4th Nusas National Seminar "Students and Action in Society" Howick, 24-28 April 1971.

1971-01
24

NUSAS NATIONAL SEMINAR

INTRODUCTION:

The 9th National Seminar was held near Howick from the 24th - 28th April, 1971, and attended by some 70 delegates from 10 Universities and Colleges. The theme of the seminar was "Students and Action in Society" and it sought to equip students to play a relevant and effective leadership role in promoting change in the universities and society in South Africa.

Eight papers were presented at the seminar, and the full text of those is reproduced below. In addition the seminar prepared recommendations for the NUSAS National Council, a communique and a critique, and a number of position papers. These are reproduced in full below.

PAPERS:

1. 'Approach to student power' Introductory paper by Paul Pretorius, Deputy-President.

2. 'Economics and Race' Paper by Keith Gottschalk, M.A. student at University, Cape Town

3. 'The Power of Contemporary Radical Thought' By Dr Rick Turner, lecturer at University of Natal, Durban.

    'Satyagraha and its significance to the youth of South Africa tody' by banned Mewa Ramgobin, Director of Phoenix Settlement

4. 'African Socialism' by Barry Streek, Secretary-General NUSED

5. 'Black Power' by Paula Ensor, Regional Director Natal

6. 'Black Power in South Africa' by Ernest Ralekotho Secretary General NUSWEL.

7. 'Student as Rebel-Position paper on student action' by Neville Curtis, Preisdent

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1) Mobilisation of Interest Groups.
    a) Fact-sheets
    b) Personal contact
    c) Films
    d) Guerilla theatre
    e) Seminars
    f) The effective TOTAL use of on-campus media
    g) Anything!
2) Pass Law Action.
3) Economic Action.
    a) Wage Level Action
    b) Commodity Cost Action
4) Conclusion

COMMUNIQUE FROM NATIONAL SEMINAR

CRITIQUE OF NATIONAL SEMINAR

NAMES AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES TO NATIONAL SEMINAR
(Certain names have not been included to protect the students involved. These are available from Head Office.)

PREAMBLE TO THE NUSAS CONSTITUTION:

5) Through our censorship laws, the flow of modern academic thought to our Universities is stifled, especially works pertaining to the solution of Black-White relationships.

6) And then there is the incredible network of restrictive legislation preventing proper discussion and study of Marxist and radical thought, so much an integral part of contemporary thinking today.

These then are the more obvious hurdles which our universities face today.

7) But a far more serious and frightening destructive process is going on in this country, destruction in the sense that knowledge and truth has become the luxury of a privileged minority, not only on a university level but at all other levels as well. This point is best illustrated by reference to the type of life that a black man is forced to lead in South Africa. He is usually born into a very low income group family (a survey in Durban showed that probably 75% of African families lived below the minimum poverty datum line and nearly all families lived below the effective minimum level. - Race Relations survey 1970 p 81).

The first few years of his life are often merely a struggle for survival. (the death rate for African children in the reserves is 25 times that of White children. This is largely due to malnutrition which can permanently affect the capacity of the brain to function normally. Race Relations Survey p 255).

Schooling for Blacks is totally inadequate and is relatively very costly. What education a black child does get, is usally of a low standard, not to mention the effects of the 'Bantu Education' general policy.

If by this time then, the person has not already dropped out of school, or is not breadwinning for the family, he might get to university, if Fort Hare and Ngoya and the rest can be called that.

Thus while higher education may seem to be available to members of the richer classes, this is certainly not so of the poorer classes. The rigid class structure that is maintained by apartheid legislation is in fact worsening the situation.

The other two duties of NUSAS mentioned in the constitution are; to disseminate (this) knowledge in society and there to employ and act upon such knowledge.

At present NUSAS tries to achieve this in two ways:

Firstly, where we see in our country and elsewhere, things that are manifestly wrong and unjust in terms of the knowledge we have acquired, it becomes our duty to bring these to the attention of the Society that perpetuates them, and to do all in our power to correct these situations. An example here is the protests over the 22 detainees, which took place last year. Another will be the Republic Day protests to take place over the next month.

Secondly, it is our duty to do what we can to allow more people to acquire more knowledge. In our country where such a large proportion of our population are either poorly schooled or illiterate, NUSAS has embarked on large-scale educational and welfare programmes. These include: Scholarships, Prison education, bursaries, and loans. Community Development, literacy training and Preventative medicine are among the welfare projects. Even these are sorely hampered by the Apartheid legislation - in ways obvious to us all. The cancellation of our massive Transkei project is one of the more striking examples. Our Night School Programme had to be cancelled owing to direct legislative intervention.

Theoretically then NUSAS finds itself in a dual role. On the one hand, we are trying to fulfil our duties as best we can, enmeshed by the strangling network of Apartheid legislation. But on the other hand, as I have tried to show briefly in the first part of the paper, the root of all our problems is this very Apartheid legislation, to which we find ourselves in total active opposition.

as those of all sensible men.   The political needs of society become
individual needs and aspirations, their satisfaction promotes
business and the common wealth, and the whole appears to be the very
embodiment of Reason.

And yet this Society is irrational as a whole.   Its productivity is
destructive of the free development of human needs and faculties, its
peace maintained by the constant threat of war, its growth dependant
on the repression of the real possibilities for pacifying the struggle
for existence - individual, national and international.   This
repression, so different from that which characterised the preceding,
less developed stages of our society, operates today not from a
position of natural and technical immaturity, but rather from a
position of strength.   The capabilities (both intellectual and
material) of contemporary society are immeasurably greater than
before.   Our society distinguishes itself by conquering the
centrifugal social forces with technology rather than with terror,
on the dual basis of an overwhelmingly efficiency and an increasing
standard of living."

The unfortunate point to be gained from all this is that the organisations which
are supposedly working for change in South Africa are doomed to failure
unless they work positively towards changing the system that produces these
evils, rather than toward the eradication of the evils themselves.   Changing
structures and institutions is as pointless as the system has shown itself
capable of adjusting to these minor changes without altering its basic
structure to any relevant degree.

In this context then, to quote Marcuse again,

" ..... economic freedom would mean freedom from the economy - from
being controlled by economic forces and relationships; freedom from
the daily struggle for existence, from earning a living.   Political
freedom would mean liberation of the individuals from politics over which
they have no effective control.   Similarly, intellectual freedom would
mean the restoration of individual thought now absorbed by mass
communication and indoctrination, abolition of "public opinion" together
with its makers.   The unrealistic sound of these propositions is
indicative, not of their utopian character, but of the strength of the
forces which prevent their realisation."

Taking this argument then, is there any point in fighting for justice and
human rights?   Is the sincerity and energy of our history's many campaigners
to no avail?   Are we wasting our time by fighting the repressive laws of
this country - the symptoms of the disease?   I don't think so.

The struggle of man for the truth has not been fruitless, indeed it has
produced many who have come very close to it.   But they have been working against
the force of society.   The answer then for the individual good may be to swim
against the tide till he reaches the opposite shore.   but the answer for all
of humanity is to turn the tide of society so that it pushes humanity to that
opposite shore.   The problem is then not best how to fight society but how
to transform it so that it fulfils the purpose it should.   Thus the value
of the symptom is not that its destruction will land us on the opposite shore,
the value of the symptom is that it tells us which way the tide of society
is flowing thus indicating the way to the truth.   I don't think any person
can presum to know the truth, but he can know in which direction it lies.

To summarize then - It is the duty of the University to search for the truth -
To do this, it is a sine qua non that the University is not tied to a particular
ideology or system.   It must be 'free'.

This freedom is, as I have tried to show, is more than freedom from the apartheid
laws - it is freedom from the repression of the whole societal structure - a
structure which perpetuates itself as it 'develops' and strengthens itself
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RACE AND ECONOMICS IN SOUTH AFRICA - by Keith Gottschalk

The phrase "apartheid vs economics" is, in one permutation or another, currently a popular debate. This phrase is misleading and obscures part of what is going on in the Republic. To explain and predict the workings of our society we must understand the relationship between race and economics in South Africa. This paper examines the three main alternate views of the relationship between race and economics in our society, how the society works, and why it has an intrinsic built-in tendency to more race discrimination, an increasing black white wage gap, and growing repression to maintain the whole system.

The three main alternative hypotheses on the relationship between race and economics are:

- that "the imperatives of economic growth" will ultimately cause apartheid to wither away.
- the second view, that economic growth will adapt itself to the existing pattern of race discrimination; and
- the third theory, that race discrimination will increase with industrialisation to neutralise its political consequences, and apartheid will finally slow down the rate of economic growth.

The first hypothesis is that economic growth,/foreign investment/raising the gold price, will wither away apartheid and colour discrimination. Big business, its academic sympathisers, the business-owned daily press, and official and un-official agencies supporting white supremacy, from the Department of Information to the South African Foundation, all plagiarize the Beatles' refrain: "Its getting better all the time." The view that if only South Africa is left alone economic growth will make things better for everyone is endlessly publicised by such captains of industry and finance as Dr Frans Cronje, Jan Marais, Harry Oppenheimer, Anton Rupert and Albert Wessels(I) with academic sympathisers such as Ralph Horwitz and F. van den Bogaerde.

These pillars of Hollard Street are supported by some Marxist intellectuals, such as Raphie Kaplinsky and the late Prof. Eddie Roux, who add the rider that the inexorable withering away of apartheid by capitalism will be inexorably followed by some sort of socialist revolution.

The lengthiest exposition of the view that economic growth, the industrial revolution, will recede apartheid is found in the writings of Michael O'Dowd, a director of Anglo-American and the English Academy of South Africa.

Very briefly, O'Dowd says that as all states undergo their industrial revolution feudal-type systems are undermined. Society is disrupted by the industrial revolution, inequality increases, mounting protests are crushed by intensified government repression lasting not longer than 30 years at most, after which liberal constitutional reforms usher in some form of the welfare state.

This hypothesis is vulnerable to severe criticism. O'Dowd based his theory on Rostow's stages of economic growth theory, which has met with academic scepticism. Only a minority of countries in western Europe followed O'Dowd's pattern of gradual constitutional reform leading to democracy and the welfare state. Some countries, Bolivia or Syria for example, have many violent swings or coups; other states (Libya, Outer Mongolia and Yemen) went straight from a feudal ancien regime to a socialist or Communist regime; still others (Nazi Germany, fascist Italy, Argentina, Japan, Rumania) moved from a feudal-type government to a short-lived, multi-party liberal democracy, which was overthrown by a fascist or semi-fascist military regime, which in turn was overthrown and replaced by either a capitalist government (W.Germany) or a communist government (E. Germany).

The second hypothesis, that the industrial revolution adapts itself to pre-existing patterns of racialism, is argued by Herbert Blumer, a Californian professor, and Frederick Johnstone, a fellow of St Anthony's College, England.

Similarly, it has become fashionable for even some liberals to imitate the
Nationalists and call the reserves "homelands". But the official renaming of
the African reserves as "Bantu homelands" serves a specific propaganda use.
It implies that these reserves must be in some way the "homelands" of black
South Africans, in which they once lived and to which they may justifiable be
'repatriated'. In fact the reserves are only the remnant of the "homelands"
of the indigenous South Africans; they are only 12.8% of the "traditional
homelands".

The pre-conquest societies in South Africa were not usually based on race
discrimination. Though San-speakers lost much of their hunting grounds,
they still lived throughout the Karroo and Northern Cape, and traded or worked
for Bantu-speaking Africans.

It is an often-repeated white myth that the San- and Khoi-speakers were ruthlessly
exterminated by the "Bantu invaders" and were only saved by the protection of the
peaceful rule of the whites, a sort of pax Afrikaner. In reality wars between
Khoi- and Bantu-speaking Africans appear not noticeably more frequent than wars
between Khoi- and Khoi, or wars between Xhosa and Xhosa. Khoi- and Bantu-speaking
African tribes lived intermingled in various areas, they traded, their chiefs
formed dynastic alliances by interracial marriages of each other's daughters,
in one case two separate tribes of Khoi-speakers and Xhosa-speakers, through
inter-marriage, formally merged into one tribe called the Gqunukwebe (who
incidently lived west of the Fish River and Eiselen line.)

The San-speakers were exterminated by the Boers in campaigns of genocide between
1715 - 1862. The white settlers also seized virtually all the pastures of the
Khoi-speaking African, killing those who resisted, the landless survivors being
forced to either starve, emmigrate, or become labourers for the white farm-owners.

The monopolistic merchants of the D.E.I.C. set up a garrison-farm in the Cape
Peninsula in 1652; from 1657 they encouraged the growth of what was to become
a class of virtually hereditary white land-owners called the "Free Burghers",
in 1659 their seizure of pastures started the first of three dozen wars against
Black and Brown. The point is not usually made that the prosperity of the
Free Burghers depended on a class of Unfree Burghers. Initially most of the
labourers were indentured white servants called "knechts"; then the D.E.I.C.
handed out free to the Free Burghers donations of slaves, later the sub-
sistence white farmers obtained most of their labour from non-slave San- and
Khoi-speaking Africans.

The D.E.I.C. merchants subscribed to an unequal society based upon class
discrimination: they were not opposed to a colour bar, as may be seen by the
fact that three-quarters of all births at the Cape were Coloured children, and
10% of all peninsula marriages were inter racial. During the seventeenth century
the   Governors Simon and William Adriaan van der Stel were Coloured Persons.

When their labourers were indentured whites, the Free Burghers could rely on
class distinctions; when their labour source was predominantly slaves (who
were freed if they became baptised and spoke Dutch) the dividing line was
religion and language. When later the poor, illiterate, white trekboers
obtained most of their labour from non-slave black and brown, only colour
divided them from those whom they found it convenient to regard as their social
inferiors (conveninet because they could be paid inferior wages 'when paid at
all' with a larger profit for the white farm-owner).

Notice that the order of succession of the source of labour determined what are
still, in ascending order, social divisions in South Africa today - class,
religion and language, and colour.

Having explained how colour discrimination started in South Africa, we must
discuss why it continued. The eighteenth century Cape contained a trading
society based on class inequality, and an unequal society of subsistence white
trekboers, based on colour discrimination. The trekboers became dominant with

To claim that "Apartheid has failed" will sound grotesque to the Msini family, or the 1,600,000 other dependents separated by the pass laws from their breadwinner, or the 1000,000 persons evicted from their homes under group areas, "black spots" removal and squatter laws, or to the black or brown university graduates denied a job because of the colour bar.

What the daily press mean when they announce that 'apartheid is falling" is that white businessmen are granted additional quotas of migrant labourers, and that they are allowed to employ black and brown in formerly white jobs. In short they mean that those apartheid restrictions which hinder white businessmen have been relaxed. That there has been no removal of those apartheid restrictions hindering black and brown workmen (pass laws, group areas), does not appear to greatly concern the white-owned press.

Almost weekly for over a year, the daily press printed front-page headlines about "labour crisis" and "manpower bottlenecks" - this is a problem of white management. The fact that black and brown workers employed in formerly white jobs often get only 1/4 the white wage get two paragraphs once a year buried in an inside page - this is a problem of black workmen.

