

# FRANK TALK

VOLUME 1 NUMBER 4

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# The Gremlin Strikes

The printer's gremlin ran havoc with **Frank Talk** Volume 1 Number 2 & 3 (July/August 1984). The Editorial Collective wishes to apologize for the numerous errors in that edition. In the article "Azapo fights back against State action" (pages 4-6) an entire chunk, including the full text of the SASO Policy Manifesto (see accompanying box) was omitted. Please insert the following portion after the complete SASO Policy Manifesto and before the first paragraph on page 5 (ie the paragraph beginning "In **S v**

**Nokwe and Others . . .**):

*In effect, what the Minister of Law and Order argued was that the mere propagation of Black Consciousness is an unlawful offence. Throughout the hearing, the Minister argued that he required copies of **Frank Talk** as exhibits in an imminent criminal prosecution, obviously based on Section 13 of the Internal Security Act. In the end, the State was entitled to keep 25 copies of the magazine as exhibits. Section 20 of the Criminal Procedure Act gives power to the police to seize*

*material but says nothing about how long they can retain such material. The Judge found that even if the seizure of the goods was unimpeachable, De Wet had no right to retain more than a handful of the copies of the magazine and had to return the rest of the copies to AZAPO: "The magazine had not been banned and, even if its import was what (De Wet) believed that to be, the mere possession of it was by no means unlawful. (Ndabeni) was at liberty to possess it, and as many copies of it as he liked."*

CONTINUED ON PAGE 9

## SASO Policy Manifesto

1. SASO is a Black students organization working for the liberation of the Black man first from psychological oppression by themselves through inferiority complex and secondly from the physical one occurring out of living in a white racist society.
2. We define Black people as those who are by law or tradition, politically, economically and socially discriminated against as a group in the South African society and identifying themselves as a unit in the struggle towards the realization of their aspirations.
3. SASO believes that:
  - a) South Africa is a country in which both Black and white live and shall continue to live together.
  - b) The white man must be made aware that one is either part of the solution or part of the problem.
  - c) In this context, because of the privileges accorded to them by legislation and because of their continued maintenance of an oppressive regime, whites have defined themselves as part of the problem.
  - d) Therefore, we believe that in all matters relating to the struggle towards realizing our aspirations, whites must be excluded.
  - e) This attitude must not be interpreted by Blacks to imply 'anti-whiteism' but is merely a more positive way of attaining a normal situation in South Africa.
  - f) In pursuit of this direction, therefore, personal contact with whites, though it should not be legislated against, must be discouraged especially where it tends to militate against the beliefs we hold dear.
4. a) SASO upholds the concept of Black Consciousness and the drive towards Black awareness as the most logical and significant means of ridding ourselves of the shackles that bind us to perpetual servitude.
  - b) SASO defines Black Consciousness as follows:
    - i) Black Consciousness is an attitude of mind, a way of life.
    - ii) The basic tenet of Black Consciousness is that the Black man must reject all value systems that seek to make him a foreigner in the country of his birth and reduce his basic human dignity.
    - iii) The Black man must build up his own value systems, see himself as self-defined and not defined by others.
    - iv) The concept of Black Consciousness implies the awareness by the Black people of the power they wield as a group, both economically and politically and hence group cohesion and solidarity are important facets of Black Consciousness.
    - v) Black Consciousness will always be enhanced by the totality of involvement of the oppressed people, hence the message of Black Consciousness has to be spread to reach all sections of the Black community.
  - c) SASO accepts the premise that before the Black people join the open society, they should first close their ranks, to form themselves into a solid group to oppose the definite racism that is meted out by the white society, to work out their direction clearly and bargain from a position of strength. SASO believes that a truly open society can only be achieved by Blacks.
5. SASO believes that the concept of integration cannot be realized in an atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust. Integration does not mean an assimilation of Blacks into an already established set of norms drawn up and motivated by white society. Integration implies free participation by individuals in a given society and proportionate contribution to the joint culture of the society by all constituent groups. Following this definition, therefore, SASO believes that integration does not need to be enforced or worked for. Integration follows automatically when the doors to prejudice are closed through the attainment of a just and free society.
6. SASO believes that all groups allegedly working for "integration" in South Africa . . . and here we note in particular the Progressive Party and other liberal institutions . . . are not working for the kind of integration that would be acceptable to the Black man. Their attempts are directed merely at relaxing certain oppressive legislations and to allow Blacks into white-type society.
7. SASO, while upholding these beliefs, nevertheless wishes to state that Black Consciousness should not be associated with any political party or slogan.



# Editorial

**Soggot:** Mr Biko, still talking about the question of inferiority, you, if I may introduce this point in a certain way, an article "I write what I like" by Frank Talk . . . "Fear — an Important Determinant in South African Politics", who wrote that?

**Biko:** I wrote that.

**Judge Boshoff:** Is it Annexure 8? Is this by Frank Talk?

**Biko:** That is right.

**Judge Boshoff:** Isn't number 9 (Strini Moodley) Frank Talk?

**Biko:** No, no, he was never Frank Talk, I was Frank Talk. (Laughter).

**Soggot:** M'lord, the Indictment alleged that he compiled and/or wrote it, but in fact it was never ever suggested that Number 9 wrote this. Annexure 9, Focus — "Ugandan Asians and the lessons for us"?

**Biko:** Yes.

**Soggot:** Who wrote that?

**Biko:** I wrote that.

Through him and his fate a whole spectrum of South African reality is exposed. Perhaps it was always visible; but now it comes sharply into focus. What was confusing is clarified. What was obscure is revealed. In the fate of Steve Biko is encapsulated the truth about South Africa today, and the truth about its twenty-six million citizens, four-fifths Black and one-fifth white." (April 1978). Biko's death shows that our oppression is total and that those who oppress us jointly and severally agree on the perpetuation of evils against us, from the "simple white man" to the real destroyers of black lives in the "House of Assembly", in the South African Defence Force and in commerce and industry. When the chips are down, they will all go to unbelievable lengths to protect their white interests. Otherwise how does one explain the total connivance of police, the courts and doctors in the murder of Steve Biko?

## ABBREVIATIONS USED

ANC	— African National Congress of South Africa
BC	— Black Consciousness
BCM	— Black Consciousness Movement
BPC	— Black People's Convention
BT	— Black Theology
PAC	— Pan Africanist Congress of Azania
SASO	— South African Student's Organization

Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement filled a palpable political vacuum by translating the existential experiences of the oppressed into a revolutionary philosophy whose watchword was and is revolutionary action. To those demented liberals in black masks who wish to reduce the significance of the Black Consciousness Movement to "a surface-operating complimentary movement" to the historical organizations, we bring Steve Biko as our witness:

"In a sense, the Black People's Convention is the most powerful organization amongst Blacks, but this is hard to determine exactly, since the ANC and the PAC are banned as organizations, which means that they have a kind of generation gap problem: there is a whole generation now that has not been influenced by the ANC and the PAC. In any case, the actual identification of people with the BPC is strong. When I put it this way, I do not want to give

the impression that the relation between these organizations is one of competition. There will be **one** movement of revolt against the system of injustice. To be sure, there are the usual divisions due to background, but in terms of the revolution there is unity."

—(Interview with Bernard Zylstra, July 1977).

It is worth noting that one of the cornerstones on which the Black Consciousness Movement is built is the belief that the cultivation of any 'personality cult', however well-intended, is always, in the final analysis, detrimental to the principles of self-reliance and self-determination for which the Movement stands. We do not believe in glorifying the past *per se* or in wallowing self-indulgently in the past. Our immediate task is in the present and our responsibility is to future generations. But to know where we are going, we must also know where we have come from.

While it goes without saying that Biko's contribution to the development of BC is remarkable indeed, it is of the essence of BC that all his work be thoroughly scrutinized. We do not wish to encourage slavish acceptance of Biko's views nor do we wish to suggest that a particular view of Biko was necessarily the view of the pre-1977 BCM. The most eloquent testimony to Stephen Bantu Biko is that he set in train the Black Consciousness Movement and contributed to both its revolutionary outlook and strategies.

Conor Cruise O'Brien remarks:

"Many people hailed as martyrs, and almost would-be martyrs, have been more or less crazy. Stephen Biko was as far from crazy as it is possible to be, and he neither wanted nor even expected martyrdom. He became a martyr nonetheless: one who bore witness, both through his life and through his death, to the faith and the love that were in him.

"If we can assume the existence of a God who is Love, Biko is a martyr in the full, traditional, spiritual meaning of the word. Without that assumption, and extending the word in a legitimate secular sense, Biko remains a martyr: not just a passive victim, but one whose life-and-death testimony gives out to the world and changes it."

 **ONE PEOPLE ONE AZANIA**

Steve Biko was elected Publicity Secretary of the South African Students Organization (SASO) in July 1970. The **SASO Newsletter** began appearing in August 1970 carrying articles by Biko (and others) entitled "I write what I like" and signed "Frank Talk". The above extract is from the SASO/BPC trial.

This magazine is proud to be associated with the name of Stephen Bantu Biko and the legacy that he left for Azanians and for lovers of humanity everywhere. The life and the death of Biko are an inspiration to revolutionaries wherever they may be.

The Black Consciousness Movement has demarcated the 6th to the 12th of September every year as "National Black Consciousness Week" and the 12th of September is commemorated the world over as Biko day.

This issue of **Frank Talk** focuses on the life and death of Steve Biko and offers a sampling of his writings. The works of Biko chosen for this issue concentrate on the principles of Black Solidarity and non-collaboration: in the light of the magnificent victory of the oppressed and the exploited in rejecting the sham elections perpetrated by the Botha regime and its minions, these principles of Black Consciousness have shown their durability and their viability in the face of devilish efforts to perpetuate an obsolete social structure.

It has been asserted that Stephen Biko "is our magnifying glass.



# FRANK TALK

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**OUR COVER**

The drawing symbolizing Bantu Stephen Biko's commitment to create a free Azania and the deep African roots of the BC approach was designed by Nkoana Myoaga and reproduced by kind permission of Mothobi Mutloatse, editor of *Reconstruction: 90 years of Black Historical Literature* (Ravan Press, 1981).

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# "I will only vote for a free Azania"

With the advance of the Black Consciousness Movement in the 70's and particularly since the Soweto Uprising of 1976, the atmosphere in Azanian politics has been suffused with antagonism towards apartheid and all its institutions. The Black people have in leaps and bounds graduated from the sterile politics of reacting to every machination of the settler regime to actually formulating their vision of a free Azania and working towards its fulfillment.

BC's twin cardinal principles are Black Solidarity and non-collaboration. Both these principles actually flow from the definition of Black: Black people are defined as those who are politically oppressed, socially discriminated against and economically exploited in South Africa and who identify themselves as a unit in the struggle for Azania — see section 22(1) of the AZAPO constitution in the **Supplement**. This definition immediately excludes all those who, although born in the ranks of the oppressed, deliberately oil the wheels of the oppressive machinery, as well as those who seek to fragment the Black resistance by dividing us along ethnic lines.

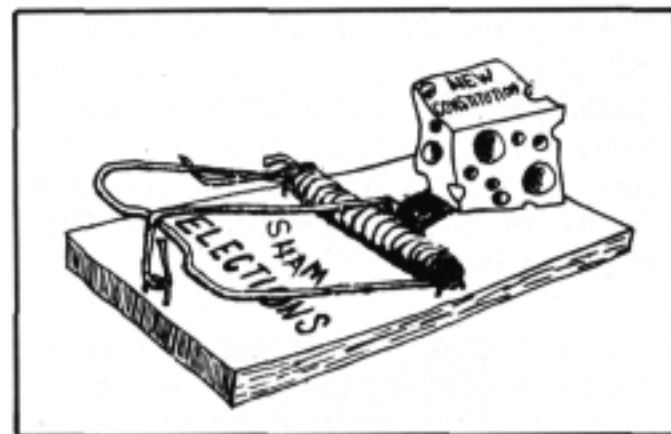
This was a novel vision by the Black Consciousness Movement: never before have the oppressed pooled their collective efforts in single organizations, never before has there been such a concerted effort to destroy thinking on lines laid down by the ruling class and to inculcate the ethic of creativity.

At the level of mass struggle — on the factory floor, on school-grounds and university campuses and in the townships — the BC vision was translated into action. The extent to which Black people identify themselves as a unit can be seen in thousands of campaigns and particularly in the 1973 and post-1980 worker strikes, in the 1976 and 1980 Uprisings.

The 22 and 28 August 1984 most certainly constitute a highwater mark for Black Consciousness. Sham elections were orchestrated by the settlers on these days — on the 22nd for the so-called Coloureds and on the 28th for the so-called Indians. It was hoped that these sections of the Black community would eagerly imbibe the new constitutional brew (entirely concocted by the settlers, of course).

The referendum held on 2 November 1983 established that white society firmly supported the Botha-Malan junta and their diabolical plans. Black people were never consulted about these plans, and in the absence of such consultation, the abysmally low polls recorded during these "elections" demonstrate quite vividly that:

- ★ Black people reject racist labels such as "Indians" and "Coloureds". In fact, the term "Indian" suggests that a section of our people belong to the Asian continent and the term "Coloured" is a meaningless catch-all classification.
- ★ Black people see themselves as a unit. The elections were never considered as being of special interest to "Indians" and "Coloureds" only ever since the lucid analysis by the 1983 AZAPO Congress at Edendale, Pietermaritzburg where it was suggested that anti-election efforts be mounted by the entire Black community. The media is deliberately underplaying the fact that all sections of the Black community mounted the anti-election effort, whether in the form of house-to-house visits, drafting of pamphlets, maintaining a physical presence at the polling booths or participating in the nation-wide boycotts of schools and universities. Thus students actually marched from Soweto to polling booths in Eldorado Park or from Ga Rankuwa to polling booths in Laudium, for example.
- ★ The racist system is facing an acute credibility crisis, and has resorted to desperate measures such as detaining anti-election leaders on the eve of the elections (amongst them Shabeer Randera, 1982 Vice-President of AZAPO; Cassiem Christians, 1983 Chairperson of the Western Cape Region of AZAPO and Glenda Constadt, 1983 Chairperson of the Johannesburg Central Branch of AZAPO); keeping many of the leaders under 'preventive detention' (amongst them Peter Cyril Jones, Cape Vice-President of AZAPO; Muntu ka Myeza, AZAPO's Publicity Secretary; Saths Cooper, AZAPO's Deputy President; Haroun Patel, Chairperson of the Lenasia Branch of AZAPO and Oupa Hlomuka, Chairperson of the Sebokeng Branch of AZAPO), brutalizing people who were registering their protest



against the farcical elections, bringing spurious charges against anti-election activists (amongst others, charging 2 AZAPO members with defacing public property in Queenstown, charging 8 AZAPO members for putting up anti-election posters or distributing anti-election leaflets in Durban, charging 24 cadres for public violence in Ga Rankuwa, 4 in Pietermaritzburg and 11 in Pietersburg; detaining and releasing Azapo members in Nelspruit and Rotunda), parroting the "intimidation" cry (when polling booths literally thronged with armed policemen) and attempting to dupe people into voting (by suggesting that voting is compulsory, by threatening pensioners and by a multiplicity of distasteful and disgusting methods).


- ★ Sellouts of long-standing (read Biko's article on **Fragmentation of the Black Resistance** on page 17) have availed themselves for even juicier crumbs from their master's table. They were seen jogging for positions in Botha's stooge political kindergarten but the people have shown to what extent these non-whites and their "political parties" such as the Labour Party, Solidarity Party and the National People's Party are rejected. It must also be mentioned that the reason why Gatsha Buthelezi and Inkatha rejected the "New Deal" is because there is no fourth chamber for so-called urban blacks. The heroic resistance to incorporation into the Kwa Zulu puppetstan by the people of Lamontville and Hambanati illustrate clearly that the principle of non-collaboration has permeated into the very warp and woof of the liberation movement.
- ★ The imperialist media is once again showing its colours by touting for participation in the system (underlining yet again



that whites can never articulate black interests or even begin to properly understand the black experience) and by glossing over the role of the Black Consciousness Movement in the massive anti-election effort.

The regime of Pieter Wapen Botha is determined to go ahead with its constitutional monstrosity aptly labelled a "shamocracy". This cannot be viewed as surprising after 332 years of white settlerdom in our motherland.

Flushed as we are by the anti-election victory, however, we should bear in mind that this campaign was only one more battle in our struggle for total liberation from settler colonialism and the accompanying economic exploitation. The election issue, the struggles against rent hikes and bus fare increases, the resistance to re-settlement and to influx control are situational battles provoked by the enemy and his various tentacles. Winning these enemy-initiated battles will not in itself bring us liberation. In order to repossess what is rightfully ours, we will have to initiate our own battles in which **we** shall dictate terms and the pace of events. The AZAPO slogan "I will only vote for a free Azania" assumes significance in this context: may the character of our blows against the enemy reflect a definite and unmistakable advance towards an anti-racist, socialist Azania!

