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Unfortunately, I have no information about Moremi's present whereabouts. Check phone listings and ask around in church circles, or with other people mentioned in the notes. (NB: Andrew Lukele was the first husband of Zanele Mbeki). A possible contact would be Bennie Khoapa (who was on the exec of BCMA in the US in early 1980s). Khoapa could be traced on Google.co.za. He used to be principal of the Technikon Natal.

NTSIZI MOREMI

Ntsizi Elijah Moremi was a refugee in Kenya in the late 1970s. An adherent of the black consciousness movement, he became involved in efforts to create an external wing of the movement, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) in 1979-80. While waiting for a visa to study in the United States, he attended a theological seminary in Nairobi. These notes (not verbatim) were made by Gail Gerhart, who was then teaching at the University of Nairobi. He later pursued theological studies in the United States.

July 31, 1979

Biography: From Sebokeng, Moremi was doing a theology diploma and working with the African Independent Churches Association (AICA) and the Christian Institute in the Transvaal in 1977, and also studying to pass O-levels. He was a member of the black consciousness movement. He was detained under section 6 in October 1977, but released in December 1977 because he had a weak heart and the police were afraid he'd die and doctors would attribute it to beatings. In the aftermath of Biko's death, the police were afraid of more detainee deaths. So he was released and went straight to Baragwanath Hospital where he had a heart operation. Banned for 5 years on release from hospital. In early 1978 he crossed to Lesotho, where he later applied to go to US to pursue studies in theology. He likes social work, and isn't geared toward pastoral work in traditional sense. His wife, Sipati, is going to study home economics in Nairobi and try to pursue this in US. They have two boys, ages 6 and 7. For the time being he is going to study at a seminary outside Nairobi (St Paul's?) for a diploma in theology.

The primary goal now is unification of all the movements into one. The BCMA will meet in August, though venue isn't yet set. BCMA people will refrain from criticizing ANC and PAC, and will try to woo them into forming a front. There is very wide sentiment for this in all organizations at the grass roots. If all efforts fail, then BCM will emerge as an independent third movement. Some African and other governments would lend their support to BCM, it's believed. Others are wed to ANC or PAC. In the US, BCM is represented by Andrew Lukele.

Those inside SA know very little of the external movements or the conditions they face. The other side of this is that at home, BCM is the only force that counts. Yet the ANC keeps trying to claim that it is the instigator of actions at home, which isn't true.

April 29, 1980 (continued)

The Easter BCM conference in London drew about 100 delegates. BCM paid for tickets and still has money left over. A committee was chosen to organise the next conference. This one was a preliminary round. Ntsizi is a member for "organising Africa". They hope to have an African headquarters, probably in Algeria, but this is not settled. Their international offensive appears to be awaiting the internal consolidation of the movement; they want to have something coherent to sell.

Harry Nengwekhulu was expelled. He didn't show up to answer for his "undisciplined and irregular" activities. His links with the International University Exchange Fund (IUEF) and Craig Williamson are a black mark, along with his alleged failure to account for funds.

Sipho Buthelezi attended, and Patrick Cindi. Cindi is regarded as too excitable, but is still working to get a Canada region organised.

Barney Pityana resigned from the leadership after being strongly censured for his handling of relations with the ANC. Pityana was accused of acting without consultation, of meeting with Tambo in Lusaka (Christmas 1979) without approval. It was agreed that this was a personal meeting, not in his capacity as acting head of BCM. It sounds like Pityana was more anxious for accommodation with ANC than the bulk of members were, especially those purporting to represent the "home" opinions, i.e. those from Botswana and Lesotho who have met recently/regularly? with people from inside.

What are now the real issues dividing ANC and BCM? (1) BCM wants no whites, and ANC insists on having them. (2) BCM at the conference endorsed "Marxism-Leninism", whereas ANC claims to reject Marxism-Leninism (this was what Tambo told Pityana when they met in Lusaka). (3) BCM totally rejects any effort to work with Buthelezi, and suspects ANC of trying to work toward a "Muzorewa" solution here. (4) ANC refuses to try to unite in any way with PAC, whereas BCM favors a unification of all external forces, including PAC.

BCM is suspicious of the "Free Mandela" campaign, especially now that Hendrik van den Berghe (sic) has suggested that perhaps Mandela could be released. Could this be part of the "Muzorewa" alternative the government is working toward with Buthelezi? Is the ANC getting ready for a sell-out?

How does BCM reconcile its endorsement of Marxism-Leninism with black consciousness? It wants to draw the best from both; to be a workers' party that believes in black self-reliance. It can't have whites, because they always end up causing trouble.

Some interesting things came out at the conference about Biko's last mission. Biko had become convinced that it was vital to unify the inside and outside forces, and he wanted to talk unity with ANC and PAC. To do this, someone from BCM had to be sent outside as an emissary to the other parties in exile. Biko and Peter Jones had gone to a meeting in the Cape where it was to be decided who should go, but the idea was that it should be Biko himself. Through Beyers Naude a connection with the Dutch government was going to be used. Horst Kleinschmidt was involved—at this point he had not yet revealed his preference for the ANC. Other candidates to go were Pityana, Peter Jones, Harry Nengwekhulu (who was already outside) and some others. Some suggestion that in meeting Tambo without "authorisation" Pityana may have felt he was carrying out the earlier mandate from BCM inside. (But Pityana seen as too high handed, based on his view of himself as a "founding father," etc).

Details of this not clear; much involvement of the Christian Institute (CI), Oshadi Phakathi and the Dutch, Kleinschmidt and some other white-Johannesburg-CI type named "Walter" [Walter Felgate], who was thought friendly but later turned out to be highly suspect because he is now an advisor to Gatsha Buthelezi! Another suspect person is Cedric Mayson, banned editor of CI's *Pro Veritate*, which was suppressed in October 1977.

Andrew Lukele was very impressive, much respected by conference. He never tries to use his age or experience outside to talk down to the younger people. He is really with them. Same with Drake Koka, who works well with younger people. Koka was drafting many of the statements of the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC) before Soweto.

Kenya gave Moremi a travel document for London at the very last minute, only after he had produced a telex from London saying a visa was waiting. Moremi thinks the Kenyans had told the local British High Commission (embassy) not to give him a visa. At Heathrow, Moremi and Geoff Mokoka were detained overnight, and all the papers in their possession were photocopied. Pityana had to contact some Labour MP before they could get sprung. Later a Kenya High Commission security agent tried to contact them.

What is now the real basis of the objections to Buthelezi? He is a tribalist; he is only out for his group. No other objections? No. If he really were a nationalist, he would long ago have left his collaboration with the government and made himself a leader of everyone.

Have any foreign governments shown a willingness to support BCMA? Iraq.