SEPTEMBER '77

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Editorial

WIP is a new publication aimed at stimulating a national debate on issues related to contemporary South Africa. An understanding of events and processes can never be adequate unless they are approached from a perspective uniting the 'political', 'economic', 'ideological', 'historical', 'cultural' etc. This necessary hetrogeneity of angles from which the task of analysing and understanding contemporary South Africa, and clarifying our respective roles, will shape the contents of WIP.

WIP therefore aims at stimulating and provoking responses. It is a journal for ideas and perspectives which are only half-formed, and which need to be submitted to a critical readership, so as to develop fully. None of the work presented is definitive and it is put forward to stimulate a critical appraisal of the dynamics of the totality of South African society, rather than for 'judgement' or 'assessment' in any competitive academic sense.

At first glance, the articles in this issue may appear to be so diverse as to seem unrelated. This is far from true. Any attempt to understand the complexity of conflicting trends and interests in South Africa demands an overview of dynamics in numerous areas. Thus, for example, it is no co-incidence that there is talk amongst military and political personel of the need for dictatorship at the same time as the control of material read and produced is rendered more complete by the Publications Control Board. The message is the same: at this particular juncture, certain interests consider any dissent dangerous.

The briefing on squatters shows up the paucity of the responses to the 'squatter problem' by liberal groups like the SAIRR. Equally important is the role of the universities and the Urban Foundation in putting forward 'cosmetic' alternatives which are not predicated upon those relationships in the society which cause squatting. In other words, 'squatter upliftment,' recognition of 'informal sector activities', or the production (through research) of cheap housing schemes, do not strike anywhere near the causes of squatting - structural unemployment, migrant labour and the ever increasing capitalisation of monopoly industry. These are specifically capitalist crises, and strategies aimed at solving them should take this into account.

Kelwyn Sole's provocative article on the petty-bourgeois basis of African literature in South Africa raises all sorts of interesting questions - and contextualises those questions in terms of a changing historical dynamic, rather than a stagnant Eurocentrism. Perhaps the most important of those questions implicitly raised is the relationship of the literature to black

political movements, and to what extent the class basis of the literature reflects the orientation of not only the ANC and PAC, but also SASO, BPC, Soweto's Committee of Ten, etc. The possibility exists that, in the history of opposition in South Africa, no organisation articulating the objective interests of the working class has yet emerged - and naturally enough, 'protest' literature reflects this.

The material presented on the Publications Control Board, Dictatorship and 'Total War' strategies, and the outcome of the recent Moroney appeal, have one clear thing in common. They all show up one trend of increasing control of all groups and interests in South Africa which are not prepared to go along with a specific process of limited change. Anything critical of inadequate 'change directed from above' cannot be tolerated by that group of business and political interests who are making a series of adaptations for the maintenance of basic social relations despite limited change. This necessitates controlling those interests and social forces which may 'interfere' with this process of 'retention through change' (or 'Modern Conservatism', as a recent right wing pamphlet termed it) - be it the white working class, or pressure groups committed to fundamental change.

We had hoped to publish information on at least some of the numerous 'security' trials currently being heard. They are very important, in that they give some sort of insight into what black groups are thinking, and what they are doing about their thinking. Unfortunately, this was not possible, as the work was too involved, and the time too limited. A suggestion to remedy this gap is proposed at the end of the editorial.

One of the reasons for WIP carrying some specifically informative material, eg. the Robben Island and Pretoria Local applications, is because of the conspiracy of silence adopted by the English language press. As significant events occur more frequently, and as the whole social formation increasingly faces reproductive crisis after reproductive crisis, so the English Press becomes more banal, deliberately suppressing what is happening in the townships, what is happening in the court rooms - in short, what is happening in South Africa.

We are aware of any number of frustrated reporters who continually have accurate reflections of important events either edited out of existence, or totally rejected. Perhaps WIP can provide an outlet for some of these reports, thereby fulfilling a function which the press turns away from increasingly as it becomes more important.

We are going to attempt a dialogue through this publication on aspects of South African society - or rather, provide a medium through which a dialogue can be carried on. The success or failure of the venture will depend on the extent to which this publication meets a need, a need to understand the rapid changes occuring in Southern Africa.

We are not going to publish at regular intervals, but as soon as you have contributed enough copy. Your contributions are asked for. The publication, as its title suggests, is mainly for 'work in progress', for comment on the views of others, for letters, for information required and information offered, for comment on events that need to be placed in some overall perspective, to be clarified or to be debunked. It is not for 'academic debate' (if by that is meant the 'pursuit of knowledge for its own sake'). It is not for specifically university groups.

We are trying to put as few obstacles as possible in the way of direct participation by readers. WIP will appear in the cheapest format possible while remaining readable. If you type your contribution on A4-sized sheets and send them to the address below, it will make them so much easier to print them.

All material printed falls under four main categories:

ARTICLES.

BRIEFINGS: (information and comment on current events; reviews of books on current events; theoretical issues relevant to an understanding of current events; letters etc.)

INDICATORS: (Statements without comment - hopefully to be followed up in some way in subsequent issues).

INFORMATION: (both offered and requested; research in progress; bibliographies, etc.)

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g.m.

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WIP BADLY NEEDS A TYPIST TO ASSIST IN THE PRODUCTION OF FUTURE EDITIONS. ANYONE IN THE JOHANNESBURG AREA WILLING TO ASSIST, SHOULD PLEA CONTACT THE EDITOR.

"I talk about (the writer's) past mainly because actually I am interested in the present."

- Ngugi wa Thiong'o.

"Black consciousness begins really with the shock of discovery that one is not only black but also non-white."

Problems of Creative Writers in South Africa: A Response.

INTRODUCTION.

The 'problem' of the criticism of African literature is something that will in all likelihood still be with us for some time. In South Africa this problem is particularly acute, due to the political and ideological situation and the attitude of the dominant classes, who still believe themselves to be the purveyors of culture (1). In this essay I will discuss, in a highly schematic and rather simplistic way, the development of black literature in South Africa and the criticism which has accompanied it. Thus both English- and Afrikaans-writing by whites is out of this paper's concern. This does not imply a belief on my part that black literature is that most easily 'colonized' by criticism. Rather it is an attempt to give a different viewpoint on the area of most relevance and interest to me. As the Ugandan poet Taban Lo Liyong says, no dog goes into a manger with the eyes of a horse.

African literature has been much mauled by its critics. This is an obvious fact which has been made much of by African writers and critics, and even some Western critics themselves. According to the Ghanaian novelist Armah:

> "the Western critic of African literature does not operate from a plain and logical framework. He operates from a received framework of Western values and prejudices."

There are many reasons for this. One is the dominant position of Western ideologies throughout large parts of Africa today, or 'cultural imperialism.' This is complicated by the prevalence of Western socio-ethical standards due to the history of colonialism and cultural 'snobbery' associated with the penetration of the market by foreign companies.

"In many ways, Africa's problems, which have provoked the call for commitment among our writers, have been complicated by the uncertainties of the moral, psychological, and social bases for tackling them."
(Donatus Nwoga, Nigerian critic).

A further complication arises because certain Western critics of African literature operate dishonestly: that is, either by being too eager to please on a superficial level while maintaining deep-rooted prejudices, or by dilettantishly reading only the texts they are in the process of criticizing without a deeper historical or cultural awareness of them. Often there is no attempt to pay any attention to the indigenous oral literature at all, or the different way in which Africa traditionally viewed the artist and his work.

Understandably, this has provoked much reaction from the African critics and writers themselves, but often with an implicit acceptance of the attitudes they wish to reject. In this regard, the political scientist Mazuri points out that the same nationalism that is capable of acclaiming mediocre African works simply because they are African finds itself deeply offended if the works are acclaimed in the West for the same reason.

The very process of writing in English means that what is originally a foreign language is used to give expression to a tradition very different to that of Europe. This would imply that the so - called 'universal' standards of criticism which go along with English literature are more properly specific to England. From this contradiction stems many uninformed critical attitudes: it manifests itself also in the failure of some 'undigested' poetry coming from Africa at present, a technical avant-gardism often tailing of into private obscurities. The relationship of the writer to his society has likewise become problematic. All too often Western critics expect exactly the same relationship between the writer and society in Africa as has held in bourgeois society in Europe, and expect this to stay the same. On the contrary, however, there has been traditionally a much closer link between politics and oral literature on this continent. In traditional African society the artist was partly identified with and partly separate from the sources of power in his society, functioning both as a voice of his society and of his own vision. But whether this is still possible in toto in modern Africa is difficult to assess.

African writers, often of bourgeois or petty-bourgeois origins, are in the unique position of trying to translate European literary forms to express different concerns, and restore the African character to its history. In this sense many writers, in understanding their alienation and the dubious cultural and educational legacy left them by colonialism, are forced to rediscover their own past. Their writing will therefore to some extent reflect these contradictions. Inflexible or romantic

teleological smudging of the African writer's difficult position often results in criticism which takes no account of class differences within the social formation or, in the case of South Africa, within the dominated classes.

The African writer is also faced with the problem of trying to translate the traditional oral form, which takes place to the accompaniement of dance, music, mime, song and audience participation, to written words on the page. He has the problem of choosing what literary form and audience to try and reach. He has to use social imagery to create as wide a nuance of meaning in his work as possible. He has to realise that if he writes outside of his potential of experience, phoney or naive situations will result. He has to 'tame and traditionalize' imported literary forms. He has to choose whether to readapt the English language to local usage or direct his utterance to the African intelligensia and a foreign audience. He must realise that most educated Africans possess a mind largely trained away from their own cultural background. He is, in short, in the peculiar position where he must reflect the tensions and contradictions of his art caused by a divorce between the substance of his literature and his linguistic medium.

> "traditional African literature is something which exists in our indigenous languages and which is related to our traditional societies and cultures, while Modern African literature has grown out of the rupture created within our indigenous history and way of life by the colonial experience, which is naturally expressed in the tongue of our former colonial rulers.....
> the fact that they relate to different moments and phases in the collective experience and consciousness of African peoples, gives to their present-day, side-by-side existence a certain historical and sociological significance."
> (Abiola Irele).

It is thus my belief that it is time more attention was paid to the social and political position of the writer in a specific concrete situation in Africa. Only when this has been done, can questions of aesthetic and ideological merit have any real significance. It is therefore essential to be clear that the distinction between the material foundations of the writer's position and the forms of appearance of his position does not imply a reduction of the second to the first, and this is precisely why distinctions of fundamental theoretical importance must be recognised. No attempt can, finally, be made to reduce literature to that which underlies it. But the beginnings of a determination of the objective dimensions of our black literature can lead to a further study of all aspects of South African literature.

THE ORAL TRADITION.

Any discussion of the historical development of black writing in South Africa must take account of the traditional oral forms which existed

among its peoples at the time of white expansion from the south. The tensions generated from the meeting of 'traditional' and 'modern' literature in this country point the way to many interesting avenues of research: the extent to which the mediative and moral positions of the oral poet were taken over by early black writers; the use of elements of oral art in an urban situation, particularly among poorer groups; the functional position of the black writer vis-a-vis his oral counterpart, and so on.

Oral literature in its original context is the product of a non-literate communal society. The artist, (that is, the person who creates, adds to or changes a piece of oral literature in a concrete situation) was not separated from his community. It was usually his work, and not his name, which was remembered after his death. Through his utterances, the oral artist entertained, enforced the social system, and preserved historical events and a body of philosophical speculation. Not all the members of a given society were competent to be performers of the society's highest form of artistic expression, which in South Africa was heroic or praise poetry.

In South Africa, no specialization existed in the performance of oral art, in the narrow sense of monopoly of performance of these skills by a particular class or group. Through their skill certain commoners could rise to the position of praise poet attached to a certain ruler, a position with definite privileges and responsibilities. This position depended on the poet's successful acceptance by the chief and the people and was a far cry from the rudimentary form of praises, which is the praising of the individual by himself during group dances (ukugiya). Once installed in his position, the praise-poet interprets public opinion to the chief and the chief's decisions to the people. This allows him both to organise public opinion (to a certain extent) and criticise (subtly or openly) those in authority. His loyalty is not a blind loyalty to a specific chief, but to the principles chieftainship ought to stand for. The praise poet could only be a man who took genuine interest in the welfare of his society as a whole: he had to be well-versed in tribal history and principles.

Praise poems therefore deal primarily with occurences in and around a specific society during the reign of a given chief. They praise and criticise events in terms of the society's ethos, chronicle political and social life of the time and forecast future events by previous examples. Disputes between individuals and even factions were sometimes resolved by poets. The poetry thus expresses society in microcosm: it dealt with concrete events and situations and was rooted in historically traceable social events.

The functions and types of oral forms varied with their purpose as

defined in the society itself, linking up with various social, political and religious events. This linkage between life and art allowed oral forms to also create future positive action, by affirming the continuity of the society. Of course, 'traditional societies' have been altered by capitalist penetration and the dominance of the capitalist mode of production in South Africa, by the radio and the newspaper. It is unlikely that the 'oral tradition' so dearly beloved by anthropologists and folklorists exists anywhere in Africa today in its 'pure' form. There has been a pronounced interaction in South Africa between oral and written forms, rather than a parallel existence. Oral forms can and do exist in conditions marked by maginal or full literacy, and even flourish in a minor role in fully literate societies. In rural areas at least there would appear to be an interrelation - traditional stories learned from school textbooks and at home, the use of proverbs and riddles in modern life, etc.

In modern times it can be expected that the regional interests of the praise-poet will have spread out to national and even international issues. That this has been the case in South Africa is obvious from a study of the praise-poems of Chief Bereng in Sesotho and those of S.E.K. Mqhayi in Xhosa. Mqhayi's poem performed on the occasion of the Prince of Wale's visit to his area in 1925, an exceedingly critical look at British foreign policy and the conditions of existence to which the black man had been reduced in South Africa, is a famous example of this (2). Praise-poems can be applied very successfully to modern themes: The idiom, style and technique of traditional lyrics are easily adaptable to new conceptions. In addition the use of vernacular and symbolic language can sometimes be used to criticise the colonist to his face.

Oral forms are still used in South Africa today for political purposes, although much of this material is ephemeral or suppressed and has ceased to be easily obtainable. Traditional songs, hymns and modern composed lyrics have been used for protest since at least the fifties. It seems likely that praise-poems have also changed drastically as a result of social changes. The material here is scant as well, but Archie Mafeje's account of the Thembu mbongi (praise-poet) Melikhaya Mbutuma is revealing in this regard. Between 1959 and 1963 this poet exhorted his chief, Sabata, to resist the attempts of the South African government to implement the Bantu Authorities Act in the Transkei: he criticised pro-government chiefs such as Matanzima, white officials, the Bantustan policy as well as the policies of Pogo. On occasions he successfully competed for the attention of the audience at political rallies in contests with Matanzima's mbongi. He exhorted Sabata to face up to the cleavages within the Thembu royal house, which were being manipulated by white

officials, and even made a jibe at him for drinking excessively:

> Oh! Thembu, pardon me for a while;
> I wish to fly over like a monkey to the Minister,
> The Formidable Honourable Mr. de Wet Nel.
> To him I wish to say, 'Hail! Bringer of barrenness! '
> He is a bringer of drought in a land of rain.
> Come out men and watch the scorching sun;
> Be careful to protect yourselves descendants of Ntu, lest
> you get sun-burnt.
> I heard a protesting voice, and I concluded that a despot
> is not wanted amongst the people.
> Hail! Bringer of barrenness!