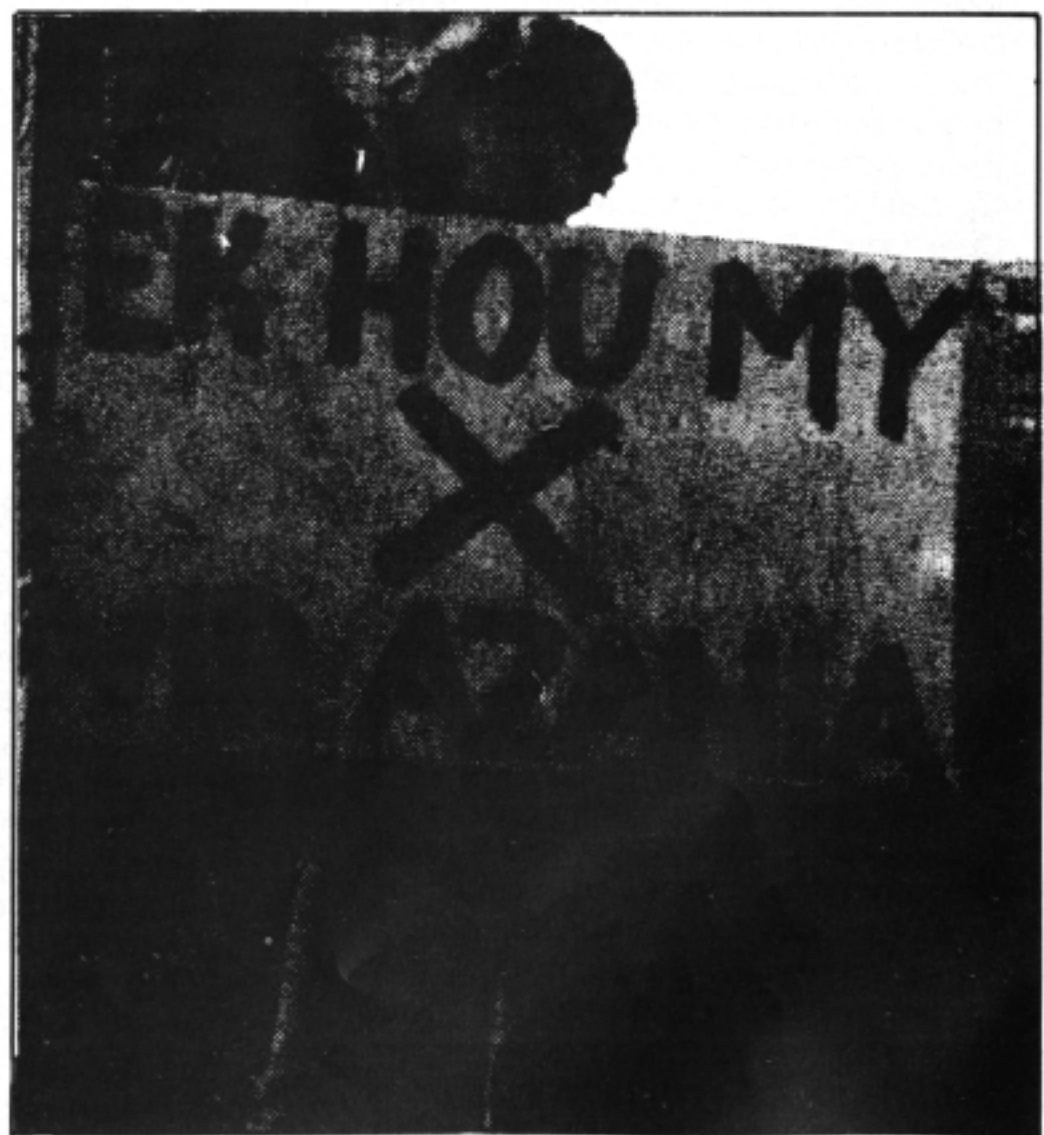
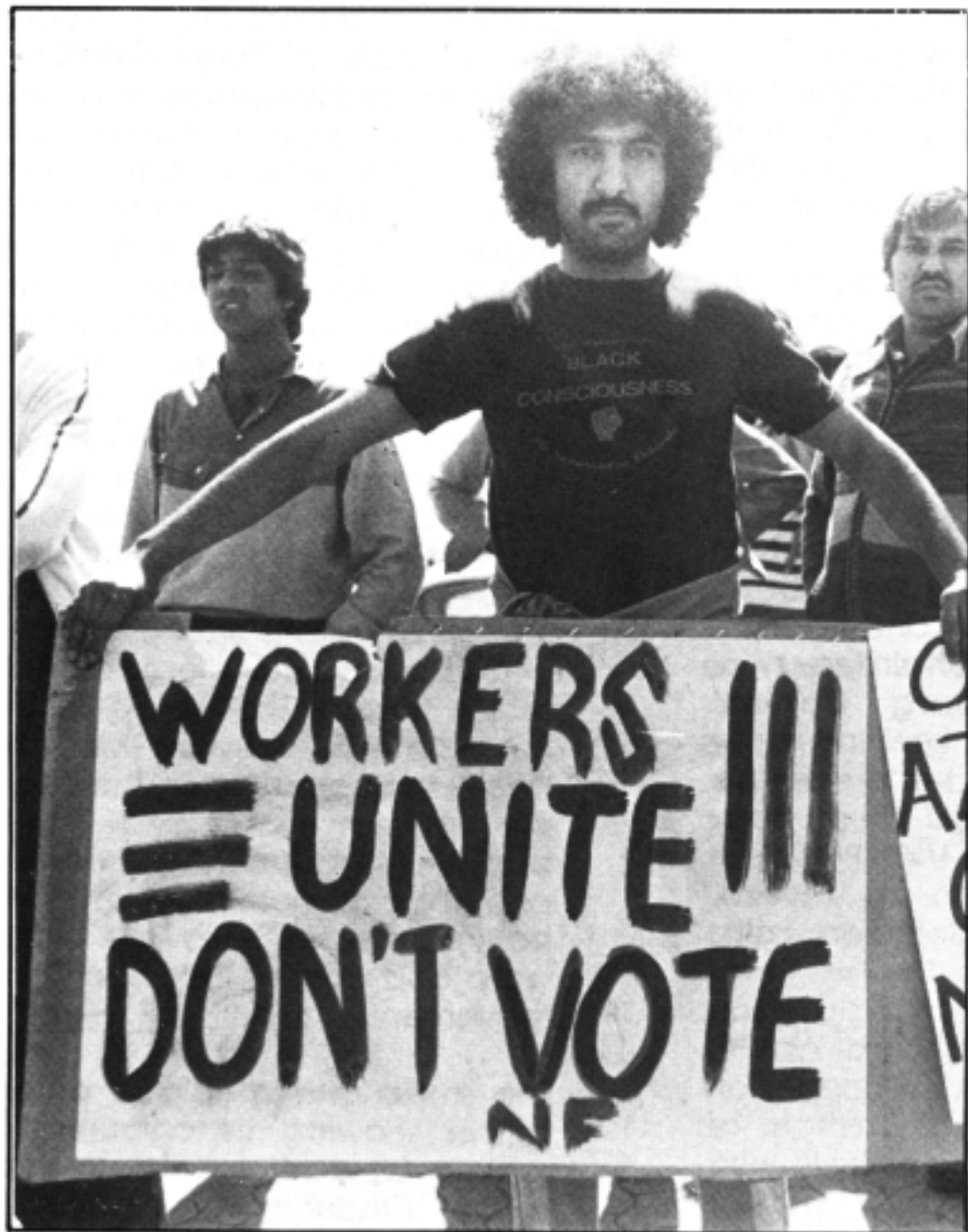
 **ONE PEOPLE  
ONE AZANIA**



*Pre-election clash — Cape Town, 1984.*



*Lenasia, 28 August.*



*Protesters in Riverlea on the 22 August (above) and in Lenasia on the 28 August (left) showed where they stood — in both official languages.*





# Azapo's Diplomatic Offensive

by **IMRANN MOOSA**

Jackson's campaign is that it has brought disparate groups working within the Afro-American community together.



*Minister Louis Farrakhan*

Jackson's campaign received the support of the Nation of Islam via its head, Minister Louis Farrakhan. The Zionist-controlled media and white America were outraged: it is fair to say that Farrakhan is the man that white America fears most and Black America respects most. The media demanded that Jackson "repudiate" Farrakhan — while Jackson did not do this, he condemned Farrakhan's statement that Israel is an illegitimate state. This certainly disappointed many Black Americans: wings of the NBUF correctly assessed that the pressures of being a Democratic Party candidate naturally meant a subordination to white interests. Jesse did not heed the call for him to stand as an independent to his own cost: the Democratic Party determined in the end that he would not run for presidency! The lessons of the Jackson campaign must be clearly digested by Black people everywhere.

## **Pan Africanism**

Groups such as the All African People's Revolutionary Party (AAPRP), the Revolutionary National Army (RNA) and the Worker's Tribune have addressed the National Question in the USA in different ways. The RNA, for example, strives for Afro-Americans to repossess the greater part of the Southern states of the USA on the grounds that these states have been built on slave labour.

The NBUF is a step in the right direction. A curious drawback about the American struggle is that it tends to be parochialized: Afro-Americans, Latin Americans, American Indians and other "minorities" tend to struggle in their own little nooks and

ding that the basic premise of BC is that victory lies in the hands of the oppressed and exploited in Azania and will be generated by **their** self-activity.

## **Media**

Having committed itself to this course, it came as no wonder that the BCM(A)'s circumstances parallel those of AZAPO: they are as poor as churchmice and the imperialist media deliberately suppresses information about their existence and their numerous successes.

Indeed, there is an orchestrated attempt to portray that there is only one liberation movement in Azania viz the ANC. Amongst community and support groups all over the USA, however, and despite the disinformation programme, nettlesome questions are being asked about certain strains in the broad Azanian liberation movement viz:

- ★ Why, despite the clear lessons of the Black American experience, are whites included in these strains?
- ★ Why do these strains never acknowledge that a primary goal of the Azanian liberation struggle is the repossession of occupied soil?



## **Jesse**

An umbrella grouping of Afro-American organizations has emerged in the USA called the National Black United Front (NBUF). The NBUF is a result of the Jesse Jackson campaign. Although Jackson's bid for the presidency of the USA has the negative effect of suggesting that there is hope in the "American dream", white Americans and the media have blasted Jackson in unmistakably racist fashion. White racism permeates American society despite the ebullient propaganda about "democracy" and "equality". Hence the positive effect of

The first thrust in AZAPO's international offensive was made by AZAPO President Lybon Tiyani Mabasa, in his tour of Europe and North America during 1983. That tour cleared the path to a host of organizations and individuals abroad. It must be emphasized, however, that disinformation about AZAPO and the Black Consciousness Movement is rife and is one of the pressing problems that the liberation movement needs to grapple with, both in Azania and abroad. It is against the backdrop of the first diplomatic offensive launched by AZAPO that my trip abroad should be viewed.

AZAPO was informed that the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid (UNSCAA) intended to host a conference to mobilize North American support against apartheid between 18 and 21 June 1984 and would require a speaker. Since the President's passport had been seized by the system and since other Central Committee members were never granted passports, I was the only member of the Central Committee to possess a valid passport.

## **BCM(A)**

I left South Africa on June 15 and reached Washington DC on June 16. The subsequent hectic schedule hardly provided for recovery from jetlag: almost immediately on arrival, I addressed a June 16 Commemoration service at Howard University organized by a medley of movements, spearheaded by the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania [BCM(A)].

The BCM(A) is a liberation movement launched in 1979. It began as a re-grouping of exiles who were members of the various BC groupings banned by Pretoria on October 19, 1977. Cadres of the BCM(A) could not find a political home in the historical liberation movements viz the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania. They maintained that Black Consciousness had developed independently during the post-Sharpeville era when the historical movements had abrogated their revolutionary responsibilities and degenerated into specialized entities operating abroad. The BCM(A) has consistently eschewed the tendency of forming "governments in exile", conten-



crannies. The term "Black" is misconstrued as a person of African descent, which in practice comes to mean people with kinky hair and a surfeit of melanin in their skin. It is most unfortunate that many Black American groups over-emphasize a "Back to Africa" approach and reduce BC to "cultural nationalism". This approach tends to be chauvanistic and often deflects from studying the material conditions within the USA and from analyzing the class content of the American struggle. In fact, there are groups [such as the Workers's Tribune and the Marxist Humanists (or News and Letters)] which are working in this direction and this is heartening indeed. I hope that it is only a question of time before we hear of grassroots melding together of organizations such as the NBUF and the AIM (American Indian Movement).

The Pan-Africanist approach most certainly has a very positive side in that it contributes to Black pride and self-assertiveness and facilitates identification with the Azanian struggle. No Black group in the USA ever asks the silly question "Isn't AZAPO racist in excluding whites?": almost intuitively, the application of BC to Azania is appreciated. It takes little convincing to portray AZAPO as the only liberation movement with a proper ideology and direction in Azania: once the history and growth of the struggle in Azania is mapped out, this is seen as obvious.

The June 16 services at both Howard University and Watoto Community Centre (organized by the All African Trust Fund) evoked some of the foregoing responses. In-depth meetings with community organizations and support groups roundly



Jackson . . . hero or sellout?



UN Security Council in session.

supported these conclusions. Curiously enough, the Rainbow Coalition supporting Jackson (surely an unfortunate choice of name because black is excluded from the rainbow while white is made up of all the colours in the visible spectrum!) at the University of Toledo made up of Latin Americans, Afro-Americans and Arab Americans, is called the Progressive-Democratic Society — the term "progressive democrat" symbolizing amorphous liberalism in South Africa.

#### UN

The UN Conference was addressed by anti-apartheid luminaries from every point on the political spectrum: by Andrew Young, Jesse Jackson, Angela Davis, Denis Brutus, Edward Kennedy and official representatives of the South West African People's Organisation of Namibia (SWAPO), the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), the ANC and the PAC. Represented were delegations from many countries, liberation movements and a host of support groups from the USA and Canada.

Until the Conference was introduced to AZAPO, its tone was simply to tout the line of the "sole and authentic" custodians of the liberation struggle viz SWAPO and the ANC. Every speech was skewed in this direction and the caucusing and diplomatic intrigues on the sidelines strenuously sought to present this view.

The AZAPO presentation drew applause, especially when the point was made that "the primary task of the liberation movement in Azania is to recover every square kilometre of occupied soil." The applause that punctuated and terminated the AZAPO/BCM(A) presentation becomes significant in the light of the fact that in the dignified atmosphere of the UN, applauding is actually prohibited.

AZAPO took the point that in the post-Sharpeville political miasma, "white liberals", . . . misrepresented the cause of the oppressed as . . . one for civil rights" and that the BCM "injected a remarkable vitality into

Azanian politics". The growth and development of the BCM and the role and function of AZAPO and the National Forum Committee was outlined. The implications of the Nkomati Accord and the "new deal" offered by the Botha regime were analysed: "As the Accords emphasize, the need for a strong internal resistance to the system is paramount and in the final analysis victory will come from the Black masses inside Azania. This can only underline the pivotal role of AZAPO, an organization which at once conquers fear and unifies all the oppressed into one cohesive unit, laying the building blocks for an Azanian nation".

The response from support groups, liberation movements (including members of the ANC and PAC delegations) and representatives of states to the AZAPO presentation was tremendous. What made it unique was that it was the voice of an authentic liberation movement operating inside South Africa. The presentation also challenged holy cows and thus the caucusing in the aisles and in the UN bar proceeded apace.

#### Commissions

When the Conference broke into Commissions, the BCM(A) proposed in the commission on cultural and sporting isolation that the *bona fides* of South African applicants for foreign citizenship such as Sydney Maree and Zola Budd be determined by checking with people's organizations inside Azania. An ANC delegate insisted that the UN and the OAU recognized only two liberation movements and to recognize AZAPO was to encourage a "proliferation of liberation movements". The BCM(A) countered by specifying that **any** liberation movement operating abroad can only be legitimate if it maintains a symbiotic relationship with the people it purports to represent and that AZAPO, as the internal liberation movement, had every right to **dictate** to the ANC, the PAC and the BCM(A).

In another commission, the ANC pushed for a campaign to "Release Nelson and Winnie Mandela" while the PAC pushed for a campaign to release the PAC 6 (the longest serving political prisoners on Robben Island). The BCM(A) rejected both campaigns as sectarian and insisted on a campaign to "Release all political prisoners". The Commission accepted this viewpoint.

It became acutely obvious that the BCM and AZAPO had scored a major diplomatic victory and that to flog the line of "sole copyright" to





Gatsha Buthelezi, head of Inkatha



encourage the proliferation of 'liberation movements' . . . (which) unconsciously facilitates the enemy's strategy of *divide and rule*".

The last paragraph of the letter reads: ". . . I am ready to accept collective responsibility for the time being if it turns out that the aforementioned decision was taken with the full knowledge and consent albeit silent of an African National Congress representative. In that case, I would humbly request that the case be re-opened for discussion by the Committee in the near future in order hopefully, to ensure that AZAPO's participation does not serve as a precedent for them *and other groups such as Inkatha, etc.*"

#### Support

I also addressed an African Street Carnival organized by NBUF in New York on 4 July 1984. The Pan Africanist spirit displayed at the Carnival was exhilarating with a crowd responding to the rhythms and strains of Mother Afrika, and enthusiastically chanting "Amandla Ngawethu" and "Izwe Lethu I-Afrika".

I was interviewed by numerous radio and television stations as well as newspapers and magazines in Washington, New York, Chicago, Detroit, Toronto and London.

1984 has been declared "Anti-Racist Year" in London, England and the response of support groups was once again overwhelming. Solidarity groups from Trinidad and Tobago, from Australia and New Zealand and from Holland were also contacted.

The pace has been set for a sustained and vigorous diplomatic offensive by AZAPO. In the conditions in which the BCM operates both in Azania and abroad, a shake-up of AZAPO's propaganda arm is a historical imperative.

The Court also examined the question whether there was any substance in De Wet's belief that Section 13(1)(a)(v) of the Internal Security Act had been contravened. This section was modelled on Section 11 of the Suppression of Communism Act, Act No 44 of 1950 and Section 2 of the Unlawful Organisations Act, Act No 34 of 1960. Both these Acts were repealed and replaced by the Internal Security Act in 1982.

Section 11 proclaimed that it was an offence "to further the achievement of any of the objects of communism" or to "advocate, advise, defend or encourage the achievement of any such object or any act or omission which is calculated to further the achievement of any such object." Section 2 extended the range of the Suppression of Communism Act to hit any unlawful organization.

In *R v Adams* 1959(1) SA 646 the words "advocates, advises, defends or encourages" were held to connote communication to some audience or readership. Thus the publication of printed or written matter could never amount on its own to an offence. The product had first to be distributed, its contents to be disseminated. Hence the mere publication of *Frank Talk* could never violate Section 13(1)(a)(v).

Please insert the following paragraph after the second paragraph in the middle column of page 5 (ie after the paragraph beginning "Using the 'Didcott test' . . ." and before the paragraph beginning "**The Judge made the telling point . . .**":

*Ndabeni trenchantly submitted the following: ". . . (A) comparison between the aims and objects of AZAPO set forth in page 2 of Frank Talk (Volume 1 Number 1) and the SASO policy manifesto indicates the divergence between the aims of AZAPO (which is not an unlawful organization) and SASO." In argument, counsel for Ndabeni submitted that SASO contained only the germ of what AZAPO has crystallized.*

Note that the case of **Thabo Ndabeni v the Minister of Law and Order and Another** is reported in the third volume of the 1984 *South African Law reports* at page 500 i.e. 1984(3)SA500(D).



# Stephen Bantu Biko (1946-1977)

On 18 December 1946, Mr and Mrs Mzimgayi Biko gave thanks for the birth of their third child and second son, Bantu Stephen. Steve's father died when he was four years old.

Steve began his schooling at Brownlee Primary for two years and continued at Charles Morgan Higher Primary for four years. He began his high school education at Forbes Grant Secondary School, then moved on to Lovedale Institute, Alice to prepare for his matriculation. He was at Lovedale for only three months when the school was closed down as a result of strikes by senior pupils. Steve then moved on to Marianhill, the Catholic church centre in Natal.

Steve enrolled at the University of Natal (Non-European Section) in 1966 to read for a degree in medicine. This was in the immediate post-Sharpeville era and Black student organizations like the African Students' Association (ASA) and the African Students' Union of South Africa (ASUSA) were crushed by the system. Thus many Black students drifted towards the multiracial (non-racial) National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) and the University Christian Movement (UCM). The authorities at the "bush colleges" (segregated universities for Blacks), with the exception of the medical school at Wentworth (Steve's campus) refused their students permission to affiliate to NUSAS. In any event, white students at English-speaking campuses outnumbered Blacks in the ratio 9:1 in 1969, making NUSAS a lily-white organization. These white "radicals" took it upon themselves to champion the Black cause and together with the likes of Helen Suzman and Alan Paton, were seen by many Blacks (in the absence of any authentic Black organization) as important spokespersons for the Black cause. Thus a state of virtual white trusteeship came into being.