White employers oppose apartheid over the specific issues of feudal-like restrictions upon the horizontal and vertical mobility of black and brown labour. They in no way complain over police repression of black unions and political parties. This enables them to employ black welders on construction sites for 30cents/hr, one-quarter of what white welders are paid on sites. When the state owned steel mills reclassified a job from white to black, they also reclassified the wage rate from 68 cents/hr to 22 cents/hr. What happened to those missing 46 cents? Part were paid to white employees, the rest to white employers.

Another technique of inequality is "job fragmentation". Consider how this works by an example: a white employer paying a white employee say, R200 monthly needs to hire a second person at R200 monthly as the firm expands. Instead he fragments the job. What happens to the second R200? The unpleasant part of the job is given to a black workman at say R60 monthly. The white employee, for condescending to let a black do half his former work, gets a pay rise to say R260.

Thus: the BLACK WORKMAN knows at R60 he is getting under one-third of what his job is worth, he is paying whites an invisible tax of R140 monthly. But his union leader has been endorsed out, and anyway the Natal Mercury forgot to ask him, so he says nothing.

The WHITE EMPLOYEE gets R260 monthly for less work and he says "Apartheid is the best for South Africa."

The WHITE EMPLOYER would prefer to employ two black workers for a total of R120 monthly rather than pay out total wages of R320. But he still pockets R60 extra monthly and says "You know, Separate Development is not as bad as the overseas critics claim."

The NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT, by taxing the bigger incomes of the white employer and white employee takes R20 towards buying Wasp helicopters, and it says: "Man, We dosn't like NUSAS arms statement."

Job reservation enables white employees to blackmail their employers for wages far above what they would otherwise get:

Black bricklayers at resettlement camps R24 monthly
White bricklayers, average Cape Town, R160 "
White bricklayers, average on Rand, R300 "
White bricklayers, freelance on Rand, R1000 "

This wage differential of 41 to 1 for the same job would soon equalize itself in the absence of job reservation and the pass laws. In short the more apartheid laws "fly in the face of economic imperatives", and "restrict the

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every 90 seconds. As you read this paper 400,000 Black men, women and children are being evicted from white-owned farms in Natal - perhaps the biggest upheaval caused by enclosure since 18th Century England. After the first hundred years of South Africa's mining-industrial revolution over half the Coloured people in the Cape, 60% of the Indians in Natal, ½ of all Africans are still living below the poverty datum line. The whites by contrast, have greatly enriched themselves. They build entire villages of seaside holiday houses occupied for a few weeks a year, when over a million Black families need homes. Whites have more beauty parlours than Blacks have maternity hospitals in the reserves. Whites have in fact more beauty parlours for dogs than maternity hospitals for Black human beings in Zululand.

We must now ask the third question: Why does race discrimination not merely continue, but increase? Every year more apartheid laws are passed, none are repealed.

YEAR	NO OF BLACKS ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE	COL 3	COL 4	COL 5	COL 6
1935-6		2,0	20	100	
1946	2905,063	11,0 (a)	25,3	100	180
1960	3881,489	3,0	18,5(b)	100	125
1969	4747,000	0,6 (c)	17,5(d)	100	115-120

a-statistic for 1945; b-statistic for 1965; c-statistic for 1967
d- "   "   1970
COLUMN 3·   Approximate percentage of urban black labour unionized
COLUMN 4:   ave. black wage as % of ave. white wage in secondary industry
COLUMN 5   ave. wage of Afrikaners (*-100%)
COLUMN 6:   ave. wage of English-speaking whites as % of ave. Afrikaner wage for
             that year.

(It should be noted that some of these statistics are not completely comparable).

Our clue to answering the question lies in the semantic lineage of Nationalist policy - apartheid alias vertical separate development alias multi-national development. The clue lies in the oft-repeated insistence of white supremacists that the "urban Bantu" are the worst "problem". By which is meant that black and brown in the rural areas, especially in earlier times, "naturally" (after their conquest) accepted what Thompson calls the "situation of power and deference in the countryside". They indeed had to obey the racist "customs and conventions of the community" if they were to escape violent assault for being "cheeky".

But in the urban areas, obedience to traditional authorities such as chiefs or white land-owners withers away. The dislocations of urbanization spawn political parties and trade unions. Rural deference gives way to urban protests and riots. The Nationalist Government is hostile to black trade unions because they seek to reduce the black-white wage gap and because unions and strikes are incompatable with the deference the black lower orders are expected to render to those in a higher station in life. The Afrikaner Nationalist attitude to black trade unions is similar to that of the High Tory English judge who commented upon trade unions during a test case in 1759:

"If Inferiors are , prescribe to their Superiors, if the Foot aspire to be the Head ..... to what end are Laws enacted?

It is the indispensible Duty of everyone as a friend of the Community to endeavour to supress them in their beginings."

As the then Nationalist Minister of Labour, Ben Schoeman stated, two centuries later, it is the policy of the Nationalist Government to "bleed African trade unions to death". African political parties and leaders were supressed and banned in the 1950s and 1960s.

Simultaneously with police repression of black parties and unions went the errection of the ideology and institutions of "vertical separate development." Sovereign independence (except it seems, for controlling post offices) is to be bestowed upon the reserves, now renamed "Bantu homelands."

From Capitalist Britain to Communist China "Industrial decentralization" refers to a policy of state intervention in the economy to give people in depressed regions a higher income than they would otherwise have. In South Africa, let us take the example of the first year the Physical Planning act was fully applied, 1968:

The Government, using its powers under various laws, prohibited industrialists from building factories which would have employed 260,000 black South Africans in urban areas. In the same period only 5,000 new jobs were created in "border areas." In short, what Pretoria called "industrial decentralization" is an integral part of the pass laws, of influx control. In 1968 "Industrial --- decentralization" meant (a) 255,000 black workers were unemployed, who would have been offered jobs in urban areas;

(b) even the 5,000 black workers who obtained jobs in "border areas" were forced to accept wages much lower than in urban areas - down to 29% of the current Johannesburg wage in one instance.

(c) white employers in urban areas claimed "undercutting" competition from border areas meant that they would have to refuse further wage demands from African and Coloured and Indian textile workers.

(c) during 1968, 61,658 "superfloous appendages" (the aged, women and children, cripples) were endorsed out of urban areas, to become an additional burden on the increased poverty and unemployment in the reserves.

(c) ALL minimum wage legislation was abrogated in the reserves in 1970, leaving black labour completely unprotected. extreme unemployment forces Black women to work in border area factories for R5.00 per month. The colour bar still applies to most border areas. Thus the interests of the lower middle class whites are maintained, and the white employers get added privileges at the expense of black workmen. To be more precise, Afrikaner businessmen tend to obtain privileges at the expense of their "English-Jewish" competitors. For the labour restrictions are applied most severely on the Rand (a largely "English-Jewish" enclave in an ex-Boer Republic) and in the Cape, and border area concessions are extended to existing Afrikaner towns, such as Vryheid, Dundee, Newcastle, (a Boer enclave in a U.P. province), and Rustenburg, Brits, Palaborwa, Pietersburg, etc.

Two other consequences of the colour bar are not without relevance; every white immigrant may bar a black or brown person from promotion. For it is only when wage bribes and immigration fail to solve a "manpower bottleneck" that the Government condescends to suspend job reservation, to raise the colour bar to permit black and brown to rise another rung or two higher up the corporation ladder. Indeed, the cumulating effects of work reservation determinations now have theological consequences. No Black South African's can go to hell, all jobs for firemen, stokers and boiler attendants have been reserved for whites.

Recently much has been said over foreign investment. One effect of foreign investment is surely that for every dividend cheque which leaves the Republic, someone, somewhere in the world beyond the borders, is saying "You know, separate development isn't really as bad as the newspapers make out. The Bantu are really quite happy; they're better off under it."

To return to the question why race discrimination increases: growing urbanization of black and brown brought growing demands for a proportional say in decision making, and increa. ng demands for political power to defend themselves against discriminatory laws. This caused increased political discrimination and repression, including the end of Parliamentary representation. More repression of black trade unions left workmen undefended from exploitation. As growing numbers of black and brown persons acquired the education for artisan, white-collar, professional and managerial posts, so job reservation is extended to protect the added numbers of whites now facing competition. Racists only need symphony concert and opera house apartheid when numbers of black and brown persons are educated enough to wish to attend such activities.

To conclude: 1) South Africa's unequal society, based on colour discrimination, had its genesis in the semi-feudal society of white stock-farmers during the eighteenth century.

2) The interest group of white land-owners, and their urban counter-part of the "labour aristocracy", forced its pattern of control and inequality onto capitalist mining in the nineteenth century, and industry and the whole of society in the twentieth century.

It is not the Calvinist theological doctrine of the "elect", but the economic
and social factors making for religious selection that are of interest:
In South Africa the Calvinists are split into 8 main churches: the three
Afrikaner Reformed Churches, openly racist; the three Presbyterian churches,
sympathetic to English-speaking liberals; as is also the Calvinist Church
breakaway: and the Congregationalists, largely brown and black in membership
and more radical.

In the Portuguese Empire, white settlers were until recently bureaucrats,
soldiers, wealthy managers of plantations, or peasants forbidden to hire black
labour.   Consequently there is a far lower degree of specifically colour
discrimination in Portugal's African colonies.   Though the exploitation of
forced labour equals anything in South Africa, there is no colour bar against
individual blacks rising to any position.

(5) *The word volk has been wrongly translated by some to mean "people", volk
here means the Afrikaner people, i.e. an ethnic group.

(6) * Strictly speaking, the Nationalist Government's economic policy cannot be
called feudal, for it does not aim at returning to a subsistence agragrian
manorial economy.   The compromise of benefiting the white urban lower-middle
class, white land-owner, and to a lesser extent white businessman, at the
expense of black and brown labour, is more akin to the economic policies of
fascist regimes as in Nazi Germany, Corporate Italy, Falangist Spain and
Fascist Portugal.

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AFRICAN SOCIALISM - ITS NATURE AND ITS RELEVANCE TO SOUTH AFRICA

In this paper I will look at the concept of African Socialism, showing its development and importance in Africa. After this examination, I will suggest that many of the values of African Socialism have relevance in South Africa, and that, in any case, African Socialism should influence the goal orientation of those working for change in South Africa.

There are, however, a number of limitations to this paper. Firstly, it is extremely difficult to generalize about African Socialism, because there are a large number of concepts of African Socialism. The Tom Mboya version in Kenya, with much of the ideology based on the idea of free enterprise, was very different from that of Julius Nyerere in neighbouring Tanzania with its emphasis on state control. In spite of this differing concepts of African Socialism, it is, I suggest, possible to generalize, meaningfully, about the idea. Secondly, there are vast differences between the theory of African Socialism and the practice. One of the clearest examples of this difficulty is reflected in Senegal, whose president, Leopold Senghor, is one of the leading proponents of an egalitarian society in Africa - but the post-independent developments in this country have seen a country where inequalitarian, capitalist developments seem to be taking place. The upper strata of the Senghalese society are paid salaries which are similar to those in Paris, but the poorest strata, the bulk of the country, are very poorly paid, if they are lucky enough to have salaried jobs. In this paper, however, I will concentrate on the idea of African Socialism, and not the practice. I am concerned with the values of African Socialism rather than the practical difficulties of implementation. My third difficulty with this paper is that this paper has been prepared without direct reference to any research material, and without much time.

Nevertheless in spite of these difficulties, I hope that this paper has some relevance to the seminar, because I believe it is vital that those working for change in South Africa have a very clear understanding of what they are working towards: in other words, they must have a goal to work towards, and not some vague idea of 'not liking apartheid'.

One of the most important features about African Socialism is that it is African. This may sound a bit silly, but is as fundamental to the understanding of the concept. During the formative years of the idea of African Socialism, the African continent was governed by white colonial governments. The policies, the structures of government, the officials, the development and so on were decided by colonial governments and officials. The most important decisions about Africa were taken in London, Paris, Brussels and Lisbon. The education of African children - what there was of it - was undertaken in terms of the colonial ideas and precepts. In the French-speaking colonies, for example, children were taught about "our ancestors, the Gauls". All the colonies were subjected to the almost total influence of white colonialists.

In the fight for independence, the African leaders rejected this white dominance. Of importance to this paper, is that they rejected European ideas and policies. They argued that Africa must decide its own policies. Africa must choose its policies from its history and experiences, although they are well aware of - and recognise - the numerous mistakes made in the economically developed world.

If we are to reach any understanding of African Socialism, we must realise that it is essentially a homegrown philosophy to cater for needs of the economically underdeveloped, colonially exploited Africa. African leaders reject the capitalist policies of the West and the Communist ideas of the East. We will decide our own policies, they say. They will take whatever they want to from the rest of the world, if it has validity for their own problems, but they are not perpetuating

the same systems as before.   They are building a new philosophy of life
which they hope will influence the rest of the world to a better way of
living.

These concepts may sound somewhat distant from South Africa, but they
are not.   At the black theology conference held earlier this year - in
which the government saw fit to arrest Bishop Zulu on a pass law offence -
one of the speakers delivered a brief outline of what he called
"Africanism".   This paper which I shall quote extensively brings out
the essentially African motivation to solve the problems of the continent:

> "Ladies and gentlemen, I put it to you that this meeting itself is
> a manifestation of Africanism.   Africanism is nothing if not the
> manifestation of the African Spirit.   I do not want to use the
> term African mind lest Africanism appear as an abstruse theory -
> which definitely it isn't.   I would have been justified though
> because we can call a person either public-spirited or public-
> minded and we mean the same thing.

> But when do we say a person is possessed of a public spirit?
> When he is willing and eager to do things that benefit the public.
> So also when I speak of the manifestation of the African spirit
> here I am not speaking of the public exhibition of an African
> Tokoloshe or some such unlikely apparition.   One manifests an
> African Spirit by being possessed of a will and eagerness to
> serve the African person, to contribute to African development,
> to promote African interests in all fields.   This is Africanism.
> This is the manifestation of the African Spirit.

> You may be an African, but if you are not interested in the progress
> of the African people or in the progress of the African people or in
> the fulfilment of their destiny then you can be said indeed to be in
> a state of Africanness.   You possess Africanness by the mere fact of
> being an African.   But if you are as what I've just said you can not
> be said to have an African Spirit to be possessed of Africanism.
> This is the difference between mere Africanness and Africanism.
> Africanism is not a dead fact but is a living thing in the sense
> that it is the will to be with Africans and to work with Africans.
> It is the will to live with Africans and to create with Africans, to
> share the joys and sorrows of the African people, to share their
> aspirations, hopes and ambitions, to participate in their fulfilment
> and the achievement of their destiny.   Africanism is a living,
> vibrating and pulsating reality in which one has to actively participate
> in order to know it.

> We are used to thinking of English or rather Western words ending
> in 'ism' as expressing an ideology.   Ideology is primarily a system
> of ideas.   The stress here is on the intellectual essence or element.
> I have said that Africanism is not an abstruse theory.   I must say
> now it is not a system of ideas either.   In Africanism there is no
> stress on the intellectual content of anything.   I will grant that
> there is a conscious element namely: the conscious realisation of
> the condition of the African and the will to press forward for the
> progress of the African person.   Africanism is neither mere
> Africanness without conscious and purposeful urge nor is it an
> Africanistic ideology or system of ideas.