Mafeje believes that the example of Mbutuma shows that the position of the oral poet in a 'traditional' community has changed. Unable to manipulate the same set of ideas and values as both sides in the dispute in pursuing his public function, a role of arbitration became impossible and he was forced to abandon a mediating position and choose sides. In the course of time this mbongi was subjected to severe pressure from white officials and police, and even warned by Matanzima himself. A further interesting point is that although he, like Mqhayi, was literate, he did not write down his poems before performance; some he wrote down afterwards for publication in local newspapers.

A BRIEF OUTLINE 1860-1950.

A living literature was first 'frozen' into immutable book form with the arrival of European missionaries and settlers. The growth of literacy in Southern Africa amongst indigenous people was inseperably bound up with Christian missionary enterprise: to preach 'the word' the missionaries had to learn the language of their victims and reduce these to writing. Eventually translators, teachers and preachers would have to come from among the converts themselves if the proselytization was to be successful. Coupled with this the missionaries were liable to denigrate the oral literature they found, due to their superficial knowledge of African society and unquestioning acceptance of the 'universality' of European literary structures and norms. Some of their converts, eager to accept the new values of the missionaries, were only too quick to follow in the denigration of traditional forms.

The foci of written literature and the values that went with it were originally the mission stations and their surroundings. First at Lovedale, and later at Mariannhill and Morija, books were published in the vernacular in order to reach a larger audience. The earliest publishing and writing comes from the Eastern Cape, due to the fact that missionary penetration was first accomplished there. Xhosa was first reduced to writing in 1821.

The earliest writings of converts appeared in the periodical Ikwezi, succeeded in 1862 by Indaba. The contributors to these were in effect the first literate generation of Xhosa and Mbho (Fingo), centred around the Xhosa diviner and convert Ntsikana's immediate progeny and disciples.

Indaba was followed less than ten years later by Isigidimi samaXhosa. Early figures such as Tiyo Soga, William W. Gqoba, Henry Ndawo and H.M. Mthakathi contributed to these newspapers. The bible and part of 'Pilgrim's Progress' had by this time been translated into Xhosa, and as they were the main reading of early literate converts it was only natural that most of the writing that emerged was of a didactic nature dedicated to contemplating and furthering Christianity. Gqoba, the editor of Isigidimi, seemed to regard praise-poetry as inferior and regarded his own poetry as a medium through which to express religious fervour. Implicit in his work, as among the other early writers, was a devaluation of traditional customs. Yet it was obvious that the converts saw life partly through tribal institutions and partly through the institutions introduced by the white missionary, soldier and administrator:

> "The idea of individual, as against communal, formulation had taken root, but writers did not abandon the traditional style in their expression, nor did they cast aside their folklore. New experiments in versification began to appear, but the traditional forms asserted themselves all the time."
> (A.C. Jordan.)

Indeed, the early didactic tales seem to have a function halfway between the oral mbali (historical tale) and ntsomi (folktale): the writer creates situations to prove his moral point and gives us sharp contrasts between good and bad. Early attempts at writing history were undertaken: these are particularly interesting as the converts had lived through many of the traumatic events that they described (3).

As the military strength of the African societies waned under the onslaught of imperialism, missionary education provided the platform for an alternative form of protest and resistance against encroachment. This is reflected in the debates and poetry sent by contributors to Isigidimi, often under pseudonyms (4). Essays appear in the periodical on subjects such as inter-chief rivalry, colonial iniquities and the War of Dispossession of 1877. G.K., Daniel Zondiwe, W.G., Silwanggangubo and the famous 'uHadi waseluHlangeni' dominate the scene with outspoken debate on a variety of issues. After the demise of Isigidimi, due to its equivocal comment on the Gun War of 1880 and consequent unpopularity among readers, periodicals such as Imvo zabaNtsundu (editor John Tengo Jabavu) and Izwi labaNtu took its place.

Xhosa literature up to the end of the nineteenth century shows the political, social and economic changes affecting the Xhosa and, in particular, the attitude of a small educated group to these changes. At the same time that the elitist nature of missionary education made sure that literacy and access to modern learning were the exclusive privilege of a few converts and their offspring, literacy became a vehicle for articulating a new form of protest. The converts early on became the mouthpiece for a conquered African society, but occupied a rather different position with regard to white society and literature than the people whose grievances they were giving voice to.

Nevertheless, this elite still had a considerable knowledge of their own literary tradition and history:

> "while the literary poets were experimenting with new themes and new forms of versification, the tribal bards who stood by the chiefs and the sons of the chiefs carried on with their compositions in the traditional style.....Towards the end of this period we also find that some poets live fully in both worlds."
> (A.C. Jordan).

Samuel Mqhayi, prolific in literary output from just before the Anglo-Boer War almost until his death in 1945, is an outstanding example of this type of man.A traditional mbongi, he was at the same time a journalist, teacher, novelist and poet experimenting on the written page with European versification. His novels use traditional praise-poems and hlonipha language in places. As an historian, he deals with subjects as varied as the arrival of the Mfengu in the Transkei during the Mfecane and the Mendi disaster of 1917 (5). After the Act of Union, he becomes more and more critical of the ruling regime in his poems. His praise-poems likewise show an increasing interest in matters of national importance. His popularity and standing amongst Xhosa from all walks of life was demonstrated, after his death, by the acceptance of some of the lines of his written verse into the Xhosa language as proverbs.

By the beginning of the 20th century, written black literature has spread further than the Xhosa. The writers of this period still exhibit a marked knowledge of indigenous traditions: Thomas Mofolo and Sol Plaatje, the most widely-known writers of the first thirty years of the century, are cases in point. Mofolo, a Morija convert, had his first novel Moeti oa Bochabela brought out by the Paris Evangelical Mission in 1906. This was the story of a young Mosotho surrounded by 'black darkness' who eventually reaches Europe and, no doubt, civilization. His two other novels were the famous Chaka (1908-10) and Pitseng. Chaka was originally not approved of by the missionaries and there is some suspicion that he was pressurised into altering parts of it before they would publish it. The novel is full of

stylistic features reminiscent of heroic poetry and has an overall didactic tone, as Mofolo seems to be using his Christian values to interpret an African power struggle. Daniel Kunene makes the following point in discussing this work:

> "Thus....in the process of learning to read and write, the black man acquired a new set of values, and inherited the missionary zeal to pass them onto his fellow blacks and, through writing, to his readers. Traditionally, the story-teller had been a moralist, and most of his stories were, to varying degrees, didactic. The writer conceived his task in the same way -- he would both entertain and teach."

Mofolo did not continue with his writings after Chaka had been translated into English in 1931; he plunged into business enterprises and bought a farm in East Griqualand which was eventually taken from him because of racist laws, and died embittered in 1948. However, there were other Sotho writers of impressive stature to take his place: Everitt Segoete, E. Motsamai and Z. Mangoaela transcribed lithoko (praise-songs) and wrote stories which united a Christian philosophy with a continuation of African story-telling traditions and natural philosophy.

After 1910, black writers proliferated: Enoch Guma, Guyban Sinxo, James Jolobe and John Knox Bokwe wrote in Xhosa, John L. Dube wrote a novel in Zulu and Sol Plaatje became a pre-eminant public and literary figure. Plaatje is chiefly remembered today for his political tract Native Life in South Africa (1913) . and the first novel written in English by a black writer, Mhudi (c. 1917, but not published until 1930). He was deeply involved in the struggle for political rights by black people in South Africa, and was one of the growing number of intellectuals in the early years of the century who realised the need for black solidarity, and the place the English language could take as a medium of achieving inter-tribal unity and gaining the attention of other groups to the black man's plight. Together with other literary and political figures - such as W. Rubusana and Dube - Plaatje was a founder member of the SAANC (later the ANC) in 1912. He pamphleteered prodiguously in English and published a collection of traditional Batswana proverbs as well.

Many of the political and literary figures began to coalesce around black newspapers (continuing the tradition started by William Gqoba when he edited Isigidimi). The newspapers were for a long period the only regular outlets for creative writing and assisted in overcoming the problem of lack of opportunities for writers. Dube edited Ilanga lase Natal as a young man; Selope Thema edited Bantu World in the 30's; R.R.R. Dhlomo worked for Ilanga and Bantu World for a period encompassing nearly thirty years; H.I.E. Dhlomo was the political columnist of Ilanga

between 1943 and 1956; Henry Tyamzashe was the editor of the Workers Herald (oficial organ of the ICU) and Plaatje was also a newspaper man.

The intellectuals saw themselves as the educators of their people to a new life-style and system of values during a period (particularly after the 1920's) of ever-increasing urbanisation, and a voice of protest against racial injustice. In the 1920's, the heydey of liberalism, many small groups formed around organisations started by white liberals to cater for a growing black bourgeoisie. The Gamma Sigma Club (1920), Bantu Men's Social Centre (1924), Institute of Race Relations (1929) and Bantu Social Club in Durban are examples. The membership of these clubs was small (mostly under 500) but were an important source of inspiration - through their libraries- and recreation and provided an audience for aspirant young black writers. This audience would mainly be comprised of educated blacks, schooled in the European tradition, many of whom had political links. The concerts, balls, films, Eisteddfords etc. of these clubs showed the aspirations of a 'priviliged-class-which-is-not-a-privileged-class'(in Couzens' words) as clearly as the social columns of Bantu World. There appears to be an acceptance of much of 'European Civilization' and the values of urban life at the same time as criticism of segregation and discriminatory laws.

The existence of the 'privileged-class-which-is-not-a-privileged-class' was closely bound up until the Second World War with the aspirations of the elitist political organisation of the ANC. The aspirant black bourgeoisie in South Africa, from its beginnings, was subject to strong pressures from the state and prevailing social and political conditions. Much of the literature which begins to appear in English reflects the tensions and frustrations of these social aspirations. The writers are noticable for the painstaking use of standard English, imitation of great English literary works and propagation of the values of individualism. Even so, as already stated, the historical and political novels of people such as Plaatje are still conversant with the oral material of their own people, not as a derived reaction to the Eurocentric history they had come accross in schools. R.R.R. Dhlomo, an important figure of the thirties, not only wrote accounts of the evils of life on the mines and a novel in English, but also wrote four novels in Zulu which show his contact with 'the land and spirit of his forefathers'.

Continually through this period there is a concern with the writer setting standards, a function some critics still perceive African literature to have today.

Of the poets, Benedict Vilakazi and the Presbyterian Minister James R. Jolobe both first published in their respective languages (Zulu and Xhosa) in the thirties and then translated their poems into English

in the forties. Both showed a marked knowledge of traditional culture and history, while experimenting with modern poetry forms: Vilakazi wrote a University doctorate on Nguni poetry and Jolobe wrote poems dealing with historical issues of import to the Xhosa, such as the Ngqika - Ndlambe succession dispute of the early 19th century. Together with H.I.E. Dhlomo (younger brother of R.R.R.) Vilakazi fused the European Romantic literary tradition with his own oral literature, and gave this fresh meaning and impetus in an entirely different society. The style of both (Dhlomo is the more radical thinker) relies on direct appeal and outright statement rather than using irony and nuances of language. The European influence in both poets is great: both poets experiment with stanza and rhyme. Vilakazi, however, uses stylistic devices from Zulu praise-poems (izibongo) such as naming epithets, repetition and historical themes.

The growing militancy of African nationalism and the ANC in the forties is demonstrated by Dhlomo's long poem 'Valley of a Thousand Hills', which draws much of its inspiration from the heroes, values and elements of literary forms of the past (6). Three years after this poem was published in 1941, a group of young and radical members of the ANC founded the Congress Youth League. Two of the prime movers behind this organisation were the journalist Jordan Ngubane and, in Natal, Dhlomo. The belief of the more radical CYL that the black movement should not allow itself to be diluted by outside leadership echoes Dhlomo's earlier attack on white liberals, and his perception of the nuances of racists attitudes. The desire to rediscover the African past by now occupied a growing part of the time of African nationalism, as an aid to the more radical ideology evolving and a counteraction to denigration.

However, despite the indication in the work of Ngubane, Dhlomo and Walter Nhlapo of the new and radical ideological slant of the ANC and its policy towards finding a mass base, it was left to another, younger, group of writers to fully articulate this. This young group might be said to have emerged in the late forties, with the rise to prominence of Peter Abrahams and Ezekiel Mphahlele.

The Writer and Apartheid

Thus the rise of the Nationalist party to power in 1948 more or less coincided with the emergence of a new group of young black writers, some of whom - Abrahams, la Guma, Rive, Brutus - were of "Coloured" descent. This generation of writers saw themselves as sharply counterposed to the writers that had preceded them:

"It is the indescribable vanity of every generation to believe that its young men and women are somewhat more beautiful, more plausible, certainly more perceptive and courageous than their elders, who are always assumed to have failed their young...In South Africa this mutual antipathy and the mutual denigration between the generations are made more painful by the greatly varied nature of the challenges presented by each era, so that when the responses are seen to be different the war between the young and the old is afforded extra emotion."

One of the tasks which increasingly came to the attention of the writers of the fifties was the need to publisise the facts of apartheid to an apathetic or incredulous world, a task most of them attacked with much vigour after they had been driven into exile. They had to fight the attitudes of their elders, whom they saw as apologetic and conservative. They consciously defected, in Nkosi's words, from the time-tested morality of the tribe or its substitute, Christian morality. They attacked apparently sympathetic writers such as Paton for distorting both their reality and the type of language they were supposed, by white writers, to speak. Breaking with the previous written tradition, without literary heroes or moral examples, they set out to forge a new literary tradition through autobiographies, novels, short stories, plays and poems.

As with previous generations the nexus of their operations was journalism, in particular through Drum and Golden City Post. The staff of Drum in the fifties reads like a Who's Who of black South African literature - Can Themba, Casey Motsisi, Lewis Nkosi, Bloke Modisane, Arthur Maimane, Todd Matshikiza, Ezikiel Mphahlele and Henry Nxumalo.. The magazine was a symbol of the new African, cut adrift from the tribal reserve, urbanised, eager, fast-talking and brash.

Originally there was a lot of contact with left-wing and liberal whites, a 'shadow' life of tea parties and soirees in the homes of moneyed Houghton and Parktown hostesses, and a fast life in the shebeens of Johannesburg and Sophiatown, which they themselves compared to Elizabethan England:

"It was a time when it seemed thatthe sound of police gunfire would ultimately become ineffectual against resolute opposition and defiance from the new 'prince society' coming together in a spirit of tolerance and occupying a 'no-man's-land' between the two warring camps. Alas, we didn't realise how small and powerless we were."