At the end of the day, however, NUSAS failed dismally to meet the genuine aspirations of its Black members. In 1967-68 a ferment was under way amongst these Black students. Prominent from the start were people like Steve, Vuyelwa Mashalaba, Aubrey Mokoape, Barney Pityana, Harry Nengwekhulu, Hendrick Musi, Petrus Machaka, Manana Kgwane, J. Goolam, Strini Moodley and Henry Isaacs. The July 1967 annual conference of NUSAS at Rhodes University in Grahamstown

was the occasion which set Steve and his colleagues along the BC path. The University Administration at Rhodes prohibited mixed accommodation and eating facilities during the conference. Black students began to question even more deeply the value of the superficial integration at which NUSAS was playing. Strong doubts were expressed about the sincerity and the integrity of white "radicals"-Rhodes University was one of the citadels of white liberalism, alongside other "open universities". There was dissatisfaction with the manner in which the NUSAS leadership had easily given in to the challenge at Rhodes, after the token motions of condemnation against the establishment. The politics of white trusteeship was exposed as sterile, bold at the verbal level but impotent to effect meaningful change. But even more important to the evolution of BC, the aptitude of whites to define black experiences and grievances and to articulate black aspirations was seriously questioned. It was pointed out that white radicals stood to gain more from slight modifications to the system than from its complete

dismantlement; while the Black people would never be satisfied with the arrangement of the same old furniture with the same decrepit apartheid structure.

At the July 1968 conference of NUSAS and UCM, which were both held within the vicinity of Johannesburg, Black delegates from the two bodies withdrew to caucus among themselves about what to do when the 72 hours during which they were permitted by law to remain in the exclusive white area expired. During the meeting other matters affecting their interests as Black people cropped up. Thus the South African Students Organization (SASO) was conceived.

A Blacks-only meeting was called for December at Biko's old high school in Marianhill and the name SASO was formally adopted. The conference resolved to break with NUSAS in order to create a situation where Blacks could spell out their problems as Black people and prescribe their own carefully thought out remedies. An inaugural conference was planned for July 1969 at the University of the North in Turfloop.



*Ntsiki Biko and her two children, Samora aged two and Nkosinathi aged six, soon after hearing of Steve's death.*



The conference at Turfloop decided to drop the term 'Non-White', which was used in all official government communications. They saw the term, in Fanonian terms, as a negation of their being. They were being described as 'non-something', which implied that the standard was something else and they were not that particular standard. To quote Steve: "They felt that a positive view of life, which is commensurate with the build-up of one's dignity and confidence, should be contained in a description which (they accepted), they sought to replace the term 'non-white' with the term 'Black' ". It was at this Inaugural Conference that Steve became SASO's first President.

At the July 1970 General Students Conference at Wentworth, multi-racialism or non-racialism in the context of South Africa, where Blacks were doomed to be junior partners, was found to be untenable. Biko declared in a policy statement shortly before the Wentworth conference:

"Blacks are tired of standing at the touchlines to witness a game that they should be playing. They want to do things for themselves and by themselves."

A resolution at this Conference affirmed that "the emancipation of Black people in this country depends entirely on the role Black people themselves are prepared to play." (Perhaps today we would delete "entirely" and substitute it with "primarily". But the fundamental thrust is the same.)

In December 1970 Steve married Nontsikelelo (Ntsiki) Mashalaba from Umtata. From 1971 his heart was increasingly in political activity and he experienced constant surveillance and harassment from the security police. In June 1972 Steve was expelled by the University of Natal (**Black Section**) (!) for his political activities.

It was in this year (1972) that Steve played a pivotal role in forming the Black People's Convention (BPC), an adult umbrella BC organization. BPC was formally launched in Pietermaritzburg in July 1972. The Black Community Programme (BCP) also came into being, to operate as a wing of professional experts. BCP was created to carry out specific tasks in community development in a spirit of self-reliance. Some of the projects undertaken were the erection of creches and clinics, the setting up of adult literacy and preventive medicine programmes, home industries and other economic projects centred in the impoverished rural areas, and the establishment of leadership and youth programmes — a project which proved to

mes — a project which proved to have far-reaching consequences in 1976.

Upon his expulsion from Wentworth, Steve assumed a role in BCP in Durban. Amongst BCP's projects was **Black Review**, an analysis of political trends.

On 1 March 1973, Steve and seven other SASO/BPC leaders were banned under the Suppression of Communism Act. Steve began studying law via the University of South Africa during this year.

Restriction to Ginsberg Location in King William's Town meant that Steve was not permitted to leave the confines of the town and that he was prohibited from talking to more than one person at a time. It also meant that Steve could not be quoted.

#### QUOTE:

*Blacks are tired of standing at the touchlines to witness a game that they should be playing. They want to do things for themselves and by themselves.*

Steve founded the Eastern Cape branch of BCP and worked as branch executive until an extra clause was inserted in his banning order at the end of 1975 prohibiting him from being associated with BCP or entering its King William's Town offices at 15a Leopold Street.

In 1974 Steve was charged for breaking his banning order by receiving visitors at home, and charged in the alternative with attending an illegal gathering in terms of the ban. He was found not guilty and acquitted.

Steve founded the Zimele Trust Fund Foundation to help political prisoners and their families and the Ginsberg Educational Trust for the purpose of assisting black students. In September 1975 Steve was refused a passport to attend a conference to which he had been invited by the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission in Germany, and in December 1975 he was specifically prohibited from participating in BPC activity. He was again charged with breaking his banning order by entering an educational institution to write a law examination. This case was never concluded.

In 1976 Steve became the Secretary-General of the Zimele Trust Fund. In April 1976 he was charged once again with breaking his banning order. The Court discharged him.

Outside court, a security policeman gave Steve a summons for not stopping at a stop sign. Steve conducted his own defence and was acquitted.

In June 1976 Steve gave evidence for the defence at the SASO/BPC trial where 9 leaders of the Black Consciousness Movement were charged under the Terrorism Act. Steve was detained under section 6 of the Terrorism Act for 101 days from August to December 1976 at East London's Fort Glamorgan Prison's Maximum Security Section. He was released without being charged.

At the Congress of the BPC in January 1977 in Durban Steve was elected Honorary President of the BPC. Soweto leaders of the 1976 Uprising demanded that the government negotiate with the three black leaders of the liberation movements: Nelson Mandela of the ANC, Robert Sobukwe of the PAC and Steve Biko of the BPC.

In March 1977 Biko was charged with defeating the ends of justice and was detained again at Fort Glamorgan and acquitted later. In July 1977 he was accused of telling a number of black school children charged with setting fire to their school to renege on statements they had made to the police. What had really happened was that the school children had come to him for advice, saying that they had been beaten by security police and forced to sign confessions that they had not even been permitted to read. Steve advised them to tell this to the court. This they did, and were acquitted. (Of course, they were promptly detained under the Terrorism Act). Steve was acquitted yet again.

Finally August 19, 1977. Together with Peter Cyril Jones, Steve was stopped in a car at a roadblock and taken into custody in Port Elizabeth. He was detained under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. He was kept naked and manacled and died in detention on 12 September 1977, leaving a widow and two small children, Nkosinathi aged 7 and Samora aged 3.

After Steve's death, the system dropped the gauntlet on the mainstream BC organizations such as SASO, BPC and BCP on October 19, 1977.

In April 1978 a writer remarked: "The fate of Peter Jones is not known. At the time of writing, he is still in detention." It is a sad commentary on the South African torture chamber that we have to echo these words in September 1984.



# Room No. 619

Steve Biko became the 46th person known to have died in security police detention in South Africa.

## Why was he detained?

Lieutenant Alfred Oosthuizen of the Grahamstown Police who ordered Biko's detention claimed that on 18 August 1977 he received information that inflammatory pamphlets were being distributed inciting Blacks to riot. He further claimed that he had learnt that Biko was on his way between King William's Town and Cape Town and had reason to suspect that Biko was involved in such distribution. At 8 pm, therefore, he put up a roadblock and at about 10.20 pm Steve Biko and Peter Cyril Jones were arrested and taken to prison in Port Elizabeth.

## 18 August — 6 September

For the next twenty days Biko was held in a cell at Walmer Police Station (Port Elizabeth) incommunicado and in solitary confinement, naked, without books or materials of any kind. He was not allowed the fundamental privileges accorded to detainees i.e. the right to wash and to exercise for an hour a day. At night he was handcuffed and his feet were shackled by leg irons which were in turn locked onto the walls.

On 2 September Biko asked for water and soap to wash himself, and a washcloth and comb. He said to the visiting magistrate: "I want to be allowed to buy food. I live on bread only here. Is it compulsory that I have to be naked? I have been naked since I came here." Nothing was done to ameliorate his condition in any way.

Under cross-examination at the inquest, Colonel Goosen enlarged on the care taken to see that detainees were not injured and made the following Freudian slip: "We have no reason to assault a detainee. No assault charges have been brought against my assaulting team." Laughter followed and he changed the phrase to 'the interrogation team.'

On 6 September Biko was taken to Room 619 in Sanlam Building in Port Elizabeth. According to the security police, the interrogation began at 10.30 am and lasted till 6 pm. Major Harold Snyman testified that Biko first adopted an aggressive attitude but admitted by 6 pm that he and Patrick Titi, another detainee, were

**The information about Biko's death in this article is culled from that gigantic conspiracy to defeat the ends of justice known as the Biko inquest. Included is a piece entitled "On Death" which was an interview given by Steve a few months before his final detention. The gaping holes in the official version of Steve's death are ample testimony that Steve was brutally murdered.**

responsible for compiling the inflammatory pamphlets. Biko had to sleep in Sanlam Building that night, because the security police were afraid that he would communicate with Black cleaners or warders. Biko was "guarded" by a night squad of three led by Lieutenant Wilken although Snyman accepted that they were 'night interrogators' during cross-examination.

## 7 September

Wilken admitted that he saw "a darkening of the skin similar to a birthmark, dark brown, above (Biko's) left eye" but he "placed no value on it." Medical evidence suggested that Biko suffered head injuries either during the night of 6 September or before 7.30 am on 7 September.



(from left to right): Goosen, Siebert, Snyman, and Wilken

At 7 am on 7 September the day interrogation team came on duty: it consisted of Major Snyman, Captain Siebert, Warrant Officer Beneke, Detective Sergeant Nieuwoudt and Warrant Officer Marx.

Biko's leg-irons and handcuffs were removed, said Snyman, and he was offered a chair to sit on: he got a wild expression in his eyes suddenly, and jumped off the chair and threw the chair at Snyman. Biko then lashed at Beneke and pinned him against a steel cabinet. It took the entire team to overpower Biko and

put handcuffs and leg irons on him. Biko continued to struggle against his confinement.

Snyman gave the reason for Biko's behaviour as the "revelations" he made to Biko. When asked to produce these sworn statements, Snyman produced statements ranging from 15 to 30 September. Counsel for the Biko family, Sydney Kentridge, remarked: "These could not have been put to him during his lifetime. What we have got here is a smear prepared after Biko's death and I think it is a disgrace."

According to Siebert and Marx, Biko repeated the words "You are intimidating me, you are harassing me" during the interrogation and during the struggle.

About 7.30 am Snyman reported to Goosen that Biko had become very aggressive. Goosen immediately went to Room 619. Biko was sitting on the mat handcuffed and with leg-irons shackled to an iron bar grille. Goosen immediately tried to telephone the District Surgeon, Dr Ivor Lang.

In one affidavit, Lang fixed the time of the examination as 12 noon and in another affidavit, he claimed that it was at 9.20 am. Colonel Goosen had expressed concern that Biko might have suffered a stroke since he was not eating 'nor was he able to speak and was not using his limbs'. Lang found that Biko had a small laceration on his lip, two swollen hands, a bruise near his second rib, swollen feet and ankles and that Biko's speech was "thick". Colonel Goosen informed Lang that Biko had studied medicine for four years. Lang did not ask Biko how he got the cut on his lip and the bruises on his chest because Goosen had told him that "Biko had gone into a rage and had attempted to assault an officer with a chair and had to be restrained." Lang did not think of ordering that the leg irons be removed. Lang was of the opinion that Biko was shamming, an impression derived entirely from Goosen. Although he examined Biko's head very carefully he failed to see the injury, an injury which was clearly visible on photographs taken after Biko's death.



Lang signed the following statement:

"This is to certify that I have examined Steve Biko as a result of a request from Colonel Goosen of the Security Police who complained that the abovementioned would not speak.

"I have found no evidence of any abnormality or pathology on detainee."

Goosen said that he requested a certificate because he knew that "there would be tremendous propaganda if anything would happen to" Biko. Goosen said that he thought of it "as a possibility" that Biko might have bumped his head during the struggle.

### 8 September

Snyman made the following entry in the Occurrence Book: "The detainee was very aggressive, then became beserk, threw a chair at me, and rushed with clenched fists at other members of the staff. After a tremendous struggle he fell with his head against a wall and sustained an injury to his body." This was irregular because standing orders provide that entries in the Occurrence Book about prisoners who are kept under restraint should be made immediately. Snyman's reason for the late entry was that he felt that Biko was shamming. Goosen felt that the Security Police use standing orders only "as guidelines", Biko's condition must have caused some anxiety because Goosen ordered Dr Lang to conduct another examination. Lang was accompanied by the Chief District Surgeon, Dr Benjamin Tucker. Goosen said: "I told Dr Tucker and Dr Lang of my suspicions because Biko had not taken food or liquid. We had here a man who would not eat, react or talk and who used no toilet facilities. I still thought he was shamming."

The doctors found Biko still manacled and they were told by Goosen that Biko had not passed urine for 24 hours. They found on examination that Biko's blankets were wet with urine and that they were smelling. They did not ask Biko why he wet his bed.

Biko, according to Lang's evidence, complained of vague pains in his head and back. Tucker said he found a doubtful 'possible extensor plantar reflex': this meant that when he stroked the side of Biko's foot, instead of his toes curling inwards, there was a sign that his big toe might be turning upwards.

Tucker's affidavit stated that there were abrasions around both wrists. He did not think it necessary to note any possible reasons for these

# ON DEATH

You are either alive and proud or you are dead, and when you are dead, you can't care anyway. And your method of death can itself be a politicizing thing. So you die in the riots. For a hell of a lot of them, in fact, there's really nothing to lose — almost literally, given the kind of situations that they come from. So if you can overcome the personal fear for death, which is a highly irrational thing, you know, then you're on the way.

And in interrogation the same sort of thing applies. I was talking to this policeman, and I told him, "If you want us to make any progress, the best thing is for us to talk. Don't try any form of rough stuff, because it just won't work." And this is absolutely true also. For I just couldn't see what they could do to me which would make me all of a sudden soften to them. If they talk to me, well I'm bound to be affected by them as human beings. But the moment they adopt rough stuff, they are imprinting in my mind that they are police. And I only understand one form of dealing with police, and that's to be as unhelpful as possible. So I button up. And I told them this: "It's up to you."

We had a boxing match the first day I was arrested. Some guy tried to clout me with a club. I went into him like a bull. I think he was under instructions to take it so far and no further, and using open hands so that he doesn't leave any marks on the face. And of course he said exactly what you were saying just now: "I will kill you." He meant to intimidate. And my answer was: "How long is it going to take you?" Now of course they were observing my reaction. And they could see that I was completely unbothered. If they beat me up, it's to my advantage. I can use it.

They just killed somebody in jail — a friend of mine — about ten days before I was arrested. Now it would have been bloody useful evidence for them to assault me. At least it would indicate what kind of possibilities were there, leading to this guy's death. So, I wanted them to go ahead and do what they could do, so that I could use it. I wasn't really afraid that their violence might lead me to make revelations I didn't want to make, because I had nothing to reveal on this particular issue. I was operating from a very good position, and they were in a very weak position. My attitude is, I'm not going to allow them to carry out their programme faithfully. If they want to beat me five times, they can only do so on condition that I allow them to beat me five times. If I react sharply, equally and oppositely, to the first clap, they are not going to be able to systematically count the next four claps, you see. It's a fight. So if they had meant to give me so much of a beating, and not more, my idea is to make them go beyond what they wanted to give me and to give back as much as I can give so that it becomes an uncontrollable thing.

You see the one problem this guy had with me: he couldn't really fight with me because it meant he must hit back, like a man. But he was given instructions, you see, on how to hit, and now these instructions were no longer applying because it was a fight. So he had to withdraw and get more instructions. So I said to them, "Listen, if you guys want to do this your way, you have got to handcuff me and bind my feet together, so that I can't respond. And I'm afraid you may have to kill me in the process even if it's not your intention".



*Biko in his coffin*



abrasions. He also thought that the lip injury was evidence of a head injury but asked no questions relating to this.

Tucker recommended that Biko be taken to hospital in order that a specialist could examine him. He was convinced that he did not have a sick man on his hands, but simply wanted another opinion. A hospital and a specialist were needed to make them "feel happier".

During the afternoon, Dr Hersch, consultant physician at Sydenham Hospital was contacted and agreed to examine Biko together with Dr Lang. The transfer took place after dark. Goosen gave instructions that only white members of the police force should guard Biko.

Hersch got the impression from Goosen that Biko was feigning and that Biko was dangerous. He claimed that he never noticed the bruise on Biko's head or the scab that was apparent in the post-mortem photograph, "but in retrospect I have quite a clear picture of him standing with a whitish area over his left eye that I thought was dry saliva or sputum."

Hersch examined Biko about 9.45 pm. It was agreed that a lumbar puncture be performed the next morning to exclude the possibility of cerebral haemorrhage or other cerebral disease.

### **9 September**

At 3 am, Biko was found sitting in a bath of water with his clothes on. A few hours later he was again found in the bath, but this time the bath was empty.

A lumbar puncture was performed by Hersch in the morning. About 9.45 am Lang visited Biko. Warder Shehab reported to him that Biko had eaten half a plate of food and that all his clothes were soaking wet during the early hours of the morning.

Hersch informed Lang that the cerebro-spinal fluid, although not under pressure, was bloodstained. Biko remained at Sydenham hospital during the night. There is no evidence of his condition.

On the form sent with Biko's spinal fluid to the Institute for Medical Research for testing the name of the patient was made out as "Stephen Njelo". Hersch claimed that an orderly at the hospital must have filled in this name, despite the fact that it is clearly the doctor's duty to label the specimen bottle.

### **10 September**

Hersch and Lang agreed that a neuro-surgeon should be consulted and if necessary an X-ray of the skull be obtained. Mr R Keeley, a neuro-surgeon was of the opinion that there was no evidence of cerebral haemorrhage or any other brain damage and that an X-ray was unnecessary. He agreed that Biko should be returned to the custody of the security police provided that he was examined daily by a doctor.

Lang visited Biko at 3.30 pm and found him "comfortable" with "no complaints". He received a report that Biko had "flung a plate of food off the bed onto the floor" with his hands at midday.

A bed letter by Lang and Hersch said that there was no pathology, that the lumbar puncture was normal and that there was no sign of brain injury (they did not consider the upgoing toe serious).

### **11 September**

On the morning of the 11th, Biko was taken back to a mat at the Walmer Police Station. There he was in the charge of Sergeant van Vuuren. He found Biko on the cement floor with his head toward the cell bars and his feet near the mats. There was froth on Biko's mouth and his eyes were glazed. He tried to give Biko water but there was no reaction. He took hold of Biko from behind, dragged him onto the mats, covered him with blankets and called the security police. He saw no injuries on Biko. At 6.20 pm he booked Biko out of the Walmer Police Station.