> Is it mere opportunism then: a policy of action with no principles
> for guidance?   Africanism has one central point of reference - and
> therefore of guidance - and that is the African person.   What is
> harmful to the African person must be avoided or combatted at all
> costs; what is to the benefit and welfare of the African person
> must be sought or promoted in every possible and permissible way.
> I know that the elsewhere will gape at these words and say
> Africanism then means the destruction of the borderline between good
> and evil if it sanctions the use of all means for the achievement of.

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If we are to reach any understanding of African Socialism, we must realise that it is essentially a homegrown philosophy to cater for needs of the economically underdeveloped, colonially exploited Africa. African leaders reject the capitalist policies of the West and the Communist ideas of the East. We will decide our own policies, they say. They will take whatever they want to from the rest of the world, if it has validity for their own problems, but they are not perpetuating

have no claim to be the instruments for change. We can never objectively view our problems through the haze of prejudice and hate and by that same token we can never view our problems throgh the haze of pot and other drugs. We have to launch a crusade amongst ourselves first ... a crusade away from all things and conduct that will militate against our political aspirations. In Satyagraphic methods there will be no place for such degrading and demeaning conduct. It will demand great degrees of continence. This self-restraint must be correlative with discipline. Even though freedom and discipline are opposites, for us, they together, in our forward march in wanting to create a new social order, must be a unity. It is infinitely greater and of lasting value to have this as a prerequisite than to allow ourselves to joggle along the road for change. In affirming anew the discipline essential for us today in South Africa it has to be always borne in mind that we are individuals we and must remain subordinate to our cause. In the crucifixion of Jesus, in the assassination of Gandhi, we discover that they remained subordinate to their respective causes. I believe we know what our cause is.

It may be an appropriate occasion to refer to the student scene presently in the country. We are told that we have as many organisations as we have imposed racial groups. This is a sad reflection on our ability as the pacemakers in society. If the task of the student is to lend himself for national reconstruction then I cannot see how this can be done when we remain disunited. I believe to give a national reconstruction plan all the energies of all willing people, including the student community, must be applied. They must together be fearless contributors to equally fearless nation builders and for this there must be a fearless programme to be subscribed by all... or at least the majority of them. To be working in vacuums and antithetically opposed to each other is doing mad disastrous. Finding refuge and endeavouring to work through the calls for nationalism now they be Afrikaner or African, is again catastrophic if the end objective is a common society for all. Nationalism might have been a good thing. But in its essence it is no more than an emotional call and has less, if any, of a rational thesis. Our call for change must of necessity be based on the conceptions of reason. We must always raise ourselves to a higher sense of humanity. Whilst the world community of nations is endlessly struggling to reconcile peoples of different races and systems on the basis of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, we here in South Africa have the unique opportunity to realize this desired reconciliation in a comparatively microscopic form. Let us not lose this opportunity. Let us give ourselves the opportunity to overcome our prejudices and thereby seek the surrender of privileges - privileges that deny the majority of these people of South Africa their innate freedom.

Yes I, with you, want the restoration of the freedom to all the peoples of this land but never, never at the expense and sacrifice of others. In the assertion of my freedom I will never want to indulge in the degradation of others. Let us by all means ceaselessly seek and work towards our freedom but let us never allow ourselves to secure it by the extinction of the freedom of those presently in power. Any polarisation on the basis of race, of necessity, will mean the threat to extinction.

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But when do we say a person is possessed of a public spirit? When he is willing and eager to do things that benefit the public. So also when I speak of the manifestation of the African spirit here I am not speaking of the public exhibition of an African Tokoloshe or some such unlikely apparition. One manifests an African Spirit by being possessed of a will and eagerness to serve the African person, to contribute to African development, to promote African interests in all fields. This is Africanism. This is the manifestation of the African Spirit.

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its purposes.

But Africanism I repeat is neither a blind fact nor a blind ideology. But surely it takes it for granted that the African person is not an amoral beast. In any society there will be corrupt individuals. But African humanity is not a depraved species of humanity - a massa damnata. It is one of the marks of Africanism to have implicit faith, trust, and confidence in African humanity. Africanism is a leaping, living flame pulsating in so many hearts.

It is, however, also not a self-centred, isolated, disembodied phenomenon. Like all human phenomena Africanism has a historical dimension and has geographical underpinnings. Through these two factors it achieves its universal scope and mission. Africanism cannot be spoken of without the African person and the African person does not exist without African soil. Therefore Africanism extends its deep concern to the latter. Africanism cannot emerge without Africanness as a fact of a long history of common life, culture, and traditions. Africanism therefore shows keen interest in this aspect.

Africanism is, therefore, finally a faith and a will. A faith in the past of the African person, a faith in the abilities of the African, a faith in the African's future and destiny. Africanism is a will to be together, a will to co-operate, a will to achieve and to fulfil. Hence should arise mutual goodwill, mutual concern, mutual attention among African persons and these attitudes should be extended also to all those who live with us on this continent and on this planet.

I think it is time for me to sum up, Ladies and Gentlemen, what I think to be Africanism. It is not a mere fact but is something concious and therefore full human. It is not a mere system of ideas, but is a faith and a will. Let us examine ourselves whether we are merely vegetating in a matter-of-fact state of mere Africanness or are a mad and crazed humanity in search of a system of ideas that will guide our uncontrollable steps or whether finally we are sane, confident Africans full of faith in our abilities and inspired with a will to achieve our fulfilment."

This Africanism is the concept which has permeated every idea of African Socialism, which is seen as the reflection of the people of this continent - and not the people of some other continent with different needs and problems. No matter what one reads in the South African newspapers, the Nyereres, Kaundas, Sekou Toures and even the Nkrumahs are not trying to establish communist states in Africa. They are trying to grapply with the realities of Africa and the ideas behind African Socialism. And sometimes these people fail hopelessly with the practical implementation of these ideas. Of the four leaders I have just mentioned, perhaps only Nyerere is succeeding to some degree. But we are told here in South Africa that all four are communist puppets. This is a complete misunderstanding, which does not help us become part of the African continent, other than the geographic link.

So, what are the values of African socialism? If we look, firstly, at the historical background from which African leaders derive much justification for their policies, we will see the direction and values which they regard as important. And it is the values of the traditional African society which they regard as vital to present-day policies. In the traditional African society, the group was fundamental not the individual. There was no such thing as individual ownership of property and land. The tribe or the clan owned these things. When times were prosperous, the whole group benefitted - not a few individuals. When times were bad, everyone suffered. In other words, the people functioned as a group. Individual relations had to exist within the group. This is in sharp

contrast with the European tradition of individualism and individual
acquisition of property and land. In the Western system, the
individual was poor or wealthy. And the wealthy came into a position
of power by virtue of their wealth. This enabled the wealthy to exploit
the poorer groups. The value of the Western society became orientated
to wealth and material values and for the wealthy, other people were seen
as means for making more money. Their value as human beings became
irrelevant. In the African society, it was the human being who mattered
as a member of a group. Relations within the group were seen in human
terms - and this African Socialism incorporates as an essential feature of
its philosophy. President Kaunda for instance calls this "Humanism".

Another factor derived from traditional African life is that of decision-
making. The leaders argue that the autocratic colonial form of government
was one planted on Africa by force. The people had no say in the decisions
made by the government. This was in sharp contrast to past experiences
in Africa, where the essence of decision-making was a joint exercise of the
group. Decisions were not imposed from above, as in the traditional
Western society. The African tradition was one of true democracy. And
this is what is needed in African society today. Decisions should be
taken by as many people as possible. This has been incorporated in the
idea of African Socialism, if not in the practice, in most countries.

If we move now to the situation in which the African leaders found them-
selves during the dying days of colonialism, we can see the position they
found themselves in when they started forming the concept of African
Socialism. Their first target was, of course, the destruction of
colonialism and white minority rule in Africa. It was a relatively easy
target on to which political action could be focused. A considerably
more difficult target was the nature of the society they wanted to build
after independence. Everyone knew that Africa was economically underdeveloped
and that whatever development had taken place before had been largely to
the benefit of the colonial governments. Everyone knew that development had
to take place. And initially in some cases, it became development at any
price. But the advocates of African Socialism had already sorted out
their priorities. They agreed that the economic development of their
countries was an essential priority, but it had to be a planned development;
development in which the traditional human values and democratic processes
were incorporated - in which everyone had an equal opportunity to advance
himself; in which it was not possible to exploit others by virtue of wealth;
and in which human values were vital, not the materialist values of the
economically developed world - on both sides of the iron curtain.

Many of these sorts of values were also formed as a result of European
developments and thought. Almost all the leaders of African Socialism
spent a considerable time studying in Europe and Russia and the United
States. Clearly, socialist and marxist thought influenced these people.

Not only did the materialism of these countries horrify them, but the
development of a class structure appalled them. To a man, they deny
that there were ever classes in Africa. And to a man, they see no need
for the development of a hierarchial, economically determined structure of
groups. They see no reason why people should be divided in different
groups by virtue of wealth and property. They tend to accept that at some
time the clash between the middle and working classes, as argued by Marx,
is likely in Europe. And they want to avoid this in Africa. Wealth, they
argue, should be not the main element of government. People should be
allowed to own what they need for their own needs, but they should not own
more, which will enable them to exploit others. The focus of African
government should be on different values and on different orientations.
The essential feature of these values should be human beings and human
values, in which every man is an equal.

On this basis, individuals should not own vast land estates or huge
industries. These should be in the hands of the people through the
government. If foreign investors wish to invest in their countries it
will be on government terms, as dictated by the people. No one, whether a
local or a foreigner, will be in a position to exploit others through poor
wages and other manipulative devices. Everyone will have to contribute
to the group in some sphere or other, but this contribution will not be
carried out because some employer or landowner needs cheap labour. The
focus of this development is analyzed in terms of the human needs of the
group. If a dam is needed for the agricultural development of a particular
area of farmers, this is more likely to be built than if some industrialist
had wanted a dam to make more profits, because the needs of the farming area
were more important and because more people will benefit from the produce of
the farming, rather than the economic enterprise of an individual.

In this sense, then, African Socialism has been strongly influenced by
socialist thought in other parts of the world, but it is different, because
socialist theories in Europe have developed out of an analysis of the
industrial society with its supposed class conflict and the dominance of
the wealthy over the community. African Socialism argues that this stage
is not necessary in Africa, because there are no classes and because the
colonial governments made sure that all African people were kept at a
sufficiently low level of income to prevent the development of different
income groups. Africa, the leaders argue, can be made into a truly
egalitarian continent without the unnecessary conflicts of the industrial
society, as witnessed in the economically developed world.

Another influence of socialist, particularly Marxist, thought on the
concept of African Socialism is that of alienation. This is a theoretical
concept which will take much explaining, but it was first used by Hegel
and then adopted by Marx to explain the alienation of man and the alienation
of man from the means of production. Perhaps the oldest example of
alienation is that used in Christianity, in which it is shown that man
alienated himself from God through sin. He was no longer part of God.
Marx used the concept of alienation in a number of ways. Firstly man could
be alienated from man, as, for example, in the relations between the
employer and employee. No real relationship exists between these two
because the employer regards the employee as a means to making more profits
and because the employee works because he has to and not because he wants to.
Secondly, man can be alienated from the product of his labour. If
someone is merely putting bolts to a car as they go by on a conveyor belt,
he will not regard his work as anything more than a job. He will probably
hate his work, but he will work because he has to. He will not work with
any motive other than getting his salary at the end of the month. Marx
attacked this because he said that in a socialist state, as he saw it,
people should work without this alienation so that they could regard their
work as something contributing to the benefit of all the people and so that
he was not just working for a salary. In other words he would be working
for values other than for materialist, individualist reasons. Thirdly,
Marx argued that man was alienated from the area of his labour. In other
words, the worker had no say over what he was doing or the choice of the
product made. He was merely working as a horse in the factory. Surely,
he said. if people were to work with a dedication and involvement they should
be able to decide as a group what they were making and for what purpose.
Briefly, he advocated worker control in the factories to avoid the alienation
of man from the area of his labour.

This concept of alienation has influenced leaders of African Socialism,
particularly Leopold Senghor. In the African society, they argue, man must
not be alienated from other men - the human values of African Socialism
are emphasized again. The people must be involved in both the product of
labour and the area of labour. In other words, there must, on all levels,
be a commitment and involvement of the people in the running and development
of the country. No one should be alienated from the government or from

the processes of production because everyone will be involved in the development of their country. And they will be actively involved in both the decision-making and in the production of goods. They will not work because they have to or because they need the salaries to survive but because they want to contribute to the good of the whole, of all the people. This is a very different orientation from the Western idea of labour. The material satisfaction of needs will not be fundamental to the society if everyone is benefitting in the good times and suffering during the bad times. The participation of the people in government will ensure that decisions are taken by the people for the benefit of the people. No one will be able to exploit others because they will not be allowed to get into a position of exploitation. Middle classes will not develop because the accumulation of wealth will be impossible, and undesired.

Nyerere has often attacked what he calls the "capitalist attitude of mind" because anyone who thinks in terms of individual acquisition has no place in the Tanzanian society. Anyone who would be a capitalist, if he could, has no place in the society. Socialism, Nyerere says, is an attitude of mind like democracy. The people can make Tanzania a socialist state as long as they have the right attitude of mind, just as people can make a democratic state if they want to. In this sense, Nyerere hopes to avoid the alienation prevalent in liberal democracies of the West and state capitalist countries of the East. The people must have the right attitude to work together to produce the socialist state in African countries.

In short, then, African Socialism is the African response to the colonial situation. It incorporates traditional and European values in the attempt to create a truly egalitarian society in which human values are fundamental, not profit or other materialist considerations.

I must add a word of caution. I have discussed the idea or the concept of African Socialism. The practical implementation of these ideas is a very different matter. In many cases the foundation of a class structure seems to have been laid; in the name of African Socialism, dictatorships have been established, resulting in the extreme example of alienation in Nkrumah's Ghana; the development of a bourgeoisie around the good offices of the government and the vested interest of state employees in the government is the very contradiction of these ideas. Yet, the idea of African Socialism is a powerful and potent one. It is developing every day into a practical ideology for the development of the African continent. And it is with these ideas that we must look at South Africa.

Before we look at the relevance of African Socialism to South Africa, I will comment briefly on the goal orientation of people involved in the promotion of social change in South Africa. Since the banning of African nationalist movements and other radical groups in South Africa, the enforced duties of the Liberal Party and the racial segregation of the Progressive Party, many of the people on the Left have lost sight of the goals they are working towards. There is clearly a rejection of apartheid and racist ideologies. But this is essentially a negative role. It is a role which has considerable importance in this sad country. But it is not enough. Its essentially negative role does not give direction to the sort of change people should be envisaging. People working for change should have a goal to which they are working. They should then assess how they are going to get there in terms of the existing situation. Instead we have some vague idea -- or even less hope -- of change without any significant goal orientation. Positive goals do exist in a minor way, such as the air of nonracialism but these do not come to terms with the sort of society we want to see in South Africa. And I believe that each one of us should face up to the sort of society we want to see. With this goal orientation, I am convinced our actions will become more meaningful and committed.