Eventually the honeymoon was to end, however:

"It became a matter of the greatest surprise to us

> to realise that some of these people (i.e. the whites) were living appallingly empty lives...We had thought their lives immensely beautiful, imagining them to be enriched by numerous glittering concerts and plays we could not enjoy...If everywhere in Europe the virtues of the bourgeois life were visible, South Africa had nothing to show for it except the Johannesburg sky-scrapers, the mine dumps and the Cape blue train."

A large amount of the writing of the fifties seems in retrospect to be aimed at white readers and intended to arouse white consciousness to the plight of those racially dominated. Many of the writers, as before, were political activists - la Guma, Brutus, immediately come to mind. For the first time the problem of combining European forms *with a specifically African situation became an issue among them. Most of* these young urbanised writers do not appear to have had the resources. of knowlege of their oral traditions to refer to as a possible impetus(7). Nkosi, who grew up reading Dumas, Kingsley and Marryat, states that he used literature as a personal shield against a life of social deprivation. Can Themba always carried an edition of Oscar Wilde in his pocket around with him.

> "We have got to wrench the tools of power from the white man's hand: one of these is literacy and the sophistication that goes with it. We have got to speak the language that all can understand - English."

*Only Themba seems to have actually approximated the rhythms of "town-*shipEnglish" in his short stories, despite the fact that most of the writers were aware of the problem and stated they were no longer content to accept their literary standards complete from European culture. In fact, Abrahams had made a speech as early as 1939 to the New Era Fellowship, in which he spoke of the need for poetry to have a material basis and for the poet to be the spokesman of the people. Writers such as Mphahlele emphasised the origins of all writing in speech and the communal social aspect of African writing, but did not seem to take the point far enough.

> "Traditional Africans do not find the need nor the time to write books extolling the virtues of an African way of life. They are too busy living it. That we have such a compulsion to rediscover our - selves from the vantage point of the cafe in Paris, Rome or London, is the measure of our profound alienation from that primal vigour and authenticity with which we so eagerly wish to be associated."

shows a predeliction for the use of Western critical standards. Brutus' poetry, for all his activism,adopts a quasi-religious tone and a stance of suffering in his poems which leave the reader with nothing so much as a sense of his profound isolation. Arthur Nortje's careful

prosody and introspection have even more of this feeling about them, of a man suffering in private agony, cut off completely from his country and his people.

There is consequently an ambivalence in the attitude of many of these writers of the fifties and early sixties and their relationship to Western culture. In a decade when previously elitist groups like the ANC were steadily becoming radicalised, writers recognised a need to reach a wider audience both at home and overseas. This was in keeping with the familiar attitude of being a mouthpiece for the people. It is a moot point whether this aim was realised, unfortunately. Mphahlele discusses his sense of insecurity at being a member of an educated urbanised elite, as well as the psychological pressures bearing on the educated (8). He speaks of a lonely man who is not taken seriously by his own people, yet cannot keep aloof from them and their daily miseries. The respect of the masses for his compeers was undermined, according to him, by those in government employ who compromised their positions. He was hated by the white man for his less servile attitude,often paid less than black semi-skilled workers, and looked on with suspicion by the people.

Yet a section of a similar book to the one which makes the above statements, it is said:

> "The wider setting against which the African intellectual must be understood...is almost precisely the same as that of the non-intellectual. In fact it may not differ very much from that of the non-literate. By 'setting' I mean broad and basic things such as his origins, family background, where he lives and how well he lives. His personal history differs of course, and his view of himself, and the view others take of him. Sometimes, by no means always, his daily occupation differs."

Despite his own mother having been urbanised for 25 years and the family keeping only the language and behavioural patterns of their culture, Mphahlele believes that the black writer cannot help but express an African personality if he merely deals with African themes. Also, insists mphahlele, if a writer's tone is 'healthy' he will express the African in himself. These enigmatic statements are never elucidated and the reader is left to ponder their meaning.

Thus it seems that a great deal of the black literature that grew up in the 1950's is that of a 'repressed elite', or more precisely an African petty-bourgeoisie. The above is difficult to assess except as a petty-bourgeois justification (9). Although these writers saw a great deal more of the contradictions involved in their

position than their predecessors, it seems very likely that their 'break with the past' was too self-conscious to succeed completely, and that their attempts to 'reach the people' were not particularly successful due to the attitude behind their view of themselves as mediators between black and white and their 'educated English'. At its best, this generation produced novelists with the quiet power of Alex la Guma or writers of short stories like Zeke Mphahlele. At worst, the writing is superficially radical and vacuous beneath the posturing. One is left with the impression that, outside the context of the apartheid state, at least some of these writers would be contented members of the bourgeoisie; hence the feeling of identification with white liberals and Western culture rather than the black mass. They may be said, with precision, to be largely petty-bourgeois in origin and very often bourgeois in aspiration. The introspective element, striking of attitudes and self indulgent poetry with nothing to recommend it except a shallow moral position, reflect this. The petty-bourgeois individualism of a Brutus or a Nortje would suggest that a few of this group had only a white, educated or foreign audience in mind as they wrote. This elitism is in contrast to the popular use of music and dance of the time, at the mbaganga parties and musicals.

The crucial part of Mphahlele's (and, following him, Gordimer's) argument, in my opinion, is that the writing of the time is that of a 'black proletariat'. Their assumption of an absolute class-colour correlation in South Africa would obviously allow this view. Gordimer's peculiar understanding of the word 'proletarian' is rendered non-sensical by her later assertion that it is only novels such as Mofolo's Chaka and Abrahams' Wild Conquest which are not proletarian. Both of these are historical novels. Presumably Gordimer isolates these two novels because she thinks that the term 'proletarian literature' refers to its subject matter rather than the class affiliation of its writer. As far as I understand her, this would mean that novels dealing with periods before the domination of capitalism in South Africa could not be proletarian (or capitalist or petty-bourgeois) in ideological rationale.

Nkosi believes that South Africa produced an elite alienated from the black masses but 'saved' from a bourgeois position because of the levelling effect of apartheid. No incentives were present for a class to amass capital in a country which made property acquisition impossible on any scale because of discriminatory laws. This is a more serious argument, but I believe that it is still possible to use the notion of an aspirant bourgeoisie to explain the dislocation between the writers and 'the mass'. It is also more than probable, however, that the writers of this period did not present a monolithic position

vis-a-vis the social formation as a whole; nuances of attitude and opinion very likely based on social position and affiliation are discernable between writers(10).

After Sharpeville an exodus of young black writers from the Apartheid state began, while others were incarcerated in gaol. The explicit prose writing that had emerged in the fifties was halted in mid-stride. The alacrity with which the writers chose exile is, in some cases, disturbing; while the fact that the 'revival' they had begun was cut off so easily suggests something, not only about the suppression they faced in the early sixties, but also about the ephemeral nature of a literature without mass roots and confined to the printed page.

> "It must be stressed, however, that in these novels, the characters are uniformly of the professional, intellectual, middle class, with enough standing in the community to take part in treasonable associations , to have as their friends and associates professional people of all races, to move with a certain amount of ease through the controlling legal forces. Yet in spite of it all, the hold that South African social forces exerts on them is again and again demonstrated and becomes a variation on a single motif."
> (Wilfred Carty, American critic, on the 'novels of exile').

Gordimer is correct to say that some South African exiles write as if South African history froze after Sharpeville. The peculiar circumstances of exile, and the redoubled attack launched on the South African Government from outside by its exiled writers, seems to have eventually led to a rigidification of outlook on what constituted black South African literature. As a knowledge of the iniquities of the apartheid system spread overseas in response to the events of the late fifties and early sixties, a whole range of literary critics, mainly liberal, began to discuss 'the paucity of talent on the South African scene,' 'pictures of pain,' and so on. An enormous list of reasons were drawn up for the mediocrity and thin quality of South African writing, none of which are sufficient explanation in themselves. Censorship, Bantu Education, government attempts at cultural balkanization, self-censorship, hopelessness, lack of coherence of intellectual life, migrant labour, police brutality and the pass laws have been only some of the reasons given. The problem is that very few of the literary critics pay attention either to the position of these writers in their society or the history of South African black literature, its dislocations and continuity.

In their approach to the problem both black and white critics alike tend to a confusion of language and concept. Part of this confusion may at times simply be a result of incompetence on the part of the critic involved (11). However, to pose the question of 'good' and 'bad' literature either on a moral or abstract aesthetic basis only is to misunderstand the contradictions a black writer in South Africa has to face, as well

as the contradictions of existence faced by his art. Nowhere in the criticism is there a precise searching of this very predicament, the individual's place in the social formation as a member of a class. On reading many of the criticisms of South African writers one is left ultimately with a feeling of frustration, a sense of the withering away of the critical faculty of the academics and writers into rhetorical questions and simple moral consensus. One feels, in addition, that discussion of South African literature must begin to go deeper than simple repugnance to apartheid, and probe the basis of the varying reactions of the 'protest' literature to racism and suppression.

CONCLUSION.

This paper has suggested a possible conceptual framework through which the emergence of black South African literature in English can be viewed. This has been in response, mainly, to a tendency among some critics and writers to view the writing of the 1950's and early 1960's as a cultural entity with no visible means of support. It is my belief that the time has come to look at the history and development of this literature both in the vernacular and in English: this would enable the critic to undertake a more accurate periodisation than has hitherto been the case

This by no means implies a deterministic reduction of the literature to its social and economic base. It is not an attempt, in the words of Wole Soyinka, to deny the reality of a cultural entity by ideological relations: but rather to point out that criticism that ignores or pays lip-service to the social and referential nature of works of literature tends to becloud its own judgement. In this sense, some of the worst jargonising about South African literature has come from those critics who believe their concern is with the 'universality' and 'aesthetics' of literature.

I have not called into question the problem of 'bad' literature, or attempted to categorise it with labels of 'committed' or 'non-committed'. Instead I have worked from brief references to oral literature and written literature in South Africa, the latter beginning with missionary conversion and until a few decades ago largely a factor of education. Obviously, the oral and written cannot be treated as two separate categories as there has been a remarkable amount of interpenetration, particularly in popular culture.

What oral literature finds easy - social contact - the written literature in South Africa is now only beginning to work towards: this is in part a move away from stereotyped ideas of a 'privatized' poet reaching his or her audience by the written page only.

In the face of the rigidification of approach to black literature in

South Africa, opposition to apartheid has come to be seen as the primary criterion of judgement of the 'relevance' of a piece of literature. Little comment on more recent writing in South Africa has consequently come from overseas except for the statement that it is 'fettered'. Very few articles I have seen have paid attention to changes of form in the literature and what these might signify, or the audience for whom it is intended. This has for instance resulted in the proliferation of pseudo-revolutionary poetry by exiles eager to conceal any intimation that black poets in South Africa do not speak with one voice.

This is not to deny that a serious black writer in this country today does not face serious difficulties, difficulties which have multiplied since the Soweto revolt of 1976. They are by no means free of the grip of white publishers and Eurocentric critics; and the existence of large multinational publishing houses which do not always work in the best interests of African writers (and do very well out of it) is not a particularly promising sign. (13).

Research must begin to look at class differentiation resulting from the penetration of capitalist relations into the indigenous societies of South Africa in a much more precise way than before; at the proletarianization of black people from the end of the nineteenth century; opposition to specific government actions and how the literature expressed this; emergent class formation among blacks and the hostility of a small but vocal educated elite to government interference for racial reasons, with their aspirations. As Couzens suggests:

> "Research should take careful note of historical developments of black opposition institutions and ideologies. Black protest poetry, in other words, must be seen to reflect differing ideologies just as the black political movements did - often contemporaneously.... While preserving a remarkable amount of unity and continuity the black nationalist movement in South Africa was nevertheless frequently riddled with differences."

In short, the breaks and continuity in black literature in South Africa should be given more attention.

Until the resurgence of black art in the 1970's it was difficult to see this problem in historical perspective at all. I would suggest, however, that attempts to understand and evaluate this literature solely on a moral basis, any attempt to look at the 'mediocrity' of South African writing ahistorically, is doomed to failure.

POSTSCRIPT: the Seventies.

No survey of black literature in South Africa would be complete without some mention of the resurgence of poetry, theatre and music among black artists in the late sixties and early seventies. Of necessity, a brief

mention can attempt little in the way of serious analysis: partly because of lack of knowledge on my part, and partly because the printed page has come to filter out a great deal of what is happening.

The starting point of post-Sharpeville literature is one of writers cut off to a large extent from their own previous literature, due to bannings, exile and urban life itself. If outside influences on writers today do exist, these are probably from black American poetry. The new writers are mainly an urban group whose values have been distorted by Bantu Education and who have been cut off from overt political activity and organisations during their formative years. There appears to be a filtering of the use of literature among them down from the educated elite to a lower petty-bourgeois and even working-class elements. In Soweto a highly politically conscious poetry is emerging from a much wider spectrum of people: at the forefront of this are journalists plus the more recently radicalised elements, such as schoolchildren and social workers.

This emphasis of black literature during this resurgence has been on poetry and plays: only recently have short stories emerged. This is to some extent because poetry is a form less vulnerable to censorship; its compression of language will allow it to be a hiding place for meanings accessible far more to an audience than censors. It has been suggested that the microphone is also a medium difficult to censor (13). Added to this, black writers seem more concerned now to use 'literature' as a means of communication rather than expecting publication in book form to be the culmination of the creative process. Poetry readings and workshops seem to be growing in number in the townships, rather than in magazines still mainly read by liberal whites and an educated black elite. This suggests that the focus of concern of writers has shifted drastically to a black listening audience in place of a liberal or overseas one. Certain poets extremely important in the formation of these groups - such as Phetoe and Tladi - are still almost unpublished and unknown outside of their milieu.

A sense of urgency in the literature and an ignoring of a cumbersome rhyme scheme is coupled with a shifting away from the 'standard English' still prevalent in the sixties. A feeling for nuances of language outside of the experience of white literature or academia is discernable.
A concern for the language of everyday speech and jive rhythms can be seen in the writings of several young poets like Mafika Gwala, Mongane Serote and (rather self-consciously) Sipho Sepamla. Some poets are using drums as accompaniment to readings. A nostalgia for historical figures is paralleled by a greater interest in traditional forms rather than an

English literary tradition. Similarly to negritude, this seems aimed at a rehabilitation of traditional culture and creative impulses; that is, an attempt at cultural reaffirmation. In such a context cultural nationalism must be a factor - what has been made manifest recently is the development of a black ethos as challenger rather than challenged.

There has been a growing interest in self-criticism and the criticism of other South African literatures.As poetry is often being used as a means to express social discontent, the value of the poetry is seen by some writers *as temporary and more instrumental in spreading ideas than as European* 'art for art's sake'. Some of the journalists appear to be using poetry in the absence of any degree of freedom in their profession. Thus whatever medium is malleable to expression is used, and form does in a very real sense become subservient to content.