Goosen visited Biko at Walmer at 2 pm. He noticed that Biko's breathing was irregular and that there was foam on his lips. He telephoned Tucker. At 3.20 Tucker examined Biko. He found Biko in an apathetic condition. The head injury, now between 4 and 8 days old, was still not visible to Tucker, even though he examined Biko's left eye with a torch. Tucker's examination took 5 minutes: it ignored the level of consciousness, the plantar reflex and the slight weakness of the left limb.

Tucker felt that Biko should be transferred to a prison with all possible facilities. Goosen phoned Brigadier Zietsman of the Security Police headquarters in Pretoria. He received orders to transfer Biko to the Central Prison in Pretoria. If no military plane was available, road transport was to be used if Tucker had no objections. Tucker had no objections as long as Biko was provided with a mattress or something soft to lie on.

Goosen did not want to transfer him to a Port Elizabeth hospital because "I still thought he was feigning. I thought it was possible that he could be assisted to escape and leave the country."

Biko was transferred in a landrover with the seats removed. The only facility given to him was a container of water. Tucker agreed to this arrangement because he did "not consider Biko's condition to be so serious". He also did not know "that in this particular situation one could override the decisions made by a responsible police officer." Neither did Dr Lang, who also approved of the 700 kilometre ride. Both Hersch and Lang admitted that the interest of their patient was subordinated to the interests of security.

The men who accompanied Biko were Siebert, Wilken and Nieuwoudt. Biko was naked to place a damper on any escape attempt. They left Port Elizabeth at 6.30 pm. Siebert claimed that when lights were shone onto the vehicle he saw that Biko was awake. When they approached the vehicle to unload Biko he started breathing deeply.

### **12 September**

A Sergeant Pretorius, a medical orderly at Pretoria, said that Biko looked seriously ill and he feared for his life. The security police informed him that Biko studied medicine for four years, that he practised yoga and that he could mislead people.

According to Wilken, Biko was normal upon arrival in Pretoria. Biko refused food and water and did not relieve himself during the entire 14 hour journey.

Dr Andries van Zyl examined Biko at 3 pm on 12 September. He saw that Biko had refused to "partake of anything" for a week and that doctors could find "no fault" with him. He diagnosed general weakness and dehydration as a result of his having had "no food or liquid" for 7 days. He prescribed a drip, and gave Biko a vitamin injection. Biko lay on a mat on the floor and not on a bed when van Zyl examined him.

### **13 September**

Jimmy Kruger, the Minister of Justice, issued the following statement: "Since 5 September Mr Biko refused his meals and threatened to go on a hunger strike . . ."

### **14 September**

Kruger addressed a Nationalist Party Congress as follows:

"I am not glad and I am not sorry about Mr Biko. It leaves me cold. I can say nothing to you. Any person who dies . . . I shall also be sorry if I die." (Laughter).



"But now, there are a lot of scandal stories and all sorts of positions are now taken against the South African Police. And even if I am their Minister, Mr Chairman, if they had done something wrong I shall be the first man to take them before the courts. They know it."

"And indeed he began to push his food and water away — that were continually given to him so that he would freely eat or drink. It is very true what Mr Venter (a congress delegate) said about prisoners in South Africa having the 'democratic right' to starve themselves to death. It is a democratic land."

"Incidentally, I can just tell congress, the day before yesterday one of my own lieutenants in the prison service also committed suicide and we have not yet accused a single prisoner." (Laughter)

### 16 September

Goosen sent a telex message to Security Police Headquarters in Pretoria. In evidence he denied the existence of the message but it was revealed by Zietsman. The telex stated that Biko was in a semi-coma and the telex refers to injuries which were "inflicted" on 7 September.

### The magistrate's finding

Mr Marthinus Prins found: "The cause or likely cause of Mr Biko's death was a head injury, followed by extensive brain injury and other complications causing a renal failure.

"The head injury was probably sustained on the morning of 7 September during the scuffle with Security Police in Port Elizabeth. The available evidence does not prove that death was brought about by an act or omission involving an offence by any person."

Pretoria's Chief Magistrate closed the fourteen day inquest in 80 seconds.

### Medical Ethics

The profession of medicine is based fundamentally on the premise: do not harm. Participation in official torture is not expected from members of the medical profession. The South African Medical and Dental Council (SAMDC) and the Medical Association of South Africa have failed to deal with Lang, Hersch and Tucker in any way and have both found that there is no evidence of improper or disgraceful conduct on the part of the doctors.

The Declaration of Tokyo is a guideline for doctors attending to prisoners or detainees. It says, *inter alia*, that:

- A. The doctor shall not countenance, condone or participate in the practice of torture or other forms of cruel, inhuman or degrading procedures, whatever the offences of which the victim of such procedures is suspected, accused or guilty and whatever the victim's belief or motives . . .
- B. A doctor must have complete clinical independence in deciding upon the care of a person for whom he or she is medically responsible. The doctor's fundamental role is to alleviate distress of his or her fellowman and no motive whether personal, collective or political shall prevail against this higher purpose.

The Declaration of Geneva was adopted by the World Medical Association in September 1948 and it states:

- A. The health of my patients will be my first consideration.
- B. I will not permit considerations of religion, nationality, race, party politics or social standing to intervene between my duty and my patients.
- C. I will maintain the utmost respect for human life from the time of conception; even under threat, I will not use my medical knowledge contrary to the laws of humanity.

The Hippocratic Oath includes the following: "Into whatsoever houses I shall enter, I will go for the benefit of the sick, abstaining from all voluntary wrong and corruption."

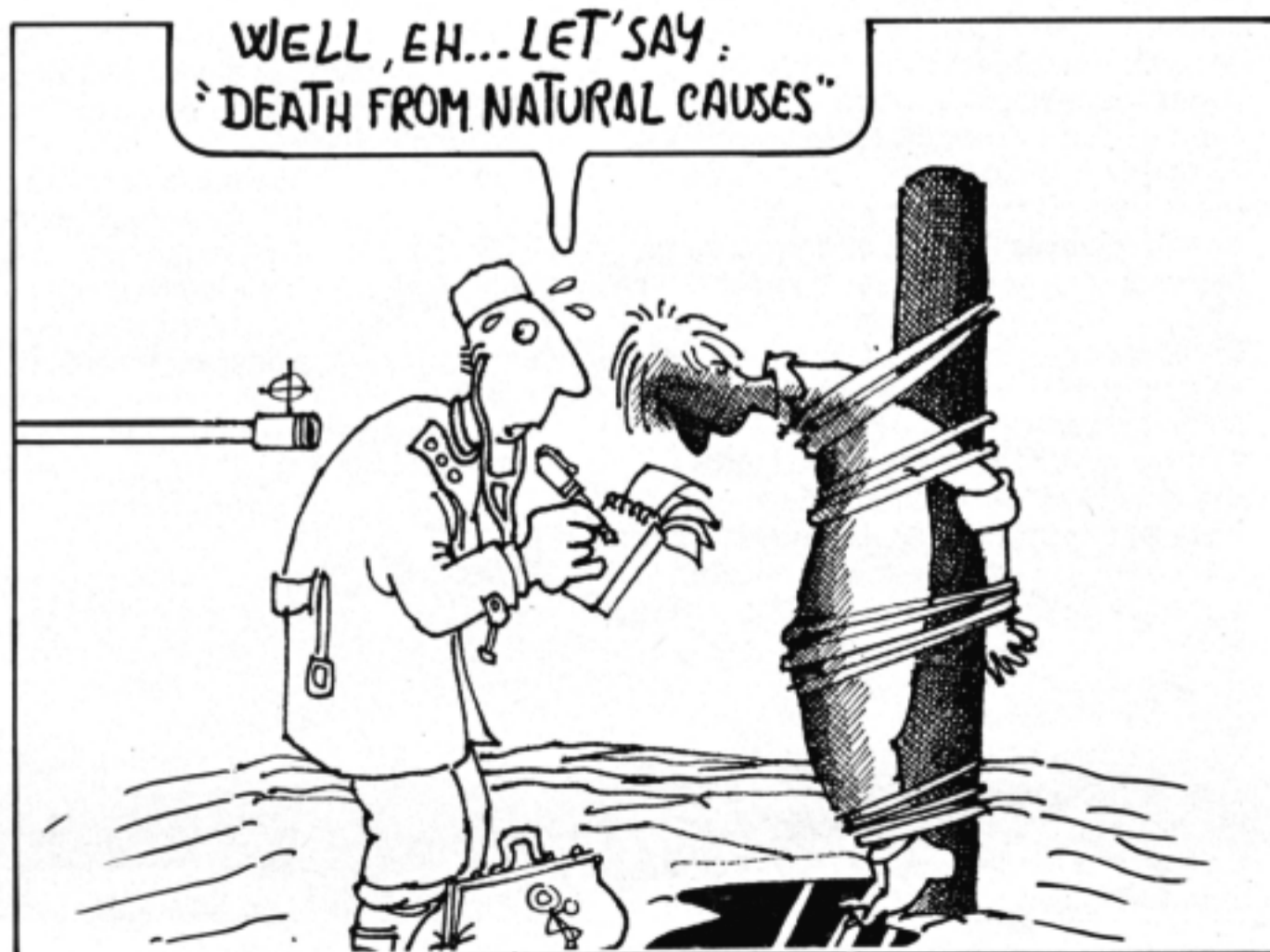
### And the law

Sir David Napley of the British Law Society was invited as an independent observer to the inquest by the Association of Law Societies of South Africa: his observation was that it was the clear duty of the Deputy Attorney-General to present to, and test, on behalf of the magistrate, all the relevant available evidence. Napley went on: ". . . I came away with the clear impression that, on such occasions as he intervened, his questions were directed to preserve the position previously taken up. To this end on occasions he intervened to support the police and doctors although they were already represented by other Counsel." Of course, the very Deputy Attorney-General decided that no criminal proceedings would be taken against the police.

Napley continued: "If, even at this stage, proper and vigorous police enquiries are pursued, in the knowledge and to the end that those who frustrated justice in this case performed no service to their country or to the establishment of better international relations" then "the sense of outrage which appears to have been generated by this enquiry can still perhaps be assuaged."

In the hearing in an American Court of Appeal relating to the torture and death of Joelito Filartigas by the Inspector General of Police of Asuncion, Paraguay, an American High Court Judge ruled that official torture by a national police agency of its own citizens is a violation of international law. The torturer, like the pirate and the slave holder, is '**hostis humani generis**' — an enemy of all mankind.

 ONE PEOPLE ONE AZANIA





# BANNED for BLACKNESS

The contribution that the Collective intended including on this page was a tribute to Biko entitled "Biko — the Man". It was penned by Peter Cyril Jones, AZAPO's Cape Vice-President and the last man to see Biko alive.

Peter 'PC' Jones is presently being held under Section 28 of the Internal Security Act and cannot be quoted. In terms of the Prisons Act, no photograph of 'PC' can be published.

Two other close associates of Steve and recently released Robben Island graduates, viz Sathasivan 'Saths' Cooper (AZAPO's Deputy President) and Justice Edmund Lindane Myeza (AZAPO's Publicity Secretary) are also held under Section 28, along with the respective Chairpersons of the Lenasia and Sebo-keng Branches viz Haroun Patel and Oupa Hlomuka. What has changed since the murder of Steve Biko?

## Kamal Nasser's Last Poem

Translated by Abdul Wahab Elmesseri

Beloved, if perchance word of my death reaches you  
As, alone, you fondle my only child,  
Eagerly awaiting my return,  
Shed no tears in sorrow for me  
For in my homeland  
Life is degradation and wounds  
And in my eyes the call of danger rings.  
Beloved, if word of my death reaches you  
And the mourners cry out:  
The loyal one has departed, his visage gone forever,  
And fragrance has died within the bosom of the flower  
Shed no tears . . . smile on life  
And tell my only one, my loved one,  
The dark recesses of your father's being  
Have been touched by visions of his people.  
Splintered thoughts bestowed his path  
As he witnessed the wounds of oppression.  
In revolt, he set himself a goal  
He became a martyr, sublimated his being,  
even changed his prayers  
Deepened their features and improvised  
And in the long struggle, his blood flowed  
His lofty vision unfolded shaking even destiny  
If news reaches you, and friends come to you,  
Their eyes filled with cautious concern,

Smile at them in kindness for  
my death will bring life to all;  
My people's dreams are my shrine  
at which I pray, for which I live.  
The ecstasy of creation warms my being, shouting of joy,  
Filling me with love, as day follows day,  
Enveloping my struggling soul and body.  
Immortalized am I in the hearts of friends  
I live only in others' thoughts and memories.  
Beloved, if word reaches you and you fear for me  
Should you shudder and your cheeks grow pale  
As pale as the face of the moon,  
Allow it not to look upon you, nor  
feast on the beauty of your gaze  
For I am jealous of the light of the moon.  
Tell my only one, for I love him,  
That I have tasted the joy of giving  
and my heart relishes the wounds of sacrifice.  
There is nothing left for him  
Save the sighs from my song . . . Save the remnants of my lute  
Lying piled and scattered in our house.  
Tell my only one, if he ever visits  
my grave and yearns for the memory,  
Tell him that one day I shall return  
— to pick the fruits.



# FRAGMENTATION OF THE BLACK RESISTANCE

Just who can be regarded as representative of black opinion in South Africa? This question often crosses my mind in many conversations with people through the country and on reading various newspaper reports on what blacks have to say on topical matters. Once more the issue was highlighted during the debate on whether or not to celebrate the 10th Anniversary of the "Republic" of South Africa. On the one hand Mr Pat Poovalingam in Durban was urging the Indian people to celebrate whilst, on the other, people like Mr Mewa Ramgobin and the Labour Party argued the case against celebration. In KwaZulu Chief Gatsha Buthelezi stated that the Zulu people would celebrate whilst elsewhere pamphlets were distributed from various black sources reminding the people that they would be celebrating the countless sins of the Nationalist Government. The interesting thing of course was the conspicuous silence of the urban African people except for the hushed objections of Soweto's Urban Bantu Council. Not at any stage did anybody state a representative opinion.



Pat Poovalingam, Chairman of the Solidarity Party

## Bannings

Any one staying in South Africa will not be completely surprised by this. Political opinion is probably very clear-cut on issues of this nature amongst the African people especially. However, since the banning and harassment of black political parties — a dangerous vacuum has been created. The African National Congress and later the Pan-African Congress were banned in 1960; the Indian Congress was routed out of existence and ever since there has been no

Written in June 1971, this piece outlines that collaboration with the system in South Africa is inextricably linked with operating from separate, ethnic units. Recent developments confirm that Steve had an uncanny clairvoyance: the system tries to keep so-called Coloureds and Indians in the servants-quarters of the white Parliament and keep "Africans" in the backyard of the white Parliament.

co-ordinated opinion emanating from the black ranks. Perhaps the Kliptown Charter — objectionable as the circumstances surrounding it might have been — was the last attempt ever made to instil some amount of positiveness in stating categorically what blacks felt on political questions in the land of their forefathers.

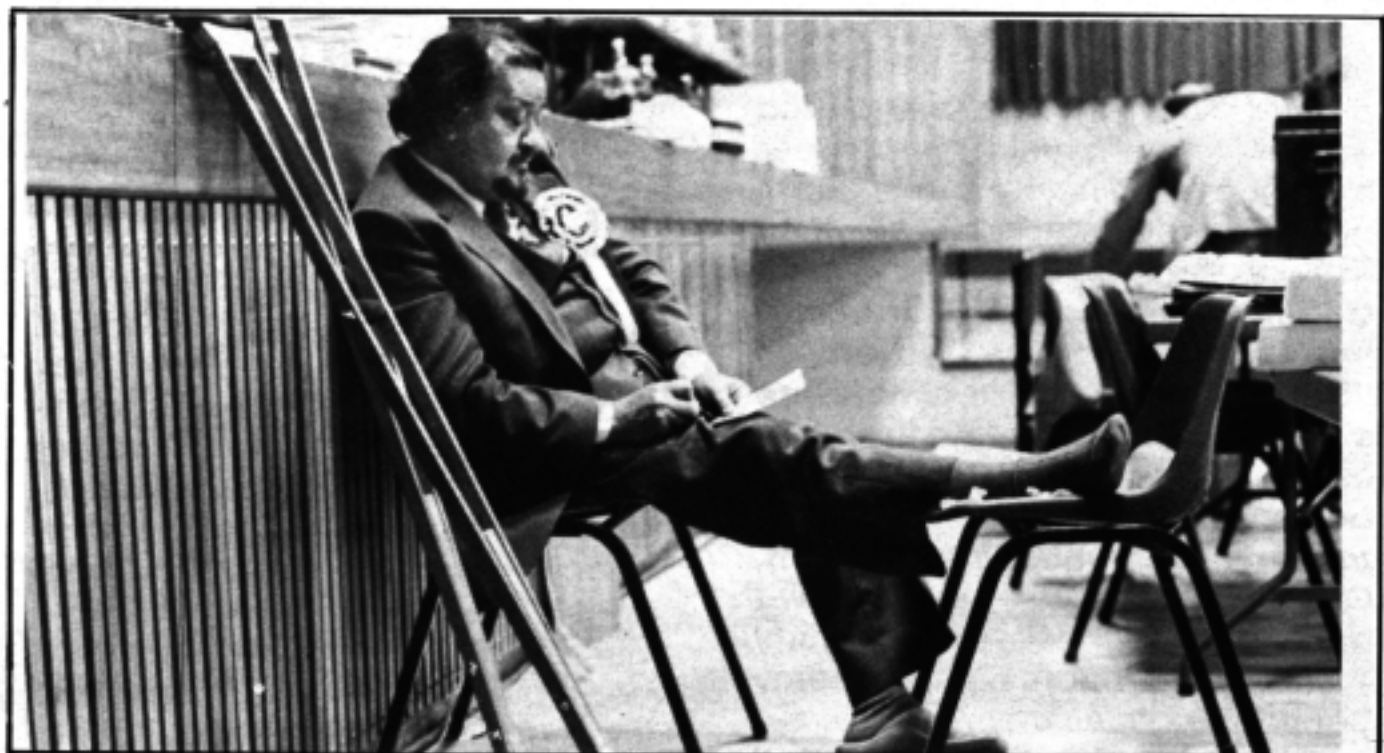
After the banning of the black political parties in South Africa, people's hearts were gripped by some kind of foreboding fear for anything political. Not only were politics a closed book, but at every corner one was greeted by a slave-like apathy that often bordered on timidity. To anyone living in the black world, the hidden anger and turmoil could always be seen shining through the faces and actions of these voiceless masses but it was never verbalised. Even the active phase, thuggery and vandalism — was directed to one's kind — a clear manifestation of frustration. To make it worse, no real hope was offered by the output from the recently created ethnic universities. Sons and fathers alike were concerned about cutting themselves a niche in a situation from which they saw no hope of escaping.