/I will ....

I will add that r.e than NUSAS can ever represent a specific goal
orientation in terms of a policy and programme of the sort of country we
wish to see in South Africa. But I do believe that the people involved
in NUSAS should understand why they are involved in the organization and
for what purpose. In other words, I do not see NUSAS as a quasi-political
party, but I do see NUSAS as incorporating students who are working for
change. And those students must have a clear idea of why they are
involved in NUSAS, and what they are working towards.

In this respect, I suggest African Socialism has important implications
for us in South Africa. It is a concept which is trying to grapple with
the real problems of Africa, such as human suffering, the underdevelopment
of the continent, and the structures of future societies. The problems
of racialism and white minority rule are fundamental to us today in
South Africa, but we must think beyond these and into the future, before
we lose sight of what we are working towards.

On two levels, African Socialism is fundamental to the future South African
society. Firstly, the essential African basis means that African Socialism
will be developed by those people who are fully identified with the people
and realities of Africa. And these will largely be African people.
White people may work towards the same sort of goal but they will not be
part and parcel of the final form of African Socialism in South Africa.
They cannot fulfil an active and direct role unless they are totally
identified with the African people. And there are precious few whites in
the continent of Africa who have managed to do that, let alone in South
Africa. This will be emphasised over and over again in South Africa because,
on first appearance, all whites will be accused of complicity in the
racial crimes committed by the apartheid government. The suspicion of
whites will be far worse than it ever was in Kenya or the Congo. Whites,
no matter what their political affiliations will be suspected of compromising
their previous existence with their present existence when change comes in
South Africa. So, I think that we must face up to the fact that although
we may choose to work for the goals of African Socialism in South Africa,
whites will probably not play any major functional role in the determination
of these goals when change does come.

The emergence of SASO has brought this home to us in student circles. And
it is going to happen again and again.

Once we have accepted this point, the second fundamental value of African
Socialism must be examined: that is, the human values of the concept.
As a concept, I think this is probably the most relevant factor of African
Socialism to South Africa. Until we start thinking in human terms and not
in terms of race or class, I do not believe we will resolve the fundamental
problems of this country, or, for that matter, the world. Rick Turner
outlined in his paper the other night how human values have become important
in New Left thinking. The African example is more relevant, I suggest,
because in this continent people are using human values in practical
government rather than in theories. Human values are fundamental to the
thinking of Kenneth Kaunda and Julius Nyerere and others. And I think
this is something we should work towards in South Africa. This is not
just something which we should wait for. It is something that we can do
today. The other day I was talking to a prominent African student leader
about what he thought white people could do in this country. At first,
he told me that this was something for white people to decide, not for black
people to tell white people to do. After some pushing, he came up with an
interesting answer. He said something like this: white people should, first
of all, be able to communicate with the black servants in their homes.
Whites should appreciate the problems of those servants. Whites should be
able to communicate with them and know what their problems and difficulties
are. Once whites know these things about the people who work in their
homes, and then did something about them, they would then be able to relate
to other black people on human terms. He said that if white people
reached this level of involvement with the people working in their own

homes, they would automatically develop further involvement with other
black people. It would be interesting to know how many white students
here today know anything about their own servants in residence or at home;
how many children they have, the health of those children, the education of
those children, the real homes of those servants, and so on. Unless we
practise our human values in our daily existence, how can we hope to extend
our thinking to other implications of African Socialism? How can we think
of other systems incorporating human values?

Not only must we start thinking in terms of a goal which is thought of in
human terms but we must also be able to practise these values in our daily
existence.

Then, we can start thinking about the other goals of African Socialism -
the egalitarian society, the destruction of a class or caste structure,
the levelling off of wealth. But we must nevertheless recognize that
class and caste do exist in South Africa. It is of little use thinking
about some goal for our country if we do not recognize these facts. This
was - and is - one of the major problems of traditional liberal thought.
Each one of us can think about this sort of society on a variety of levels,
but we must first of all realise that it is going to be an African concept
and we must act in terms of those human values in South Africa.

And this, I suggest, is the real relevance of African Socialism for us.

TOWARDS AN UNDERSTANDING OF BLACK POWER by Paula Ensor

The aim of this paper is to examine briefly the concept of Black Power as
a vehicle and strategy for change. Black Power as the politics of
liberation of black people was first propounded in the United States of
America, - it is there that I shall start - and then endeavour to relate this
strategy to change in South Africa. This is not intended as an in-depth
assessment of the dynamics of change in South Africa, but I do hope that it
will serve to destroy many of the myths surrounding the concept of Black
Power, and will lend some insight into the thinking of a growing number of
Black South Africans.

Black Power is the call to Black people to re-define themselves in their own
terms and in accordance with their own temperaments - to free themselves from
the myths that have constricted and enslaved them within their own minds and
in the minds of others. It is a call to Black people to assess themselves
and their situation in their own terms - and to evolve their own. methods
for overcoming their problems.

Black Power as a strategy for change arose in the U.S.A. to meet the needs of
Afro-Americans in a racist society. It arose as a rejection of the "pussy-
footing" and "nice, polite parlour games" that characterized the white middle-
class orientated Civil Rights Movement. It grew with the realisation that
the solution to the Black man's problem in America does not lie in the
assimilation of Blacks into White society - in the hopes that in this way,
the ghettos, with their crime, frustration and self-hatred, will miraculously
disappear. Black Power challenges the very nature of society - its long-
standing values and beliefs as well as its institutions.

The Civil Rights Movement is attacked for its adherence to the theory of
assimilation. This is based on the premise that the "negro problem" is
essentially a White man's problem, i.e. the Black man must be brought up
to the level of the White man economically, and socially, and the White man
must then be 'changed' to accommodate the Black man within the existing
White structure. This process of assimilation thus involves an embracing
by Black men of White middle class values, which were at no stage questioned
by protaganists of the Civil Rights Movement. It accepts tacitly the
inferiority of the values of the Black man, and the superiority of the values
of the White man, and that nothing is of value in the Black community. Black
Power advocates reject this theory as a denial of a Black man's worth, and
maintain furthermore, that equality is a right, and not something that one
need prove one's right to enjoy.

The Civil Rights Movement involved, essentially, middle class Whites and
middle class Blacks relying on national sentiment for the success of their
programmes. These middle class Black leaders are seen as reinforcing
racism by denying, either overtly or covertly, their Black race, and also be
creating a false sense of security among Whites, as the "meaningless
showpieces of a conscience-soothed society". These Black leaders cannot
be regarded as leaders in the sense of being representative of the ghettos,
as they tended to rely on a White power base, from which they derived their
strategy. This resulted in the Civil Rights Movement adapting a tone
of voice and pace geared towards an audience of middle-class Whites. The
movement thus tended to be a buffer zone between militant young Blacks and
this audience - hence the sever reprimands on the part of Civil Rights
leaders for rioters. Dr martin Luther King is regarded as pre-eminently
a leader of middle class and would-be-middle-class Blacks, and a good many
of the lower-class Negroes resent him, and his philosophy of non-violence,
for this reason. It is felt furthermore that as soon as the Black middle
class establishes rapport with the White middle class, they lose it with
the Black lower classes.

The Civil Rights Movement tended to reinforce class divisions within the
ghettos. Among the Black upper classes, those aspiring to be white, and coming

Paper given at 9th NUSAS National Seminar "Students and Action
in Society", Howick, Natal, 24-28 April 1971.

close to this, soon came to the paralyzing realisation that they cannot integrate fully. The resulting frustration often leads to an indulgence in self-hatred and flight from reality, and in their attempts to draw closer towards the whit middle class, they consciously reject, and disassociate themselves from, the Black lower classes. A vacuum of leadership thus develops when the so-called Black leader operates in vacuo - out of outch with the realities of the ghetto.

The Civil Rights Movement, then involved a basic acceptance of the White system but a questioning of White racist Institutions and it was thought that change should take place using existing channels and Institutions (e.g. Congress, elections etc).

Black Power advocates reject that the structure that oppresses should be the structure to determine how the oppressed should liberate themselves. For this reason they reject the "pussy-footing" attitude of Whites (and Blacks) in the Civil Rights Movement. They maintain that Blacks should determine the manner in which and the tempo at which, to free themselves.

From the time they were Introduced Into America, the condition of Black people has fostered human Indignity and the deinal of respect. Born Into that society today, Black people begin to doubt themselves and their worth as human beings. Since every human being depends on his cumulative experiences with others for clues as to how he should view and value himself, children who are consistently rejected begin to question and doubt whether they, their family and their group deserve no more respect from the larger society than they receive. These are the seeds of a pernicious and destructive self- and group hatred. This hatred is seen as the ossence of the "Negro problem". In rejecting the Civil Rights Movement, which they saw as reinforcing this self and group hatred, Black Power advocates have called on Black people to unite, to recognise their heritage and to develop a sense of pride in themselves and in their community. They call upon Blacks to establish and lead their own organixations, to determine their needs and to organize to satisfy these needs in their own way. This taking care of Black business by Black people is in essence the meaning of Black Power.

The need for organization of Black people is based on the fundamental premise that a group must first close its ranks before it enters the open society. Group solidarity is necessary before a group can operate effectively from a strong bargaining position. Power must be that of a community - and eminate from their. Thus, there is a necessity to establish and organize a Black power base from which to negotiate. In their Insistence on a Black power base, Black Power advocates bring into question the concept of political coalitions. They outline three basic fallacies which underlay the strategy of the Civil Rights Movement.

1) That in the content of a given society, the interests of black people are identical with the interests of certain labour, liberal and social reform groups. These groups usually accept the legitimacy of the basic values and institutions of the status quo, and are not interested in a major reorientation of society.

It is contended that no matter how "liberal" a White person may be, he cannot ultimately escape the overpowering influence on himself and on Blacks, of his whiteness in a racist society. A White in such a society will analyse it in terms of his own reality, which differs from that of, for example, a ghetto inhabitant. He tends to establish different priorities - and even if his priorities do coincide with that of a ghetto inhabitant, the degree of his motivation is questioned.

Whites must form a base for themselves in terms of their own reality, and act upon society from that.

2) That a viable coalition can be effected between the politically and economically secure and politically and economically insecure. It is contended

here that a viable group cannot be organized within a larger (more secure) group. The smaller (less secure) group will be forced to acquiesce in the goals and demands of the parent - it can serve merely as a conscience-pricker because it has no independent base of power from which to operate. Coalition between the strong and the weak ultimately leads only to perpetuation of the heirachical status; superordinance and subordinance.

3) That political coalitions can be sustained on a moral, friendly or sentimental basis, or on appeals to conscience. Political relations are based on self-interest i.e. the benefits to be gained and losses avoided. Man's politics are determined by his evaluation of material good and evil. Politics result, therefore, from a conflict of interests, not of consciences e.g. churches in the U.S.A. were motivated by conscience to help lobby civil rights laws through Congress, but when it came to actually trying to persuade their parishioners to conform with these laws, a clash of interests resulted, when Churchmen were faced with the probability of being removed from their parishes by unsympathetic parishioners.

The whole question of coalitions is an important one - especially in the South African situation. In America, because of their small numbers and economic weakness, Blacks need to form coalitions - even if on relatively minor, short term issues. Once Black people have organized themselves, and have defined their own interests and goals, they can consider coalitions. Black Power in the USA does not mean 'go it alone' - but rather that before viable coalitions can be formed, Blacks must stand on their own. They must overcome their present dependency and establish a viable psychological, political and social base from which the Black community can function to meet its needs.

The premises for coalition generally laid down are:: ··

1) All partners in the coalition must perceive a mutually beneficial goal based on the conception of each party of his own self-interest.

2) There must be genuine power bases upon which parties rely. Civil Rights leaders, by relying on national sentiment, operated from a powerless base, and thus involved a liaison between powerful White society and powerless ghetto.

3) Acceptance of the fact that each party has its own independent power base and does not depend for ultimate decision making on a force outside itself.

4) The realization that the coalition deals with specific and identifiable, as opposed to vague and general, goals.

It is argued by some advocates of Black Power that coalitions with other groups that are short-term, issue-orientated arrangements are, in the long run, harmful, since they seldom come to terms with the roots of institutional racism, and could lead Whites and Blacks into thinking either that their long term interests do not conflict when in fact they do, or that such lesser issues are the only issues which can be solved.

Black Power, Racism and Violence.

Advocates of Black Power are often accused of "Black Racism". No guarantee can be given that if Black people achieved total power, it would be non-racist, as human nature is ultimately unpredictable. If Black racism is thus what White society fears, it cannot be helped. Black Power advocates merely state what they want to happen, but given the here and now situation, they have no alternative but to strive for Black Power. Black Power does not necessarily imply use of violence, either. But it is argued, as I have stated before, that the structure that oppresses has no right to dictate how the oppressed shall liberate themselves from their oppression, and if violence is the only measure to achieve this change, it will be resorted to. It is also argued that use of violence to affect social change is often necessary to confront the violence inherent in a repressive racist society.

Role of Whites.

In the USA, there is a dispute between Black nationalists e.g. Black
Panters and the cultural nationalists. The latter group sees the white
man as the oppressor, and makes no distinction between racist and "non-
racist" whites, as do the Panthers. The cultural nationalists believe
that ultimately a Black man cannot be an enemy of the Black people, whereas
the Panthers see Black capitalists as exploiters and oppressors in the same
way as Whites.

Black Power does not imply ridding civil rights movements of White people.
They see definite roles for Whites to play: educative, organizational
and supportive. Given the pervasive nature of racism, and the extent to
which attitudes of White superiority and Black inferiority are embedded,
it becomes very necessary for Whites to disabuse themselves of such notions.
Blacks will lead the challenge to old values and norms - Whites recognizing
this need must also work in this sphere. Whites have access to groups in
society never reached by Blacks. It is necessary to get within these
groups and perform an educative function. Whites are often reluctant to
go into White communities (because White-orientated is considered Right-
orientated), but it is important to preach non-violence in these communities
(i.e. focusing on police brutality) and educate Whites to see Black power
as a need. Whites must organize within their own communities and establish
a power base there, which can play important supportive roles. Whites
must stop trying to "come alive" through contact with the Black community,
simply because this is where the action is. this sort of meaningless
idealism, verging close upon paternalism, is considered repugnant.

Black Panther Party.

The Black Panther Party for Self-Defence was the brain child of Huey P.
Newton. It takes its roots from the Black community - It is Black-
community orientated, and its power lies with the Black people. The
Panthers emphasize community projects e.g. anti-poverty centres, breakfast
schemes, liberation schools etc, which are organized and financed by Blacks
for Blacks. In these community projects is seen tremendous potential for
politicization of the Black people - forcing Blacks to take responsibility
for their own interests and to actively defend their rights. The Panthers
rightly realise that their strength lies with an organized, cohesive Black
community.

They have generated much pride in being Black - Black people, with a sense of
concern are taking care of their own business.

Black Power and South Africa.