There are however contradictions expressed in the recent writing as well. It is as impossible for the critic to speak of a single poetic now as it was in the sixties, because of implicit ideological differences among some of the poets. Oswald Mtshali, the most successful black poet in South Africa today, leaves one with the feeling that his 'black art' is still a necessity foisted on him by the apartheid state. His knowledge of history is alienated and indubitably romantic:

> "I remember it as vividly as if that old crone had related it to me only last night. I remember seeing the timeless relics of my past,like claypots,crude iron tools and kilns where iron was smelted to forge assegais,battle axes,hatchets,and of course hoes for tilling the soil...I have given you the background to my culture which will provide you with an insight into my timeless existence and civilization in southern Africa."
> (emphasis mine) (14).

He has similarly been colonized in his attitude to certain literary forms:

> "The greatest tragedy that ever befell the black man in the Southern part of Africa is not that he did not invent the wheel, but that he could not write."

Someone like Gwala, on the other hand, seems to have a far more concrete knowledge of history and class differentiation in his society (see his poem 'Black Status Seekers'.

The increasingly vocal qualities of the poetry recently means that the writers are once again beginning to say exactly what they mean. This has led to more frequent harassment of reading groups and the banning of at least two recent books of black poetry. Most of the writers are still petty-bourgeois in origin, and this again leads one to consider the contradictions inherent in this class in South Africa (15). Problems of political pressure and coercion are still with the black writer:

> "Even if one defied all odds - the noisy neighbourhood,

> starvation, pressure from members of one's extended family and so on - and decided to be a full-time writer in Soweto,one would probably end in prison for vagrancy,or find oneself endorsed out of Johannesburg for being unproductive."
> (Mbulelo Mzamane)

This, one might add,,is a cogent reason why the black artist who wishes to devote full time attention to his work is driven into the hands of white publishing houses and writers' guilds. The acceptance of a certain type of black theatre by white audiences and its subsequent swing towards commercialism is a problem on the horizon in another field. No matter how interesting developments have been, the existence of a mass-based black literature today is not certain.

Kelwyn Sole

Footnotes

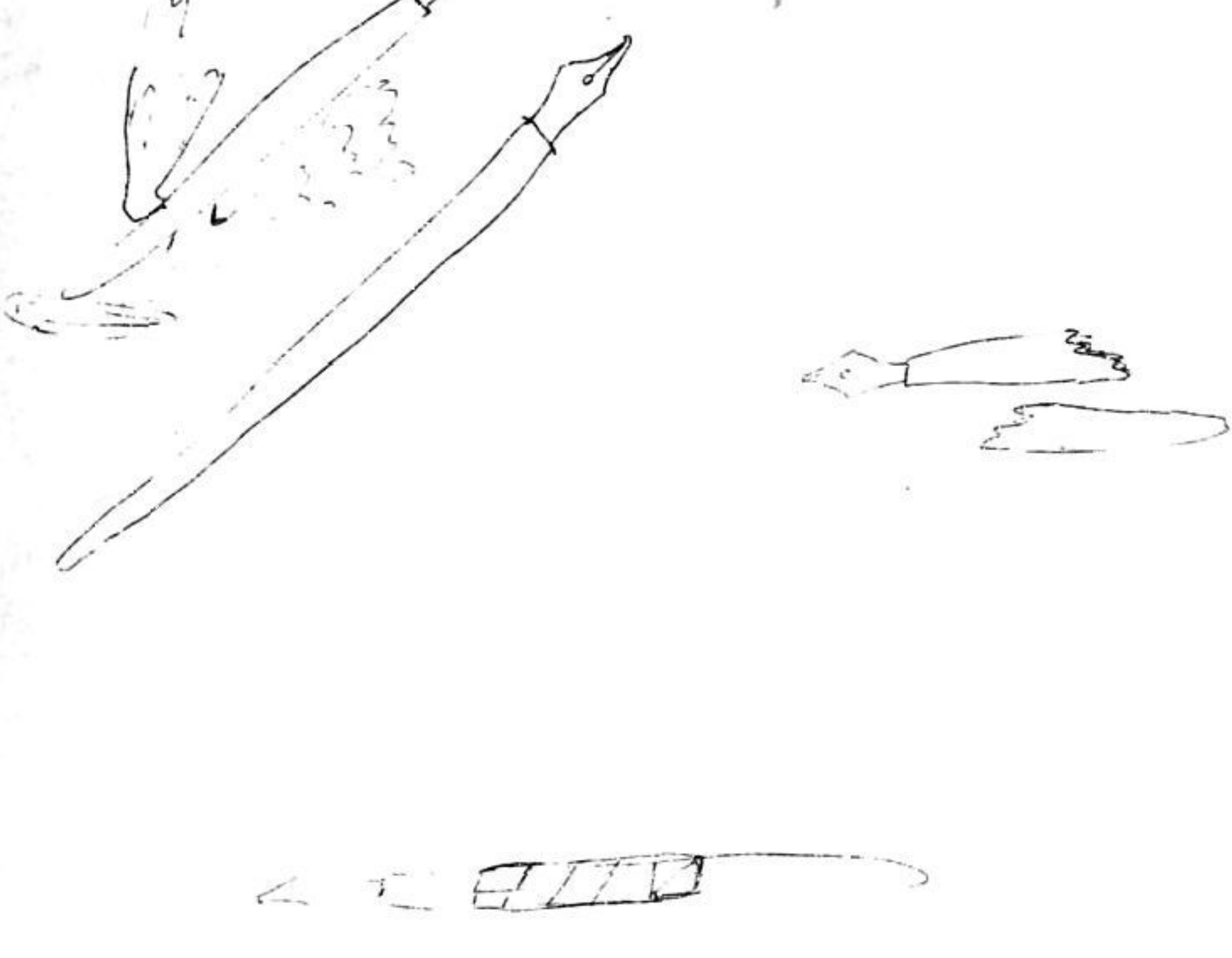
My thanks to Tim Couzens,Sue Brown and Rob Berold for their suggestions.

1. Cases to point: not one black writer or academic was invited to the Conference of the English Academy of Southern Africa on 'South African Writing in English and its Place in School and University' at Rhodes University in 1969. A collection of essays emanating from the 'Poetry '74' Conference in Cape Town contains no black contributions,and only one paper in the collection deals specifically with black writing.
2. Jordan,1973 quotes it in full.
3. See William Gqoba's history of the Cattle-killing. He was 17 at the time.
4. Note the importance of pseudonyms in African journalism right up to the fifties. This would seen to show a desire for remaining anonymous when stating unpopular opinions,or to conceal the relatively small number of writers who dominated the literary scene.
5. For symbolic reasons,the Mendi disaster was to become a favourite subject in the writing of early Black nationalism.
6. I am unsure of the veracity of Parrot's statement that Herbert Dhlomo was familiar with his oral traditions.
7. Mazisi Kunene is,in his knowledge of Zulu oral tradition,an immediate exception to any hard and fast rules about the alienation of black writers of the time from their own traditions.
8. The attitude of the editor of the Star that black journalists should 'knock their English into shape' at the time is well known.
9. The ambivalent nature and role of the African petty-bourgeoisie is discussed by Frantz Fanon,Amilcar Cabral,etc.
10. It is extremely unlikely that all black writers at this time would express completely similar class attitudes. See Can Themba's short story 'The Bottom of the Bottle',and remarks by other black writers that he was 'annoyingly shiftless'.
11. See for example Nadine Gordimer's extraordinary statement that novels dealing with the lives of subsistence agriculturalists are the writings of an agrarian proletariat'. A tendency to misuse concepts is also found in critics who are more radical. Both Matthew Parrot and Isabel Hofmeyr use Freire's 'cultural action' in a completely impermissible way in the context. Parrot's needless reference to Althusserian concepts is of little worth as he does not attempt to relate these to his material by sufficient explanation.
12. Neither the recent rationalization of the Publications Control Board nor the crippling new censorship laws are particularly hopeful for writers.
13. In this it closely paralleles the uses of oral poetry against the colonial rulers in Somalia,Kenya,Guinea,Zambia,etc.

14. Notice how close this is in tone to Hegel's 'Philosophy of History':

> "Africa proper,as far as history goes back...is the gold land compressed within itself,the land of childhood which lying beyond the days of self-conscious history is undeveloped in the dark mantle of night. The Negro,as already observed,exhibits the natural man in his completely wild and untamed state."
> (Quoted by Ngugi)

15. Certain elements of the African petty-bourgeoisie in the Bantustans are now in a position where their interests might not always correspond to a programme of liberation. With any change in political dispensation,the attitudes of some fractions of the urban petty-bourgeoisie might also change. 'Protest' is a rubric hiding multifaceted interests. See Wolpe - 'The Changing Class Structure of South Africa: The African Petit-Bourgeoisie' Mimeo n.d.



Briefing

ENVIRONMENTAL PLANNING AND SOCIAL CONTROL.

The present social and economic crisis in South Africa has largely manifested itself in the urban revolt of the students. There has been participation by other groups, and the disturbances have not been limited to the major urban areas, eg. participation of industrial workers in strike action, an upsurge of activity by the ANC and a spread of the insurrection to rural areas. (It was, for example, reported that schools in 'homelands' had been burned, and police shot dead two people when attacked in a village outside Pretoria in July). But this 'non-student' involvement has been sporadic, whereas the protest of students has been kept up at an incredibly high pitch for some fifteen months now.

The South African social formation cannot, politically or economically, afford a spread of the disturbances to groupings and situations that will fundamentally threaten production - either through withdrawal of labour or, more directly, through a physical threat to the factories and stores. It is in this light that the intense concern with the 'squatter problem' is to be seen, and, more specifically, that the 'squatter problem in the Western Cape' should be viewed. (this is also the title of a publication by the South African Institute of Race Relations).

A glance at newspaper coverage, and a survey of groups involved in the 'squatter problem' will soon make clear that this is an issue that is of far greater importance on the Cape Peninsula than it is elsewhere. This does not mean that the same 'housing problem' does not exist elsewhere in South Africa. Far from it.* What it probably does mean is that the 'squatter problem' is visible from the industrial areas around Cape Town, and that the distinctions and geographical separations that are essential for the functioning of South Africa's form of capitalism have been blurred here. This is what makes the inactivity and, when it does act, inhumanity of the state departments and agents a matter of grave concern to all political and economic groupings concerned with the plight of squatters, or with the economic structure of South Africa.

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*eg. in the 1969 Survey of Race Relations it was reported that there were some 500,000 squatters in Natal but that most of these and most workers could be accommodated in new townships in the 'homeland'. "The Reserves of Natal are so widely dispersed that this is a more feasible arrangement than elsewhere." (p. 179).

The administrative and repressive apparatuses of the state, developed over the years, have managed to contain, direct and control labour to mining, industry and agriculture despite varying degrees of opposition from the working class to these measures. These measures have ensured that townships have not been too obviously overcrowded; that migrants have been provided with 'single' or 'bachelor' accommodation; that the young, old and female dependents have remained in the 'homeland'areas along with an ever growing number of the unemployed. These apparatuses have functioned reasonably well under conditions of rapid economic growth, as marked the 1960's. Even those people who had avoided the migrant labour channels had a very good chance of finding employment and sending remittances back to the Reserves where, by now, a rural economy had collapsed. However, the economic crisis has meant that what had been a rural/reserve 'squatter problem' is increasingly becoming an urban phenonmenon. Remittances are drying up, longer periods have to be spent looking for jobs, the unemployed in the reserves can no longer expect a share of the redistributed wages.

In the other main industrial centres this has not been a problem with the same immediacy as in Cape Town. The 'homelands' are much closer to the urban areas, and this is where the squatters live, in rural slums, close enough to move back and forth between 'home' and the industrial areas where jobs are sought. And not only has this kept the number of job-seekers squatting in urban areas down, but has also kept the families of these people in the 'homeland' and, therefore, largely out of the public eye. This applies also to the families of the 'single' migrant worker who is able to be with his family reasonably frequently. (But this is changing. See the recent reports in the Rand Daily Mail, eg. "From Township to Shantytown").

In Cape Town this is not the case. The closest 'homelands' are the Ciskei and the Transkei, some 800kms. away. It is not possible to 'commute' while job hunting; and the period that it takes to find a job is increasingly making the chances of involvement in the 'informal sector' activities during this period, as an alternative to industrial production, so much greater. Families of both the employed and the unemployed are, therefore, moving to join their husbands and fathers, away from the intense poverty that characterises the 'homelands' even with remittances from migrants.

What is being presented as an 'urban' housing problem' is therefore much more than this. And as long as it remains presented

as this, it is possible to offer what are no more than social control measures as 'solutions to the squatter problem'. This is not to deny that there is a housing problem as well, of greater or lesser importance depending on whether one is talkin
i). 'coloured' squatters with employment;
ii). 'coloured' squatters who are unemployed;
iii). African employed ('legal'); and
iv). African unemployed and employed ('illegal').

But then this 'housing problem' also needs to be situated and explained. Why has the state been unable to fulfil this functio even in terms of a 'middle class', thereby necessitating the direct involvement of capital (eg. through the Urban Foundation

But to return to the urgency with which control measures are being sought, and offered: there are just two cases to be briefly indicated here, viz. the SAIRR publication already referred to (at R4-50 there is little doubt as to the market); and the growing involvement of the universities in training 'controllers' and doing the research necessary for this functio *As 'remedies' the IRR offers the 'upgrading of squatter areas'* (eg. pp68-70), and the recognition, through licencing and taxation, of 'informal sector' activities (pp 87 - 89). These a offered amongst some rather utopian wishful thinking, implying that 'separate development' is completely dysfunctional to capitalism, and that 'appropriate technology' (p 92) and 'furth in-migration' (p 3) will assist 'homeland development'.

Both of the 'remedies' offered by IRR need to be analysed at length. Here it will have to suffice to point out that no reference is made in the bibliographical material of the IRR publication to criticisms of these 'remedies' as applied in Africa. In relation to the first, there has been a brief analys of the World Bank involvement in squatter 'upgrading' outside Lusaka by Tony Seymour; (this scheme is incidentally referred t by the IRR authors).

Seymour writes:

> "Though Third World squatters apparently constituted a revolutionary threat, the 'tide of discontent' could be reduced by reducing their hunger for land and by improving their environmental conditions.....Upgrading was proposed for 'incipient', 'self-improving' settlements inhabited by those already in relatively stable employment; the tendenc these squatters to 'identify themselves as property owners made them 'naturally conservative' and, it was implied, th tendency should be encouraged."

With regard to the recognition of the 'informal sector,' the

IRR report makes much of the ILO report on Kenya and the Maasdorp and Humphreys local application, but fails to even mention the critique by Colin Leys of the assumptions and implications of the ILO report and recommendations. For example, Leys said that

> ".....what stands out about the so-called 'informal sector' is that it denotes primarily a system of very intense exploitation of labour, with very low wages and often very long hours, underpinned by the constant pressure to work from the 'reserve army' of job seekers.....The'informal sector' is in fact a euphemism for cheap-labour employment, based on landlessness and unemployment, and.....the bulk of it is 'economically efficient and profit-making.'"
>
> "A second fundamental feature of the 'informal sector' is that the economic activities (and inactivities) it comprises are linked intimately to the so-called 'formal sector'. What they do is to provide goods and services at a very low price, which makes possible the very high profits and wages of the 'formal sector' (i.e. the monopolistic sector."