## Dangerous

After this brief spell of silence during which political activity was mainly taken up by liberals, blacks started

dabbling with the dangerous theory — that of working within the system. This attitude was exploited to the full by the Nationalist party. Thus the respectability of Matanzima's Transkei was greatly boosted by Ndamse's decision to join hands with him. Clearly Ndamse, being a one-time banned man, convinced many people by his decision that there was something to be gained out of these apartheid institutions. Soon thereafter the Coloured Labour Party, operating on an anti-apartheid ticket was formed to oppose the pro-apartheid Federal Party within the all-Coloured Representative Council. People's logic became strangely twisted. Said a member of the Transkei's opposition Democratic Party: "We know that the Transkeian parliament is a stooge body. We ask you to elect us to that stooge body!"

But it seems that nothing influenced people more to "accept" the "working within the system" theory than the decision by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi to join in and lead the KwaZulu Territorial Authority. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi had for a long time been regarded as the bastion of resistance to the institution of a territorial authority in KwaZulu. Then one morning a newspaper intimated that he might just agree to take it up and within weeks Chief Gatsha Buthelezi was indeed the Chief Executive Officer of the KwaZulu Territorial Authority.



Allan Hendrickse, Labour Party head.



Following the capitulation of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, a burst of activity manifested itself in these apartheid institutions. On the one hand the Labour Party was making full use of the sanctified platform — the Coloured Representative Council (CRC) — to air their grievances against the government, on the other Chief Gatsha Buthelezi was fast becoming an embarrassment to the government with the kind of things he was saying.

### Confusion

I believe it is just here that the confusion over who are the leaders of the black world began to arise. Because of the increased verbalisation of the black man's complaints, the people — especially the white world — began to take these various voices as speaking on behalf of and as leaders of the black world. This kind of picture was particularly built up by the English press, who followed in detail everything people like Chief Gatsha Buthelezi did and said. Of course in the absence of any organized opinion it began to sound even to some black people themselves as if this were the case. The fact that Matanzima also joined in the bandwagon of militant demands has made everyone sit back and clap. People argue that the Nationalists have been caught in their own game. The black lion is beginning to raise its voice. This is a gross over-simplification.

What in fact is happening is that the black world is beginning to be completely fragmented and that people are beginning to talk sectional politics. I would rather like to believe that this was foreseen long ago by the Nationalist Party and that it is in fact a part of the programme. After the kind of noises made by Buthelezi, the Labour Party and of late Matanzima, who can argue that black opinion is being stifled in South Africa? Moreover any visitor is made to see that these people are fighting for more concessions in their own area (13% of the land). They accept that the rest of South Africa is for whites. Also none of them sees himself as fighting the battle for **all** black people. Xhosas want their Transkei, the Zulus their KwaZulu, etc. **Coloured people harbour secret hopes of being classified as "brown Afrikaners" and therefore meriting admittance into the white laager while Indian people might be given a vote to swell the buffer zone between whites and Africans.** Of course these promises will never be fulfilled — at least not in a hurry — and in the meantime the enemy bestrides South Africa like a colossus laughing aloud at the fragmented

attempts by the powerless masses making appeals to its deaf ears.

### Laagers

"The Transkei is the Achilles' heel of the Nationalists" claim intellectual politicians who are always quick to see a loophole even in a two-foot-thick iron wall. This is false logic. The Transkei, the CRC, KwaZulu and all these other apartheid institutions are modern-type laagers behind which the whites in this country are going to hide themselves for a long time to come. Slowly the ground is being swept off from under our feet and soon we as blacks will believe completely that our political rights are in fact in our "own" areas. Thereafter we shall find that we have no leg to stand on in making demands or any rights in "mainland White South Africa" which incidentally will comprise more than three-quarters of the land of our forefathers.

This is the major danger that I see facing the black community at the present moment — to be so conditioned by the system as to make even our most well-considered resistance to fit within the system both in terms of the means and of the goals. Witness the new swing amongst leaders of the Indian community in Durban. (I must admit I say this with pain in my heart). Ever since word was let loose that the Indian Council will at some future date be elected, a number of intelligent people are thinking of reviving the Indian Congress and letting it form some kind of opposition within the system. This is dangerous retrogressive thinking which should be given no breathing space. These apartheid institutions are swallowing too many good people who would be useful in a meaningful programme of emancipation of the black people.

### Leaders

Who are leaders of the black world then if they are not to be found in the apartheid institutions? Clearly, black people know that their leaders are those people who are now either in Robben Island or in banishment or in exile — voluntary or otherwise. People like Mandela, Sobukwe, Kathrada, M.D. Naidoo and many others will always have a place of honour in our minds as the true leaders of the people. They may have been branded communists, saboteurs, or similar names — in fact they may have been convicted of similar offences in law courts but this does not detract from the real essence of their worth. These were people who acted with a dedication unparalleled in modern times. Their concern with our plight as black people made them gain



the natural support of the mass of black people. We may disagree with some things they did but know that they spoke the language of the people.

Does this necessarily mean that I see absolutely no advantage in the present set-up? Unless the political astuteness of the black people involved in these various apartheid institutions is further sharpened, I am afraid we are fast approaching an impasse. The new generation may be right in accusing us of collaboration in our own destruction. In Germany the petty officials who decided on which Jews were to be taken away were also Jews. Ultimately Hitler's gangs also came for them. As soon as the dissident factors outside the apartheid institutions are completely silenced, they will come for those who make noise inside the system. Once that happens the boundaries of our world will forever be the circumference of the 13% "black spots".

### Labour

Perhaps one should be a little positive at this stage. I completely discourage the movement of people from the left to join the institutions of apartheid. In laying out a strategy we often have to take cognizance of the enemy's strength and as far as I can assess all of us who want to fight within the system are completely underestimating the influence the system has on us. What seems to me to be logical at this stage is for the left to continually pressurise the various apartheid institutions to move in the direction of testing the limits of possibility within the system, to prove the whole



game a sham and to break off from the system. I will take the example of the Labour Party because it sounds like the most well-organised dissident group in the system.

The Coloured Labour Party stood for election on an anti-apartheid ticket and won most of the elected seats. Further, the Labour Party wasted no time in spelling out its anti-apartheid stance and revived political activity to a great extent within the Coloured community. In fact the growing consciousness of the possibility of political action amongst the Coloured people is due to the Labour Party. Pretty soon the Labour Party will find that it is singing the same tune and whatever they say will cease to be of news value. In the meantime Tom Swartz will start making demands for the Coloured people and will probably gain a few concessions. The Coloured people will then realise that in fact a positive stand like that of Tom Swartz's is more welcome than a negative attitude like that of the Labour Party who keep on saying the same things. Then the Labour Party will start falling into disfavour.

This is not just theoretical. It has happened in the past with Matanzima and Guzana in the Transkei. Guzana's party — once the pride of dissident Transkeians who wanted to

demonstrate their rejection of the system — has now been relegated to the background, operating even on the right of Matanzima's party whose militant demands are being seen as a more meaningful opposition to the system than a rehashed debate on the protection of white interests in the Transkei.

#### QUOTE:

Granted that it may be more attractive and even safer to join the system, we must still recognise that in doing so we are well on the way towards selling our souls.

#### Pull Out

Therefore I see the real value of the Labour Party being in galvanising its forces now, organising them and pulling out of the Coloured Representative Council together with the support of all the Coloured people. The longer they stay in the CRC, the more they risk being irrelevant. "Pull out and do what?" this is the next question. **There is a lot of community work that needs to be done in promoting a spirit of self-reliance and black consciousness among all black people in South Africa.**

This is what the Labour Party should resort to doing. By now they have sufficiently demonstrated that the CRC is rejected by the Coloured people. Further operation within the

system may only lead to political castration and a creation of an "I-am-a-Coloured" attitude which will prove a set back to the black man's programme of emancipation and will create major obstacles in the establishment of an egalitarian society once our problems are settled. This to me sounds the only way of turning a disadvantage into an advantage. It is true of not only the Labour Party but also of all black people of conscience who are now operating within the system.

Thus in an effort to maintain our solidarity and relevance to the situation we must resist all attempts at the fragmentation of our resistance. Black people must recognise the various institutions of apartheid for what they are — gags intended to get black people fighting separately for certain "freedoms" and "gains" which were prescribed for them long ago. We must refuse to accept it as inevitable that the only political action the blacks may take is through these institutions.

Granted that it may be more attractive and even safer to join the system, we must still recognise that in doing so we are well on the way towards selling our souls.

 ONE PEOPLE ONE AZANIA



Fragmented front: Gatsha Buthelezi (far left), alongside him David Curry and Amichand Rajbansi (far right).



# Ugandan Asians and the Lessons for us

The problems currently faced by the so-called "Ugandan Asians" have caused the entire world to issue out statements of condemnation against Idi Amin and his government. In the moment of heat, the complexity of the situation has been lost to political observers and above all the important lesson for "Indian" people in Africa is not being sufficiently stressed.

## Scapegoat

There is reason to believe that Amin is far from being the only guilty party in this whole fiasco. In fact the two other parties involved, namely Asians themselves and Britain, are even guiltier. It is because of his antics and blatant stupidity that Amin has clouded the issue and made himself the scapegoat in a situation so basic to proper race relations in Africa. Perhaps a brief glance at history will illustrate just why the Asian population in Uganda got alienated from the native population.

There were in Uganda, prior to the present expulsion about 80 000 Asians, out of a total population of 9½ million. The main Asian immigration into Uganda came about towards the end of the last century as a result of the British colonial administration policy which attracted indentured labour to assist in the building of the Uganda-Kenya railway. Accompanying this main group were a number of "passenger Indians" of the middle caste merchant class, mainly of the Gujerat stock. This lot came for business purposes and quickly established a network of trading stores throughout Uganda and along the railway.

As the colonial secretariat expanded in Uganda, a number of Asians were employed in the lower strata, working directly under the white colonialists and in a lot of ways identifying themselves with the colonialists.

## Exploitative

The Asians had skills and education which the Africans did not have. Moreover the Asians were wealthy enough to send their children for studies abroad and these on return swelled the ranks of the professional personnel in Uganda. As time went on, the "contribution" to, or control by the Asian group of trade, professions and civil service was com-

**As far back as September 1972, with Amin's expulsion of "Asians" from Uganda, the treachery of the non-white middle class was outlined by Steve. Events in the Vaal Triangle in September 1984 prove that Steve was perfectly correct when he remarked: "For those of us who shall have too much to lose when others gain what is rightfully theirs, let us accept the fact that we constitute part of the problem: a part which shall have to be dealt with efficiently, painfully, seemingly cruelly and yet so basically logically."**



*Eastonville, Evaton, Vaal Triangle: September 3, 1984.*

pletely out of proportion to their members. Then also the Asians refused to see themselves as part of the soil of Africa. Although they tried hard, they could not really filter through into the upper echelons in Uganda which at the time were a monopoly of the white colonialists. In a sense, therefore, the Asians became middle men who continually saw themselves as a minority and by their practice of exploitation of the Africans through money-lending at inflated interest rates, through the practice of bargaining, through the absence of price controls, they contributed to the growth of animosity between themselves and the Africans who saw them as a hostile exploitative minority.

When independence came in 1962, the Asians were given a choice of citizenship through provisions in the Ugandan Constitution. Most of them preferred to retain British citizenship as against Ugandan citizenship. Hence, as the Africanisation process stepped up, Ugandans replaced foreigners in most fields and trading licences were preferably given to citizens of Uganda. It was at this point that the Asians started feeling robbed.

The threat to rid Uganda of the exploitative non-citizenship ranks which had been in control of trade and industry in Uganda came as far back as 1970 when President Obote announced in his opening address to the Uganda Parliament that all U.K. passport holders would have to leave Uganda. The issue was further picked up by General Idi Amin in January this year.

To the average Ugandan, the Asian departure will present no loss. This is sad to say about a group of people being unfairly treated. A number of people in Uganda including the powerful student group in Makerere University have condemned the action of Idi Amin and called upon him to come and address them on the question. On that day he referred to the Asians as leeches upon the Ugandan economy. In a sense in Africa too the reaction has been sharp as shown by Tanzania. But what prompts this reaction in these quarters is more the deliberate cruelty and immaturity with which the whole question has been handled. No one wants to question the basic existence of the animosity between the two groups and the fact that there is reason for this.



## Britain

In terms of the overall international world, what has further compounded the whole issue has been the hue and cry raised by Britain about what they call "Ugandan Asians" who are in fact British citizens. With the kind of racist overtones implicit in the British immigration policy, the Heath government together with its so-called opposition just could not face the prospect of admitting into Britain 40 000 "brown skinned" British citizens. It was therefore imperative to try and paint Amin and Uganda as the real culprits in the whole thing so that if Britain does in fact have to take her responsibility of housing her own citizens she would appear as the benevolent helper of a destitute homeless Asian population.

This of course is nonsense taken with the background that Britain has played in the colonisation of Africa; where Britain has been active in setting one dark race against another so as to create a powerful buffer zone between herself and the local African races; where Britain has for years enjoyed the fruits of exploitation of Africans by Indians who were banking and investing all their monies in British business; where Britain was happy to plant their citizens throughout Africa so as to create an easily accessible market for her products and also control industry and commerce in the former colonies through major well guarded investment in these countries. Now that the Asians have served their purpose Britain has no use for them and is trying very hard to "get the Ugandan Asians absorbed by friendly countries". When we view the hesitation by Britain to take in her Black citizens against the fact that since the 1971 Immigration Act was passed, a potential 10 million white immigrants from the Commonwealth countries are permitted to enter under the "patrial" clause, then we begin to see that colour plays an important role in validating or invalidating one's British citizenship. Britain is echoing what most English people throughout the world are saying that "there shall always be an England" except that they forget to add, "only for whites".

It must of course be pointed out that in spite of all this, nobody sanctions Amin's actions. In a world where Black people are moving fast into a formidable alliance to protect their interests, Amin's actions have cast an unfortunate shadow across Africa. The British Asians in Uganda may have renounced their claim to normal Black brotherhood through their exploitative actions; they may even have tainted the image of the 30,000 remaining Ugandan citizens but this still does not give Amin any moral grounds to treat Ugandan

citizens as if they have no equal right to belong to Uganda.



Idi Amin.

## Lessons

The lesson for us is a complex one. White South Africa as usual is busy laughing at Amin's antics and seeing him as a crazed being. In the process they forget that their own actions in this country make Amin's outburst look like a sermon. The Ugandans may have a semblance of a case where they are made to feel despised in the country of their birth by the major part of a group of people who want to see themselves as a visitor minority. In South Africa, whites took our country by force long ago; they truck us around like cattle, moving us from one spot to another; they kill us and our children through creation of squalid conditions leading to T.B., kwashiokor, malnutrition, robbery, murder, hooliganism, etc. They destroy our soul through migratory labour pass laws, wanton discrimination and racial bigotry; they beat and kill us occasionally into submission at Sharpeville, Langa, Gelvandale, Cato Manor and a host of other places; they force us to work as cheap labour so that they can enjoy the fruits of our labour while basking in the sun on our best beaches; where on earth do they then get the nerve to laugh at anybody for being cruel and a racist?

For us Blacks there is a definite lesson. There are in this country nearly 700 000 people of Asian descent.

It is important for this group to see that the trend of race relations in any country is largely influenced by the interrelationship of groups in their joys and woes. We, all of us Black people, are currently the objects of the most abject racism ever perpetrated in the world. Rightly or wrongly, there has been a tendency in South Africa for a long time in the past for Asians to see themselves as a minority group. To what extent this tendency is justified one does not know but it is clear that

it may prove dangerous for race relations in time to come. Already there have been periodic outbursts of animosity between Africans and Indians in Durban and other parts of the country particularly in 1949. The trend observed elsewhere in Africa viz. the existence of a highly "successful" but exploitative merchant class is found here too. However, unlike in the rest of Africa, there has been a steady shift of interest in the general Black man's plight from the Indian ranks. To date we know countless cases where Indian people had to go to jail as a consequence of their political activities.

## Black solidarity

What must clearly be regarded as naughty however is the kind of nonsense that makes some Indian nationalists in Durban want to draw a warning note out of the Amin fiasco. Supporters of Black consciousness were warned by one columnist in a Durban newspaper to beware the evils of African nationalism as evidenced in the Amin outburst.

Does it not occur to this political ignoramus that the cause of friction is precisely the non-involvement of one group during the struggle period? Does it not occur to him that if I win independence for myself in spite of appalling silence from a potential colleague then I'm likely to be suspicious of his motives when he motivates for an alliance between me and him after my victory?

The apostles of Black solidarity are right in insisting that all of us must join hands now in seeking for a solution to our common problems. Fence sitters have a curious way of always losing with all sides at the end of it all. If it is wrong for Indians to be discriminated against in India, then it is wrong for them to suffer the same fate anywhere else in the world and they have to learn to fight that evil alongside those they are oppressed with, be it in Kenya, Uganda or in South Africa.

Finally, for the merchant class Indian, Coloured and African bourgeoisie, the writing is on the wall. There is a role for all of us in the struggle for our emancipation. Each one of us has an obligation to be as much a part of the struggle as the situation demands. For those of us who shall have too much to lose when others gain what is rightfully theirs, let us accept the fact that we constitute part of the problem: a part which shall have to be dealt with efficiently, painfully, seemingly cruelly and yet so basically logically. This is the lesson Amin has taught us.

 ONE PEOPLE ONE AZANIA



# Let's Talk about Bantustans

It is now almost ten years since the bantustan idea was practically introduced by the Nationalist Government as a lasting measure towards the solution of the "native problem". Of course the idea of territorial segregation in South Africa is an old one. It was in 1913 that Sauer, a supposed liberal Cabinet Minister in the then Government, first suggested the apportionment of parts of the country to accommodate the aspirations of the native population. In the many years that followed, the percentage allotted to natives varied until it was established in 1936 to the present 13%.

## Nations

What the Nationalists did under the "able" guidance of their theoretician, Verwoerd, was to convert the naked policy of wanton discrimination and segregation to the euphemistic "separate development" policy which "guaranteed" the eventual growth into complete sovereignty of eight bantustans or homelands which would be autonomous states to cater for the various "nations" that make up the South African native population.

At first the whole idea of separate development was rejected by the entire population, including elements of the Afrikaner camp. It was rejected by the liberals, Progressives, United Party, and naturally by the blacks. It was seen by the blacks naturally as a big fraud calculated to dampen the enthusiasm with which they picked the cudgels in the broader political fight for their rights in the country of their birth. People who took part in it were roundly condemned by everybody as sell-outs and Uncle Toms and nobody took them seriously. They were clearly seen as people who deliberately allowed themselves into an unholy collusion with the enemy.

In the white ranks, too, the idea was heavily criticised and seen as extremely immoral. However, as the *verligte* elements of the Afrikaner section began to show interest in the ideology, a number of people began to pay attention to the idea. This was boosted up mostly by the attack launched by *verligtes* on what they called "petty apartheid". Typical of opposition politics in this country, these *verligtes* were given

**The refinement of the centuries-old system of white settlerdom by the Nationalist government (from the creation of separate voters rolls in 1949 to the establishment of the tricameral parliament in 1984) encompasses the theory that South Africa comprises many "nations", each to be given its own homeland or bantustan. It is the intention of the regime to repatriate into these bantustans all Blacks who still live in white South Africa (87% of the land). This devilish scheme is based on the old Roman idea of "divide and rule". Hence the BCM has been resolute in its insistence on Black Solidarity and repossession of the land. This is encapsulated in its banner slogan "One People, One Azania, One Nation."**

a lot of support by the English press simply because of their small difference with the Nationalist staunch line. In the process, a lot of people began to see merit in the *verligte* view of separate development primarily because a number of newspapers had changed their policies in an attempt to appease the *verligte* movement.