One must of necessity exercise extreme caution when discussing two countries
as different as USA and S.A. in the light of a single concept. Yet the
analogies do exist, and much of what has been said above in relation to USA
can be applied to the South African situation to gain an insight into much
current Black South African thinking.

Blacks in South Africa are posing the same criticisms of multiracial
movements as their American brothers have done with regard to the Civil
Rights Movement. They are beginning to realise that a conflict of interests
is inevitable in multi-racial organizations, and feel that the need to
consolidate the Black masses is an absolute priority. Liberal whites in
this country have tended to emphasize integration as their fellows in the
Civil Rights Movement did in the USA. Blacks are rejecting the "pussy-
footing" of NUSAS, which is seen as appealing to a non-existent national
sentiment to achieve societal change.

Blacks are challenging the whole nature of South African society, and demanding
a total re-orientation, not merely a change in the institutions within it.
Like the Negroes, Blacks here are feeling the need to establish their own
terms by which to define themselves and their relationship with society.

Black students no longer regard Universities as a power base - they are
referring back to the community with the conviction that they are Black
first and student second. They have analysed society in terms of thei
own reality, and as Black students, operate in terms of this.   (The
major criticism of NUSAS in the past has been that it has not operated in
terms of an overall strategy for change.   It has tended to accept the
legitimacy of the system, and has reacted against institutions within it.)

Blacks are beginning to realize that the interests of Black people are not
identical with those of White liberals -- that these White liberals are
essentially part of the structure that oppresses and can play no part alongside
Blacks in alleviating their position.   They are beginning to realize that
coalitions between the economically and politically secure and insecure are
not viable and that it is futile for Blacks to appeal to a non-existent
national conscience.

The strategy rather is for Black people to come together, to analyse their
needs and to organize to achieve these.   Confronted by a White power ·
structure (which is seen as monolithic) they see the need to build up a strong
negotiable force to counter this structure.   Black Power in South Africa does
mean "go it alone".   Blacks see the ultimate power for change as lying in
their hands, and in the long term view, the role of Whites will be peripheral.
Whites that accept the Black power model for change will realize their
limitations, and will realize that they can only act effectively in terms of
their own reality i.e. in terms of the things that oppress them.   This
necessitates Whites working in White communities from a White power base.
This does not necessarily mean that Whites must keep out of Black communities -
they often have an important instigatory role to play - but realizing their
limitations they will see the necessity for Black organization of Black
communities in the long term view.

Black Power in South Africa is essentially a strategy for change - it is not
an ideology.   Many White liberals have voiced the fear that ultimately it
will develop into a Black racism.   The Black man's answer to this would be
that racism as he has known it is discrimination in order to exploit, and that
this is not the intention of Black Power, and will not conceivably be the
need of Black people.   He will also argue that White people deserve no
assurances that Black racism will not supplant White racism · Black people
are declaring themselves in favour of an egalitarian society, but given the
present situation, Black Power is the only strategy for change which meets
the needs of Black people, and the needs of White people do not feature as
tremendously important after 300 years of exploitation and degredation.   Change
will take place on Black terms and not White terms, which have been the cause
of so much humiliation.

"BLACK POWER IN SOUTH AFRICA"   by Ernest Raleketho.

The topic of this paper should perhaps have been phrased "Black Power in South
Africa. Does it exist?" When we speak about "Black Power" we often speak
about it in the context of Black Power in the United States, which exists
under different political social and economic situations from South Africa.

South Africa   saw the rise of Black pressure during the activities of the
A.N.C. and P.A.C. I call it Black pressure because the ultimate aim was
to obtain equal rights for the Blacks by exerting pressure on the White ruling
government.   They appealed. like the Civil Rights Movement in the United
States, for a share of the White man s cream.

Later the PAC broke away from the ANC on ideological principles and on strategic
points of achieving the same end.   Whether they agreed or not is not the
question here but what both groups were fighting for.   In the process of
fighting for equal rights those National movements believed that the white
government had a conscience that it had an obligation to grant their demands.
But they were met with rebuffs, implacable brutality and incessant imprisonment
of the leaders.   Contrary to their expectations the National movements
realised that the White man could see no injustice in his system.

The PAC and ANC activities therefore, began as a reform of a status quo.
They did not necessarily aim at changing the whole structure, but they wished
to be incorporated in the same system   sharing the same benfits having a say
in the same government.   They wanted the Black man to be absorbed in the
whole society - an integrated White society.   But later the National movements
realised that the government would not give in to their demands.   Rather the
government tightened legislation and banned individuals and later the
organisations.   Consequently the movements went underground and devised
violent means of overthrowing the system.   But the efficient security network
of the system thwarted their attempts.

Thus all attempts to obtain rights for the Black man in South Africa were
frustrated.   The White government saw the demands as a threat to the security
of the White man.   The   Nationalist government had an underlying fear of
being swamped by the Black masses   (die Swaart Gevaar.) and experiencing
a Black dictatorship.   They had struggled to obtain their power and they
were not going to relent to Black demands.   In subsequent years the Black man
bxperienced utter degradation of his life poverty, a low standard of
education. and segregation in all spheres of his life.

The Nationalist government did not and do not see the Black man as an integral
part of the South African society   but as a different nation composed of
different tribes with different background and cultures.   This would be true
to say at the beginning of the century, but this is nonsense today, because
with the development of industry, people of different tribes came together
and tribal consciousness was almost eliminated.   But the Nationalist
government is reviving this as an attempt to prove to the world that their
policy is the only feasible one.   But this is a policy of "divide and
rule" aiming at firstly, keeping control over the Territorial Authorities and
secondly, building frictions among the tribal groups   a positive measure to
instil hatred among Black people.

The whole "separate development" theory is riddled through and through with
injustice and many individuals, especially Black people are beginning to
question the sincerity of the government.   They are demanding rapid
development of the homelands as was evident in Chief Buthelezi 's inaugural
speech.   The government has decided to shove the Blacks away where they could
develop separately and Blacks who have accepted the ideology see no
reason why these should be developed at an ox wagon pace.

With the elimination of the Black Nationalist movements the government
succeeded at that thime. to silence the Black man.   Subsequently many educated

Blacks joined multi racial bodies to register their antagonism towards
segregation. Thus the Blacks still believed that South Africa is a multi
racial country and change should be worked for in that context. But even
within that structure Blacks have experienced continual harassment and
intimidation. Although they were and some still are, allies to the
liberal thinking Whites, they were disappointed in that their liberals
thinking was not radical enough. Blacks were relying on White Liberals
to exert their influence and change the system through their votes. More
than ever before Blacks are realizing that White liberals have failed in
this for, do not they benefit from the system after all?

For 300 years the Whites have imposed their values on us as the perfect values.
They have attempted to have their historical definitions accepted by the
oppressed, disinherited Blacks. This is what many Black leaders are
beginning to say today. The ANC and PAC like the Civil Rights Movements
in the States accepted and wanted this achieved. Like the Black Power
advocates in the States Blacks in South Africa are beginning to utterly
reject this view. There is in this country vivid awareness that what the
Black man needs to do, is to make his presence felt to have dignity of
self. And the only way to achieve that, is, Blacks feel through exclusiveness
to forget about the White mand and consolidate his power alone.

A man can never be free unless he frees himself first from all psychological
inhibitions submissiveness self hatred fear etc. For this is development
which is a criteria for freedom. This will be achieved by a call to the
value of Blackness and all what it entails Black Theology, Black culture,
history etc. This Blacks believe is a rallying point for change in South
Africa. It should be noted, though that advocates of Black consciousness
do not view Blacks as different little groups, but as a whole.

The Blacks then in South Africa are opting for a pragmatic solution of the
problem. They have realised that perhaps the best way is to destroy
apartheid by using the government s own weapon. The reaction is positive
action rather than passive appeals to the government to change the system.

Blacks no more want to intergrate into the larger greater society" for they
see this as a positive denial of the value of the Black mand and his community.
Intergration is seen as an attempt to let Black people be absorbed into the
mainstream of Middle Class Capitalist society fraught with Western values,
which for so many years have insulted Black values. Values which have
rendered the Black man automatically inferior and the white man superior.
Like the Blacks in the States Blacks here are advocating a policy of non
assimilation into middle class South Africa which has no conscience for
humanity

This then is what SASO and some Black leaders are saying Unlike in the
States where Black power has political social economic and educational bases
In South Africa the emphasis is on education and a call on Black people
to relieve themselves of the imposed burdens by self help techniques, and to
forget relying on the government's benevolence.

I would conclude then that Black Power in South Africa is in its incipient
stages. The idea has not as yet filtered through to the ordinary man in
the street but it is gradually gainging momentum. However, advocates
of Black conxciousness will have to deal with many obstructing difficulties,
even among Blacks themselves.

POSITION PAPER ON STUDENT ACTION.

Neville Curtis

A. In 1934 Afrikaans speaking students broke away from NUSAS to form the A.S.B.
Until 1968 they showed no desire to really meet with English-speaking students,
or with Black students.   In that same year Black students formed SASO,
the South African Students Organization and in 1970 they withdrew recognition
of NUSAS.   These two events - the re-entry of Afrikaans students and the
withdrawal of Black students from the common dialogue, have major implications
for students on the English-speaking campuses - but implications which have
regretably not penetrated very far, so far.

B. If students are to play a role of any relevance in the future development of
South Africa, and essentially if they are to play a role in which they will
still be able to exercise some choice, then there is going to have to be a
major re-think on the campuses.

C. In discussions between the SRC Presidents and the NUSAS Executive in March,
January, and December such a re-think has begun and borne some fruits and it
will be continued at National Seminar in April and the Congress in July - but
if it is to have immediate impact the limits of the debate must be extended
as far as possible - and students in large numbers must get moving.

D. Two things struck me when I was in the U.S.A. - society and increasingly politics
is focused on young people - and students are the opinion makers and leaders
among young people.   The contrast with South Africa is strong.   Here the
dominant political figures are 'balding, middle-aged white and not too bright'.
Here the divisions between youth are acute (colour, language, class, education)
and the total political 'weight' of youth is very light.   And here, despite
the acuteness of the political situation and the variety of cultural backgrounds -
youth is depressingly conforming, obedient, unthinking and unaware (usually
blithely).

E. Comparative to their non-academic fellow students, are active - but in objective
terms - they are terribly passive - and their influence is strictly limited.

F. This was the first point to emerge: that students are divided and can unite
behind no ideas or action - that SRC's (and everybody else) are unable to
rally campuses - as a whole - behind anything.

                that students are generally
apathetic, unaware, or just plain idle - and that while activity is on the increase
- intellectual creativity is on the decline.

                that the influence of students
and the universities, on society is sadly limited and has declined, and that the
universities and students are increasingly isolated.

                and finally that students
had very little influence or standing with non-campus groups, either their juniors
in schools, their fellows in commerce, or their seniors.

G. Influence and power exist only to the extent to which they are wielded - and if
have'nt got any it is not much use talking about.   The much knocked phrase
'student power', has meaning only if we recognise that 'power is what power
does' and that students will remain powerless for as long as , or as little as
they do, or do nothing.

H. The first conclusion then is that students must extend their influence and
establish a base of meaningful power.   This would mean that a number of things
would have to be done first:

    the development and establishment of consensus on a point of view;
    agreed goals; or a course of action; - in short on a role or
    (roles) around which support can be built.

    the active outward movement of students into those spheres where
    they have no influence and where influence can be obtained.

    the demonstration of influence, or exercise of power in such a manner
    that demands for change, can be effectively made, and backed by action.

The second thing is that while in theory such things—are nice, in South
Africa they are beset with difficulty - and are virtually impossible.   The
interests of students are so diverse that unity must cross many barriers
first and becomes a more difficult objective - in fact - than any of the
objectives for which unity itself is sought.

I.   In the past the attitude of students (through NUSAS) has been to seek unity
and then action - now we might try seeking action and then unity. . In other
words we must recognise diversity - acknowledge the fact of division - and seek
to work as effectively as possible.

This recognition of diversity -ethnic, language, cultural, economic, and
privilege - implies a recognition of both difference and discrimination - but
does not deny a recognition of common humanity.

Difference - in seeking to obtain a non-racial society in the past, liberalism
has been inclined to equate equality with integration and to emphasis what
people have in common to a degree which made their differences difficult
to acknowledge, without the change of discrimination being levelled.

Similarly - the attempt to obtain equality has very often resulted in a
failure to recognise the fundamental inequalities which exist - and which no
degree of integration can deny.

Where there has not been a recognition of difference and diversity - in fact -
what has happened has been that the view of the majority group has become
dominant - and has often become incarcerated into the form of a rigid
ideology - whose priorities, though they may well be principled - are
abstract and remote from the real problems encountered, and the real action
needed.

These are strange points to be making in South Africa - a society in which
difference and discrimination are being perpetually emphasised - even
exulted - and to people who, presumably by your presence here, are aware
of the injustice and inequality in this society.

But they are points which have been more harshly made by SASO and which have
been incorporated in NUSAS policy since Congress in July 1970:

Can discrimination SASO puts the point - 'that as Blacks we are the dispossed
and the disinherited; we are the oppressed and must recognise and embrace
our Blackness as the symbol of both our oppression, and our future liberation.

Both difference and discrimination are conceptualised -

we are black - we are different
we are black - we are oppressed

and Black is embraced not as a principle - but as a fact - a fact from which
we can effectively combat the discrimination - by emphasising the difference -
and on which we can effectively build a power base.

It is important to note the difference from - for example - Afrikaner
Nationalism and to answer the change that like the A.S.B., SASO is a racist
organization. It is not and the differences are these:

Afrikaners adopted separation as a <u>principle</u>

SASO recognises it as a <u>fact</u>

Afrikaners' adopted white - freely and by <u>choice</u> - as a <u>criteria</u>

SASO is <u>forced</u> to accept black - as a <u>legal fact</u>

Afrikaners are committed to separation as a permanent <u>goal</u>

SASO is committed to separation as a <u>means</u> to change.

What Afrikaners and SASO have in common is a recognition of difference. SASO says we wish to be ourselves not 'white souls in black masks'. Afrikaners say the same - we wish to be ourselves not Englishmen.   Both place an emphasis on language, culture, history and <u>identity</u> and <u>consciousness</u> of self - as a member of a defined group which shows these factors.

This is not racist until it becomes the basis for discrimination - which Afrikaners have made it in this country - nor is it a denial of a common humanity or a common society until it becomes the basis for compulsory separation - which Afrikaners have made it in this country.

But certainly the danger exists that black separatism will follow the same path as Afrikaner separation - and by placing the exclusive interests of one group above those of other establish a domination resting on discrimination and denial of common humanity.

It is to this danger - and this situation in fact - that liberals in South Africa have been sensitive - and which they have sought to counter by the twin emphasis on equality and integration - an emphasis which is neither wrong nor unreal - but which has by its very nature denied any difference and denied the facts of discrimination.

I can possibly illustrate this be referring to an incident at the NUSAS Congress of 1969 - the Freedom in Society Commission- composed of blacks and whites - formulated a report which noted:

1) that blacks and whites enjoyed different degrees of freedom .

2) that the issues which were of immediate concern to blacks were <u>different</u> from those which were of concern to whites.