The very interesting and useful statisical material and figures provided by the IRR publication tend to hide the implications of the particular approach both to the problem and to the 'remedies' offered.

At South African Universities, the skills of staff and future skills of students have been, and are being, mobilised to research and suggest other 'remedies.

WE REPRODUCE A CIRCULAR AT THE END OF THIS ARTICLE THAT CLEARLY INDICATES THE LINKS BETWEEN UNIVERSITIES AND CERTAIN APPROACHES TO 'REMEDIES'. WE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN INFORMATION ON THE KIND OF INVOLVEMENT OF VARIOUS UNIVERSITIES AND THEIR DEPARTMENTS. EG. WHEN IT STARTED, WHO FUNDS IT, DOES IT INVOLVE STUDENTS/STAFF/RESEARCH/TEACHING etc.

WE ALSO INVITE RESPONSE TO THE ISSUES BRIEFLY RAISED ABOVE.

<u>BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES:</u> (Please supply more information).

The 'social control' material referred to is

Ellis, George, Hendrie, Kooy and Maree: <u>The Squatter Problem in the Western Cape: some causes and remedies</u> (SAIRR 1977), and

Maasdorp, Gavin and Humphreys, A.S.B: <u>From Shantytown to Township</u> (Juta, 1975).

The critical essays are

Seymour, Tony: <u>Squatter Settlement and Class Relations in Zambia</u>. in Review of African Political Economy, 3 (1975), and

Leys, Colin: <u>Interpreting African Underdevelopment: reflections on the ILO report on employment, incomes and equality in Kenya</u>. in African Affairs, 72, 289 (1973).

p.g.m.

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

To : All Members of the Staff
UNIVERSITY

THE URBAN FOUNDATION

Last year a group of 100 businessmen and industrialists in Johannesburg agreed to set up an Urban Foundation, with the object of taking vigorous steps to improve living conditions for black South Africans in the townships. Particular attention was given to the large townships like Soweto.

The Urban Foundation has now been established, staffed and partially funded, and has begun operations. The Director, Dr Robin Lee, has informed me that the Foundation plans to initiate its own projects and to support and fund projects planned by others, particularly University departments or groups. Such projects could be of a practical type or could be study projects leading to practical applications, or could be educational of a practical kind.

The Foundation would prefer to form a link with the University through one or more persons rather than at random with various departments or groups, although once a project is agreed to and is under way, the working link could be direct.

Departments, groups or individuals wishing to apply for the support of the Foundation for a project likely to be of interest to them should please submit such an application, together with a full description of the project with all its financial and personnel implications, to the Chairman of the Committee on Grave National Problems.

G R Bozzoli
Vice-Chancellor

6 June 1977

Indicator

FROM TOWNSHIP TO SHANTYTOWN.

The Rand daily Mail reported (8, 15 and 16/8/77) that "thousands of squatters in the Hoekfontein district in BophutaTswana are living in appaling conditions, crowded into shanty huts with no sanitation or water."

This area is some 60kms. north of Pretoria and the squatters are people looking for work in border industries who are not able to find accommodation in the dormitory townships of Ga Rankuwa and Mothultola.

The 'informal sector' operates in that water is being sold to the squatters for R2 a drum, and more rooms have been constructed for women to use as brothels in order to earn money to pay for water.

Chief Lucas Mangope, next in line for 'independence', will not take responsibility for the squatters and yet there are reports that political thugs are threatening the squatters with violence if they don't support Mangope, or if they talk to anybody about their living conditions.

The South African Government says that the squatters are the responsibility of the Tswana authorities.

Soweto, demand full freedom—KD

THE people of Soweto should demand full political freedom and reject the call for "limited" municipal powers suggested by the Committee of Ten, says Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima.

The Transkei Prime Minister was speaking at Willowvale at the weekend. He said the clamour made by Soweto leaders was for "apartheid in civic administration."

If Soweto people wanted a say in running their local affairs, theirs was to reject separation and to claim full and equal participation with whites in administering the entire city of Johannesburg, Chief Matanzima said.

"Soweto is part of Johannesburg in as much as Langa, Guguletlhu, and Nyanga townships are part of Cape Town.

"How can the people of Soweto sell their birthright instead of demanding full participation in their town councis and parliament of their land?" Chief Matanzima said.

There was no reason why Johannesburg had to be administered solely by whites, he added.

The Transkei leader also made a scathing attack on Soweto leaders describing them as "political cockerels" who had no calim to political leadership.

In an obvious reference to the chairman of the Committee of Ten, Dr Nthato Motlana, Chief Matanzima said "one of the so-called leaders in Soweto thinks that leading people is like mixing medicines."

Urging the Committee of Ten to review their stand, Chief Matanzima said Soweto had no business to demand limited municipal powers, but should follow the example set by the Transkei.

"They must look to Transkei, where we have town councils run by both black and white. We even have mixed town councils in main centres such as Umtata and Butterworth," Chief Matanzima said.

WORLD 15/2/7

WE ARE KEEN
SOMEBODY TO DO
ASSESSMENT OF
'COMMITTEE OF
OFFERS?

If the people need advice, they won't ask Kaiser

By THE EDITOR

IF THE PEOPLE of Soweto want any political advice at all, the last person to turn to is the Bantustan leader Chief Kaiser Matanzima.

Chief Matanzima has distinguished himself as South Africa's paramount political turncoat — and would be better advised to keep his mouth shut. He was host to Bantustan leaders in Umtata not long ago when these gentlemen decided that none of them would ever demand independence in terms of separate development. The dust had hardly settled when he went creeping to Pretoria to negotiate his own independence.

Chief Matanzima is the last person to accuse anybody of selling a birthright down the drain. He has done exactly that with millions of Xhosas now being held to ransom all over the Republic of South Africa, simply because they do not want to become a part of his political insanity.

His obvious jibe at the leader of the Soweto Committee of Ten, Dr Nthatho Motlana, is childish. But in case he labours under a misguided notion, let us assure him that we are both proud and happy with the articulate maner in which Mr Motlana has conducted himself.

For a man who locked up his entire opposition during an election campaign, Chief Matanzima has an audacity and arrogance that galls people. He sold out the birthright of his country for the paltry sum of a few hotels in the Transkei and one day history will describe him as the greatest sellout of his people's aspirations.

INFORMATION

For his information, the Committee of Ten's mandate is on local issues affecting Soweto. Those national issues are left to our national political movements — which a Bantustan leader of his calibre could never understand.

So leave us in peace to do our thing our own way. Stick to managing the hotels and farms which the system of apartheid has been so kind as to provide you with.

COMMUNITY MEDICINE

This is not a formal paper, but a set of tentative propositions about Western Community Medicine and its applications in the South African context.

1). In the eyes of many of its proponents, community medicine is a discipline analogous to clinical practice, differing from the latter chiefly in its sphere of concern. (1)

Kark (2) illustrates this well.

> "Its (ie community medicine's) distinguishing feature is its concern with the community and it is in this respect that it differs from clinical medicine in its history of taking, methods of examination, diagnosis and action.
>
> "Its history taking is in reality a study of the community's history in relation to changing health trends. Its examination both involves the direct health examination of groups of individuals as well as the gathering of knowledge about the state of health of the community.....Its treatment is directed towards modification of the environment, and other factors relevant to the health of the community, or those segements of it at special risk."

2). Discussion of 'community examination' is almost solely concerned with the technical problems of epidemiological research. (ie the formal study of health and disease patterns in society). Little or no consideration is given to the nature of funding sources and power groupings sponsering such research, and to the manner in which these might influence the kinds of problems investigated and the types of conclusions reached. (3).

3). The subject of 'treatment' is commonly handled in a cursory or hypothetical way using examples pertinent to the individual practioner working with a small and circumscribed community, or drawn from societies in which the health problems of the groups under consideration is a matter of national concern. These examples are then extrapolated to other settings in which the same socio-political support is (implicitly) assumed to operate. The validity of this assumption is never rigorously examined. (4)

4). The net effect is to create and perpetuate the myth of a value free and apolitical discipline of community medicine, equally relevant in all societies and at all historical conjunctures. A logical sequitur is the belief that unbalanced health care results from poor medical thinking and deficient edidemiological knowledge - ie from <u>technical</u> inadequacies.

5). In reality, however, the selection of goals in health planning is primarily a political act, for it commonly involves deciding for the population in question what values are to be attained; (5) it is therefore not a technical and analytic act. Thus we discover that in all societies the distribution of health resources (and of disease) is primarily a function of the distribution of economic and political power.

6). In being denied formal training in community medicine, we medical students are being denied a set of potentially useful skills whose true worth is dependent on limits set by the socio-political framework. To recognise these limits is to recognise the true (ie concrete) worth of this discipline.

7). We should be wary of equating the formal Western discipline of community medicine with the kinds of skills which are most noticably lacking in medical courses. We more urgently require training in an intermediate technology of medicine applicable to the health problems and tecnical resources of the 'developing' world.

8). To become truly effective, medicine must attain a political consciousness. It must become aware of its public political configuration (6), of its objective political role, and of the politically determined limits to its action.

Perhaps concerned white practitioners in South Africa should speak less of community medicine and more of committed, engaged medicine.

Footnotes:

1). This paper suggests that the critical point of divergence lies in the sphere of action, which, in the case of community medicine, is politically conditioned.

2). Kark, S.L. 'Epidemiology and Community Medicine'. Appleton-Century Crofts, New York, 1974.

3). We may note here that the most enthusiastic sponsers of 'Flexnerian scientific medicine' were the Carnegie and Rockerfeller foundations; representatives of the corporate class of that time.

4). The assumption is, however, sometimes made explicity. Professor Titmuss' introduction to King's 'Medical Care in Developing Countries' is a case in point: 'Let us suppose that you are Minister of Health for a developing country.....' The implausibility of this assumption constitutes a major failing of the conventional community medicine approach to health.

5). See also Mott, B. 'Politics and International Planning'. Soc. Sci. Med. 8, pp 271-274, 1974.

6). This congiguration has been well characterised as one of 'comfortable, impotent liberalism.'

Ian Kitai.

This article first appeared in NEW PERSPECTIVE, October/November 1976.

TOTAL WAR, DICTATORSHIP AND WHO MAKES THE DECISIONS.

SUNDAY TIMES (13/2/77): " General Magnus Malan, head of the South African Defence Force is talking.....

" He spells out his personal philosophy on war and peace.

"' There are those who see only two basic points of view. On the one side war (which is horrible), on the other peace (which is good). In this situation the soldier who has to do the fighting is seen as a necessary evil. I do not subscribe to such a simplistic view. There is no such thing as total peace at any given time.....

"'The Defence Force cannot be seen as a separate entity. Some see strategy only as the means of fighting and winning a war. But in a mature state the fundamental concept of conflict entails far more than war. It means the formulation of national objectives in which all the country's resources are mustered and managed on a co-ordinated level to ensure survival."

SUNDAY TIMES 13/3/77: GENERAL MAGNUS MALAN SPEAKS WITH BRUTAL FRANKNESS.

(extracts).

A: "All my answers must be seen within the framework of the concept of total war. In this I refer to the Mao Tse-tung interpretation which has become the essential character of revolutionary strategy since the end of World War II.

It implies that every activity of a state must be seen and understood as a function of total war."

Q: "Has any attempt been made to devise such a total strategy for South Africa - to work out a game plan whereby all the different elements are co-ordinated to meet the continuing challenge to our security?"

A: "Yes. There are, of course, two characteristic snags with which we are constantly confronted: The conflicting requirements of a total strategy and a democratic system of government.

The fact that strategy is dynamic and requires constant and continued adaptation. A 'game plan' is, of course, the theoretical ideal. We are working towards something like it within the restrictions inherent in our democratic institutions."

Q: " Would this (coordination with commerce and industry) not require continual forward planning, involving some sort of superbody and coordinated command structures at national, regional and local level?"

A: "I would baulk at the term 'superbody' but otherwise I agree. *I would refer you once again to the problem of reconciling* democratic principles with total strategy within the framework of our existing Constitution."

Q: "At what point would this (coordinated planning at all levels) require a total rethink of all our national resources, including as you suggest, manpower?"

A: "The time for a 'rethink' of all our national resources is now.....

This 'rethink' definitely does not mean changes in the Constitution or social system, but it aims at a *reorientation* of activities *within* the framework of the prevailing order.....

For whites, moderate blacks and unco-operative tribal leaders the issue at stake is survival.....

We must satisfy the country's military needs while at the same time expanding our *peacetime economy. It demands an* unprecedented *economic* flexibility to shift back and forth along a sliding scale between a war and a peace economy according to prevailing priorities.

This demand, on which our survival may well depend, means that the economy must be able to handle at the *same time*: conflict and development; survival and growth; central guidance, free enterprise."

WHITE PAPER ON DEFENCE - 1977 (extracts).

Preface (P.W. Botha, 29/3/77):

" In my preface to the White Paper tabled in 1975, I stressed the growing need for a 'total strategy' which requires every country of the Free World to muster all its resources for survival. The passage of time has confirmed the validity of this assertion and has also illustrated that a credible defence capability is an indispensable element of these resources."

Section 1: General Review.

1. The process of ensuring and maintaining the sovereignty of a state's authority in a conflict situation has, through the evolution of warfare, shifted from a purely military to an integrated national action....The resolution of a conflict in the times in which we now live demands interdependent and co-ordinated action in all fields - military, psychological, economic, political, sociological, technological, diplomatic, ideological, cultural, etc. Germany had already realised this before World War II, and Russia has maintained a multi-dimensional campaign against the West since this war. Consequently we are today involved in a war, whether we wish to accept it or not.

3. ....The striving for specific aims cannot, however, take place in isolation. It must be co-ordinated with all the means available to the state.

5. The RSA has already recognised this need by the establishment of the State Security Council having the following functions:

- Upon request by the Prime Minister, to advise the Government regarding the formulation of national policy and strategy in connection with the security of the Republic, the manner in which this policy or strategy must be carried out, and a policy to combat any particular threat against the security of the Republic; and
- to determine an intelligence priority.

6. As already indicated, one of the functions of the State Security Council is to formulate the total national strategy for the RSA. Total strategy is, however, a complex subject. It can perhaps be described as the comprehensive plan to utilise all

means available to the state according to an integrated pattern in order to achieve the national aims within the framework of the specific policies. A total national strategy is, therefore, not confined to a particular sphere, but is applicable to all levels and to all functions of the state structure.

10. The aspects of national security which require attention on an inter-departmental basis are the following:

- Political action.
- Military/para military action.
- Economic action.
- Psychological action.
- Scientific and technological action.
- Religious-cultural action.
- Manpower services.
- Intelligence services.
- Security services.
- National supplies, resources and production services.
- Transport and distribution services.
- Financial services.
- Community services.
- Communication services.

Together the above fields cover the whole spectrum of national security.

PROGRESS (April 1977) extracts.

"The White Paper on Defence tabled in Parliament recently by the Minister of Defence, Mr. P.W. Botha, has strengthened fears that South Africa may be moving towards dictatorship.