## Two views

With this background in mind it therefore became necessary for us black people to restate in very strong terms the case against the bantustan idea. There are two views regarding bantustans. The first one is that of total acceptance with the hope that any demands made by the blacks through peaceful negotiations will lead to granting of further concessions by the white power structure. The second is that as a strategy the bantustan philosophy can be exploited towards attainment of our overall goals. Both views are dangerously short-sighted. The first one needs but little attention since it is an obvious sell-out and can only be accepted by people who have already sold their souls to the white man. The second one leads to a lot of confusion part of which is in fact a subconscious acceptance of the bantustan idea *per se* by the masses who cannot appreciate the nuances of the debate surrounding the so-called strategy.

Why are we against the bantustan idea? Black people reject this approach for so many reasons, none of which are as fundamental as the fact that it is a solution given to us by the same people who have created the problem. **In a land rightfully ours we find people coming to tell us where to stay and what powers we shall have without even consulting us.** The whole idea is made to appear as if for us, while working against our

very existence; a look at some aspects of the policy shows this very clearly.

## Fraud

Geographically, i.e. in terms of land distribution, bantustans present a gigantic fraud that can find no moral support from any quarter. We find that 20% of the population are in control of 87% of the land while 80% control only 13%. To make this situation even more ridiculous, not one of the so-called "Bantustan nations" have an intact piece of land. All of them are scattered little bits of the most unyielding soil. In each area the more productive bits are white-controlled islands on which white farms or other types of industry are situated.

Economically, the blacks have been given a raw deal. Generally speaking the areas where bantustans are located are the least developed in the country, often very unsuitable either for agricultural or pastoral work. Not one of the bantustans have access to the sea and in all situations mineral rights are strictly reserved for the South African government. In other words bantustans only have rights extended to 6 feet below surface of the land.

Added to these observations is the fact that the operative budgets allowed the bantustans for development projects are kept so low. Control of industry and its growth in all the bantustans is locked up in the hands of the Bantu investment cooperative which, though meant to be non-profitmaking, is reputed for its exploitation of the aspirant African traders and industrialists in all the bantustans. The so called Border industries now beginning to mushroom at the edges of the bantustans are orientated to exploit the labour force from within the bantustans. Most of them are sub-



sidised by the government and their products are tax free. In spite of such advantages, they go on to pay all-time low wages which are about one-third of what they would normally pay in urban areas. In addition it should be noted that these industries at border areas are often outside the geographical confines in which most Industrial Council agreements operate; and since the black workers have no trade unions to push their case they are virtually left at the mercy of employers who are under no obligation to pay them according to rates operative elsewhere in the country.

Politically, the bantustans are the greatest single fraud ever invented by white politicians (with the possible exception of the new United Party federal policy). The same people who are guilty of the subjugation and oppression of the black man want us to believe that they can now design for blacks means of escape from that situation. The point is that this is not the intention of the policy. The actual intentions of the bantustan practices are the following:

To create a false sense of hope amongst the black people so that any further attempt by blacks to collectively enunciate their aspirations should be dampened.

To offer a new but false direction in the struggle of the Black people. By making it difficult to get even the 13% of the land the powers-that-be are separating our "struggles" into eight different struggles for eight false freedoms that were prescribed long ago. This has also the overall effect of making us forget about the 87% of land that is in white hands.

To cheat the outside world into believing that there is some validity in the multinational theory so that South African can now go back into international sport, trade, politics, etc. with a soothed conscience.

To boost up as much as possible the intertribal competition and hostility that is bound to come up so that the collective strength and resistance of the black people can be fragmented.

### Participation

The question then that immediately arises is whether the bantustan leaders do not see the barrenness and fraudulence implicit in this scheme. We have some men in these bantustans who would make extremely fine leaders if they had not decided to throw in their lot with the oppressors. A few of them argue that they are not selling out but are carrying on with the fight from within. There is no way of ascertaining the truth of these assumptions. Perhaps it is not necessary that this should be ascertained at all especially because no matter how one views it, the ultimate truth is that **participation in the bantustan set-up is dangerously misleading to the black population.** We shall concentrate here on the merits and demerits of using the system to fight the system, and forget about these bantustan leaders who believe sincerely in the policy of apartheid. After all, as one writer once said, there is no way of stopping fools from dedicating themselves to useless causes.

There are in South Africa at the moment a number of people whose participation in bantustan politics has led the black people in part and political observers throughout

the world to begin to take a second look at bantustans with the belief that something can be achieved through a systematic exploitation of the bantustan approach. The argument runs that all other forms of protest, disagreement and opposition are closed to black people and that we can call the bluff of the government by accepting what they give and using it to get what we want. What most people miss is the fact that what we want is well known to the enemy and that the bantustan theory was designed precisely to prevent us from getting what we want. The authors of the system know it best and they give us any concessions we may demand according to a plan prearranged by them. When they created these dummy platforms, these phoney telephones, they knew that some opportunists might want to use them to advance the black cause and hence they made all the arrangements to be able to control such "ambitious natives".

Matanzima and Buthelezi can shout their lungs out trying to speak to Pretoria through the phoney telephone. No one is listening in Pretoria because the telephone is a toy. The real lines between Pretoria and KwaZulu, between Pretoria and the Transkei are very busy day and night with Torlage and Abrahams (commissioners at the time for KwaZulu and Transkei respectively - EC) telling the system every step Matanzima and Buthelezi are likely to take three months hence and how best the system should respond to such stances.

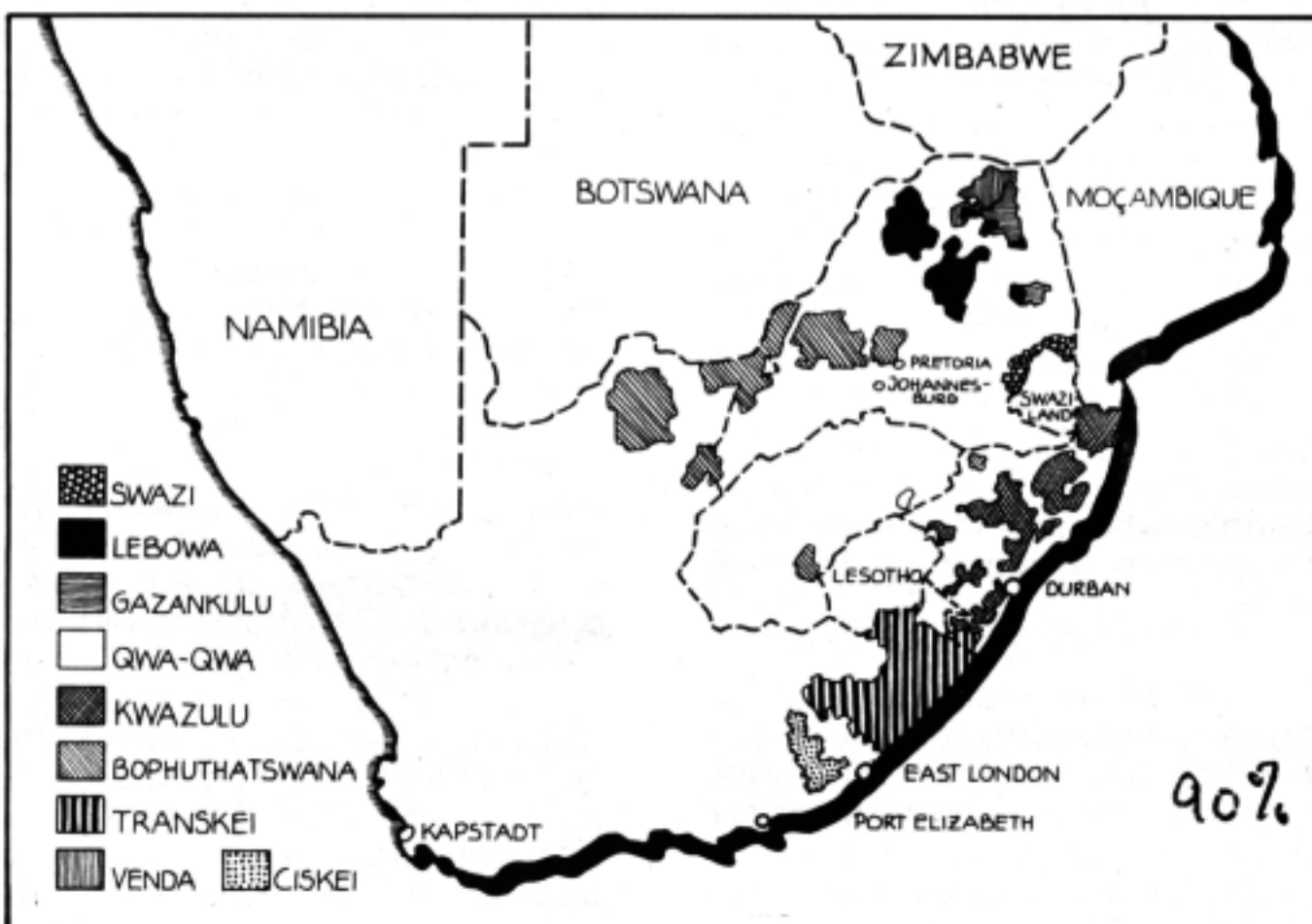
### Painful

What is most painful is that Matanzima and Buthelezi are perhaps more than anybody else acutely aware of the limitations surrounding them. It may also be true that they are extremely dedicated to the upliftment of black people and perhaps to their liberation.

Bantustan leaders are subconsciously siding and abetting in the total subjugation of the black people of this country. By making the kind of militant noise they are now making they have managed to confuse the blacks sufficiently to believe that something great is about to happen.

Many times they have manifested a fighting spirit characterising true courage and determination. But if you want to fight your enemy you do not accept from him the unloaded of his two guns and then challenge him to a duel.

As a result blacks are sitting on the touchlines cheering loudly while Matanzima and Mangope are per-





forming. The picture is also confused by the exaggeration given by the white press to the possibilities open to these leaders. The white press knows fully well of course that it is to their advantage to misdirect the attention of the blacks. The white press knows only too well the limitations of bantustan theory; that it is a far cry from what the blacks want but goes on to build up the image of Matanzima and Buthelezi in order to harness them to the path they have already chosen and to make the non-analytic masses believe that a great victory is just about to be achieved. Also, by widely publicising the pronouncements of the bantustan leaders and attaching extremely liberal connotations to these pronouncements, the white press has confused the outside world to think that in South Africa not only is there freedom of speech but that the Bantustan leaders are actively plotting for the ousting of the white government without the government taking any action.

#### Gatsha

Thus for white South Africa, it is extremely important to have a man like Buthelezi speaking and sounding the way he is doing. It solves so many conscience problems that South Africa has been having for so long. **It has been said that the combination of Buthelezi and the**

**white press make up the finest ambassadors that South Africa has ever had.**

For me as a black person it is extremely painful to see a man who could easily have been my leader being so misused by the cruel and exploitative white world. It becomes so apparent that whatever one does in the context of the bantustans is likely to be exploited for self-aggrandisement by the white world. When you agree with the government you are an exemplary native, who sees value in being led by whites. When you use bantustan platforms to attack what you do not like you epitomise the kind of militant black leader who in South Africa is freely allowed to speak and oppose the system. You exonerate the country from the blame that it is a police state. South African information bureaux throughout the world carry long coverages of activities and pronouncements by bantustan leaders to highlight the degree of open-mindedness and fair play to be found in this country.

#### Tribes

No, black people must learn to refuse to be pawns in a white man's game. This type of politics calls upon us to provide our own initiative and to act at our own pace and not

that created for us by the system. No bantustan leader can tell me that he is acting at his own initiative when he enters the realms of bantustan politics. At this stage of our history we cannot have our struggle being tribalised through the creation of Zulu, Xhosa and Tswana politicians by the system.

These tribal cocoons called "homelands" are nothing else but sophisticated concentration camps where black people are allowed to "suffer peacefully". Black people must constantly pressurise the bantustan leaders to pull out of the political cul-de-sac that has been created for us by the system.

Above all, we black people should all the time keep in mind that South Africa is our country and that all of it belongs to us. **The arrogance that makes white people travel all the way from Holland to come and balkanise our country and shift us around has to be destroyed.** Our kindness has been misused and our hospitality turned against us. Whereas whites were mere guests to us on their arrival in this country, they have now pushed us out to a 13% corner of the land and are acting as bad hosts in the rest of the country. This we must put right.

 **ONE PEOPLE ONE AZANIA**

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# Black Souls in White Skins?

Basically the South African white community is a homogeneous community. It is a community of people who sit to enjoy a privileged position that they do not deserve, are aware of this, and therefore spend their time trying to justify why they are doing so. Where differences in political opinion exist, they are in the process of trying to justify their position of privilege and their usurpation of power.

With their theory of "separate freedoms for the various nations in the multinational state of South Africa" the Nationalists have gone a long way towards giving most of white South Africa some sort of moral explanation for what is happening. Everyone is quite content to point out that these people — meaning the blacks — will be free when they are ready to run their own affairs in their own areas. What more could they possibly hope for?

#### Do-gooders

But these are not the people we are concerned with. We are concerned with that curious bunch of nonconformists who explain their participa-

**In this, the first article signed by 'Frank Talk' in August 1970, the role of the mischievous fringe group known as the "white left" is examined. Having established the starting point of BC (viz that only the oppressed can liberate themselves), Steve proceeded in the next article ("We Blacks" on page 27) to enunciate other basic principles of BC.**

tion in negative terms: that bunch of do-gooders that goes under all sorts of names — liberals, leftists, etc. These are the people who argue that they are not responsible for white racism and the country's "inhumanity to the black man". These are the people who claim that they too feel the oppression just as acutely as the blacks and therefore should be jointly involved in the black man's struggle for a place under the sun. In short, these are the people who say that they have black souls wrapped up in white skins.

The role of the white liberal in the black man's history in South Africa is a curious one. Very few black organisations were not under white direction. True to their image, the white liberals always knew what was

good for the blacks and told them so. The wonder of it all is that the black people have believed in them for so long. It was only at the end of the 50s that the blacks started to be their own guardians.

#### Bilateral

Nowhere is the arrogance of the liberal ideology demonstrated so well as in their insistence that the problems of the country can only be solved by a bilateral approach involving both black and white. This has, by and large, come to be taken in all seriousness as the *modus operandi* in South Africa by all those who claim they would like a change in the *status quo*. Hence the multiracial political organisations and parties and the "nonracial" student organisations, all of which insist on integration not only as an end goal but also as a means.



The integration they talk about is first of all artificial in that it is a response to conscious manoeuvre rather than to the dictates of the inner soul. In other words the people forming the integrated complex have been extracted from various segregated societies with their in-built complexes of superiority and inferiority and these continue to manifest themselves even in the "nonracial" set-up of the integrated complex. As a result the integration so achieved is a one-way course, with the whites doing all the talking and the blacks the listening. Let me hasten to say that I am not claiming that segregation is necessarily the natural order; however, given the facts of the situation where a group experiences privilege at the expense of others, then it becomes obvious that a hastily arranged integration cannot be the solution to the problem. It is rather like expecting the slave to work together with the slave-master's son to remove all the conditions leading to the former's enslavement.

Secondly, this type of integration as a means is almost always unproductive. The participants waste lots of time in an internal sort of mud-slinging designed to prove that A is more of a liberal than B. In other words the lack of common ground for solid identification is all the time manifested in internal strifes inside the group.

It will not sound anachronistic to anybody genuinely interested in real integration to learn that blacks are asserting themselves in a society where they are being treated as perpetual under-16s. One does not need to plan for or actively encourage real integration. Once the various groups within a given community have asserted themselves to the point that mutual respect has to be shown then you have the ingredients for a true and meaningful integration. At the heart of true integration is the provision for each man, each group to rise and attain the envisioned self. Each group must be able to attain its style of existence without encroaching on or being thwarted by another. Out of this mutual respect for each other and complete freedom of self-determination there will obviously arise a genuine fusion of the life-styles of the various groups. This is true integration.

#### Grass-roots

From this it becomes clear that as long as blacks are suffering from inferiority complex — a result of 300 years of deliberate oppression, denigration and derision — they will be useless as co-architects of a normal society where man is nothing else but man for his own sake.

Hence what is necessary as a prelude to anything else that may come is a very strong grass-roots build up of black consciousness such that blacks can learn to assert themselves and stake their rightful claim.

Thus in adopting the line of a non-racial approach, the liberals are playing their old game. They are claiming a "monopoly on intelligence and moral judgement" and setting the pattern and pace for the realisation of the black man's aspirations. They want to remain in good books with both the black and white worlds. They want to shy away from all forms of "extremisms", condemning "white supremacy" as being just as bad as "Black Power!" They vacillate between the two worlds, verbalising all the complaints of the blacks beautifully while skilfully extracting what suits them from the exclusive pool of white privileges. But ask them for a moment to give a concrete meaningful programme that they intend adopting, then you will see on whose side they really are. Their protests are directed at and appeal to white conscience, everything they do is directed at finally convincing the white electorate that the black man is also a man and that at some future date he should be given a place at the white man's table.

#### Irrelevant

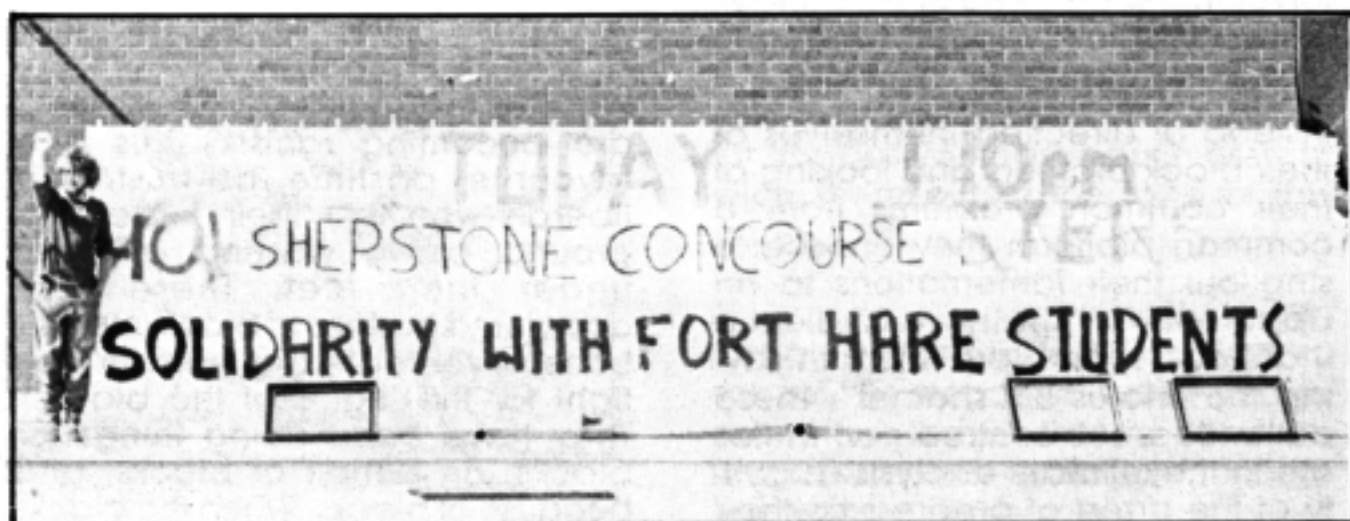
**The myth of integration as propounded under the banner of liberal ideology must be cracked and killed** because it makes people believe that something is being done when in actual fact the artificial integrated circles are a soporific on the blacks and provide a vague satisfaction for the guilt-stricken whites. It works on a false premise that because it is difficult to bring people from different races together in this country, therefore achievement of this is in itself a step forward towards the total liberation of the blacks. Nothing could be more irrelevant and therefore misleading. Those who believe in it are living in a fool's paradise.