3) that in the past - because whites dominated NUSAS - the issues which the body as a whole acted on - were white issues - issues unreal or not immediate to blacks.

But at the same Congress and despite this report when recognition of SASO - a black organization proposing to work on these immediate black concerns - was proposed it was not accepted on the grounds that SASO was racist.

From this position in 1969 to the position of 1970 when SASO was recognised there was a major change in the atttude of NUSAS, but the implications of that change must be carried further - and this is what I am seeking to do.

To put it in a nutshell - whites must recognise themselves as oppressors; must recognise that the colour of their skin is the symbol of their oppression and that it sets them aside from the black oppressed in fact.

                    - white liberals must recognise further that as whites, and as oppressors they are as individually and equally guilty of oppression as those white nationalists who enforce it on their behalf as fellow whites.

This is what I mean by a recognition of diversity and of difference and discrimination - and it is failure to recognise this, in fact, and not just in theory which has made the white liberal appear to be a hypocrite - worse, because more cunning, than the blatantly prejudiced white supremacist.

SASO has contended that white liberals enjoy both the material fruits of
the oppressor - and the hurt consciences of the oppressed - and that these
two things can only be either hypocrisy, or insincerity or delusion or
deliberate illusion.

You are either 'part of the problem or part of the solution' - either
oppressed or oppressing - and if you are white then you are by definition -
by law - and oppressor - of black-oppressed.   And as a white you can have
no real identity of purpose with a black - unless you too are in reality
oppressed - or he is in reality an oppressor.

And this is the choice which white liberals must face -

It might help if I point out that blacks see the oppression in South
Africa as both political and economic.   In other words that the possession
of wealth is the enjoyment of the material profits of exploitation - and
this more than anything else puts most white liberals beyond the pale in
the eyes of SASO.

White liberals then must face up to a third thing besides the fact of
their whiteness, and their political privilege - and that is their role
as economic exploiters.   Oppression in South Africa - is more than just
segregation - the usual target of liberalism; or the question of the franchi
and vivil and politcal rights or discrimination; the next usual target -
but also the question of capitalism - of economic exploitation in
pursuit of profit and materialism - exploitation by whites of blacks.

Now two things make these points relevant:

    1)   The fact that many blacks - certainly as expressed by SASO -
        orientate their political thinking from these points.

    2)   The fact that in South Africa the initiative is changing from
        the hands of the whites to the hands of the blacks.

For me these factors make liberalism as it has practised as a political
course of action in South Africa in the past, defunct - and make it
necessary to make a radical reassessment of the direction and nature of
change in South Africa - and the role of whites, blacks and particularly
of students - us.

Such a reassessment is what NUSAS been engaged in for some time - and it
must concern itself with goals, precess and strategy - before it concerns
itself with organizations or with action.

Now when I discussed the role of students initially I made three points:

        - that students must establish a point of view which
      recognises diversity, difference and discrimination and which
    is concerned with effectiveness.

        - that students must extend this point of view its
    influence and their power, outwards from the now isolated campuses.

        - that they must demonstrate this influence and power in
    manner which is going to increase their effectiveness.

Failing this I cannot see students playing any long or short term role which
is going to be of relevance or of effect in promoting change.   And what I
discussed in most of this paper so far has been an assessment of its
implications of the formation of SASO and the emergence of a clear black
student opinion.

To summarise, the implications of the emergence of SASO are:

        1) the need to recognise diversity and difference.
        2) the need to recognise the implications of oppression on
           racial lines.

3) the need to recognise the implications of economic oppression.
4) the need to be concerned with influence, power and effectiveness
5) the need to make a radical assessment of the whole society and
      of the totality of change within it.

And I have examined these points in some length, if far from exhaustively,
and two further points, which I have not wxamined at all:

6) the fact that SASO has emerged with this orientation
7) and the fact that initiative is changing from white to black hands.

but assessing these implications is not to assess all the factors in the
South African situation - and the last two points cannot stand without
such an assessment - nor to make the radical assessment of the total situation
which I have called for - and equally as important, nor to formulate a
clear and definitive picture of change and of the role of students , whites
and other groups in achieving it.   This I will now try and do:

My starting point is the dominant political organization in South Africa -
the Nationalist party - and the dominant ideology apartheid:

I think it is a mistake to regard apartheid as a conservative ideology - and
I see it as a radical right wing ideology concerned with the transformation
fo society in South Africa:

and I think it is a mistake to regard the Nationalist party as only a
parliamentary plitical party - and I see it as a political wing of a
totalitarian Nationalism concerned with the acquisition and exercise of total
power.

The essential raison d' etre of both the ideology and the Party is the
ensuring of the survival of the Afrikaner by means of a policy of control
based on total domination   and separation.   As the party has flourished
survival as come to mean not just continued existence, but entrenched
political domination; not just political domination but economic hegemony
and control;   and eventually - i.e. at present now - total control.

The facade of Parliamentary democracy has been slipping and is now past the
point of no return - neither, the Parliament, nor the Party, control the
country - nor one begins to think, the Cabinet.

In discussions with both 'verligte' and 'verkrampte' Afrikaans speaking
students I have put the point of view that a non-Nationalist government which
won an election would never be allowed to assume power - and have found it
endorsed by both.   I have found further agreement on the inevitably of
a transition to direct authoritarian role - and to cap that the 'verkramp'
student endorsed this latter as not only inevitable, but desirable, and
virtually a fact already.

So much for Parliamentary politics as a means to power.   But the implications
are more profound than this:

Although Parliamentary politics have been futile for some time political
activity - in a pressure group sense; in the sense of attitude change; in
the sense of protest; in the sense of non-racial activity;   and in the
sense of rel ive freedom in educational and welfare activity - this type
of political activity has not been totally futile.   There has in fact
been a limited tolerance allowed - a rechnique which is now disappearing
As pressure is placed on the Nats or grows for the accelerated implementation
of apartheid- the need for control grows - as the pace of change accelerates -
the need for control grows- as much as the situation threatens to get out
of hand grows - the need for control grows - and political activity is going
to be the casualty.

But at the same time control is proving that it cannot be either total or totally effective - and a conflict situation between a white establishment and a black establishment is emerging again for the first time in a decade as the establishment's power grows.

This conflict or polarisation can take three alternative courses in South Africa:

  (1) suppression of political activity
  (2) direct conflict
  (3) emergence of new political institutions

But it cannot be denied and because its focus is more than just directly political - its solution can only be in terms of the transformation of the whole society.

It is the recognition of this which is the strength of apartheid - the provision of a formula and a process for obtaining its realisation. It is the recognition of this which makes SASO potentially enormously strong - and it is the tacit or explicit failure to recognise this which rules other white parties and control as irrelevant - this and the facts of power and control which I have mentioned already.

This in essence then is the picutre in political terms -

  A dominant white nationalism which has a clear objective and is selling more power to control events to transform society to conform to this objective - and is willing to exercise this power - if necessarily totally - to ensure this objective

        versus

  An emerging black nationalism which has a clear and contradictory objective and is seeking to obtain power to resist, adapt or implement an alternative transformation of society.

It is then a power struggle - and as such it is concerned with both the totality of society and the totality of power available within and outside of society - it is not simply a political struggle - as it has so often been seen in the past - or simply a racial struggle.

It is a struggle which is most definitely not - and is not becing to be, confined to just parliamentary or party political activity - but which is already expressing itself in all spheres of life in South Africa.

The debates in Parliament might reflect some of the surface effects of this struggle - but they are removed from the real issues at stake and the real areas of conflict - dangerously far removed - and the naivety of the political parties would be touching if it were not so disastrous.

What must be of concern to students is where they stand in regard to this struggle and before we can decide this we must see clearly where the conflict lies and whom it is between - because it is not between any of the existing white political parties.

We can distinguish between two polarities which for convenience sake we shall label as 'white power' and 'black power' (and not because it is a totally racial division).

White Power is wielded by the Nationalist Party through its control of its supporters, and its control of the machinery of the state - this latter now so increased that it greatly overshadows the former; and through its control (though not total possession) of the machinery of production and the economy. Allied with it in a wedding of profit dictated necessity is the economic establishment - the state controlled sections and private enterprise.

Increasingly the alliance between capital and control is becoming closer - and control is being exercised over capital to bolster the base of control - and capital is influencing control to ensure the expansion of capital.

This and only this is what the current economic dispute is about - the superficial dispute between elements of the white power establishment over which economic and political priorities shall take precedence. But it is not what the dispute between 'white power' and 'black power' is about except in a relatively peripheral fashion.

That dispute is about who will have economic and political power - the present alliance of capital and control - or the mass who are politically and economically exploited by that control.

White power is seeking political and economic allies - and is looking in two directions - to other than white groups withing the country; and to other bases of economic and political power outside of the country. These directions are currently focused on two events - the Coloured people and the outward policy.

The essence of the debate on the coloured question is whether the Coloured peopl are to be absorbed into the white power group as a bolster against the black power group - or whether they are to continue to be driven towards the Black camp by separation and discrimination. Economic priorities dictate one course, political ideology the other - but the essence of the conflict is not separation or discrimination but the conflict of white and black power.

The essence of the outward policy is the attempt to bolster the economic and political status quo by a policy of economic imperialism which seeks to promote economic expansion into neighbouring territories - and also the economic and politcal copendency of these territories on the South African white power establishment. It is not the question of whether dialogue is good or bad, or whether arms are needed or not.

The essence of the debate on the economic isolation of South Africa is whether this imperialism is to be aided or not, and whether isolation will promote or hinder the growth of the white power establishment.

Black power is seeking a political and economic basis for what might be called the economic and poiltical socialisation of South Africa. To do this it must build a power base - this is the motive behind separatism, behind the exploitation of apartheid structures such as the CRC or the homeland development - but the essence of either question is who will exploit whom? Will co-operation with the apartheid structures abet white power or black power? Thus also the question which must be asked of black theology or the lifting of the colour bar; or the celebration of Republic Day.

And this issue will focus clearly who is in which camp

- who has reason to celebrate in South Africa or not

- and will show the white power establishment up for who it is and what it is. And it is neither all white, all Afrikaner or all Nationalist.

The essential issues then are not the question of integration of the common society - the society is already divided - but of which of which transformation of society will take place on the basis of the present situation.

> Does the white power establishment still have the initiative?
>
> Will confrontation mean conflict?
>
> Or will it be reached by suppression?;
>
> Or by existing or still to be formed political institutions?

Which of these alternatives will contribute most rapidly to change - and to change of which sort? Which will give only the appearance of change and where and how can students apply their energies?

I believe that students must align themselves against the white polarity and w with the black polarities - and seek to orientate their activity towards those things which will assisst the latter and hinder the former.

This does not mean integrated activity neccessarily - nor does it even mean co-operation with black students - because the facts of oppression make it otherwise.

The role of white students then is difficult they are separate from those they would seek as allies, and among those they would regard as enemies - and their direct involvement must be with the latter - of necessity. But if you are not to be an oppressor you must cease to be one - and if you are to be among the oppressed then your concern must be theirs:

This for me would mean:

1) non-collaboration wherever possible with or in white power.
2) direct opposition to it where it is most likely to be effective.
3) a change of orientation from the facade to the reality of the struggle.
4) controlling the authority and control of the white power system.
5) co-operating with the objectives of the black power system.
6) trying to make a reality of the alternate society which the black power system hopes to achieve.

These are general directions, in specific term they mean:

1) Ceasing discriminatory practices under our control - on the campuses and in the universities - in business - and wherever else we have influence.

2) ceasing to participate in discriminatory institutions and activites wherever this is possible - entertainment, etc.

3) opposition to the white power system in the economic field; in the administration of discriminating practises; and in those areas which affect black people directly. (i.e. bread boycotts not academic freedom protests.

4) opposition to authority and its manifestations wherever they intrude directly on us - and wherever they can be influenced.

5) propagation of an alternate moral code as a lifestyle and as an ideal to be achieved.

6) and the exposition and clarification of the three points made before -

> a clear point of view;
> extension of influence and
> exercise of power.

In terms of NUSAS we can consider various structural and organisational changes :

If oen is to look at student and left political activity in the U.S.A. one finds few organizations - but many campaigns. Activity is centred around a specific issue - the war; Women's Lib; Civil Rights; Black Liberation - or around a specific objective - an anti-war rally; busting up the Chicago Convention; Earth Day - and this is true of both off campus activity (as above) and of on campus activity.

If one is to look at the events which have exploded open campuses in the U.S.A. one finds that what has occured has always been the exploitation of a particular issue - they gym at Columbia; the ROTC; the presence of police on campus - and what has followed has been an attempt to develop from this, more general enlightenment, involvement and participation in what is loosely called 'the movement'.

This is largely in contrast to student or left-wing political activity in South Africa which focuses itself on organizations (SRCs'; NUSAS; Prog Party, CI), and on either broad general principles or specific principles

as embodied in a policy, and then attempts to propogate these as an
organization.   The old 'pre-assessment' NUSAS demonstrated this very clearly
with its emphasis on 'education' (of students) in the broades policy sense;
propogation of, at various times a rigid or flexible, but always broad
liberal policy; and action of a representative type (mass-meetings; petitions;
etc)   on essentially broad (and hence often nebulous) issues such as
academic freedom.

I see it as essential that the affiliate organisations be built up into
movements - or campaigning organizations - of the U.S.A. type - loosely linked
together within the framework of a broader movement - NUSAS (or its equivalent)
itself:

1. This would mean then the selection of issues which can be (and this is
   important) successfully campaigned.   That is issues which have direct
   and personal relevance to the individuals which one seeks to involve as
   well as attainable political objectives - that is objectives about which
   something can be done.

2. It would mean the building of the affiliate organisations not on the
   lines of NUSAS-type but on U.S.A. campaign-type.

3. It would mean the extension of the role of the affiliate organization
   beyond the bounds of NUSAS   - but also beyond the bonds which
   seem to limit political activity in South Africa to something divorced from
   daily life.

4. It would mean establishing the roots of the affiliate organisations in
   what they are doing - not in what they should be doing; not in what they
   are; (i.e. self-sustaining bureaucracies) and not overall in 'what they
   stand for'   The raison d' etre of the affiliate organizations must be
   from the bottom upwards from what they are doing.

It is important that each of the affiliate organizations define a clear
role for themselves and establish a number, if necessary a limited number,
of effective and politically relevant programs.

At the moment while each of the organizations is reasonably healthy and
performing a reasonably clear function - none of them have the specific and
vital roles to play which can transform them into movements continually
generating suppost and involvement.

It is these roles which are crucial, and each organization must seize on
a particular task which it can transform into a campaign - and which can
transform it into a movement.

Students must come out of the enclave of isolation which the campuses have
become.   They must seek and find common cause with other groups -
particularly young people and other economic classes - and they must turn
the universities in this direction.

They must do so soon otherwise they will become expendable - the fuel for
the fire which maintains and generates apartheid.

In short students must drop out - not out of the area of political relevance
- but out of the roles t. which they are consigned by the white establishment

Students must turn on - not to the facile manifestations of pop society
- but to the realisation of what is really happening in South Africa and
where they stand - and want to stand.

Students are going to have to be rebels - increasingly in a state of
friction with the patterns and demands of white society.