.....Mr. Colin Eglin, Leader of the PRP, raised the question what the exact status of the White Paper was in relation to Government Policy. Mr. P.W. Botha answered that the White Paper was a statement by the Government and not just by his department. No department could table such a document without approval of the Prime Minister on behalf of the whole Cabinet.

The White Paper also focuses attention on the State Security Council, a little known but important statutory body, with the function to advise the Government regarding the formulation of national policy and strategy in connection with the security of the Republic.

It consists of the Prime Minister, senior Cabinet Ministers, the Chiefs of the Defence Force, the Police and the Bureau for State Security, as well as top officials.

The Council is served by the Bureau who has the functions of preparing a national intelligence estimate, formulate a policy on national security intelligence, and make recommendations to the Council."

Under the heading "SOUTH AFRICA MAY GET A JUNTA RULE - NAT MP" Progress went on to say that

"A senior Nationalist MP has told the Sunday Express that the Government would not be able to meet future demands without giving the heads of the defence force a definite say in the decision-making processes in the country, and that South Africa may ultimately be ruled by a civilian-military junta.

His name was not stated. According to the report, he said the present situation in South Africa was so serious that the Prime Minister would be acting completely within his right if he postponed the next general election. The MP thought it possible that he would do so.

It would be naive to think otherwise, he said. South Africa would experience anarchy unless control was centralised under a small and all-poweful executive which could take quick and fearless decisions."

Progress also summarised the weekly column written by Dr. Willem de Klerk, editor of Die Transvaler, written in the Sunday paper Rapport, in which he dealt with the 'diktatuur-praatjies' doing the rounds. De Klerk rejected this line of thought and refused a dictatorship. The reason for the 'praatjies' seems, however, to fit the reasoning by the other kite-flyers.

"'Mense, verantwoordelike mense, begin versigtig voel-voel of 'n diktatuur nie dalk ons voorland moet wees nie.'

Maar die hemele behoed ons, was dr. De Klerk se reaksie. Onder die redes wat hy aangegee het wat as wenslik vir 'n diktatuur gesien word, was:

Suid-Afrika is in 'n staat van onverklaarde oorlog. Dit regverdig diktatoriale magte ter wille van staatsveiligheid. Ons is in 'n skaakmatposisie omdat ons beleid toenemend verwerp word. Swart en bruin gemeenskappe eis swart meerderheidsregering wat ons gaan vernietig. Ons Westerse bondgenote oefen groeiende druk uit.

Die dilemma is dat 'n meerderheid blanke kiesers vassteek by die noodsaaklike verstellings wat gemaak moet word. As ons wil oorleef is dit dus nodig om linkse sowel as regse teenstand te onderdruk. Hiervoor is die demokrasie nie sterk genoeg nie. 'n Diktatuur vir die afdwing van 'n kompromie is al oplossing. Dan sal ons dinge met geweld regruk."

(IT IS HOPED TO CARRY AN ARTICLE IN OUR NEXT ISSUE ON THE NATURE OF THE STATE IN PERIPHERAL FORMATIONS. ANY CONTRIBUTIONS?).

DIE VADERLAND (21/3/77): DENKE VAN DIKTATUUR GEBORE UIT FRUSTRASIE - Dr Joh. J van Tonder, senior lektor in staatsleer, Potchefstroom. (uittreksels)

"'n Magstoename by die uitvoerende gesag is 'n algemene tendens i die twintigste eeuse staatkunde. Oor die algemeen kan dit verk. word teen die agtergrond van die ingrypende veranderinge en probleme op talle terreine en veral die noodsaaklike betrokkenheid van die staat op sosio-ekonomiese gebied ...

Dié denkrigtings (in SA van diktatuur, en van 'n demokraties-christelike benadering) moet gesien en beoordeel word teen die agtergrond van ons huidige probleme: Die kwessie van die Kleurling, die Indiër en die stadswarte; die bedreiging van buit wat aansluitpunte na binne soek; die besondere ekonomiese omstandighede; en die onvermoë van die verbrokkelende opposisie om enigsins 'n realistiese antwoord te bring. Gesamentlik bring dié situasie 'n krisisdenke na vore. ...

Ten diepste is die argumente dus gebore uit frustrasie met die huidige opset se onvermoë om 'n dinamiese deurbraak te maak met die prbleme wat al dringender afmetings aanneem. Omdat daar 'n algemene gebrek aan visie is oor hoe en waarheen, is die diktatu denkers ook nie beperk tot 'n bepaalde groep in die gemeenskap nie. Dit kom voor oor die hele spektrum en dit sluit verkrampte en verligtes in.

Juis daarom kan 'n mens groot vraagtekens plaas oor dié denkrigti Die resultate wat die mag oplewer is onbepaalbaar. Dit hang af van in wie se hande die inisiatief beland."

ATAL WITNESS (25/8/77): MULDER HINTS AT ONE-PARTY STATE

The Minister of the Interior, Dr Connie Mulder, said here yesterday he would welcome it if South Africa became a one-party state, should this come about in a 'normal way'.

Addressing delegates at the Cape National Party Congress, Dr Mulder said the Congress should not create the impression that elections had become bothersome merely because the National Party was strong.

"We are not a one-party state, but should we develop into one in a normal way I would welcome it. It looks as if though it is going to happen. However we should not create the impression that we deal lightly with democracy,' he said."

THE STAR (26/8/77): BRAZILIAN LESSON FOR S AFRICA

An article in the Star under this title carried a glowing report of the Brazilian example of "multiracialism" ("creating an economically prosperous environment in which human beings of all colours can compete to find their own levels"). Here is then the path that could be followed by South Africa, is the message that is offered by RAA Gower, "a South African who has been working in Brazil for the past five years".

There is however one major obstacle, according to Gower: "Unless this all sounds too simple, there is a vital political element to ensure the process succeeds; one that ensures law and order and discipline within a changing or developing society where, because a large proportion of the population is relatively undeveloped and unsophisticated, its influence on the government of the country has to be controlled.

In Brazil this is achieved by a system whereby the President, who is appointed and backed by the military establishment, ultimately has the power to over-rule democratically elected institutions in the interests of 'national security'. ... "

This whole system is then transferred to South Africa: "The question of who should be appointed president is, frankly, a function of the 'establishment' and the power structure which, in a prosperous country, is likely to remain in the hands of those best qualified to control or compete for it. ...

In conclusion, it should be stressed that such a system should not be implemented to safeguard white privilege, but to ram through the necessary social measures required by South Africa, abolish all forms of racial discrimination and apartheid and to put a muzzle on the extremists on all sides. Constitutional safeguards should be introduced and the object of the presidential mandate should be to ensure equality and opportunity for all in a completely free enterprise and capitalist society."

pretoria local

Denis Goldberg, only white political prisoner currently serving a life sentence, together with seven other white political prisoners housed in a special section of Pretoria Local Prison, recently brought a court action against Minister of Justice Jimmy Kruger, the Commissioner of Prisons, and the officer commanding Pretoria Prison.

Goldberg, who was sentenced at the end of the massive Rivonia trial, which included as accused Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Govan Mbeki, was joined in his application against the prison authorities by:

Ian David Kitson, serving twenty years (sentenced December 1964).
John Mathews, serving fifteen years (sentenced December 1964).
Alexander Moumbaris, serving twelve years (sentenced June 1973).
Raymond Suttner, serving seven and a half years (sentenced November 1975).
David Rabkin, serving ten years (sentenced December 1976).
Jeremy Cronin, serving seven years (sentenced September 1976).
Tony Holiday, serving six years (sentenced November 1976).

The application made demanded the following rights:

a). to receive newspapers;

b). to receive magazines and journals of the applicants choice, alternatively

i). to receive magazines and journals on the same basis as non-political prisoners graded in the same category;

ii). that magazines and journals be subject to the same forms of censorship as imposed on non-political prisoners;

c). to write and receive letters uncensored except inasmuch as the security of the prison is concerned;

d). to have conversations with visitors which are unrestricted save where prison security is involved.

In a lengthy sworn affidavit placed before the court, Goldberg sets out details of the conditions he and the other political prisoners are living under. Goldberg, who was born on April 11th, 1933, received his life sentence at the age of 31. In South Africa, for political 'offences', a life sentence means precisely that -incarceration for the rest of one's natural life. There is no remission of sentence, and thus far the ruling government has shown no signs of reconsidering the cases of those men currently sentenced to die in jail - unless a change of government takes place.

Goldberg, who currently holds the degrees B.Sc (civil engineering), B. Admin., B.A. and is currently studying for a Bachelors degree in library science - he is not permitted to undertake post-graduate work - states in his affidavit that

"The applicants are all serving their sentences at the Pretoria Prison in a section which is entirely set aside for white political prisoners and as such they do not mix, associate of have contact with any other group or category of prisoner.

The applicants are all presently subjected and some of them, have for lengthy periods, been subjected to very severe restrictions in regard to the receipt by them of news, newspapers and periodicals."

These restrictions, most of which the prison authorities admit to, include

a). a total prohibition on the receipt of any newspapers;

b). a similar prohibition on news periodicals;

c). a prohibition on journals which are available to the general public, including publications related to literary matters;

d). magazines and journals which are received are censored so as to exclude ALL news items of contemporary events, even those of a wholly non-political nature;

e). letters received and written by prisoners, and conversations during the occasional visits allowed, have to exclude all allusion to, and discussion of, contemporary events, and are restricted to 'domestic matters.'

Included in the lengthy list of publications totally prohibited are:

South African Digest (published by the Department of Information).
The Financial Mail.
Personality.
Optima.
Times Literary Supplement.
Time and Newsweek.
New Nation (edited by Nationalist senator Dennis Worrall).
Archimedes, a journal dealing with mathematics.
All foreign publications, except for British Chess Magazine, and Football Ne

Publications allowed include Argosy, Rooi Rose, Fair Lady, Farmers' Weekly, the South African edition of Readers' Digest, Top Sport, and Public Works Construction and Transport.

However, even these unstimulating and rather banal publications for men of the education of Goldberg, are censored to delete all references to contemporary events. Large chunks of publications are totally removed, and Goldberg recalls

"one edition of the Financial Mail (when it was still permissable to receive this publication) which only contained the advertisements at the front and the back and only a small portion of the body of the contents. In one edition of 'South African Garden and Home' an article on the residence of the State President was deleted".

This Goldberg knew from the index, which had not been excised.

All periodicals received by the politicals must be returned to the prison authorities after a period of time, but through keeping a list of the size and location of deletions, and submitting these to lawyers, examples of the censorship imposed have been detailed.

The list is long, running into dozens of pages, but a representative sample is set out below:

> An Allied Building Society Advertisement, which referred to the current international oil crisis, was censored, as was a Prudential Assurance Advertisement, which dealt with a scheme for insuring soldiers serving compulsory military service in and around South Africa.
>
> An article which referred to the fact that, at the West German Olympic Games, certain competitors were killed in an international incident, was removed entirely.

The political prisoners are not permitted to receive or write letters about political or any other current events, nor are prison conditions or other prisoners allowed to be referred to. The contents of the letters are therefore, claims Goldberg,

"confined to domestic, personal and social matters and general trivia."

The other major area of complaint set out by the applicants relates to the occasional visits they receive. During these visits, which are of a usual duration of 30 minutes, they are not allowed to discuss any current events at all, and the visitors are told that if this rule is not obeyed, the visits will be stopped. During the visits, there are always prison warders in close proximity to both the visitor and the prisoner, and this, claims Goldberg, inhibits free conversation. The pettiness of the Prisons' Department approach is shown up where Goldberg tells of a visitor who was

> "stopped in the course of telling a story of how in the United Kingdom the pressure on lavatories increased during breaks for commercials in the course of each programme in this series," (the series involved being The World at War).

It would appear that even news of an historical television programme, and an anecdote about its popularity, is considered inappropriate for political prisoners in South Africa.

Concluding his affidavit, Goldberg writes

"I submit further that the conduct complained of constitutes cruel, inhuman and unnecessarily harsh punishment and double deprivation adding excessively to the loss of liberty inherent in imprisonment, and is tantamount to psychological mistreatment of the Applicants, producing as it does an effect of alienation and disorientation in regard to the world outside of the prison. It adversely affects the quality of our relations with family and friends....."

Censorship is of "such an arbitrary and grossly unreasonable, petty and irrational nature that those responsible therefor could not have applied their minds in good faith....."

Goldberg finally explains why he has found it necessary to actually make an application to court:

"Since 1964 I have respectfully raised the matters complained of with various Ministers of Justice, Commissioners of Prisons and the Commanding Officers, and have even written to the Prime Minister. I have made representations

to Judges and also to the Commission on Penal Reform which rejected the memorandum signed by several of the applicants on the main ground that it was concerned with 'penal' reform and not 'prison' reform. The attitude of the Respondents or their predecessors in office has however, remained unaltered."

In a replying affidavit, Brigadier Gert Nieuwoudt du Plessis, of the Prisons Department, opposes the application made for relief by Goldberg and the other white political prisoners . While admitting most of the facts of Goldberg's allegations, he claims that what is being applied for are privileges not rights, and accordingly totally within the discretion of the Prisons Department.

du Plessis sets out the criteria for censorship applied, which is done by prison authorities.

"Censorship of permitted magazines is done with particular reference to certain prisoners depending on their potential as security risks and with the following in mind:

i). avoiding sexually stimulating matter;
ii). avoiding inflammatory or seditious matter;
iii). avoiding matter which advocates or propagates unlawful ideology;
iv). avoiding matter which could advance or assist in breach of security."

In addition to those examples of censorship noted above, Goldberg details some of the books which he is not permitted. These include the Penguin History of the U.S.A., and a set of the complete works of Afrikaans poet C.J. Langenhoven. Also forbidden is Dostoyevski's book, The Idiot.

In addition to his argument that what the applicants are seeking are privileges, rather than rights, du Plessis claims that the practices undertaken accord with internationally accepted norms for prisons and treatment of prisoners.

Yet investigations of internationally accepted regulations for the maintenance of prisoners contradicts this claim of du Plessis'. Section 39 of the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (U.N. Document, New York, 1958) reads:

> "Prisoners shall be kept informed regularly of the more important items of news by the reading of newspapers, periodicals or special institutional publications, by hearing wireless transmissions, by lectures or by any similar means as authorised or controlled by the administration."

The United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice section notes that, inter alia, the following countries have implemented rule 39: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, U.K. and U.S.A.

du Plessis claims that the 'political prisoners' do not receive treatment which discriminates against them in comparison with non-politicals of the same category.

Yet both Rabkin and Suttner claim that, while they were being held as

awaiting trial prisoners, they became aware of other non-political prisoners who received newspapers and even had radios. They claim that some prisons they were held in broadcast radio programmes to all the cells.

Having heard argument, the Judge, Justice Curlewis, found in favour of the repondents, and ruledeffectivaly that what was being requested by the applicants were privileges, and accordingly within the discretion of the Prisons Department.

This may well be a strictly correct interpretation of the law, for as with so much of South Africa's legislation, the Prisons Act is both archaic and repressive. Nonetheless, the actions of the Prisons Department, and the Judges failure to comment on those actions, leaves one with a sense of disquiet. Much of what is detailed by the applicants throws the pettiness of South Africa's bureaucratic structures into relief.