First the black-white circles are almost always a creation of white liberals. As a testimony to their claim

of complete identification with the blacks, they call a few "intelligent and articulate" blacks to "come around for tea at home", where all present ask each other the same old hackneyed question "how can we bring about change in South Africa?" The more such tea-parties one calls the more of a liberal he is and the freer he shall feel from the guilt that harnesses and binds his conscience. Hence he moves around his white circles — whites-only hotels, beaches, restaurants and cinemas — with a lighter load, feeling that he is not like the rest of the others. Yet at the back of his mind is a constant reminder that he is quite comfortable as things stand and therefore should not bother about change. Although he does not vote for the Nats (now that they are in the majority anyway), he feels quite secure under the protection offered by the Nats and subconsciously shuns the idea of a change. This is what demarcates the liberal from the black world. The liberals view the oppression of blacks as a problem that has to be solved, an eye sore spoiling an otherwise beautiful view. From time to time the liberals make themselves forget about the problem or take their eyes off the eyesore. On the other hand, in oppression the blacks are experiencing a situation from which they are unable to escape at any given moment. Theirs is a struggle to get out of the situation and not merely to solve a peripheral problem as in the case of the liberals. This is why blacks speak with a greater sense of urgency than whites.

#### Guilt

A game at which the liberals have become masters is that of deliberate evasiveness. The question often comes up "what can I do?" If you ask him to do something like stopping to use segregated facilities or dropping out of varsity to work at menial jobs like all blacks or defying and denouncing all provisions that make him privileged, you always get the answer — "but that's unrealistic!". While this may be true, it only serves to illustrate the fact that no matter what a white man does, the colour of his skin — his passport to privilege — will always put him





miles ahead of the black man. Thus in the ultimate analysis no white person can escape being part of the oppressor camp.

"There exists among men, because they are men, a solidarity through which each shares responsibility for every injustice and every wrong committed in the world, and especially for crimes that are committed in his presence or of which he cannot be ignorant."

This description of "metaphysical guilt" explains adequately that white racism "is only possible because whites are indifferent to suffering and patient with cruelty" meted out to the black man. Instead of involving themselves in an all-out attempt to stamp out racism from their white society, liberals waste lots of time trying to prove to as many blacks as they can find that they are liberal. This arises out of the false belief that we are faced with a black problem. There is nothing the matter with blacks. **The problem is WHITE RACISM and it rests squarely on the laps of the white society. The sooner the liberals realise this the better for us blacks.** Their presence amongst us is irksome and of nuisance value. It removes the focus of attention from essentials and shifts it to ill-defined philosophical concepts that are both irrelevant to the black man and merely a red herring across the track. White liberals must leave blacks to take care of their own business while they concern themselves with the real evil in our society — white racism.

### Non-whites

Secondly, the black-white mixed circles are static circles with neither direction nor programme. The same questions are asked and the same naiveté exhibited in answering them. The real concern of the group is to keep the group going rather than being useful. In this sort of set-up one sees a perfect example of what oppression has done to the blacks. They have been made to feel inferior for so long that for them it is comforting to drink tea, wine or beer with whites who seem to treat them as equals. This serves to boost up their own ego to the extent of making them feel slightly superior to those blacks who do not get similar treatment from whites. These are the sort of non-whites who are a danger to the community.

Instead of directing themselves at their black brothers and looking at their common problems from a common platform they choose to sing out their lamentations to an apparently sympathetic audience that has become proficient in saying the chorus of "shame!". These dull-witted, self-centred non-whites are in the ultimate analysis as guilty of the arrest of progress as their

white friends for it is from such groups that the theory of gradualism emanates and this is what keeps the blacks confused and always hoping that one day God will step down from heaven to solve their problems. It is people from such groups who keep on scanning the papers daily to detect any sign of change they patiently await without working for. When Helen Suzman's majority is increased by a couple of thousands, this is regarded as a major milestone in the "inevitable change". Nobody looks at the other side of the coin — the large-scale removals of Africans from the urban areas or the impending zoning of places like Grey Street in Durban and a myriad of other manifestations of change for the worse.

### Settler

Does this mean that I am against integration? If by integration you understand a breakthrough into white society by blacks, an assimilation and acceptance of blacks into an already established set of norms and code of behaviour set up by and maintained by whites, then YES I am against it. I am against the superior-inferior white-black stratification that makes the white a perpetual teacher and the black a perpetual pupil (and a poor one at that). I am against the intellectual arrogance of white people that makes them believe that white leadership is a *sine qua non* in this country and that whites are the divinely appointed pace-setters in progress. I am against the fact that a settler minority should impose an entire system of values on an indigenous people.

If on the other hand by integration you mean there shall be free participation by all members of a society, catering for the full expression of the self in a freely changing society as determined by the will of the people, then I am with you. For one cannot escape the fact that the culture shared by the majority group in any given society must ultimately determine the broad direction taken by the joint culture of that society. This need not cramp the style of those who feel differently but on the whole, a country in Africa, in which the majority of the people are African must inevitably exhibit African values and be truly African in style.

### Racism

What of the claim that the blacks are becoming racists? This is a favourite pastime of frustrated liberals who feel their trusteeship ground being washed off from under their feet. These self-appointed trustees of black interests boast of years of experience in their fight for the 'rights of the blacks'. They have been doing things for blacks, on behalf of blacks, and because of blacks. When the blacks

announce that the time has come for them to do things for themselves and all by themselves all white liberals shout blue murder!

"Hey, you can't do that. You're being a racist. You are falling into their trap."

Apparently it's alright with the liberals as long as you remain caught by *their* trap.

Those who know, define racism as discrimination by a group against another for the purposes of subjugation or maintaining subjugation. In other words one cannot be a racist unless he has the power to subjugate. What blacks are doing is merely to respond to a situation in which they find themselves the objects of white racism. We are in the position in which we are because of our skin. We are collectively segregated against — what can be more logical than for us to respond as a group? When workers come together under the auspices of a trade union to strive for the betterment of their conditions, nobody expresses surprise in the Western World. It is the done thing. Nobody accuses them of separatist tendencies. Teachers fight their battles, garbagemen do the same, nobody acts as a trustee for another. Somehow, however, when blacks want to do their thing the liberal establishment seems to detect an anomaly. This is in fact a counter-anomaly. The anomaly was there in the first instance when the liberals were presumptuous enough to think that it behoved them to fight the battle for the blacks.

The liberal must understand that the days of the Noble Savage are gone; that the blacks do not need a go-between in this struggle for their own emancipation. No true liberal should feel any resentment at the growth of black consciousness. Rather, all true liberals should realise that the place for their fight for justice is within their white society. The liberals must realise that they themselves are oppressed if they are true liberals and therefore they must fight for their own freedom and not that of the nebulous "they" with whom they can hardly claim identification. The liberal must apply himself with absolute dedication to the idea of educating his white brothers that the history of the country may have to be rewritten at some stage and that we may live in "a country where colour will not serve to put a man in a box". The blacks have heard enough of this. In other words, the liberal must serve as a lubricating material so that as we change the gears in trying to find a better direction for South Africa, there should be no grinding noises of metal against metal but a free and easy flowing movement which will be characteristic of a well-looked-after vehicle.



# We Blacks

Born shortly before 1948, I have lived all my conscious life in the framework of institutionalised separate development. My friendships, my love, my education, my thinking and every other facet of my life have been carved and shaped within the context of separate development. In stages during my life I have managed to outgrow some of the things the system taught me. Hopefully what I propose to do now is to take a look at those who participate in opposition to the system — not from a detached point of view but from the point of view of a black man, conscious of the urgent need for an understanding of what is involved in the new approach — "black consciousness."

## Basics

One needs to understand the basics before setting up a remedy. A number of the organisations now currently "fighting against apartheid" are working on an oversimplified premise. They have taken a brief look at what is, and have diagnosed the problem incorrectly. They have almost completely forgotten about the side effects and have not even considered the root cause. Hence whatever is improvised as a remedy will hardly cure the condition.

Apartheid — both petty and grand — is obviously evil. Nothing can justify the arrogant assumption that a clique of foreigners has the right to decide the lives of a majority. Hence even carried out faithfully and fairly the policy of apartheid would merit condemnation and vigorous opposition from the indigenous peoples as well as those who see the problem in its correct perspective. The fact that apartheid has been tied up with white supremacy, capitalist exploitation, and deliberate oppression makes the problem much more complex. Material want is bad enough, but coupled with spiritual poverty it kills. And this latter effect is probably the one that creates mountains of obstacles in the normal course of emancipation of the black people.

## Shells

One should not waste time here dealing with manifestations of material want of the black people. A vast literature has been written on this problem. Possibly a little should be said about spiritual poverty. What makes the black man fail to tick? Is he convinced of his own accord of his inabilities? Does he lack in his genetic make-up that rare quality that makes a man will-

ing to die for the realisation of his aspirations? Or is he simply a defeated person? The answer to this is not a clearcut one. It is, however, nearer to the last suggestion than anything else. The logic behind white domination is to prepare the black man for a subservient role in this country. Not so long ago this used to be freely said in parliament even about the educational system of the black people. It is still said even today, although in a much more sophisticated language. To a large extent the evil-doers have succeeded in producing at the output end of their machine a kind of black man who is man only in form. This is the extent to which the process of dehumanisation has advanced.

Black people under the Smuts government were oppressed but they were still men. They failed to change the system for many reasons which we shall not consider here. But the type of black man we have today has lost his manhood. **Reduced to an obliging shell, he looks with awe at the white power structure and accepts what he regards as the "inevitable position"**. Deep inside his anger mounts at the accumulating insult, but he vents it in the wrong direction — on his fellow man in the township, on the property of black people. No longer does he trust leadership, for the 1963 mass arrests were blameable on the bungling by the leadership, nor is there any to trust. **In the privacy of his toilet his face twists in silent condemnation of white society but brightens up in sheepish obedience as he comes out hurrying in response to his master's impatient call. In the home-bound bus or train he joins the chorus that roundly condemns the white man** but is first to praise the government in the presence of the police or his employers. His heart yearns for the comfort of white society and makes him blame himself for not having been



"educated" enough to warrant such luxury. Celebrated achievements by whites in the field of science — which he understands only hazily — serve to make him rather convinced of the futility of resistance and to throw away any hopes that change may ever come. All in all the black man has become a shell, a shadow of man, completely defeated, drowning in his own misery, a slave, an ox bearing the yoke of oppression with sheepish timidity.

## First step

This is the first truth, bitter as it may seem, that we have to acknowledge before we can start on any programme designed to change the status quo. It becomes more necessary to see the truth as it is if you realise that the only vehicle for change are these people who have lost their personality. The first step therefore is to make the black man come to himself; to pump back life into his empty shell; to infuse him with pride and dignity; to remind him of his complicity in the crime of allowing himself to be misused and therefore letting evil reign supreme in the country of his birth. This is what we mean by an inward-looking process. This is the definition of "Black Consciousness".

## History

One writer makes the point that in an effort to destroy completely the structures that had been built up in the African Society and to impose their imperialism with an unnerving totality the colonialists were not satisfied merely with holding a people in their grip and emptying the Native's brain of all form and content, they turned to the past of the oppressed people and distorted, disfigured and destroyed it. No longer was reference made to African culture, it became barbarism. Africa was the "dark continent". Religious practices and customs were referred to as superstition. The history of African Society was reduced to tribal battles and internecine wars. There was no conscious migration by the people from one place of abode to another. No, it was always flight from one tyrant who wanted to defeat the tribe not for any positive reason but merely to wipe them out of the face of this earth.

No wonder the African child learns to hate his heritage in his days at school. So negative is the image presented to him that he tends to find solace only in close identification with white society.



No doubt, therefore, part of the approach envisaged in bringing about "black consciousness" has to be directed to the past, to seek to rewrite the history of the black man and to produce in it the heroes who form the core of the African background.

A people without a positive history is like a vehicle without an engine. Their emotions cannot be easily controlled and channelled in a recognisable direction. They always live in a shadow of a more successful society. Hence in a country like ours they are forced to celebrate holidays like Paul Kruger's day, Republic day, etc. — all of which are occasions during which the humiliation of defeat is at once revived.

### Oneness

Then too one can extract from our indigenous cultures a lot of positive virtues which should teach the Westerner a lesson or two. The oneness of community for instance is at the heart of our culture. The easiness with which Africans communicate with each other is not forced by authority but is inherent in the make-up of African people. Thus whereas the white family can stay in an area without knowing its neighbours, Africans develop a sense of belonging to the community within a short time of coming together. Many a hospital official has been confounded by the practice of Indians who bring gifts and presents to patients whose names they can hardly recall. Again this is a manifestation of the interrelationship between man and man in the black world as opposed to the highly impersonal world in which whitey lives. These are characteristics we must not allow ourselves to lose. Their value can only be appreciated by those of us who have not as yet been made slaves to technology and the machine. One can quote a myriad of other examples. Here again "black consciousness" seeks to show the black people the value of their own standards and outlook. It urges black people to judge themselves according to these standards and not to be fooled by white society who have white-washed themselves and made white standards the yardstick by which even black people judge each other.

### BT

It is probably necessary at this stage to warn all and sundry about the limits of endurance of the human mind. This is particularly necessary in the case of the African people. Ground for a revolution is always fertile in the presence of absolute destitution. At some stage one can foresee a situation where black peo-

ple will feel they have nothing to live for and will shout unto their God "Thy will be done." Indeed His will shall be done but it shall not appeal equally to all mortals for indeed we have different versions of His will. If the white God has been doing the talking all along, at some stage the black God will have to raise His voice and make Himself heard over and above noises from His counterpart. What happens at that stage depends largely on what happens in the intervening period. "Black Consciousness" therefore seeks to give positivity in the outlook of the black people to their problems. It works on the knowledge that "white hatred" is negative, though understandable, and leads to precipitate and shot-gun methods which may be disastrous for black and white alike. It seeks to channel the pent-up forces of the angry black masses to meaningful and directional opposition basing its entire struggle on the realities of the situation. It wants to ensure a singularity of purpose in the minds of the black people and to make possible total involvement of the masses in a struggle essentially theirs.

What of the white man's religion — Christianity? It seems the people involved in imparting Christianity to the black people steadfastly refuse to get rid of the rotten foundation which many of the missionaries created when they came. To this date black people find no message for them in the Bible simply because our ministers are still too busy with moral trivialities. They blow these up as the most important things that Jesus had to say to people. They constantly urge the people to find fault in themselves and by so doing detract from the essence of the struggle in which the people are involved. Deprived of spiritual content, the black people read the bible with a gullibility that is shocking. **While they sing in a chorus of "mea culpa" they are joined by white groups who sing a different version — "tua culpa".** The anachronism of a well-meaning God who allows people to suffer continually under an obviously immoral system is not lost to young blacks who continue to drop out of Church by the hundreds.

Too many people are involved in religion for the blacks to ignore. **Obviously the only path open for us now is to redefine the message in the bible and to make it relevant to the struggling masses.** The bible must not be seen to preach that all authority is divinely instituted. It must rather preach that it is a sin to allow oneself to be oppressed. The bible must continually be shown to have something to say to the black man to keep him going in his long

journey towards realisation of the self. This is the message implicit in "black theology" (BT). Black theology seeks to do away with spiritual poverty of the black people. It seeks to demonstrate the absurdity of the assumption by whites that "ancestor worship" was necessarily a superstition and that Christianity is a scientific religion. While basing itself on the Christian message, black theology seeks to show that Christianity is an adaptable religion that fits in with the cultural situation of the people to whom it is imparted. **Black theology seeks to depict Jesus as a fighting God who saw the exchange of Roman money — the oppressor's coinage — in His father's temple as so sacrilegious that it merited a violent reaction from Him — the Son of Man.**

Thus in all fields "Black Consciousness" seeks to talk to the black man in a language that is his own. It is only by recognising the basic set-up in the black world that one will come to realise the urgent need for re-awakening of the sleeping masses. Black Consciousness seeks to do this. Needless to say it shall have to be the black people themselves who shall take care of this programme for indeed Sekou Toure was right when he said:

To take part in the African revolution, it is not enough to write a revolutionary song; you must fashion the revolution with the people. And if you fashion it with the people, the songs will come by themselves and of themselves.

In order to achieve real action you must yourself be a living part of Africa and of her thought; you must be an element of that popular energy which is entirely called forth for the freeing, the progress and the happiness of Africa. There is no place outside that fight for the artist or for the intellectual who is not himself concerned with, and completely at one with the people in the great battle of Africa and of suffering humanity.

Brothers, come  
And let us go unto our God  
And when we stand before him  
I shall say —  
Lord, I do not hate,  
I am hated.  
I scourge no one,  
I am scourged.  
I covet no lands,  
My lands are coveted.  
I mock no people,  
My people are mocked.  
And (white boy) what shall  
you say?



# Some African Cultural Concepts

This paper was delivered by Steve at a conference called by Idamasa (Interdenominational Association of African Ministers of Religion) and Asseca (Association for the Educational and Cultural Development of the African People) at Edendale, Natal in 1971. This conference proved to be a staging post on the way to the formation of the BPC in Johannesburg in December 1971.

One of the most difficult things to do these days is to talk with authority on anything to do with African culture. Somehow Africans are not expected to have any deep understanding of their own culture or even of themselves. Other people have become authorities on all aspects of the African life or to be more accurate on BANTU life. Thus we have the thickest of volumes on some of the strangest subjects — even "the feeding habits of the Urban Africans", a publication by a fairly "liberal" group, Institute of Race Relations.

In my opinion it is not necessary to talk with Africans about African culture. However, in the light of the above statements one realises that there is so much confusion sown, not only amongst casual non-African readers, but even amongst Africans themselves, that perhaps a sincere attempt should be made at emphasising the authentic cultural aspects of the African people by Africans themselves.

## "Fusion"

Since that unfortunate date — 1652 — we have been experiencing a process of acculturation. It is perhaps presumptuous to call it "acculturation" because this term implies a fusion of different cultures. In our case this fusion has been extremely one-sided. The two major cultures that met and "fused" were the African Culture and the Anglo-Boer Culture. Whereas the African culture was unsophisticated and simple, the Anglo-Boer culture had all the trappings of a colonialist culture and therefore was heavily equipped for conquest. Where they could, they conquered by persuasion, using a highly exclusive religion that denounced all other Gods and demanded a strict code of behaviour with respect to clothing, education, ritual and custom. Where it was impossible to convert, fire-arms were readily available and used to advantage. Hence the Anglo-Boer culture was the more powerful culture in almost all facets. This is where the African began to lose a grip on himself and his surroundings.