I can say much more but that is the essence of it.

What has preceded is all the theoretical framework, which for me is the essential preface to action - and without which you have the 'mindless activity' to which I have referred earlier in this paper. But action, even when conceived in the context of considerable understanding will still be totally ineffective unless a number of other things are also ensured:

First, action must be planned, and should fall within the context of an overall strategy - that is a specific tactic, with a specific objective.

Second, the action of an individual is not as effective in most instances as is the action of larger numbers of people; and once one is dealing with people in numbers then the concepts of organising and organisation must be dealt with.

Third, action must be concerned with effectiveness, and although I have stressed this point a number of times I wish to stress it again - effective action must be concerned with power and with influence. Power is what power does - and it exists only to the degree to which it is exercised or acknowledged.

Fourth, if orgnaising is involved then action is the exercise of leadership - and leadership is the art of making things happen; of getting people to make things happen. Leadership can be equated with the yeast which makes the dough rise into bread.

Action then - effective action - must be planned, organised and led - and all these things - planning, organisation and leadership - are skills which can be acquired and developed - skills which you must acquire and develop.

In his paper Rick Turner, referred to the inclination of people to seek 'instant gratification' and pointed to the more important need for an ongoing commitment. Mewa Pamgobin in his paper pointed to the need for self discipline - the need for depth of commitment.

Both Rick and Mewa pointed to the fact that such commitment begins with oneself you - an individual who possess information, understanding and a set of values which are real and important to you and which you really want to realise.

I would like to expand a little on this last point and I quote from the paper which I prepared for National Seminar this time last year: (A new Idealism, a new Realism):

" * We have to plan and organise because we face a vast system that is planned and organised against those things for which we stand; because we have too much to achieve a little. So we too must plan and organise.
  * But at the same time we must try to live our values and ideals. We must not allow ourselves to become divorced from them. We must not allow them to become simply a ritual and symbolic process of affirmation and rededication.
  * Our ideals must be alive and living. We must express them in our living - in what we do. This is the new Idealism which I wish to couple with the new realism that I have by now I hope clarified.

"But what exactly is this idealism? In essence I see it as a belief in people, in humanity - our own and that of others. A belief in the rights of people - ourselves and others - to live in such a way, and to live in such a society that we can realise our own humanity to the full. But at the same time this must be more than self indulgence - it must be a commitment to the defence of this belief as more basic, more important than anything else - more important than party politics, more important than politics itself, in the sense which that word is used in South Africa.

Our idealism is an intellectual conviction, and an emotional conviction - but it is also a commitment to carion - to doing something all the time. It is an idealism that must be positive in terms of itself, and positive in terms of society."

Call it motivation, call it commitment, call it idealism - it is that which motivates you as an individual - and without it you cannot proceed.

What this seminar has done and I hope is doing then - is to place you in a position as an individual to understand this and go some way along the road to achieving it. But the role of the seminar can only be secondary and complimentary to your own individual commitment.

You will return from this seminar to your campuses and much will be expected of you. For me it is crucial that you resolve to return to your campuses active - committed to playing a leadership role.

How and what your role will be will vary from person to person - your talents differ · but you all have ability · and do not doubt this. All I can do is point to some of the specific things which NUSAS - NUSED, NUSWEL and AQUARIUS are involved in and are doing · things which I think are the most relevant in the student scene (and possibly out of it) and things which you can do.

First, disseminate what has happened at this seminar - you are free to reprint the papers, to set up similar seminars, basically to spread the word.

Second, find yourself a role, a position - involvement - from which you can plan, organise and lead · in which you can apply yourself what you know.

Third, examine the specific programs and projects which NUSAS and the affiliate organisations are operating and hope to operate · and any others which you personally desire to see operate - and make one · just one · of these work.

Fourth, prepare, develop yourself as an individual - examine your life and your surroundings · make your involvement not just transitory and temporary - but involvement which is based on those things which are meaningful to you, and which you hope to make your future life. Decide now.

Fifth, reconcile yourself to the fact that you must deal with your fear. Reconcile yourself to what you are up against - and remember that this is for real. Remember that you are not playing games now·though you can very easily if you wish to.

In concluding let me move from you,the individual, to NUSAS, the organisation -- to what exists already - to what we are doing and hope to do:

At present the long term strategy of NUSAS is this - build and secure a base on campus and from there extend power and influence outwards into the society, and to particular groups in the society.

We see securing our base as the building up of real power · power which is the support and commitment of people to the values which we share and the things which we are doing; power which is the implementation of that in which we believe · power achieved by the implementation of our principles-making ideal, real.

And we hope to secure our base by the very process of extending our influence - the programs and activities in which we seek involvement are all designed and directed at the achievement of specific objectives within the universities and society.

Each of the affiliate organisations has a specific and clear function - functions which are expressed even more clearly in their various projects and programs. Each must grow and each must work.

NUSAS as a whole has a clear function expressed in a long term strategy, and the use of specific tactics for the achievement of specific objectives.

I want to stress here a fundamental point which is often ignored or forgotten: society is multi-dimensional, multi-faceted, change must occur everywhere and there is no one thing, and on thing only which is THE thing to be done. Different people can, and must be doing different things at different times or simultaneously and all of these things can have equal relevance. In the past failure to recognise this had been the source of much discontent, the reason why much action has been crippled.

These things must be evaluated as priorities - as helping or hindering and to different degrees - but all can have direct relevance. Inevitably this paper will argue for certain priorities - but you must decide.

For NUSAS the first priority is survival. Survival in the belief that you can do nothing if you are not there; but survival which sees it as meaning-less to simply be there and exist. You must survive in order to act, to do · and you must do to make survival meaningful -· so in fact, the priority in surviving is doing - action.

The second priority is growth -- extensition of understanding influence and power. Not simply as a bureaucracy or a structure but the extension of those values, ideals and goals · anc activities - which are meaningful and relevant - and which are lived by doing. To grow you must act; to change you must act, and so the second priority of NUSAS is in fact doing, action.

These two priorities or impulses are explicit or implicit in all that we do. In all that we do with two exceptions:

That is first, where the parts - individuals or programs -- become expendable in the interests of the whole. We must all realise, and ensure, that what-ever we are doing can continue and grow without us. WE must not become too committed to a specific project or a specific activity, or post to become blinded to its relevance and relation - its overall meaning.

And here everyone of us is trapped to one degree or another by our situation ·· and we must all seek constantly to grow and to change -- and that takes real determination.

And that is second, the realisation that wer are not indispensable or irre-placable.

The biggest project before NUSAS now is charging people. This should be clear.

It involves immediately the Republic Day campaign.
It involves next the building of the affiliate organisations into real movements, the building of the campuses into real bastions.
It involves communicating with youth - our brothers -- on other campuses, off campuses and in schools.
It involves change wherever and however we can effect it.

In it involves a multitude of specific projects, programs and activities -- and I am not going to be more specific than this because I wish you to ascertain what these are and should be. I wish it to be established as a priority in this organisation, NUSAS, that we break dependency on authority and authority figures ―right here, first, within our own organisation.

After this speech the Executive will hand the seminar over to you completely and withdraw - it will be yours to make of what you will. I will end only by outlining for your information what NUSAS is doing at the present moment:

We run a prison education program, a medical scholarship program, a loan fund, and a general scholarship program. We run leadership training seminars. Youth leadership seminars and community development seminars. We maintain contact and co-operation with numbers of overseas agencies and organisations.

We are campaigning for non-racial sport. We are initiating and co-operating in the establishment of development programs of various sorts. We are running literacy training, coaching and tuition programs. We are campaigning for the reform and democratisation of the Universities and Higher Education; for the lifting of restrictive regulations and practises and for the liberation of education into a force which stimulates, builds consciousness and awareness and stirs creativity and expression.

We are seeking to provide and building leadership on and off campuses. To involve more people, more deeply. To cross the barriers of race, class, education, language, culture and age. To work with other groups and organisations. To focus on the schools and youth. To politicise. We are trying to clarify the role of economic forces and restrictive legislation and to combat and change these. We are committed on many fronts and in many struggles - and the task we face is not simply huge · it is real and can and must be done.

We are seeking to be effective - realistic and principled - meaningful idealistic wherever we - and you - can be; and we cannot divorce this from every aspect - or any aspect of our individual and communal lives.

We cannot be content with less.

<u>RECOMMENDATIONS TO NUSAS NATIONAL COUNCIL</u> - Andy Orkin and Simon Walker

1) <u>MOBILISATION OF INTEREST GROUPS</u>

The struggle for change in South Africa involves the most effective possible
mobilisation of resources. With the <u>simultaneous</u> clear formulation
of plans of action and exercise of power. There are in South Africa many
different interest groups. Different plans of action must therefore
be formulated, each with a direct relevance to the individual or groups
involved, but all with a common ultimate goal.

Students are the most easily and effectively mobilised group in society
in general because of their potential for consciousness through their
privileged position in society. Their mobilisation must be achieved by
the application of a process of learning, beginning with the propagation of
<u>facts</u> about our present society and status-quo. This should stimulate a
genuine desire for change: a desire to employ and use the knowledge of what
is right to change what is wrong.

These facts could be disseminated on campuses in the following way:

a) <u>fact-sheets</u>: Stimulating, concise, well-designed pamphlets, supported
by photographs and interviews; not the usual dreary roneod material
dished out to students.
b) <u>personal contact</u> : Each of us has friends who are blindly unaware as to
<u>WHAT IS HAPPENING HERE</u>. When told of the existence of pass laws and
their implications they would be genuinely stimulated into interest,
and possibly action.
c) <u>films</u>: A good example is the TV movie "The Dumping Grounds".
d) <u>guerilla theatre</u>: is a good way of forcing interest in facts of South
Africa: a staged 'arrest' of a black student is guaranteed to get the
indignation of student witnesses aroused, which can then be channelled
into a desire to act.
e) <u>seminars</u>: To encourage discussion such as that at this seminar:
discussion that is sorely lacking at all universities.
f) the effective <u>TOTAL us of on-campus media</u>: student newspapers, magazines,
public-address systems, posters etc.
g) <u>anything</u>:

These methods must be rigidly co-ordinated, chronolplogically and with regard
to content: the SRC's must see that no two important events clash,
resulting in splitting of manpower and loyalties.

This mobilisation must be supplemented from the start by already effective
plans of action: this so that any response to the above can immediately
be channelled into project-orientated activities. For instance so that
an excited audience that has just seen the "Dumping Grounds" isn't told
"if you want to do something join NUSAS", but, "if you want to do something
go down to the canteen, there's a bus leaving for the pass-courts in 15
minutes." This gives added incentive: something can be, and is being
done, now.

The mobilisation of other interest groups may subsequently be worked
towards through the use of similar tactics. Each interest group may be
tackled on an issue of importance to it:

a) Housewives vis-a-vis the cost of living and servent problems.
b) Sportsmen vis-a-vis censorship etc

The pace must not be slackened until the mobility of the particular interest
group has been achieved as far as is felt possible. Any campaign must
have as a feature its flexibility, so that continuity may be striven for
and the interest so generated, self propagating.

2) <u>PASS LAW ACTION</u>

South Africa has to its proud record over 1700 pass offence prosecutions
daily,*and far more arrests. These all have to be tried, sentenced and

* (A survey of Race Relations 1970 pg 164)

administered justice in a court of law.   As a consequence, the pass courts
in all major centres are clogged and overworked.   I am not insinuating that
this has any effect whatsoever on the fair and benevolent administration of
these laws: merely that to keep above water the courts resort to group
trials and sentences, and individual trials lasting well below one minute each.

Action in this direction would be initiated by getting groups of students
to sit and observe the proceedings from the public galleries in the pass
courts.   The results of this are most important: firstly, it has been found
that the mere presence of a group of people sitting with pen and pad seems
to embarrass usually sleepy officers of the law into taking a small interest
in the proceedings.   In Johannesburg, where this was tried, the average time
per trial went up from forty seconds to ten minutes: an expansion of some
fifteen hundred percent.   This time used of course for such mere luxuries
as presentation of evidence, bail pleas and the like.   Secondly, the effect
on the student participants, in bringing home the realities of the system
and mobilising them to action.

The next step is a massive campaign to educate blacks as to their rights when
arrested on a pass offence.   This would involve pamphleteering of the
masses of commuters, articles in black newspapers, even spot ads on the radio
services.   This so that a black, when arrested on a pass offence, can hand
the policemen the pamphlet or article that he kept or cut out, stating that
in terms of ACT XYZ he is entitled to certain rights, including legal
consultation, informing his family etc.

The third step would be to train students as 'legal technicians", experts in
the hundred-odd pages of pass laws, amply qulified to give advice to anyone
who is affected by these laws.   This would entail a minimal   number of
lectures and a few notes by a lawyer or other expert.   Such "legal tech-
nicians" could, at first, assist the Black Sash in the work it does in
Athlone (Cape Town) and in Johannesburg at its voluntary advice offices.
This would then be followed by the setting-up of NUSAS office/s on the same
lines.   Such offices could offer a "tracing service" in the form of a mobile
student who could laboriously take any black faced with "endorsement out"
around to past employers etc to get documentary evidence of residency.   In
this way many families could be stopped from being sent to homelands they
have never seen.   This of course to supplement the role of the giving of
advice, free, to those who can least afford professional advice where they
most need it.

The fourth and most ambitious step is the setting up of a bail fund.   The
rational behind this is as follows.   When arrested on a pass offence, the
alleged offender finds it more convenient to plead guilty and serve his
sentence immediately and go home.   This, rather than an endless trial
remandments, etc between which the offender languishes in goal, waiting
for his case to come up again.   The majority of offenders are actually
encouraged to plead guilty and "get it over with".   This is surely a
travesty of justice.   So if our advice office advises an offender to plead
not guilty, we should be able to organise bail, so that the offender need not
bear the financial loss of weeks of waiting for his trial.   Obviously,
the fund would be put to immediate great use, so a large amount of capital
is required.   This would have to be discreetly raised, within the law
governing the origins of such funds.

Once this fund has been set, pamphleteering could again occur on a large
scale,   advertising the advice office and giving a phone number so, that
anyone arrested may get bail, and thus justice (we hope).

There are two possible results of this scheme: either that the number of
arrests under these laws are cut down, or that these cases are removed from
the jurisdiction of the courts.   In either case, a lot of hardship will
be prevented until the second occurs.

3) ECONOMIC ACTION

Action in this sphere is divided into two fields, the first of which is:

a) Wage Level Action - This action would have to be begun on a small experimental basis on a scheme where a good chance for success is enjoyed. This is so because the scheme is an ambitious one because those having a vested interest in maintaining low wage structures are not over receptive at the idea of having them changed. The "minimum effectivity" poverty datum line statistic (SAIRR) for Johannesburg for a family of five is R22.30 per week. Of this the sole bread-winner should earn 70%: R15.61 per week, or R67.64 per month. At most of our universities, janitors and cleaners are earning well below (approaching 50%) this minimum.