John Mathews tells of a visitor being stopped from telling him of funeral arrangements being made for Braam Fisher.

Alex Moumbaris notes that he receives only two publications, Top Sport and the Afrikaans magazine, Huisgenoot.

When his mother came to South Africa to visit him, all conversations were required to be held in English, so that prisons official present could follow what was being said. Yet his mother, who is fluent in Greek and French, speaks almost no English.

When writing to his wife in France, Moumbaris asked her to provide money for the application to court demanding the rights outlined above. This part of his letter was censored by the prisons authorities.

Raymond Suttner's brother, John, tells of informing Raymond of the banning of Mary and Tanya Simons in Cape Town, and immediately being stopped by the warder present. He then moved on to news about their younger brother, Alan. In a sworn statement, John says

"I mentioned that Alan had been offered a few jobs in Australia, including one diving for treasure in sunken ships. I also said that he was supposed to take some photographs in South Africa before he left. Alan took sports photographs as a part-time job at schools.

At this point the warder interrupted and told me to change the subject..... We contended that this was a family matter, and had nothing to do with politics or news. The warder replied that we had spoken enough about him and that we must discuss something else.

Raymond and I felt that this was wrong and Raymond told me to write a letter to complain about this treatment.

I said I would and at this point the warder terminated the interview. The interview lasted less than twenty monutes. The usual time allowed is thirty minutes ....."

And then one must remember the cases of Rabkin, Cronin and Holiday, the

most recently sentenced white political prisoners:

Rabkin, the holder of a B.A. (hons) and Ph.D degrees, receives no public

Cronin, a B.A. (hons) and M.A., and at the time of his arrest a lecturer in Political Science, receives no publications;

Holiday, a senior reporter on a Cape Newspaper at the time of his arrest, a man who lived for the understanding and interpretation of trends and dynamics, receives no publications.

The application has failed. Conditions remains the same for those white political prisoners who turned their backs on the privileges offered them by apartheid society. The court has ruled that, what before their incarceration would have been taken as basic for survival, is now a privilege dependent on state officials who are a very part of the structu the applicants sought to change.

SOMEONE WILLING AND ABLE TO UNDERTAKE RESEARCH INTO CURRENT AND RECENTLY COMPLETED SECURITY TRIALS IS NEEDED. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT A SALARY MAY BE AVAILABLE FOR THIS IMPORTANT JOB. LEGAL TRAINING IS NOT NECESSARY BUT A WORKING UNDERSTANDING OF SECURITY LEGISLATION IS ESSENTIAL.
PLEASE CONTACT THE EDITOR.

robben island

Ten Robben Island prisoners, serving lengthy sentences under the Terrorism and Sabotage Acts, have recently been involved in litigation against Minister of Prisons, Jimmy Kruger, and certain of his prison officials.

They include five of the accused in the mammoth SASO/BPC trial, which ended in the conviction of a number of prominent leaders in the Black Consciousness movement. The five are

Saths Cooper
Aubrey Mokoape
Strini Moodley
Gilbert Sedibe
Muntu Myeza.

The other applicants, convicted under the Sabotage Act in Cape Town during December 1976 are

Bertram Gonsalves
Rudolph Knight
Joseph Plaatjies
Owen Stuurman
Justice Stuurman.

Originally, nine of the above were charged under prison regulations for refusing to continue work in the lime quarry of Robben Island. The trial was due to take place under the auspices of the Prisons' Department, but strong exception was taken to this by the 'accused', and eventually the trial was held in a specially convened magistrate's court on the Island.

After working in the quarry for four days, the prisoners became unwilling to continue work under new conditions imposed by a particular warder. They alleged that these new conditions were dangerous, and might lead to serious injury.

Colonel J. Richards, officer commanding the maximum security prison on the Island, ordered them to continue the work, and when this order was not complied with, the prisoners were charged with a breach of prison regulations.

In February 1977, while consulting with their legal representatives in connection with these pending charges, the prisoners (who were seeing their lawyers individually) alleged that while working they had been viciously assulted and had dogs set on them. One prisoner allegedly showed a lawyer a dog bite on his body.

As the legal representatives were only permitted to discuss the charges pending under prison regulations with the prisoners, they

approached Colonel Richards, officer commanding, for permission to consult their clients about the assults.

Richards responded by refusing the request, claiming that the matter had already been investigated, and that no charges were to be pressed against prison officials.

Meanwhile, in March, the 9 were acquitted of the charges relating to the refusal to obey Richard's instruction to return to work. The magistrate accepted the accused's version that conditions in the quarry were dangerous, and found that Richard's order was therefore unreasonable.

At this stage, the ten mentioned above found it necessary to petition Cape Town's Supreme Court for the right to consult their legal advisors about the alleged assults.

In August, the presiding Judge overruled the Commissioner of Prison's ruling refusing access to the prisoners, saying that the Commanding Officer had misused his discretionary powers.

The same legal representatives applied for permission to consult with the SASO/BPC nine (five of whom are involved in the assult allegations) on the pending appeal against their conviction and sentence by Justice Boshoff in the Transvaal Supreme Court. This permission was refused.

The attempt by the ten who allege assults to bring this matter into the open through their legal representatives therefore still remains unresolved.

We juxtapose a statement by Minister Jimmy Kruger with the above facts:

> "Prisoners who are serving sentences in terms of security legislation do their utmost to make circumstances as trying as possible for warders by way of defiance, refusing to work and trying to test their patience as far as possible.
>
> Continual trivial complaints are laid against members almost daily.
>
> As these prisoners seem to have no lack of funds, they use legal representation freely and try to gain as much publicity as possible in order to smear the department (of prisons) and the Government.
>
> The department is in possession of documents proving this statement beyond doubt."

Money for security trials

RDM 24/5/77

Political Staff

THE ASSEMBLY. — The commission of inquiry into voluntary contributions has found that there is no control over funds sent from foreign sources for defence costs of people involved in security trials.

Referring to a report in a Transvaal newspaper in May, 1975, which said that R25 000 a month was being paid for the legal costs of the accused in a mammoth trial involving members of the South African Students Organisation (Saso), the commission said that the main charge was one of overthrowing the State by revolutionary or violent means.

"It is conceded that any person who is charged with an offence ought to have the right of good legal representation, and the South African system of justice makes provision of legal representation without cost. But the availability of money from overseas for trials in which State security is involved, is a highly undesirable situation."

CENSORSHIP AND CRIMINAL RESPONSIBILITY.

A recent ruling of the Transvaal Provincial Division of the Supreme Court has rendered even more limiting the already silencing Publications Act of 1974, and also has ominous implications for those committed to freely articulating criticism and alternatives to South Africa's socio-economic system.

Sean Moroney, sometime editor of WITS STUDENT, published by the Students Representative Council, University of Witwatersrand, was originally charged in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court for producing two 'undesirable' publications. These two publications were the WITS STUDENT editions of 4th and 11th August, 1975.

The magistrate convicted him on these two counts, and sentenced him to a fine of R200 or 50 days, suspended.

The implications of the magistrate's findings were considerable, and Moroney accordingly took the matter on appeal. In judgement, acting Justice N. Philips, with Justice D. Curlewis concurring, upheld the decision of the magistrate, and confirmed sentence and conviction.

The essence of the case revolves around criminal responsibility for producing a publication which, subsequent to production, is found to be 'undesirable' by a committee of the Publications Control Board, and banned.

Moroney appealed against the magistrate's finding on the grounds that

i). he erred in law in ruling that the provisions of the Act apply to publications produced prior to the finding by a committee that they are 'undesirable';

ii). The magistrate ought to have found that no offence was proved by the state in the production of the two WITS STUDENT editions in question.

In a request for further particulars, Moroney's defence asked the State to show precisely what was undesirable in each publication, and in what way this was so. The response was that

"This is not known to the State."

Section 8 (1) (a) of the Publications Act, the section Moroney was convicted under, reads as follows:

"No person shall produce an undesirable publication or object."

According to Acting Justice Philips, this section has a 'stark simplicity', and 'states in bold, unvarnished terms that the producer of an undesirable publication or object commits an offence. Thus it makes no difference when he does so, whether before or after a decision of a committee as to the undesirability of the publication."

Moroney's defence council, Advocate Ernie Wentzel, argued that if the decision of the magistrate was allowed to stand, then the undesirability

of a publication is totally proved merely by a decision of a Publications Committee, and a notice in the Government Gazette to that effect. If this is the case, then the trial court has no right to enquire into the 'undesirability' of the publication, and must accept the ruling of the Publications Control Board, thereby finding the producer guilty of an offence.

Wentzel pointed out, in argument, that Moroney had faced a prosecution in which it was not possible to challenge the fact that his publication was 'undesirable', and that even on conviction, he could not argue that in mitigation his publication was not undesirable. Accordingly, the unilateral decision by the committee had, in effect, the result of an automatic conviction at the trial, in which the only real function of the court was to pass sentence.

The finding of the Supreme Court was to confirm this position.

It was held that this did not prejudice the producers of publications, because, in the Judge's words,

"The producer must be presumed to know the character of the publication or object which he has produced. Once 'produced', he has no further function to fulfil in relation to it and he has either committed the offence at this stage or he has not."

Later on in judgement, it is held that the mere fact that the publication "is declared to be undesirable by the Committee only after it has been produced does not affect the issue. In fact, in the very nature of things, this is inevitable. A person in the position of the appellant can adequately protect himself by submitting his publication (or object) to the committee in advance. If he decides that to do so would unduly hamper his activities, and he proceeds to produce the publication without doing so, he is consciously taking the risk of prosecution."

In other words, unless one wishes to submit to the prior censorship of a notoriously inconsistent, narrow minded and oppressive Publications Control Board, one must face the risk of prosecution.

This is a shattering decision when one recalls that the PCB, in considering a publication, need not hear evidence from its producer (and this was indeed the case with WITS STUDENT.)

But it becomes even more horrifying when one notes that the Boards, appointed by the Minister of Interior and leader of Transvaal National Party, Connie Mulder, contain people of the calibre of Ettiene Malan, sometime member of the government appointed 'Schlebusch' Commission set up to investigate and destroy NUSAS and the Christian Institute. Indeed, Malan is chairman of one of the boards.

A specialist memeber of another board is Professor Andrew Murray, state 'expert' witness in last years trial of the NUSAS 5. In evidence, Murray attempted to interpret various documents, and his conclusions were both contradictory and highly prejudicial to the accused.

Under the skillful cross examination of defence leader Arthur Chaskalson, Murray proceed to recant on almost every allegation made against the NUSAS

accused -so much so that the state barely relied on his evidence in arguing for a conviction against the accused.

In the protected rooms of the Publications Control Board, however, Murray's archaic and often outrageously incorrect assessments are not subject to examination by minds more competent than his. On his decision, no doubt, many publications are banned, and in terms of the Supreme Court finding, the producers are automatically guilty of an offence, and liable to fines and jail sentences which rise steeply with second and subsequent convictions.

A final point remains to be made. It relates to authority for prosecution. No prosecution may be undertaken without the express permission of the attorney general in the relevant area. The path is now cleared for a systematic but selective persecution of opponents of the present regime who have been bold enough to openly express their views and criticisms.

81/772559
(Z. 14.)

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA. REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Verw. Nr./Ref No. P77/6/108

KANTOOR VAN DIE—OFFICE OF THE

NAVRAE/ENQUIRIES:

Tel No. 47-1150 X 28

Directorate of Publications
Private Bag 9069
CAPE TOWN
8000

Kindly note that a Committee of Publications decided that the above-mentioned publication is undesirable within the meaning of section 47(2) of the Publications Act, 1974.

This decision will be published in the Government Gazette on 15 July 1977.

Kindly note that in terms of section 8(1)(a) and (b) of the said Act it will be a legal offence to continue producing and/or distributing the said publication in South Africa.

Yours faithfully

PUBLICATIONS CONTROL.

We reproduce below some of the reasons given by the Director of Publications, Publications Control Board, for declaring CRISIS No. 3 and all future editions 'undesirable'.

"4 (a) Violence.

i). The publication consistantly seeks to justify illegal violence such as occured at Soweto and Langa. The following instances, inter alia, were considered by the committee.

ii). On the cover a cartoon....is accompanied by the words 'Violence breeds violence'. The Editorial on p. 2 seeks to justify such secondary violence, which included murder, arson, stoning of persons and property and deliberate incitement - eg. "Violence.....is often the response of the people to intolerable situations.....Law backed by violence is used to protect citizens to preserve....ideological order."

iii). On p.2 it is also stated 'ours is a violent society' and 'However, our violence, if so continued, will undoubtedly lead to a more blatant and bloody violence.'

iv). On p. 12 one of the leading figures in South Africa who tries to justify Black violence, Rev. C.F. Beyers Naude, is quoted.....with apparent approval.

v). On p. 14 the article 'migrant labour' includes amongst the violent consequences of migrant labour the following: Illegitimacy, bigamy, prostitution, adultery, disrespect of the law, urban expansion without adequate welfare facilities and resentment. This is a gross and inciting misuse of the word 'violence'.

vi). On p 15 Breytenbach, who is serving a nine years' sentence for contravening the Terrorism Act, is quoted as complaining that much poetry is 'no longer a threat to the existing order, not a tool or weapon.' "

The committee also criticises CRISIS by saying that

"it could hardly be claimed that one has to do here with a publication with carefully formulated and high academic dialectics."

(b). Threats or Predictions of War or Armed Struggle:

These are found in, inter alia, the following passages:

(i). In the Editorial on p. 2 it is stated:

"We need to remove all reasons for the use of violence.....If this is not done the penalties we will pay will be high. We will draw even closer to the day when all South Africans - Black and White - will pay the final penalty in the violence and counte-violence of a bloody war.
LET THIS LAND BE FOR THE LIVING AND NOT FOR THE DEAD."

(ii). On p. 6 terrorism is justified as follows:

"Non-violent campaigns and protest having been suppressed with violence, the main opposition organs (ANC and PAC) begin to prepare for armed struggle."
iv). Also please see no. 2 para 3: "White South Africans of today and tomorrow are forced to choose between dying for the sake of their uncontaminated albino purity, or striving for the freedom of all the people of this country."
The insistance of the dichotomy in the quoted extracts, between war and bloodshed on the one hand, and acceding to Black demands on the other, is prejudicial to the Security of the State....

(c). Killing:

Closely related to the above are the two statements on p. 2: "Ours is a violent society. The homelands, because of health injustices, act as child extermination camps.", and "Apartheid has gone one step further than killing. It has devised a plan to starve its people of health care."

These satements are not merely metaphors - they are outrageous accusations against the authorities who, whatever their shortcomings may be, are at least making a sincere attempt to provide health services for the Black people, vastly superior to the latter's own traditional methods. Such statements are prejudicial to the peace and good order and the general welfare.....

