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To write about Black Unity in the South African situation, is like looking for a needle in a hay stack.

We, the oppressed Blacks, share common suffering in a common Fatherland. We live together in the slums and ghettos, we toil together in factories, railways tracks, building industry, the mines, etc. We suffer under the same exploitative system. We receive the same inferior type of education which has caused so much suffering and pain amongst the Black Youth. It is our defenceless children who face guns when they protest against this inferior type of education.

One will think that the bitter experience we share as a nation will unite US in our collective endeavour to fight for freedom and justice. However, it appears as if our bitter experience and our common suffering are the very same causes of disunity.

The complexity of the conflict in the South African situation has divided the subjugated Black Majority into various opposing camps. On the one hand, there are those Blacks who have decided to collaborate with the oppressor in his determination to perpetuate oppression, i.e. those operating within the government created institutions like the Bantustans, the Management Council, etc; on the other hand, we have the integrationists who see nothing wrong with white participation in the BLACK struggle for justice and humanity in a country that has denied Blacks freedom, justice and humanity because of the colour of their skin. On the other hand, we have

the proponents of Black Consciousness who reject white participation in

the Black struggle and argue that white participation must be confined to the white community to conscientise them about the evils they inflict on the oppressed Black Majority.

Perhaps before we analyse the complexity of this subject we should analyse the nature of the conflict in the South African situation! What is the conflict about and who are the participants in this conflict?



BLACK UNITY

A POSSIBILITY NOW ?

Last year, Mr Letsatsi Mosala, AZAPO's then National Organiser, looked at the question of unity. Today it is as pertinent as it was last year. We have pleasure in reproducing his paper.

The conflict is about the ownership of the Land and Political power. In other words, the Black Majority who have been dispossessed of their land and their political power want repossession of their land and the restoration of their political power. Therefore, the conflict is between the Black majority on the one hand and the white oppressor on the other hand.

Where does the difference arise then in the ranks of the oppressed Blacks? The method of effecting change is the cause of the problem. Let us examine the three Black groups with I have already outlined above:

- The collaborationists
- The integrationists
- Adherents of Black Consciousness

All the three groups agree that Blacks are oppressed and that something must be done to break the chains of oppression. As far as the collaborationists are concerned, change can be effected within the government created platform which provides immunity from detention and general harassment by the system. These government created institutions balkanize our country into different "states" of which the Black "MII STATES" are nothing but corridors of cheap labour camps for the so called "White South Africa". Since the so-called Bantustans are not economically viable, they depend on Pretoria for survival in every aspect. Recently, Pretoria has gone a step further in introducing Black Army Units and Security Police Units in these

Bantustans to deal with protesting Black Students and those who oppose this system within these Bantustans. It is therefore, quite clear that reconciliation is impossible with people who are operating within these structures.

The two remaining groups have both rejected participation within the government created institutions. They both reject Capitalism as an economic policy which gives rise to class division that leads to class antagonism which can only result in conflict within the same society. Both these groups agree that the Black Workers are the most exploited group in the South African situation as the labour strikes indicate, e.g. the Ford strike in Port Elizabeth, the Textile Factory strike in Durban, the redmeat strike in Cape, labour unrest in the mines, the Fattis and Monis strike, etc. Where is the area of difference then between these groups? White participation and opening of membership to whites in our organisations?

open society

While we in Black Consciousness agree that we envisage an open egalitarian society where colour, creed or class will not play any part, we also acknowledge that there is a PRE-liberation era and a POST-liberation era and that the tactics to achieve liberation will not be the same as those required to reconstruct the new society. The PRE-liberation era is full of hazards, pitfalls, pains and sufferings. The present turmoil in the country where there are school boycotts as a result of rejection of inferior type of education by the Black students, the anguish felt by the parents who have lost children during school boycotts - the suffering experienced by the parents of Hector Peterson and all the Black nation in 1976 up to the present moment, the suffering and pain experienced by Black Workers in the present labour unrest illustrates vividly who must travel the pre-liberation path.

UNITY

Those who travel that road have no choice, no alternative, but are forced by circumstances that declare them sub-human beings in the country of their birth. They are forced by the conditions under which they work, conditions under which they are born, to travel that road. The choice is between freedom and continued slavery and servitude.