A general program for the effective increase of wage levels in South Africa would follow a pattern of the establishment of a power base, whose power could be wielded to achieve change by a progression of increasingly harsher tactis:

a) Approach body concerned with a vew to ascertaining the wage levels of its workers for research purposes.
b) Assuming a refusal, approach workers themselves with questionnaires and pamphlets explaining action.
c) Tabulate results with differences between wage levels and poverty datum line statistics.
d) Reapproach body with results and ask for changes, to level (at least) of poverty datum line. On refusla, threaten action.
e) Publicise information in local and overseas press, mentioning the name of the body. If the body is a subsidiary of an overseas corporation, notify it, the trade unions concerned with, and its boards of shareholders. In certain cases, Hain type tactics could be employed, tailored to the individual needs of the case.
f) Continue campaign according to response.

This very general plan of action must be preceded by a massive research campaign, investigating the most feasible directions for action. Co-operation with the Wage Board hearings in a particular area is essential so that all normal channels have been tried before "blackmail" tactics are used. For resource information on this the New Durban Institute for Industrial Research may be used, and Loot Dowes Dekker of SAIRR of Johannesburg.

NB: "This Seminar calls on the National Union to initiate this campaign by publishing an objective report of wage structures, within the National Union itself, in terms of the above report".

The second field of Economic Action is:

b) Commodity Cost Action - In terms of widespread poverty and low wage levels in South Africa, the profit margins on many basic foods e.g. bread, milk, mealie-meal are far too high; often well above the minimum set by the particular Board. Action, in this line would work in a similar way to wage level action, beginning with research into production costs, transport costs, and profit margins; co operation with the Boards concerned (e.g. Bread Board); and finally 'blackmail' techniques and boycotts.

There is, in he South African educational system, an enormous propaganda machine: one of Christian National Education, embodying ediological and political brainwashing, to engender a spirit of total acceptance, of the present South African situation with all its implications, and a lack of knowledge of facts of these implications. Students, in extending their influence and disseminating their knowledge in society, should attempt to counter this. This would build a resource of active experienced people for the future. A program for the involvement of young people in situations of experiential learning must be implemented. This learning must occur in real -life situations where help by these young people is most needed. For example: the building of classrooms for black farm schools, construction of irrigations systems, or the erection of clinics where needed. The priority

is thus one for an organisation with two aims:

a) Community service, where it is most needed , and

b) The involvement of high school pupils in real life situations where they learn to relate to themselves, their group, and the community they are working in; and where they learn the _facts_ about their country.

Requests for help are continually being received by SRC's, the SAIRR, the newspapers etc.   These could be referred to the organisation, and ads could be placed in newspapers offering voluntary service.

A project would then be selected so that the two aims are best fulfilled. Funds must then be raised: for example RI200 is required for one farmschool classroom 30' x 40', with office and storeroom.   Technical advice must be sought, free from willing architects, and plans drawn up.   Materials must be ordered in the correct quantities for the particular project.   Equipment must be begged, borrowed -- stolen!   Transport for it, and for volunteers must be organised.   And finally, the project must be completed.   The South African Voluntary Service and the Witwatersrand Youth Voluntary Service may be contacted for advice on these matters.

In this way, a total process of learning will be implemented among the high school pupils, beginning with the publication and propagation of facts showing the need for community service.   The next step in this process is involvement on their part in the form of a committment in reaction to the need.   The third step is action: the involvement of the young people in the project concerned; first in its organisation, and then in itself, over a period ranging between a week and a month.   This is by far the most important step, because it is here that the experiential learning occurs.   Direct contact is achieved between races and people of differing backgrounds in a basic working situation: Seminars, and discussion also fit into this situation, for the added dissemination of theory and fact.   Also to be emphasised is the politicization of the people amongst whom these projects are carried out.

Within the first year of the implementation of this plan, 50 young volunteers will have been involved.   The fourth step must be one of self perpetuation of the plan of action in that experienced people will respond in organising their own parallel project as they get older.   The number of people involved will thus theoretically follow a pattern of geometrical progression: 2,4,8,16,32, etc.

This priority must not be seen in isolation but rather in the light of its supplying useful future participants in the quest for change.   This priority could also be extended to working on the organization of students within the schools, particularly on SRC's so that prefect and other authority systems may be questioned.

4) CONCLUSION

Students are the resources provided by the student organizational structure. They must be mobilised and turned on to what must be done -- and then _do it_.

NUSED, NUSWEL, and AQUARIUS must particularly be flexible enough to be able to adopt to any project the situation demands and then to provide continuity for it

The effectivity of these priorities is therefore dependent on a four-tiered plan of action as a process of learning:

1) Publication and propagation of ideas: an attempt to expand knowledge of S.A.
2) The resulting awareness, and an interest, leading to committment.
3) Active participation in project-type activities, and change of way life and the
4) Self-perpetuation of schemes and establishment of others - all working towards total change in South Africa.

COMMUNIQUE ON NATIONAL SEMINAR 1971 - Steve Friedman

General Structure of the Seminar.

The jocular phrase "terrorism of the mind" (plagiarised from "Tiny" Venter) was used by some of the participants to describe the structure of the seminar. It was felt that the seminar was constructed (content and order of talks, discussions etc) so as to force the participants to come to a specific conclusion about the South African situation. These delegates felt that their thoughts were mercilessly channelled in a certain direction and that alternate points of view were either precluded completely from the minds of delegates or mercilessly crushed by the very structure of the seminar.

White-oriented Nature of Seminar.

The Black delegates felt that the seminar was directed soley towards the White students and the action they could take in the White community. They felt that discussion should have been extended to them and possible action for them in their communities. This state of affairs is no doubt due to the very small percentage of Black delegates at the seminar, a situation which must be rectified for the National Union to be a meaningful multiracial body and not just a White union with a few token Blacks.

S.B.

A lot of fear existed amongst all delegates but for obvious reasons especially amongst the more vulnerable Black students. This fact no doubt constricted group discussion, preventing delegates, especially Black delegates, from expressing certain views felt to be dangerous. However, there is unfortunately not much we can do about the situation but besides learning to live with it and adapt to it.

Preparation of Delegates for Seminar.

This was felt to be far from adequate. Delegates felt that they arrived at the seminar uninformed and insufficiently prepared and thus the majority of papers delivered were lessons in previously unknown facts, instead of the interpretative exercises which they should have been. A suggestion was made that bi - or - tri weekly regional seminars for about 2 months before National Seminar, consisting of basic factual lectures and interpretative discussion could help in this regard although head office did circulate requests to all campuses asking that delegates be given references, papers and at 4 delegation meetings, little was done in this regard. This increased preparation could help eliminate the problem of the lack of alternate points of views discussed earlier.

At the seminar site itself, the papers to be read should have been handed out well in advance in order to enable delegates to digest them beforehand, thereby enhancing the general quality of the group discussion after the papers. It was felt that some group discussion, for 15 minutes or so, before the papers are read would be beneficial. A further suggestion was made that those delivering papers should be available for questions from the discussion groups. It was also suggested that reference books e.g. the SPROCAS series and Race Relations Publications should have been made available to delegates on the site.

Structure and Running of Discussion Groups.

The suggestion was made that the first discussion group should have been much longer than it was in order to give the delegates a chance to get to know each other better and to adapt to discussion in groups. A group of delegates felt that after the first day, groups should be drawn up on the basis of articulateness groups thus having all members with the same degree of articulateness. It was suggested that this would prevent those with extraordinary speaking ability to dominate the conversation, thus creating a situation in which even the most timid would be able to express themselves. This would lead to more points of view being expressed, more ideas coming up, etc.

Subject Matter of Papers and Group Discussions.

It was felt that too much time was devoted to certain subjects while others were neglected.   For example a lot of delegates, especially the Black delegates, felt that insufficient attention was given to the Capitalism/ Socialism debate.

Contact Between Centres.

As both a general point and a comment on the seminar, all the delegates found that inter- and intra regional contact should be fostered in order to encourage a cross-pollination of ideas and co-ordination of activities between centres.   This has been lacking up to now, and it was felt that this work should be undertaken by the Regional Directors.   In particular, contact between the respective affiliate organisation on each campus was felt to be essential.

Length of the Seminar.

This was felt to be perfect.   Although certain delegates felt that the seminar should have gone on for another day or two, the general consensus was that while sufficient time had been allowed to achieve a coherent appreciation of the South African situation and to formulate plans for student action, the seminar had not dragged on to the point where interest would be likely to wane.

Use of Alternate Learning Media.

There was a general consensus among delegates that communications media other than the normal paper-reading and group-discussions method would be extremely beneficial.   The showing of the "Dumping Grounds" was universally regarded as a step in the right direction, as was the general principle of the spontaneous simulation game in which the Black delegates took the seminar building over.   It was, however, felt that if similar exercises were to be carried out at future seminars (and this was regarded as essential) it would be best to plan them in order to invest the situation with the reality, seriousness and immediacy which was lacking on this occasion.
A further suggestion in this direction was the implementation of the experiment tried in predominately-white American schools whereby possessors of certain physical characteristics e.g. blond hair were separated from the rest of the group and made to feel the effects of discrimination.   The process could be reversed after a time, making the group discriminated against the discriminators.   A further suggestion was the playing of tape recordings of overseas personalities, e.g. Dick Gregory, and L.P. records.   The idea of some kind of simulation exercise (the method tried at the seminar was the use of position papers) to train delegates to cope with the reformer problem was felt to be very necessary, but it was felt that the methods used at the seminar failed to impress upon delegates the immediacy and reality of the situation.   It was felt in general that any experimental learning situation cannot fail to be of benefit.

Distribution of this Report and Recommendations.

It was suggested that copies of this report and the recommendations made to National Council should be sent to all universities who failed to, or were unable to send delegates to the seminar.

General Impressions.

The seminar exceeded most delegates expectations.   Almost all the delegates felt that they left the seminar more informed and having learnt a great deal about aspects of political action such as organising and mobilising student energies and the general carrying out of relevant political action. Everyone felt that they had gained confidence and as a result felt able to take a constructive initiative in group discussion and action.   Certain groups complained that, despite all this, they did not receive leadership training as such, though it is the opinion of the compiler of the report that the above does, in fact, constitute leadership training.

The presence of the SASO factor forced delegates to think hard about a complex problem and to formulate their own stand on a political issue.

This was extremely beneficial. A number of the Black delegates, for example, felt that SASO did not fulfill their needs and ideals as it was "strictly a political organisation". However a general approval of SASO in some form or other seemed prevalent among delegates. One group commented that they regarded the seminar as "an exceptional opportunity within the context of the South African system for black and white students to meet and exchange ideas."

Despite the incredible energy and enthusiasm generated by the ... . however, the suggestion of one group that a questionnaire be sent out to all campus approximately 2 months after the seminar asking "what have you done to implement our plans at seminar?" is well worth looking into. At Wits, for example, the delegates who returned appear to have slipped back into the old forms of political action with a few minor modifications, although the fact that almost the entire delegation were involved in a road accident while returning, may have something to do with this. The problem of transferring theory to practise is still, however, the most important problem facing both the delegates and the National Union.

CRITIQUE OF NUSAS NATIONAL SEMINAR by Ralph Judah.

1) All the groups agreed that what was going on was "Terrorism of the mind" - an unfortunate term but nevertheless meaningful.

There was a lack of alternate approaches to the problems faced at the seminar. Anybody who expressed or felt alternate views had these mercilessly crushed either by having them airily dismissed, crushed by a biased speaker or dismissed by the next speech. The whole construction of the congress was far too one-sided chanelled. A well-taken suggestion was that speakers like Nat's on South African politics and, say, Deon Irish on Black Power be given a chance to air their views and submit them to examination.

2) The pre-seminar preparations were shocking. We should have arrived at the seminar already informed, thus allowing for in-depth discussion and examination of topics instead of having ⅔ of the speaking time devoted to factual lectures and far too little time devoted to sorting out the good from the bad.

Suggested remedies to this situation were Regional Seminars held every 3 weeks for 2 months before the seminar. As well as getting more people generally better informed, this would also help in selecting candidates for the seminar, with only genuinely interested people going. We realised that instructions were sent to the various SRC's to hold meetings and distribute literatuee, but, apparently, only at Wits was some literature distributed and one deputation meeting held. This was not nearly enough and therfore the Presidents of SRC must be severely censured for not following instructions. If this had been done, complaint one would be almost done away with.

3) Everybody felt that the quality of the lectures themselves was extremely interesting but, again, better preparations should have been made. The papers should have been distributed some time before the paper, possibly allowing 15 minutes group discussion of these before the lecture was delivered. Had this been done, we would have been able to question during the speeches, thus coming away fully informed instead of vaguely informed. The speakers could possibly have made themselves available to the groups for questioning as, as a whole, mostly the same people asked questions.

In addition to this, general literature e.g. SPROCAS and ·Race Relations publications should have been made available to us both at the seminar and on campus before and after the seminar.

It is hoped that there will be some form of follow-up to this seminar.

4) On the question of grouping, we felt that groups should have been more scientifically constituted i.e. all the 'leaders'- those people who always speak out, ask questions etc - should be put in one group, all the 'middlemen' - those who may be persuaded by eloquence but occassionally will state their viewpoint - in another group and lastly the 'followers' - those people who tend to agree with the person that last spoke or listened to - should be put in another group.

In this way, you would have people fighting on an equal footing, having to give strong arguments for points put forward, instead of merely wrapping groups around their fingers. Because this was a leadership seminar, we assume that the people in the third group, if stirred out of their stupors, would give as good if not better ideas than those in the other groups.

5) All the groups came up against the problem of Regional Directors in their discussion. It is felt that far greater inter- and interregional contact is needed between all Affiliate as well as Local Comm's. Surely this is the job of the Regional Directors. visits to centres inside the regions must take place. As the people from SACHED said 'Why do we never see you, hear from you? We hear from SASO."

Points of General interest and Specific Criticism

1) There should have been discussion after "The Dumping Grounds"

2) Why were there not more Black delegates.   Surely this should be encouraged
   through greater contact etc.

3) It was generally felt that more of the discriminatory tactics which we ex-
   perienced could be used.   It was suggested that this be done along the lines
   of the American College system where blonde hair and blue eyes etc are taken
   to be criteria for certain privileges.

4) What happened to those forms we filled in?   Many people were uneasy about
   this and consequently did not fill the form in honestly.   The ultimate
   fate of these should have been told to us.   Some people did not want their
   political ideas immortalised for all to see on SB microfilm

5) Leading on from this, it was felt that it was a pity about the great deal of
   fear prevalent among some of the people.   This is, however, a difficult problem
   to deal with and will probably never be fully remedied.

6) The discussion about Black power and SASO was extremely useful as, for the
   only time at the seminar, people were forced into defining their position
   relative to a real political situation.

7) The food was good, not enough wine, no cheese, not enough sleep, not enough
   birds, not enough position papers.

8) During the period when the delegates were left on their own, they immediately
   elected a leader, Steve Friedman, and having done this they felt they had
   discharged their obligation and it was left up to Steve and three other people
   to plot the course the seminar would take from then on.   Some people also
   showed great irresponsibility by not attending some of the group discussion
   involved in getting the priorities out and these had to be rounded up by a
   person to whom they immediately listened without question.   It is sad that
   at a seminar like this some people still need to be prefected.

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