Thus in taking a look at cultural aspects of the African people one inevitably finds himself having to compare. This is primarily because of the contempt that the "superior" culture shows towards the indigenous culture. To justify its ex-

plorative basis the Anglo-Boer culture has at all times been directed at bestowing an inferior status to all cultural aspects of the indigenous people.

I am against the belief that African culture is time-bound, the notion that with the conquest of the African all his culture was obliterated. I am also against the belief that when one talks of African culture one is necessarily talking of the pre-Van Riebeeck culture. Obviously the African culture has had to sustain severe blows and may have been battered nearly out of shape by the belligerent cultures it collided with, yet in essence even today one can easily find the fundamental aspects of the pure African culture in the present day African. Hence in taking a look at African culture I am going to refer as well to what I have termed the modern African culture.

## Man

One of the most fundamental aspects of our culture is the importance we attach to Man. Ours has always been a Man-centred society. Westerners have on many occasions been surprised at the capacity we have for talking to each other — not for the sake of arriving at a particular conclusion but merely to enjoy the communication for its own sake. Intimacy is a term not exclusive for particular friends but applying to a whole group of people who find themselves together either through work or through residential requirements.

In fact in the traditional African culture, there is no such thing as two friends. Conversation groups were more or less naturally determined by age and division of labour. Thus one would find all boys whose job was to look after cattle periodically meeting at popular spots to engage in conversation about their cattle, girlfriends, parents, heroes, etc. All commonly shared their secrets, joys and woes. No one felt unnecessarily an intruder into someone else's business. The curiosity manifested was welcome. It came out of a desire to share. This pattern one

would find in all age groups. House visiting was always a feature of the elderly folk's way of life. No reason was need as a basis for visits. It was all part of our deep concern for each other.

These are things never done in the Westerner's culture. A visitor to someone's house, with the exception of friends, is always met with the question "what can I do for you?" This attitude to see people not as themselves but as agents for some particular function either to one's disadvantage or advantage is foreign to us. We are not a suspicious race. We believe in the inherent goodness of man. We enjoy man for himself. We regard our living together not as an unfortunate mishap warranting endless competition among us but as a deliberate act of God to make us a community of brothers and sisters jointly involved in the quest for a composite answer to the varied problems of life. Hence in all we do we always place Man first and hence all our action is usually joint community oriented action rather than the individualism which is the hallmark of the capitalist approach. We always refrain from using people as stepping stones. Instead we are prepared to have a much slower progress in an effort to make sure that all of us are marching to the same tune.

## Music

Nothing dramatises the eagerness of the Africans to communicate with each other more than their love for song and rhythm. Music in the African culture features in all emotional states. When we go to work, we share the burden and pleasures of the work we are doing through music. This particular facet strangely enough has filtered through to the present day. Tourists always watch with amazement the synchrony of music and action as Africans working at a road side use their picks and shovels with well-timed precision to the accompaniment of a background song. Battle songs were a feature of the long march to war in the olden days. Girls and boys



never played any games without using music and rhythm as its basis. In other words with Africans, music and rhythm were not luxuries but part and parcel of their way of communication. Any suffering we experienced was made much more real by song and rhythm. There is no doubt that the so called "Negro spirituals" sung by Black slaves in the States as they toiled under oppression were indicative of their African heritage.

The major thing to note about our songs is that they never were songs for individuals. All African songs are group songs. Though many have words, this is not the most important thing about them. Tunes were adapted to suit the occasion and had the wonderful effect of making everybody read the same things from the common experience. In war the songs reassured those who were scared, highlighted the determination of the regiment to win a particular encounter and made much more urgent the need to settle the score; in suffering the Black slaves derived sustenance out of a feeling of togetherness; at work the binding rhythm makes everybody brush off the burden and hence Africans can continue for hours on end because of this added energy.

### Property

Attitudes of Africans to property again show just how unindividualistic the African is. As everybody here knows, African society had the village community as its basis. Africans always believed in having many villages with a controllable number of people in each rather than the reverse. This obviously was a requirement to suit the needs of a community-based and man-centred society. Hence most things were jointly owned by the group, for instance there was no such thing as individual land ownership. The land belonged to the people and was merely under the control of the local chief on behalf of the people. When cattle went to graze it was on an open veld and not on anybody's specific farm.

Farming and agriculture, though on individual family basis, had many characteristics of joint efforts. Each person could by a simple request and holding of a special ceremony, invite neighbours to come and work on his plot. This service was returned in kind and no remuneration was ever given.

Poverty was a foreign concept. This could only be really brought about to the entire community by an adverse climate during a particular season. It never was considered repugnant to ask one's neighbours for help if one was struggling. In

## ON BLACK MUSIC

The Black indigenous sound is beautiful, soulful. Miriam Makeba, our own personal musical Ambassador-in-exile, made a plea recently that Blacks should not allow their sound to die. For centuries the whites have been taking on Black sounds and converting them, making as though they were their own sounds.

People in the Black ghettos want us to reach them and we simply refuse to reach and communicate with them. What determines our music is how wide the market is. I am not for one moment suggesting that Black musicians should not play for money — that's how they earn their keep, but what I am saying is creativity and Black development should be the foremost factor. Attainment of our longed-for aspirations is our initial goal and all things will follow. We can't afford to play like we do not see the injustice around us; we can't afford to deceive the world and let it believe that all's well in our ranks, and we can't afford to mirror to the world ourselves as a hopeless, hapless and helpless people. We've got power with us, and this power we must use.

Today people want to sing like Elvis Presley — absurd. He is the epitome of "white music" and this is where we have been led to. We've been led to imitate whites and think theirs is better and more cultured. We aim for the top in the hit parade by playing "white" sounds and saying "white thoughts". This kills our sound and stifles rhythm and cramps our free-flowing style. Let us refuse to be used and let's refuse to be exploited. We are ex-

ploited all the way and it is a great God-given right that we should exercise — refuse to be exploited any more. Let's play like Malombo and Dashiki, let's play like Hugh Masekela, Miriam Makeba and Letta Mbuli, let our music throb with the gentle, passionate beat of Ravi Shanker, Assaggai and Osibisa. Let's play like the ebullient gumboot dancers from the mines and keep our sound virgin and pure.

At the present moment there are reports of white people living in Chatsworth with the intention of learning to play the sitar and other oriental instruments. This has been going on for ages. They lived in Harlem and stole Black sounds, took them to Europe and termed them their own original sounds. They then ridiculed Black artists calling them "Negro" musicians or "Coons" as happened in the Cape to the so-called "Coloured" artists in the so-called "Coon Carnival" shows.

Joe Cocker plays the music of Ray Charles and he's honest to admit it. Eric Clapton plays B.B. King; Kenny Burrell plays Wes Montgomery and this is ample proof of the musical prowess of Black people the world over. Let's capture the tears that flow down our cheeks in anger from oppression, the joys we experience when the sun sets and we own the night and all that is Black experience in the music of our own sitars, tambouras and flutes. Let's capture the approach of a new Black day and the thunder over Afrika skies from the deep throb of our drums. From our music let's re-create true Black humanity.

almost all instances there was help between individuals, tribe and tribe, chief and chief, etc. even in spite of war.

### Problems

Another important aspect of the African culture is our mental attitude to problems presented by life in general. Whereas the Westerner is geared to use a problem-solving approach following very trenchant analyses, our approach is that of situation-experiencing. I will quote from Dr Kaunda to illustrate this point:

The Westerner has an aggressive mentality. When he sees a problem he will not rest until he has

formulated some solution to it. He cannot live with contradictory ideas in his mind; he must settle for one or the other or else evolve a third idea in his mind which harmonises or reconciles the other two. And he is vigorously scientific in rejecting solutions for which there is no basis in logic. He draws a sharp line between the natural and the supernatural, the rational and non-rational, and more often than not, he dismisses the supernatural and non-rational as superstition . . .

Africans being a pre-scientific people do not recognise any conceptual cleavage between the natural and supernatural.



They experience a situation rather than face a problem. By this means they allow both the rational and non-rational elements to make an impact upon them, and any action they may take could be described more as a response of the total personality to the situation than the result of some mental exercise.

This I find a most apt analysis of the essential difference in the approach to life of these two groups. We as a community are prepared to accept that nature will have its enigmas which are beyond our powers to solve. Many people have interpreted this attitude as lack of initiative and drive yet in spite of my belief in the strong need for scientific experimentation I cannot help feeling that more time also should be spent in teaching man and man to live together and that perhaps the African personality with its attitude of laying less stress on power and more stress on man is well on the way to solving our confrontation problems.

### Religion

All people are agreed that Africans are a deeply religious people. In the various forms of worship that one found throughout the Southern part of our Continent there was at least a common basis. We all accepted without any doubt the existence of a God. We had our own community of saints. We believed — and this was consistent with our views of life — that all people who died had a special place next to God. We felt that a communication with God, could only be through these people. We never knew anything about hell — we do not believe that God can create people only to punish them eternally after a short period on earth.

Another aspect of religious practices was the occasion of worship. Again we did not believe that religion could be featured as a separate part of our existence on earth. It was manifest in our daily lives. We thanked God through our ancestors before we drank beer, married, worked, etc. We would obviously find it artificial to create special occasions for worship. Neither did we see it logical to have a particular building in which all worship would be conducted. We believed that God was always in communication with us and therefore merited attention everywhere and anywhere.

It was the missionaries who confused our people with their new religion. By some strange logic, they argued that theirs was a scientific religion and ours was mere superstition in spite of the biological

discrepancies so obvious in the basis of their religion. They further went on to preach a theology of the existence of hell, scaring our fathers and mothers with stories about burning in eternal flames and gnashing of teeth and grinding of bone. This cold cruel religion was strange to us but our fore-fathers were sufficiently scared of the unknown impending anger to believe that it was worth a try. Down went our cultural values!

### Detribalised

Yet it is difficult to kill the African heritage. There remains, in spite of the superficial cultural similarities between the detribalised and the Westerner, a number of cultural characteristics that mark out the detribalised as an African. I am not here making a case for separation on the basis of cultural differences. I am sufficiently proud to believe that under a normal situation, Africans can comfortably stay with people of other cultures and be able to contribute to the joint cultures of the communities they have joined. However, what I want to illustrate here is that even in a pluralistic society like ours, there are still some cultural traits that we can boast of which have been able to withstand the process of deliberate bastardisation. These are aspects of the modern African culture — a culture that has used concepts from the white world to expand on inherent cultural characteristics.

### Black culture

Thus we see that in the area of music, the African still expresses himself with conviction. The craze about jazz arises out of a conversion by the African artists of mere notes to meaningful music, expressive of real feelings. The Monkey Jive, Soul, etc. are all aspects of a modern type African culture that expresses the same original feelings. Solos like those of Pat Boone and Elvis Presley could never really find expression within the African culture because it is not in us to listen passively to pure musical notes. Yet when soul struck with its all-engulfing rhythm it immediately caught on and set hundreds of millions of black bodies in gyration throughout the world. These were people reading in soul the real meaning — the defiant message "say it loud! I'm black and I'm proud". This is fast becoming our modern culture. **A culture of defiance, self-assertion and group pride and solidarity. This is a culture that emanates from a situation of common experience of oppression.** Just as it now finds expression in our music and our dress, it will spread to other aspects. This is the new and modern black

culture to which we have given a major contribution. This is the modern black culture that is responsible for the restoration of our faith in ourselves and therefore offers a hope in the direction we are taking from here.

Thus in its entirety the African Culture spells us out as people particularly close to nature. As Kaunda puts it, our people may be unlettered and their physical horizons may be limited yet "they inhabit a larger world than the sophisticated Westerner who has magnified his physical senses through invented gadgets at the price all too often of cutting out the dimension of the spiritual." Thus close proximity to Nature enables the emotional component in us to be so much richer in that it makes it possible for us, without any apparent difficulty to feel for people and to easily identify with them in any emotional situation arising out of suffering.

The advent of the Western culture has changed our outlook almost drastically. No more could we run our own affairs. We were required to fit in as people tolerated with great restraint in a western type society. We were tolerated simply because our cheap labour is needed. Hence we are judged in terms of standards we are not responsible for. Whenever colonisation sets in with its dominant culture it devours the native culture and leaves behind a bastardised culture that can only thrive at the rate and pace allowed it by the dominant culture. This is what happened to the African culture. It is called a sub-culture purely because the African people in the urban complexes are mimicking the white man rather unashamedly.

In rejecting the Western values, therefore, we are rejecting those things that are not only foreign to us but that seek to destroy the most cherished of our beliefs — that the corner-stone of society is man himself — not just his welfare, not his material well-being but just man himself with all his ramifications. We reject the power-based society of the Westerner that seems to be ever concerned with perfecting their technological know-how while losing out on their spiritual dimension. We believe that in the long run the special contribution to the world by Africa will be in the field of human relationships. The great powers of the world may have done wonders in giving the world an industrial and military look, but the great gift still has to come from Africa — giving the world a more human face.



# Clash of Cultures Part II

(Continued from FRANK TALK, Volume 1 Nos. 2 & 3)

## THE INFERIORITY COMPLEX

Because the conqueror had created the situation where he dictated what was right and what was wrong, he caused the development of an inferiority complex in the black people.

Over the three hundred odd years that black people have been oppressed and exploited white people have come to symbolise for black people — the masters, the superior beings.

This superiority has inculcated in the blackman a sense of intimidation; a feeling that he is, in the presence of the whiteman, a second class citizen. This inferiority complex prevents the blackman from articulating his aspirations and determining his future.

This is why the black consciousness philosophy (amongst other considerations) believes that the whiteman cannot directly be a part of the process in which black people map out their destiny. The presence of the whiteman within the ranks of the black people has a negative effect.

Further, the whiteman unconsciously or sub-consciously brings his superiority complex to bear upon the blackman. In other words the whiteman manipulates his position of superiority to dictate to the blackman how he should seek his freedom.

We find that the white liberal — who pretends to be a friend of the blackman — in fact, has the effect of rendering the blackman incapable of seeing himself through his own eyes.

This syndrome destroys the initiative of the blackman and entrenches the condition of a second class mentality within our ranks.

## THE MEA CULPA

The *mea culpa* syndrome simply means that black people always believe that they are responsible for all the ills that they suffer. In short *mea culpa* (a Latin phrase) means that we blame ourselves for all the wrongs that we experience.

If we cannot find a job — we blame ourselves; if we cannot earn enough money to buy food for the family — we blame ourselves. In every hardship we suffer we have, because of psychological oppression, come to believe that the hardship is as a result of our own mistakes; it is our own fault.

This self-blame results from the history of our oppression which leaves us with the impression that we are incapable of doing anything.

The reinforcement of stereotyping by the rulers makes us believe that we are lazy; we are stupid; we are ignorant; and because we think that we are all these things we believe that we are at fault.

## SUSPICION, MISTRUST AND FEAR

Within the oppressed and exploited people we find that there DEVELOPS A CONDITION ALSO WHERE WE BEGIN TO SUSPECT ONE ANOTHER. Because of our

feeling of inferiority and inadequacy and our self-blame we begin to look at one another with a degree of suspicion, mistrust and fear.

One does not have to look far to see to what extent the black community is riddled with this kind of attitude. In every ghetto in South Africa there is gang warfare, killings, and rapes which result from the attitudes that black people have towards one another.

Not only is this visible within the locations themselves, but also within and amongst different so-called ethnic groupings (Indian, Coloured, Zulu, Xhosa, Pedi, etc.).

Suspicion, mistrust and fear govern our relationships with other people. And most of our fear reflects itself in our refusal to become 'politically involved'. We also have a great fear of policemen and whites who are in positions of control.

Because of the fear we suffer, and the frustrations we experience we tend to lash out at our own people, the innocent ones who are not directly responsible for the exploitation and oppression we suffer. I say, indirectly, because 70% of the oppression we suffer results from our acceptance of that oppression.

The oppressor cannot successfully oppress the people unless the people themselves are allowing themselves to be so oppressed. Somewhere in the subconscious recesses of the blackman's mind is the feeling that he is not responsible for his suffering. But because he cannot articulate his feelings, he reacts aggressively to the nearest opponent — who happens to be his neighbour.

## THE DIVIDE AND RULE SYNDROME

We have discussed how the ruling class organised the destruction of the history of a people that it has subjugated.

Having done that it must maintain its position of superiority. And that it cannot do by the continued use of violence alone. Therefore, it has to inculcate within the oppressed and exploited people a condition where the oppressed will maintain their own oppression.

Thus it encourages a policy and implements a programme that will keep the oppressed peoples divided in order that they may exercise greater control over the ruled. **What this, in effect, means is that the rulers maximise the conflict within the oppressed people themselves in order to minimise the need for control.**

**Against this they minimise the conflict within the ruling class in order to maximise unity within the ruling class.**

Thus the relationship between the various linguistic groups within white society (English, Afrikaners, Portuguese, Italians, etc) is developed to a degree where there is little conflict.

On the other hand the relationship within the various so-called ethnic groups within the black community (Indians,

Zulus, Xhosas, Pedis, Coloureds, etc) is developed in such a way that they are constantly divided and therefore do not act as a cohesive, united force.

## DISCOVERY OF THE SELF: A LIBERATING PROCESS

The preceding discussion might leave one with the feeling that nothing can be done about the condition of the black people. That is not strictly true.

Because black people perceive the situation as we have discussed above, the next step is to search for the kind of cure that will effect a reversal of the oppressive and exploitative condition in South Africa.

It is against this background (and also the analysis of the economic, social and political questions in South Africa) that the philosophy of Black Consciousness was born.

Black Consciousness seeks to restore the equilibrium in a society where the haves are white people and the have-nots are black people. This means that white society is the problem, and there is no need for black people to suffer any kind of complex for the woes that face them.

White society by virtue of its role in creating such an unequal society is guilty of the problems we suffer.

And because we must rid ourselves of the mental servitude that has bound us for over three hundred years, it becomes our duty as blacks to forge our own freedom.

In these circumstances BC calls upon the blackman to see himself as self-defined and not as defined by others. In order to do this black people must close ranks to thrash out their destiny and to organise themselves in such a way that they can stand up for the recovery of what rightfully belongs to them.

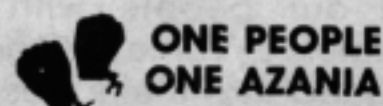
Thus white people cannot play a part in this programme. The best that white people can do is to work amongst their own kind and educate their people about the wrongs that they are committing and prepare them to accept that the black people will establish an Azanian nation.

In the South African context to answer the question "who am I" of necessity demands that you ask whether you are black or white?

If you answer that you are black then there is little alternative but to embrace the philosophy of BC as your guiding light in the search for total liberation.

## CONCLUSION

Psychological liberation and physical liberation go hand in hand. Without the achievement of the former we cannot rid ourselves of the chains that bind us economically, politically and socially.



ONE PEOPLE  
ONE AZANIA