Today, some of our comrades are in detention. We acknowledge intergration but we also believe that it belongs to the post-liberation era. We believe that Blacks as a nation have identified the conflict and the cause of their suffering, it is therefore, imperative for them to unite and face the cause of their suffering.

Unity is undoubtedly a very important vehicle towards change and Black Consciousness with its stress on Black Solidarity is the manifestation of that philosophy of unity.

Through their united action, the people of Zimbabwe achieved victory for their Fatherland. There are many organisations ranging from Trade Unions to Cultural organisations. But all these must relate to the larger mass movement for political direction. Unity is hollow if it does not take into consideration principles, policies and discipline. It is therefore, incumbent on us to consolidate Black people around those principles which have through the years of stress, strife and strain been identified and established as the basic fundamental principles that

will guarantee a free society an example of which obviously would be a united, undivided Azania. This is what Azapo is working towards, the unification of the liberatory forces. The relationship should be built in shape with all owing allegiance to the political movement in the country, for once we are divided, the impact is reduced. It is in UNITY that we will one day stand up as a free nation in:

ONE AZANIA — ONE NATION!!!



AZAPO

SESHEGO — COMMUTERS WORRIED

RESIDENTS IN SESHEGO ARE WORRIED ABOUT THE SALE OF BUSES BY BLACK BUS OWNER

Mr Ben Harris, recently sold his buses to Lebowa Transport, and residents feel that their six months old boycott against the latter bus company has been betrayed.

On August 27, last year, Seshego residents staged a successful bus boycott against what they referred to as exorbitant fare hikes.

On the other hand, commuters also demanded that Mr Harris should be allowed to operate in the township. This call led to an application by Mr Harris to operate in the same township. However his application was subsequently turned down by the National Transportation Board.

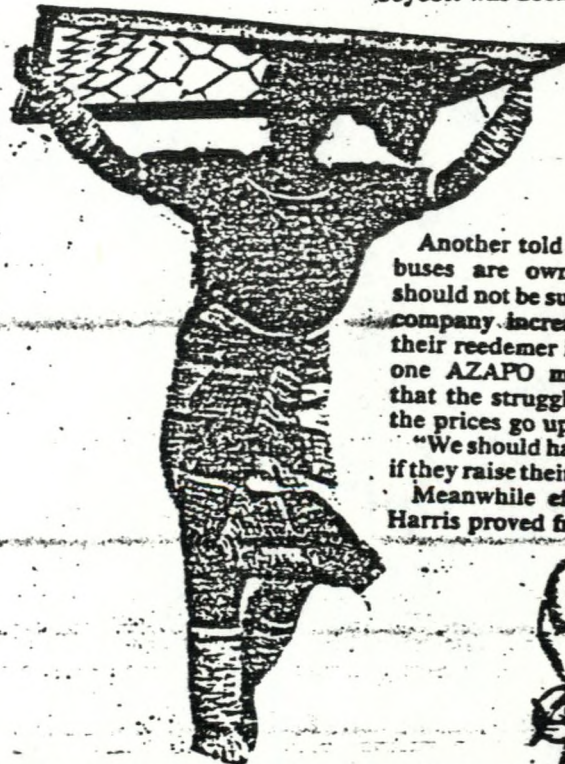
In an unexpected move, on June 8 this year, Mr Harris' buses were operating in Zone 1 Seshego. A day prior to the former, the Seshego villagers organised a party to celebrate their victory against the Lebowa Transport.

Mr Harris was charging 20 cents per single trip to Pietersburg compared to 25 cents demanded by the rival Lebowa Transport.

Three months hardly elapsed when news reached the commuters that Mr Harris had sold the buses to Lebowa Transport. Residents interviewed were bitter about the selling of the buses. They pointed out that they went to endless troubles in their quest to have Mr Harris allowed to operate his buses in Seshego.

fares
might
increase

One resident complained that it was indeed a sell out business that Mr Harris did to the people as many AZAPO members were detained for over four months trying to fight for justice. "People should really feel let down by this move, and as far as I am concerned, the whole period of boycott was doomed to fail", he said.



buses

Another told us that now that the buses are owned by BIC, people should not be surprised should the bus company increase its fares because their redeemer is no more. However, one AZAPO members pointed out that the struggle shall go on should the prices go up.

"We should have to walk once more if they raise their fares", said another. Meanwhile efforts to contact Mr Harris proved fruitless.



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