(g). The Law is brought into Ridicule or Contempt:

Instances of this are:

(i) The statement on p. 4 that, for instance, a person who double parks her car, thus obstructing the traffic, was guilty of terrorist activity. The truth is that the courts have more than once had the occasion to interpret the Terrorism Act and, in the light of the decisions handed down, the statement in CRISIS is more than merely ridiculous - it is undermining the law.

iii). The whole article on pages 4 and 5 is an inciting and distorted attack on the Terrorism Act, which is referred to as the 'Terrorist Act' and 'An Act of Terror'.

(h). Organs of Justice, and of Law and Order are brought into Contempt:

(ii).....The accusation that General van den Bergh "is so ideologically *committed to apartheid ideology that he has little regard for either* justice or humanity" may be libel - or something close to it. The article is calculated to undermine state security and its closely associated body, the Bureau, which, in fact, has its counterpart in most Western Nations and was established as a result of a Judicial Commission of Inquiry (the same type of inquiry, incidentally, which leftist opponents of Government policies determinedly call for on the least provocation, and whose findings

they even more determinedly reject if, as in the case of the Snyman Commissio and the Rivonia conspirators, they do not agree with the contents).
(iii). The Police and the Prison Administration are, in line with the idea that a revolution can only succeed if the forces of law and order are undermined, the main target of the publication.....
The article "Solitary Confinement" on page 3 is calculated to make the prison administration appear in a brutal and sadistic light. Solitary confinement is a disciplinary procedure recognised by the "Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners" adopted by the United Nations in 1955 and to which the Prisons Act and its regulations basically conform."

Reproduced below is a list of student publications banned in 1977.

A. UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

1. Varsity No. 2/1977
2. Varsity No. 6/1977
3. "Z" Vol 2 No. 2 (SSD)
4. "Z" Vol 2 No. 3 (SSD)
5. "Z" Vol 2 No. 4 (SSD)
6. Pamphlet: SOLIDARITY
7. Pamphlet: MANDELA BANISHED
8. Action No. 4/1977
9. Pamphlet: WHY MUST I BE A PERPETUAL VICTIM OF CHARITY.
10. THE RIOT POLICE AND THE SUPPRESSION OF TRUTH.

B. UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

1. Pamphlet: JUSTICE (IMC)
2. Pamphlet: EDUCATION (IMC)
3. Pamphlet: HEALTH (IMC)
4. Pamphlet: RESOURCE EXTRACTION (IMC)
5. Pamphlet: TORTURE WOMEN (IMC)
6. Crisis No. 1(Students Africa Movement)
7. Crisis No. 2 April 1977 (SAM)
8. Wits Student, 4 April 1977
9. Crisis No. 3 (SAM (and all subsequent issues))
10. Health and Violence in South Africa (IMC)
11. State and Nomzano Winnie Mandela (SAM)
12. Wits Wits 1977 (Rag Committee)
13. Wits Student, Special June 16 edition).

C. UNIVERSITY OF NATAL

1. DOME 2/1977
2. DOME 3/1977
3. DOME 5/1977
4. DOME 7/1977
5. DOME 9 : 16 June 1977
6. Pamphlet: 16 June 1977
7. Terror Pamphlet: SDA Natal
8. SOWETO Pamphlet: S.R.C. Natal
9. SO-WHERE-TO Pamphlet: SDA Natal
10. SO-WHERE-TO Pamphlet: SDA Natal
11. CRUX No. 2 A.C.T. Pmb
12. CRUX No. 1 A.C.T. Pmb.

D. RHODES UNIVERSITY

1. RHODES Vol 31 No. 2
2. RHODES Vol 31. No. 3

E. NATIONAL UNION OF SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS

1. National Student No. 1/1977
2. National Student No. 2/1977
3. Introducing Africanisation : Poste
4. Africa's Future is our Future : Po
5. Africa's Problems are our problems

Bakunin: We have already stated our deep opposition to the theory...which recommends to the workers, if not as final ideal then as the next major aim - the foundation of a peoples' state, which, as they have expressed it, will be none other than the proletariat organised as ruling class. The question arises, if the proletariat becomes the ruling class, over whom will it rule? It means that there will remain another proletariat, which will be subject to this new domination, this new state.

Marx: It means that as long as other classes, especially the capitalist class,still exist, so long as the proletariat struggles with it (for when it attains government power its enemies and the old organisation of society have not yet vanished) it must employ forcible means, hence governmental means. It is still itself a class and the economic conditions from which the class struggle and the the existence of classes derive have not yet disappeared and must forcibly either be removed out of the way or else transformed, this transformation process being forcibly hastened.

Bakunin: ...If there is a state, then there is unavoidably domination, and consequently slavery. Domination without slavery, open or veiled, is unthinkable ...the election of peoples' representatives and rulers of the state (is) a lie, behind which is concealed the despotism of the governing minority, and only the more dangerously in so far as it appears as the expression of the so-called peoples' will.

from 'Conspectus of Bakunin's Statism and Anarchy'

PARTICIPATION AND CONTROL
– an organisational conflict.

In the tone of acrimonious and polemical dialogue contained in the Conspectus is foreshadowed part of a debate which has flared intermittantly among and within working class organisations for a century now. At the basis of this aspect of the debate, involving Marx's notion of a period during which the proletariat operates as ruling class, is the fundamental divergence between Bakunin, the anarchist, and Marx as to which social structures are basic to oppression. To Bakunin they are political; to Marx, economic.

To Bakunin, all authoritarianism is homogenous; all exercise of power entails oppression, and will perpetuate the subordin-

ation of the dominated classes, the industrial working class among them. No workers' movement, according to Bakunin, should either participate in any activity involving operation within and through apparatuses of the current ruling class, or constitute itself a political movement for this or any other form of struggle. Rather, it must 'build the organisation of the new society within the old'. In a sense this is consistent with as well as in contradiction to Bakunin's notorious preoccupation with secret societies and cloak and dagger fantasies involving the intelligentsia rather than the working class. Further, he displayed as a concomitant of his repudiation of mass political activity what has been called 'the political virginity syndrome' - rather than sully any organisation with continuous, day-to-day struggle, involving power as its context and goal, the dominated classes should act only once, to destroy all structures of authority - the final consummation. Marx commented, "Mr Bakunin concludes ... that it is better to do nothing at all... just wait for a day of general liquidation - the last judgement."

One gains the impression that Bakunin had an image behind his prescriptions, of society or the power structure as a rigid edifice, which, once the keystone -the state - had been destroyed, would immediately collapse and cease to trammel the people within it with oppressive constraints.

Marx on the other hand had a more complex and explicit notion of the workings of a system, seeing behind the fact of oppression the contradiction of class, which meant that for him the working class could never operate as unconnected or unaffected by other classes, since all were defined by the same dynamic within the total social formation. To Marx the basis of the 'authoritarian political state' had first to be eradicated - that basis being the economic domination of one class by another, which the state functioned to preserve politically, to mediate and contain. Engels, responding to the anarchists' anti-authoritarianism, pointed out, "A revolution is the most authoritarian thing there is; it is an act whereby one part of the population imposes its will on the other part by means of rifles, bayonets and cannons... and it must maintain this rule by means of the terror which its arms inspire in the reactionaries."

As far as Marx and Engels were concerned, anarchists might well consider themselves revolutionaries; but how could their conception be anything but egotistical fantasy, with an inability to seize historical opportunity as it occurred, without strong mass-based and centralised organisation?

But Bakunin's career and his position foreshadowed a number of themes that have consistently confronted organisations operating in the name of the working class since.

The first, the implacable opposition to the participation of the working class or their organisations in the political systems of the ruling class, was to be criticised by Lenin, together with a reluctance to ally the proletariat with other classes, as an 'infantile disorder'; but one of the organisational consequences of this, sectarianism, was ironically something against which Luxemburg warned Lenin after 1918.

Let us try to define the polarities. Contained in the terms for organisational 'deviation' are some: sectarianism and reformism, opportunism and idealism. The latter two refer to the relation of an organisation to theory. Idealism implies, inter alia, the notion that working class self-consciousness and/or a comprehensive theoretical grasp of the dynamics of a given society are sufficient in themselves to change society. This would affect the structure of the organisation via its policy since effectively its area of operation would be the ideological rather than the political instance, and its capacity for centralisation and concerted action would not develop. Opportunism one might specify as the adherance to the use of tactics rather than strategy - a type of organisational activism which rests on the atrophy of its theoretical component; a series of empirical responses to events, without a sense of strategy, of overall direction.

Reformism and sectarianism are the outcome of 'right-wing' and 'left-wing deviations' respectively. The former involves the wholesale commitment of organisational policy to struggle within the limits of established social and political structures. The latter, 'pure revolutionism', has already been mentioned in connection with Bakunin. But while sectarianism as an organisational phenomenon may emerge from 'left-wing' exclusivity *and non-participation in day-to-day struggle, there remain* other directions of policy which result in being separated from a mass-base, as Luxemburg pointed out to Lenin.

This again was foreshadowed by Bakunin's instinctive recoil from the idea of the proletariat organised as ruling class: "Former workers,...as soon as they have become representatives or governors of the people, cease to be workers, and look down on the whole common workers' world from the height of the state. They no longer represent the people, but themselves and their pretensions to peoples' government." There would be much disagreement with his view of political bureaucracy as a necessary concomitant of 'peoples' government'. Marx himself certainly saw this as a danger. In writing of the Paris Commune, he stressed the importance of the absence of privelages for functionaries, their direct responsibility to the people they served, and the necessity for such functionaries' positions to be directly revocable by the working class. In particular, their wages should not rise above those of the working class; preventing the development of a separate, privelaged stratum was an issue of importance to Marx. It was clear to him that political structures which had served the purpose of a previous regime could not be anything but dysfunctional to the differing needs of a working class government.

The differences between Lenin and Luxemburg's position vis à vis organisation took this further. It is of course by no means permissable to argue against their respective positions in terms of what was to occur to the organisations in which they participated; this would indicate the assumption that a certain policy was determinant over and above the historical and class configurations of a particular conjuncture or period.

Unlike Lenin, Luxemburg did not accept a difference between the structure and function of the organisation and social life as it was to be, seeing the success of socialism as the extension of relations operative within the organisation to the whole of society. "The role of director must go to the collective ego of the working class," she says, "The working class demands *the right to make its own mistakes and learn in the dialectic* of history."

It is exactly such a statement that a Leninist would find nonsensical. 'What' they would ask, 'is the collective ego of the working class? Is it not, in material terms, the organisation through which it acts and articulates itself?' Hence to a Leninist, to distinguish between a central committee and the 'collective ego' as Luxemburg does to the detriment of the former, would be impossible: each is a function of the other.

Lenin was very clear on the distinction between the organ-

isation and society, pre- or post revolution, formulating a theory of organisational discipline, integrity and separateness from 'public' life that would enable it to afford any change of tactic, to sustain or discard any given social institution. An example of Lenin's preserving and extending capitalist relations in the labour process was his support for the application of American managerial structures ('Taylorism') in Soviet factories. Organisational cohesion and tactical flexibility ware crucial to Lenin; the mass basis was presupposed, not regarded as something that had to be continually reinforced in the process of the formation of policy and its implementation. Clearly, Lenin's theory of organisation stressed above all the ability to act, to manoevre, an essential, perhaps to the retention of power by the Bolsheviks.

Luxemburg could see such a policy as bordering on opportunism and stressed the possibility of losing what to her was an essential component: "Freedom only for the supporters of the government, only for the members of one party - however numerous they may be - is no freedom at all...With the repression of political life as a whole, life in the Soviets must become crippled...life dies out in every public institution, becomes a mere semblance of life, in which only the bureaucracy remains as the active element. Public life gradually falls asleep. The few dozen party leaders of inexhaustible energy and boundless experience direct and rule. Among them only a dozen outstanding heads do the leading and an elite of the working class is invited from time to time to meetings where they are to applaud the speeches of the leaders, and to approve public resolutions unanimously - at bottom then a clique affair. A dictatorship to be sure, not the dictatorship of the proletariat, however, only a dictatorship of a handful of politicians in the bourgeois sense...yes, we can go even further: such conditions must invariably cause a brutalisation of public life."

This, written in 1918, has been called a clairvoyant perception of the roots of Stalinism in Lenin's policies. Lenin himself, at the end of his life wrote with apprehension of bureaucratic deformations taking place in Russia, and hoped for an educational system which would keep revolutionary initiative alive.

It has been pointed out that Lenin at the end of his life, and Mao Tse-tung prior to the Cultural revolution, were in similar positions: great names, become marginal to the operation of their organisations, seeing with dread the rigidification and beginnings of stratification through the bureaucracy, in

what were meant to become classless societies. Mao unleashed the Cultural Revolution, a revolution of the masses against the revolutionists-become-bureaucrats with the intention of the reestblishment of the place of the people in public, party and political life.

There seems in the experience of such organisations a tension, perhaps a contradiction, between the capacity of an organisation to act decisively and to preserve political rule as a 'peoples' government', and the maintenance of operative links with its mass base, so that the impetus comes from below. This latter principle is naturally an impediment to efficiency: the greater 'democracy' in relation to 'centralism', participation in relation to control, diversity in relation to discipline, the less the chances appear for even the survival of such a movement. Conversely, if such ratios are reversed, the smaller the chance of the accomplishment of the original goal of the organisation.

Information

Reproduced below is a very incomplete and hurriedly compiled bibliography on Commissions of Enquiry into 'disturbances,' 'riots'; etc. These reports are held in the government publications room, University of Witwatersrand, and the references given refer to that library.

Please send in any additions to this bibliography. Anyone doing work on the events covered is also asked to communicate with the editors.

Report of secret outrages committed and attempts to commit outrages by explosives and other means during the industrial crisis, January 1914.
O4 HD 5473 SOU.

Commission on recent Native Unrest in Johannesburg, 1919.
O4 HV 6485.S7.J6 SOU.

South African Commission appointed to investigate the Native disturbances at Port Elizabeth on 23rd October, 1920.
O4 HV 6485.S7.P5 SOU.

South African Native Affairs Commission relative to 'Israelites' at Bulhoek and Occurences in May 1921.
O4 BL 2463 SOU.

Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Native Riots at Bloemfontein

In Government Gazette volume 61 pp 472 - 482, September 11th, 1925.

Commission to Enquire into the riots which took place in Johannesburg on 31st January and 1st February, 1941.

04 HV 6485.S7.J6 SOU.

Commission of Enquiry into Moroka Disturbances, 30th August, 1947.

04 HV 6485.S7 SOU.

Commission of Enquiry into Riots in Durban, 1949.

04 HV 6485.S7.D9 SOU.

Commission appointed to investigate acts of violence committed by Natives at Krugersdorp, Newlands, Randfontein and Newclare, 1950.

04 HV 6485.S7 SOU.

Commission of Enquiry into the disturbances in the Witzieshoek Native Reserve, 1951.

04 HV 6485.S7.W73. SOU.

Commission of Enquiry into the occurences in the Windhoek location, 10th and 11th December, 1959.

04 HV 6485.S8 SOU.

Commission of Enquiry to investigate events at Paarl, 20th - 22nd Nov. 1962.

04 HV 6485.S7.P21.