his paintings hung in the carpeted mansions of Parktown North or the Berea; their poetry was being avidly published in white liberal magazines so that the white conscience can be purged. And the Black elitists follow suite and criticise and appreciate the poet who can emulate Keats, Shelley, Shakespeare. The standard for the Black author has been laid by Alan Paton and that company of whites who capitulate on the Black Experience and Black suffering. And our black artists have followed the pattern. We capitulate on our suffering for acceptance into the white world — and thus aspire more and more for whiteness. "Learn to write a Shakespearean sonnet and then you can write good english poetry", someone once advised me.

And I realised that I didn't want to be an english poet — I wanted to be a Black poet. I wanted to write for Black people about my own experiences, which I knew mirrored their own experiences. It will be a hard road to find the Black Artist — the true Black Artist who can speak the heart of the Blackman, who can sing the rhythm of the Blackman, who can paint the suffering and who can act the pains, the desires, the loves and hates of the Black experience.

THE ROLE OF THE BLACK ARTIST

Artists are supposedly imbued with an extra sensitivity, an extra perception. All true artists reflect a mood, in one form or another, — a mood an attitude or a desire that ramifies not just his whole society. And if the artist reflects these aspects and does not open his art to his own community then that art exists in a vacuum. In Ancient Greece any play that was written and performed, was not the express property of the playwright but was written to communicate an experience that he knew the entire community was faced with. Sophocles was faced with the choice between man deciding his fate or God deciding his fate, and he expressed to the community this problem through plays like Oedipus Rex. The issue at stake in this play did

not affect the playwright alone but posed a question to the entire community.

Artistic creativity in any form, in centuries passed was always interwoven in the everyday existensial experiences of the people. Even today a fine example of creativity that comes out of our own Black community is the gumboot dance of the mine workers, or the chain gang songs of our roadworkers. The artistry and the creativity reflected here was not merely to break the monotony of their work, but to reflect their feelings, their attitudes and their perceptiveness for their labour.

What then is the duty of the black Artist? In the first instance the Black Artist must look afresh at the premise or the basis of his existensial experience. A true artist cannot extract himself from his own experience and then talk in objective universal terms. His artistry must not be trapped in the maze of sophistries and sophistications of western cultural value.

Black people have always been artistic; have always been at one with Mother Earth. Their feet have pounded the soil; their nostrils have flared at the scent of the earth's aroma and their eyes have seen the mystery of the distant cosmos. And they have always revered and respected it. We have always been people of the soil – in the rice paddies of Asia, the maize fields of Africa; the sugar fields of the West Indies; and the coffee plantations of South America.

All too simply the Black artist is the ears, the eyes, the musician and the lover of his people, and his works will go out to his people and tell them of their compassion, paint for them their reality, and recite to them their passions, their desires, their joys and their sorrows.

The Black Artist will direct, will shock, will cajole, will caress and will bring tears to the eye of Black people. If our commitment is sunk in the pride of our own values then we will know our direction.

Long before the Western Renaissance, long before the Golden Era of Pericles there were flutes humming musical patterns in unison with the streams of Africa and the sitar was rising and falling in cadence with the torrential rains of India; and the skin-drum beat the rhythm to the pounding of feet as Black people mourned; prepared for war; danced in joyous festivity; and sang in prayer.

There was no division of our lives. Our artistry our religion were our everyday lives. The Black Artist must delve into his roots; re-intepret this grace for the vibrance of the 20th century; and make a return to nature so that it becomes a meaningful part of our lives. Our people were at one with nature and with our creator – we were all artists.

I'm not calling for a return to the pre – 1652 era but I am calling for the return of a human face to not just South Africa; but to the entire world. Western cultural value and religious creed seems to have laid emphasis on techonological skill – which has become a madness that has turned the so-called civilised world into a hate-torn, capitilistic-oriented, avariciousness that is in dire need of the warmth, the humaneness, the love and the peace that was the heritage of our forefathers and that is the weapon of the Black Artist – the black people.

Carolyn M. Rodgers speaking in, "THE WHOLE TRUTH – US" says, "I would have my many sisters, mothers, fathers, grow. From ugly nappy, sick Black recorded messages to beautiful real human beings (not three-fifths), who are sometimes as ugly as they are beautiful. I would hold their hands and touch their hearts, wipe their tears, speak to their pain, and help them grow. I realise and understand that when I was sick and ugly and nappy and Black, ashy and helpless, hopeless, through the recorded messages all around me; stuck on, a dream, a desire, a pain, a need, a fantasy. I realised when I was all these things singing recorded messages, screaming words to a song my guts could not hear. I was not alone then. I am not alone now. Take my hand, feel my guts, taste my blood, and tears. Let us all grow black WHOLE human beings and know our real selves, together. Let us touch, feel every Black other."

TRIUMPH OF TRUTH

Bad whites, 'good' whites,
Non-whites, Bantus, traitors,
Self-hatred, fragmentation,
Racism, political castration,
– Unity of anti-Blackness !

My people !
Justice loving Blacks,
In bondage infamous we are,
Deserted and wounded we are.
In our hands lies our fate.

Grow a head that is yours,
Strip yourself of mental sedimentation,
Emotional handicaps
Manifested by centuries of injustice,
Resist tottering colonialism,
Tear down the infamous veil
That hides shamelessness
And never renounce freedom
'Cause you'll renounce your manhood.

Forge an irreversible, fundamental
And ever more penetrative struggle,
For all in Canaan shall be free
On the day of justice,
For you shan't have spared your blood
Not your suffering for the
TRIUMPH OF TRUTH !

By: – MATHE DISEKO

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TALKS BEGIN ON BLACK CAMPUS

HERALD CORRESPONDENT
Negotiations between the Administration and student leaders opened yesterday with four African

breakthrough, the three, may lead to a within the next few result of agreements between them and the 'nuclear' of about leaders during a meeting on Thursday.

BOYCOTS AT ALL BLACK UNIVERSITIES

THE South African Students' Association (SASA) has organised a boycott of all six Black universities in the country of lectures from next Thursday until demands by students for rights and free speech have been met by the authorities.

The universities are the University of Natal, the University of Zululand, the University of Port Elizabeth, the University of Durban-Westville, the University of the Western Cape and the University of the North West.

The students at universities in Natal and Zululand reported lectures were held after a request was made to allow them to sit in the lecture halls.

Students at universities in Natal and Zululand reported lectures were held after a request was made to allow them to sit in the lecture halls.

Threat of Black Universities

THE SOUTH AFRICAN
1967 by an

BATTLE OF THE BOYCOTT

That was Student Power Week that was

by DENNIS PATHER
PLAN for boycotting students to invite union and then establish a university campus outside meeting of students of Durban-Westville on



Unrest spreads to sis

FORT HA



Call to replace White rector with a 'Black'

PRESENCE IRRELEVANT UWC MEMORANDUM

University of the Western Cape want their present White rector. They say they do not mind which race a new rector Coloured — provided he is not White.



University boy is Black Pot says rector

DAILY NEWS CORRESPONDENT

IT'S BACK TO CLASS

THE TWO-WEEK student boycott in Durban has fizzled out. And now the students are turning on each other. At their meeting at the YMCA Hall, the students decided to return to classes.

Students at universities in Natal and Zululand reported lectures were held after a request was made to allow them to sit in the lecture halls.

BID TO OUST BIKO

SOME students at Natal Medical School are trying to force M. M. Biko to resign as president of the Students' Representative Council.

HARRE AT FO SIT-IN

Daily News Reporter

DURBAN. — Cam non-White students